'On the Strength of a Likeness': Kipling and the analogical connections between India and Ireland

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Abstract

This study firstly focuses on the political implications of Kipling's representation of the Irish characters in India. Kipling, in the context of the imperial policy of the day, relocates the Irish question onto India. India was one of the few places where the Irish could be represented safely as loyal subjects, without mirroring the fact that many Irish people were forced to emigrate due to England's 'misgovernment' of Ireland. Kipling's representation of the voice of the Irish soldiers is a powerful counter-representation to the Irish nationalist voices which were raised against the Empire, and *Kim* is an ideal imperial space where all the different elements of the Empire are seen together and freely traverse without being constricted by the subversive colonial ground.

Secondly, this study explores the analogies and comparisons between India and Ireland frequently made during the nineteenth century. Such analogies were used both by the imperial discourses which constructed the British Empire as a uniform entity and the nationalist discourses which attempted to undermine the unity of the Empire. Applying Roman Jakobson's distinction between metonymy and metaphor, I characterise the imperialist discourse as 'metonymic', and the nationalist one as 'metaphoric': the former *combines* originally different elements into one imperial context according to the spatial or temporal *contiguity*, while the latter forms the anti-imperial association by identification and substitution based on various degrees of *similarity*. Kipling's representation of the Irish in India is shown to be a successful example of the metonymic way of uniting the colonies. Within this framework, I examine the contest between the two types of analogies during the Boer War. Indian nationalist identification with Ireland during the Swadeshi movement is also examined, during which we witness the fall of the imperialist/metonymic analogies.

The last chapter questions the validity of the identification between India and Ireland which tended to be made by nationalists, by contrasting the Irish uncanny with the Indian sublime, both of which were haunted by recurrent famines. Florence Nightingale, as a coloniser, confronted and silenced the former, and reached out for the latter as the stage of her sanitary reform. The Irish voice was regarded as a threat to English supremacy, while the Indian voice was easily dismissed and was seen as needing to be represented.

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(*Black and White Budget*, September 22, 1900)

Introduction

'You have been in Be – England?',[1] asks Kim a drummer-boy in the Irish regiment who comes from Liverpool. He pauses, though only for a moment, before articulating the word 'England', a slight break in speech which the drummer boy probably does not even take any notice of. It is unlike Kim, who is quick-witted and has a singular talent for making himself understood by using whatever vocabulary available, to leave a word unfinished, although it is true that Kim's English is not so good at this stage that he sometimes has to tap 'his foot impatiently' as he translates 'in his own mind from the vernacular to his clumsy English'.[2] What is Kim trying to say by 'Be'? Could it be Bexley, Berkshire or even Belfast? Maybe, but quite unlikely, for he does not know anything about European geography yet. Or Kim tries to ask the boy if he has been to Benares, eager to speak of his dear lama and their quest, but changes his mind in the middle of the word? We will never be sure. However, the certain thing is that this is a significant moment in *Kim*, when 'England' first slips into Kim's world.

The most plausible interpretation of this enigmatic rupture is that Kim was about to pronounce the word *Belait*. According to *Hobson-Jobson,* a contemporary glossary of Anglo-Indian words, Belait, the vernacular word originally meaning 'kingdom' or 'province', comes to mean 'Europe' in India.[3] If Kim's unfinished 'Be-' is indeed 'Belait', he is here trying to find an English equivalent for the word. This translation proves to be problematic, for Kim goes on to say, 'Tell me something about England. My father he came from there'.[4] Kim, without knowing it, erases Ireland, his land of origin, and replaces it with England.[5] '*Eye*-rishti', for Kim, remains the name of the Regiment of his father,[6] but will never be associated with an Ireland which longed to free herself from the Union with England. This erasure of Ireland is underlined further by the fact that the conversation takes place with the drummer-boy in the Irish Regiment who 'spoke about the Liverpool suburb which was his England'.[7] Liverpool, a great Atlantic port which 'connected Ireland to both Britain and America',[8] was 'the most Irish of British Cities'[9] with 'its flourishing Catholic Church and its republican conspirators and other leaders and moulders of the large working-class Irish Catholic community'.[10] In the above passage, two Irish boys who met in India both looked to England but not Ireland as their country of origin.

The momentary rupture in translating Belait to England reveals that there is more than one 'England' both inside and outside the text. Kipling, by letting Kim choose the word 'England' among other possible translations (e.g. Britain, Ireland and Europe), creates for the Irish boy an 'England' where neither tension nor division between England and Ireland exists: it is an imaginary place, somewhere far away, which nevertheless guarantees his status as a Sahib. It is then interesting to note that throughout the novel Kim does not comment on his own Irishness nor identify himself as Irish. It is the narrator and the Sahibs in charge of Kim who know him to be Irish and treat him as such. The narrator occasionally explains Kim's behaviour by referring to his Irishness, and the Sahibs, finding out that Kim is the son of an Irish soldier, give him a proper education as an Irish boy in a Catholic School, 'St Xaviers in Partibus at Lucknow',[11] with financial help from the Lama. The rupture in translating the word to England is nothing but the rupture between Kim's England of which Ireland is part and the other England which governs its closest colony Ireland.

'Why is Kim Irish?' – It is one of the questions which have puzzled Kipling's critics. A definitive answer is yet to come, but a great deal of attention has already been paid to Kim's Irishness. For example, J. Mukherjee considers Kim's Irishness 'relevant', for the spiritual and supernatural side of the Irish makes Kim a perfect companion for the Lama's search.[12] T. G. Fraser, in his essay which traces the Irish involvement in the Raj, refers to the large Irish population in India as soldiers and missionaries in the nineteenth century, and comments that '[i]t was no accident that Kipling chose the surname O'Hara for his hero Kim'.[13] Rukmini Bhaya Nair points out that *Kim* and Tagore's *Gora* (1910) are both about 'Irish foundlings' brought up as 'Indians', and refers to the Bengali intelligentsia's interest in 'the Irish Question' throughout the nineteenth century, which dated back as early as the 1820s.[14] Despite all these insightful explanations, the reason why Kim is Irish still remains a mystery, to which I do not claim to have an answer. In fact, 'Why is Kim Irish?' seems to me the wrong question. Kim is Irish because this is a story about an Irish boy. The question to be asked instead is, I argue, 'why does Kim have to be represented in India?' Kipling's stories with the Indian setting have been discussed mostly as *Indian* ones, despite the fact that *Irish* characters are quite visible and that Kipling rarely represents them outside India. I propose to view *Kim* primarily as an Irish story, the story of placing an Irish subject within the imperial context. India is chosen by Kipling as the best background to represent his Irish characters.[15]

In this thesis, I argue that Kipling's combination of *Irish* characters with *India*

resonates with the contemporary representations of the Empire which, through making analogies and associations among colonies, created the sense of integrity in which England, Ireland, India and the rest of the colonies firmly unite. In fact, such associations were the visible reality for British subjects who, for example, daily read Irish and Indian news side by side in *The Times*. Politicians often had to deal with both countries, and the comparisons played an important role in making policies.[16] I argue that these analogies between the two countries changed, towards the turn of the century, into a political and ambivalent site where the image of the Empire was challenged and contested. While the associations among colonies became important to guarantee the integrity of the British Empire, whose entire picture was felt to be increasingly vague and ungraspable as it expanded, both Irish and Indian nationalists started drawing analogies between the two countries as oppressed colonies, and utilising them in order to cast off the yoke of the Empire. The connection between India and Ireland, therefore, needed to be carefully watched and regulated.

In conducting my research, I found Scott B. Cook's work useful. His *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland*, is one of the few serious studies on these imperialist analogies drawn between colonies in the nineteenth century. Cook examines the ways in which the Indian administrative policy during the nineteenth century was influenced by comparisons and analogies between India and Ireland. He refutes the recent revisionist view that the British Empire as a consistent and uniform entity did not exist except as a myth and that in reality imperialism was a motley of diverse and dissimilar areas, 'fractured and mutated at the various junctures of contact'.[17] Instead, he argues that the empire had 'a substantial degree of cohesion' and 'the frequent use of analogies by officials and other contemporaries of empire'[18] helped create similarities and continuities in 'outlook, motive, method, policy, and even, to a limited extent, practice between such very different and distant components of empire as India and Ireland'.[19] This type of analogy made it easier for the coloniser to cope with a new colonial situation. I disagree with Cook that the British Empire was a consistent and uniform entity, for it seems to me that the analogies between colonies were needed to create the sense of uniformity because the reality of the Empire was indeed a motley of diverse and dissimilar areas without any cohesion. However, I argue that the kind of analogies and exchanges between colonies which Cook described was nevertheless a colonial reality, a strong frame from which the coloniser formulated his encounter with the alien territory.

I found another work by Cook, 'The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855-1914', also relevant to my thesis. In this essay, Cook challenges the portrayal of Irish history 'as a chronology of resistance and reaction to British domination, punctuated by a number of momentous flash-points of conflict: the repeal movement, land wars, aborted rebellions and the like', which is, in his view, a 'distortion' and 'obsessively crisis-oriented'.[20] Cook instead argues that the British Empire was supported not only by Anglo-Irish and Protestant gentry, but also by many middle-class Irishmen. By focusing on the Irish Civil Servants who acted as colonising agents, Cook demonstrates the strong involvement of Irishmen in the cause of Empire. Achieving self-government in Ireland and remaining within the imperial context were, Cook argues, compatible for the majority of the Irish in the nineteenth century. In fact, it was only through the connection with England that Ireland could experience the glory of the British Empire as its own.[21] A similar point is made by Peter Karsten in his essay 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?', in which Karsten argues that Irish soldiers, who were largely Catholic, were 'faithful to [their] oath, despite the efforts of United Irishmen, Fenians, or Sinn Féiners to win [their] loyalties'[22]: '[o]n balance one *must* conclude that the typical Irish soldier was "willing", and "easily-managed", as one of his regimental commanders had written, that he was "anglicized", as his nationalist compatriots feared, that he served well those who paid him, that he "earned [his] keep"'.[23]

These arguments are in stark contrast to the more common version of Irish history in which the Irish, throughout the nineteenth century, struggled to break away from the Union. Assuming that Cook's picture of the Irish Raj, supported both by Catholics and Protestants is historically correct, how should we interpret the Irish presence in India which fully enjoyed the privilege of the coloniser? Was it the ideologies of the day which forced them to act as colonisers, and therefore is it also further evidence of the colonisation of Ireland? Even though the Irish asserted a superiority over Indians, are the Irish acquitted of every imperial sin, because Irishness is by definition the will to break away from England the oppressor? Moreover, assuming that the version of Irish history 'as a chronology of resistance and reaction to British dominion' was equally true, there seems to be a wilful obliviousness to that part of Ireland which commemorated the glory of the British Empire in far-away colonies: Irish people might not have liked English rule in Ireland but they could act like the English to other colonial Others. As Gandhi puts it:

> Some Irish leaders are convinced that the people of Ireland suffer because they live in a particular country, just as Indians suffer because of the colour of their skin. In other words, the Indian people suffer many hardships both in India and outside and are treated as inferior to Englishmen. The Irish people count for nothing in their own land and are oppressed by their English rulers. But no sooner do they go out of Ireland than they enjoy rights quite similar to those of Englishmen.[24]

To be more precise, Irish people counted for nothing in some other places outside Ireland, for example America where they often had to content themselves with the status of lowest-paid workers. The Irishmen enjoyed similar status to Englishmen only in the British colonies.

The Irish participation in imperial affairs illuminates the fact that large numbers of the Irish who are 'biologically' related to the present Irish people are not, one may say 'autobiographically', chosen as precursors of modern Ireland. Irish history has severed the kinship ties among the Irish people, choosing, for example, Theobald Wolfe Tone as an ancestor and rejecting his brother William Henry Tone who successfully served in the East Indian Company, even though Wolfe Tone himself was elated with his brother's success in India.[25]

Frank H. Hill, at the beginning of his essay 'The Irish Malady and its Physicians' (1889), diagnoses Ireland to be 'hypochondriacal – a *malade imaginaire*'. Ireland suffers more from her 'physicians' who give her wrong treatments: 'There are as many false Irelands as there are political parties and projects'.[26] This thesis does not claim to treat 'the real Ireland' which Hill believes to exist. Instead, I study some of the 'many false Irelands' which were prevalent in the nineteenth-century, namely, the Irelands *imaginaire* created in comparison with the other colonies, especially with India, one by the imperialist, another by the Irish nationalist. The two 'false Irelands' – imperialist and nationalist – correspond with the two Englands in *Kim* which I mentioned at the beginning of the introduction. I hope to show how analogies and associations between India and Ireland widened the gap which arises when Kim translates the Indian word.

In this thesis, I propose to see Kim as the personification of the imperial analogies between India and Ireland. In my view, Kipling did not intend Kim to be taken as a hybrid boy, but rather as a combination of diverse racial types and cultures: Kim, in whom 'every unknown Irish devil'[27] in his blood and 'the Asiatic side of the boy's character'[28] coexist unmixed, can disguise himself as any identity and is also 'English'.[29] Kim has the same function as the 'Wonder House' (the Lahore Museum) to which he takes the Lama, where one can see different cultures amassed in one place (thus, it is very symbolical that at the

opening of the book Kim is shown as part of the Museum, sitting astride the gun Zam Zammah[30]). In Chapter 4, I argue that the analogical discourses had the same effect as the Great Exhibition, in which all the colonies of the Empire, without being hindered by the geographical distance, were shown side by side on display, thereby strengthening the sense of the imperial unity. As Peter H. Hoffenberg argues, the grand exhibitions reinforced, rather than blurred, the national and cultural differences: it was a space where 'the official and unofficial ideas of "Englishness" and colonial identities converged, were actively created, interpreted, consumed, and mediated'.[31] If Kim looks like a hybrid, it may be due to the subversive effect of postcolonial reading.[32] And it was impossible to rule so many different countries at the same time while keeping the racial traits separate from each other.

The first three chapters of this thesis examine the political implications of Kipling's representation of the Irish using the Indian setting. Chapter 1 argues that Kipling's choice of India reflects the imperial policy of the day which solved domestic and social problems by sending them to the colonial space. Moreover, India was one of the few places where the Irish could be represented safely as loyal subjects, without acknowledging the fact that many Irish people were forced to emigrate due to England's 'misgovernment' of Ireland. Chapter 2 contrasts Kipling's early Indian stories written in India with the later stories, especially *Kim*, which were written after he left India. Unlike the former in which the colonisers are shown to struggle against the corrupting force of the native ground in order to retain their character as English, the latter is strikingly *ground*less: Kipling successfully turns India into an ideal imperial space where all the different elements of the Empire are seen together and freely traverse without being constricted by the subversive colonial ground. Chapter 3 concentrates on Kipling's representation of the voice of the Irish soldier, Terence Mulvaney. I argue that Mulvaney's voice serves as a powerful counter-representation to the Irish nationalist voices which were raised against the Empire, and yet also figures as a subversive voice, which needs constant controlling by the narrator. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 explore the war of discourses loaded with intra-imperial analogies in the late nineteenth century. Both the imperial discourses which constructed the British Empire as a uniform entity and the nationalist discourses which attempted to undermine the imperial resorted to such analogies. Applying Roman Jakobson's distinction between metonymy and metaphor, I characterise the imperialist discourse as 'metonymic', and the nationalist one as 'metaphoric': the former *combines* originally different elements into one imperial context according to the spatial or

substitution based on various degrees of *similarity*. Within this framework, I examine the contest between the two types of analogies during the Boer War. Chapter 5 deals with Indian nationalist identification with Ireland in the Swadeshi movement in the 1900s, during which we witness the rapid fall of the imperialist analogies. The final chapter deals with two national myths, the 'Lady with the Lamp' of England and 'the Great Hunger' of Ireland, and demonstrates how these two stories, formed during the same period, established themselves by excluding each other. The chapter questions the validity of the identification between India and Ireland which tended to be made by nationalists, by contrasting the Irish uncanny with the Indian sublime. Florence Nightingale, as a coloniser, confronted and silenced the former, and reached out for the latter as the stage of her sanitary reform. The Irish voice was regarded as a threat to the English supremacy, while the Indian voice was easily dismissed and was seen as needing to be represented.

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[1] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 151.
[2] Kipling, *Kim*, 137.
[3] Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, second edition (1903), ed. William Crooke, with a new foreword by Anthony Burgess (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 93-4. The word is spelled also as *Bilayut*, *Billait*, etc.
[4] Kipling, *Kim*, 151.
[5] That Kipling deliberately lets Kim choose 'England' as a translation is underlined by the fact that Kipling himself translates the same word as 'Europe' for the reader in the text: this translation appears only two chapters before, when the old Kulu woman replies to an English officer who has tried to mock her. 'Hai, my son, thou hast never learned all that since thou camest from *Belait* [Europe]' (*Kim*, 123).
[6] Kipling, *Kim*, 134.
[7] Kipling, *Kim*, 151.
[8] Donald M. MacRaild, *Irish Migrants in Modern Britain: 1750-1922* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 58-9.
[9] Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley, 'Introduction', *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension,* eds. Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 13.
[10] Swift and Gilley, 9. As to the large presence of the Irish community in Victorian Liverpool, see also John Belchem, 'Class, creed and country: the Irish middle class in Victorian Liverpool', in *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension,* eds. Swift and Gilley, 190-211.
[11] Kipling, *Kim*, 142.

[12] J. Mukherjee, 'The Relevance of the Irish Aspect in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', *The Literary Criterion* 22:4 (1987), 41-45.

[13] T. G. Fraser, 'Ireland and India', in *'An Irish Empire'?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Keith Jeffery (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 1996), 78. As for the various ways in which India and Ireland formed associations under the British rule, see Michael Holmes and Denise Holmes, eds. *Ireland and India. Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Dublin: Folens, 1997) and Narinder Kapur, *The Irish Raj: Illustrated Stories about Irish in India and Indians in Ireland* (Antrim: Greystone Press, 1997).

[14] Rukmini Bhaya Nair, 'The Pedigree of the White Stallion', in *The Use of Literary History,* ed. Marshall Brown (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1995), 162.

[15] Phillip E. Wegner, in his '"Life as He Would Have It": The Invention of India in Kipling's *Kim*', *Cultural Critique* 26 (Winter 1993-4), argues that Kim's Irishness reflects Ireland's unique double position as the coloniser and the colonised, and Kipling's intolerance towards the unloyal Irish: 'With this complication set into place, "India" seems to disappear from the narrative altogether, and *Kim* comes to be "about" the utopian reconstruction of increasingly *restive Irish* populace: a neutralization of the Sinn Fein movement that had been founded, only two years before the publication of *Kim*, to promote what Kipling saw as an intolerable and treasonous opposition to English rule' (155). I agree with Wegner in that *Kim* reflects Kipling's concern towards 'increasingly *restive Irish* populace' at the time when *Kim* was written, though it seems to me that Kipling's use of India as the setting is important for his representation of the Irish. Moreover, Sinn Fein was founded not 'two years before the publication of Kim', but four years after, in 1905.

[16] As for the influence of the Indo-Irish analogies on economic policy-making in the nineteenth century, see R. D. Collison Black, 'Economic Policy in Ireland and India in the Time of J. S. Mill', *Economic History Review* 21 (1968), 321-36.

[17] S. B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 12.

[18] Cook, 16.

[19] Cook, 17.

[20] Scott B. Cook, 'The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855-1914', *Journal of Social History* 20:3 (1987), 507.

[21] Cook (1987), 514.

[22] Peter Karsten, 'Irish Soldiers in the British Army, 1792-1922: Suborned or Subordinate?', *Journal of Social History* 17 (Fall 1983), 41-2. See also, Lawrence James, *Mutiny: in the British and Commonwealth Forces, 1797-1956* (London: Buchan & Enright, 1987), chapter 6, 'Red Coat and green Flag: Irish Mutinies, 1798 – 1920', 185-208, and Keith Jeffrey, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire' in *'An Irish Empire'?*, 94-122, in which both authors trace the tradition of the 'Irish Mutinies' in the British army.

[23] Karsten, 51-2.

[24] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol.7 (June-December 1907) (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1962), 213.

[25] In May 1798, Wolfe Tone received a letter from his brother William in India, telling that 'he was in health and spirits, being second in command of the infantry of the Peschwa, or chief of the Mahratta State, with appointments of 500 rupees a month, which is about 750*l.* sterling a year'. Wolfe writes in his journal, 'I cannot express the pleasure which this account of his success gave us all... Six years ago he went to India as a private soldier, unknown, unfriended and unprotected... he has forced his way to a station of rank and eminence, and I have no doubt that his views and talents are extended with his elevation' [Theobald Wolfe Tone, *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, ed. William Theobald Wolfe Tone, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), 2:300]. According to *DNB*, William Henry Tone joined the East India Company's service in 1892, and in 1896 'went to Poona and entered the Mahratta service. He wrote a pamphlet upon "Some Institutions of the Mahratta People", which has been praised by Grant Duff and other historians. He was killed in 1802 in an action near Choli Maheswur, while serving with Holkar' [*Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (London: Oxford UP, 1959-60), vol. 19, 951].

[26] Frank H. Hill, 'The Irish Malady, and its Physicians', *Nineteenth Century* 26 (December 1889), 1024.

[27] Kipling, *Kim*, 291.

[28] Kipling, *Kim,* 161.

[29] Kipling, *Kim,* 49.

[30] Kipling, *Kim,* 49.

[31] Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 27.

[32] For example, Don Randall, in his 'Ethnography and the Hybrid Boy in Rudyard Kipling's "Kim"', *ARIEL* 273 (July 1996), defines Kim as a hybrid boy, and shows 'how the organizing figure of the hybrid boy both enables and problematizes the project of imperial ethnography' (80). In this essay, he focuses on the role of the 'Wonder House' as the embodiment of 'knowledge of power, ethnology, and imperial practice'(80). I agree with him that Kim immediately becomes an object of interest of 'ethnographers' in the story, including the narrator, and that Kim, with no definite identity, plays a role of mediating 'cross-cultural colonial relations'(87). However, it seems to me important that Kim's 'Asiatic side' and 'Irish side' are always talked about separately, but never as a hybrid. Crossing various cultures should be achieved without destroying the ethnographical framework to catalogue each culture according to its characteristics. The more obviously hybrid figure in *Kim* is Hurree Babu, who is himself an ethnographer and subverts the framework of the observer and the observed in the imperial ethnography. As the Russian spy comments, Hurree 'represents in little India in transition – the monstrous hybridism of East and West' [Kim, 288].

Chapter 1: The Taming of the Irish Afreets

> The Victorian age is like one of those Magicians of eastern story who caught and bound to the accomplishment of their will some of the great Genii, Afreets, Jins, whatever the name Oriental fancy may have given them, whose force infinitely transcended every human force, yet who were at the mercy of the wise man who knew how to secure and train them.[1]

In 1897, the year of the Diamond Jubilee, the whole Great Empire was in the mood to look back over the past sixty years, making sense out of what had happened. It was the last Jubilee of the century, and probably would also be the last one for the ageing Queen, which soon turned out to be so. For Margaret Oliphant, all the rapid improvements accomplished during the period felt like magic, the amazing handiwork of some Oriental 'Servant of the Queen'. 'The great Slave has been born in our household, like Abraham's steward: his feats are too familiar to cause us any surprise'.[2] Great Britain had a variety of such great Genii: the marked innovation in communications; transportation and medicine; and many inventions such as gas, the telegraph and the steam engine. All of these not only substantially raised the standard of life but also enabled Britain to have a better understanding of and a firmer grip on her colonies, 'the loving Servants of the Queen'[3] themselves, which constituted the substructure of all these improvements.

Among the countless adventures and feats of British Empire the Magician, the narrative of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 – the story of how she had successfully subdued and trained India, the greatest Afreet throughout the era – seems to have been one of the proudest memories in Victorian reminiscence. Oliphant looks back on the event in the essay – the year 1897 was also the 40th anniversary of the Mutiny – as 'the most exciting period of her history':

> It was then that we discovered in Great Britain how close to our pride, our interest, and our heart was the sway of India. No war perhaps ever moved a people so completely, who were themselves out of reach of its atrocities. There was no sacrifice that could have been made, which would have been regarded at home, and by the people, as too much to preserve and recover the great continent which had rebelled against our sway, and to punish those who had insulted the sovereignty of England...[4]

After the so-called Mutiny, the East India Company was abolished, and, accordingly, India was placed under the direct rule of the British government. 'The rebel', writes Oliphant, '...accepted it as success, and was rather elated than humbled by the fact the foot which now held him down was a royal foot'.[5] Through the Indian Mutiny, which Indians may call 'the

first War of Independence' – Britain successfully made India a safer and more obedient Servant. At least, this is the story which Oliphant seems to tell by using Oriental spirits as a metaphor.

The Indian Mutiny was, in the Victorian imagination, almost a ritual event through which the most hostile and dangerous side of India came to the surface only to be eradicated and, as a result, the foundation of the Empire was made even more solid. It was the event in which the superiority of the British over the Indian seemed to be most dramatically proven: the courage, strategy and leadership of the British heroes miraculously won over the unruly Indian who were often more than five times superior in numbers to them.[6] The Mutiny also strengthened negative racial stereotypes about the natives and allowed the Victorian to represent them as most cruel, bloodthirsty, morally degraded and cowardly savages.[7] Hilda Gregg, in her 1897 essay 'The Indian Mutiny in Fiction', says that the event seems to 'provide every element of romance that could be desired in a story'.

> Valour and heroism, cruelty and treachery, sharp agony and long endurance, satiated vengence [sic] and bloodthirsty hatred, were all present, while the men of that day, from John Lawrence draining the Punjab of its last soldier and last rupee, and maintaining his rule unimpaired by the mere force of his own personality and that of his subordinates, to the humblest Eurasian clerk casting aside the pen to seize the rifle, had something titanic in them, something that recalled older and stronger ages than our own. [8]

Flora Annie Steel, in her autobiography, also attributes the success of her fiction on the Mutiny, *On the Face of the Water* (1896) to the subject of her work: she declares the event to be 'the Epic of the Race', which rouses 'every Britisher's pride and enthusiasm'.[9] Indeed, stories of the Mutiny were in great demand during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Steel recollects her novel 'sold like hotcakes'[10] when it was published. As Benedict Anderson puts it, before the 1857 Mutiny, India was ruled by a commercial enterprise, but not by a nation-state.[11] The Indian Mutiny, however, once suppressed, was quickly made into the core element in narratives of the entire imperial history: it was at once the beginning, the turning-point and the most heroic moment of an imagined reality called 'the British Empire'. As such, the Indian Mutiny was narrated and re-narrated, and avidly consumed throughout the latter half of the century.

Reviewing several fictions that have been written on the Mutiny, however, Gregg thinks that '*the* novel of the Mutiny is still to be written'.[12] In other words, the Mutiny, for all its epic elements and despite the fact that there have already been a flood of publications as

well as several literary fictions on the Mutiny, has not been fully and properly represented nor made into the 'Epic of the Race': 'We would not imply that it should be of so satisfying a character that no one who reads it will ever wish to read a book on the subject again; but that it should stand to the epoch of which it treats as "Westward Ho!" does to the age of Elizabeth, ever stimulating, ever refreshing'.[13] At the end of the article, she nominates Rudyard Kipling for the job:

> When Mr Rudyard Kipling's *magnum opus* appears, may it deal with the Mutiny, and may we be there to read it! He knows his India, he knows his British army, and – perhaps a greater achievement than either – he knows Anglo-Indian in his habit as he lives. Nor is this all, for no sort or condition of men is alien to him, and he can see the good points in good people – a much more difficult matter than seeing those of bad people. He can appreciate John Lawrence as well as John Nicholson, and sympathise – as who that remembers the description of the Highlanders calling upon their God in the watches of the night will deny – with Havelock and his Saints as well as Hodson of Hodson's Horse.[14]

It is interesting to note that Gregg here does not include any Indian figures in her list of good or bad people – she only reminds us of the famous Anglo-Indians who vanquished the Mutiny. *The* novel of the Mutiny is, for her, nothing less than the accounts of the glorious deeds of the British heroes. This is what she expects from Kipling the writer, and she does not even think of the possibility of representing the event from the Indian point of view.

Gregg's impatience for *the* novel on the Mutiny seems to me to reflect the sense of uncertainty which people felt towards the future of the Empire at the turn of the century. Even Oliphant's essay, which presents us with quite an optimistic view about the Queen and her Servants, is not completely free from this anxiety. Shortly after her generous praise for the successful suppression of the Indian Mutiny, she, in passing, casts her doubt on the effectiveness of the magic binding India to the Empire: 'That great assembly of nations is a wonder and mystery to all. What goes on over its vast surface, amid all its courts and seats of antique learning, in its temples and mosques, in the villages we do not know, and the bazaars which we do not understand, who shall say?'[15] *The* novel of the Mutiny was awaited, which would give the reader the sense of what was going on 'over its vast surface'; the novel which would, just like *Kim*, make sense out of all those uncanny temples, mosques, villages and bazaars whose overall picture nobody seemed to have yet grasped, and allow the reader to feel that the British rule in India was as secure as ever: the kind of novel which would radically solve all the problems, just like the suppression of the Indian Mutiny seemed to have done forty years before, and would put a stop to the incessant urge to narrate the event

and end the Sisyphusian task of confirming and reconfirming the supposedly fixed and already known stereotypes of the noble and courageous British heroes and the savage Indians knocked down like ninepins. In a word, such a novel was awaited that would restore the magic of the era and newly tame the Oriental spirits into servants of the Queen which seemed to be breaking away from the spell which had once bound them.

Regardless of the expectation from the public, Kipling did not write his 'magnum opus' on the Mutiny itself. In a letter to Robert Underwood Johnson, who urges Kipling to try a novel on the Mutiny, he writes that the novel of the Mutiny is 'an exceeding big job and one altogether beyond [his] scope': ''57 is the year we don't talk about and I know *I* can't... I'd try in a minute if I felt a call that way but I'm rather convinced I have not'.[16] Instead, four years after Gregg's article, *Kim* appeared, which is more about post-Mutiny India. I argue, however, that *Kim*, as well as his other Indian stories, was meant as the novel of the Mutiny which is supposed to magically secure and train the Oriental geniis with his power of representation. This may explain why *Kim* has a fairy-tale quality, rather than assuming the appearance of a realistic account of the Raj.

Many critics have severely attacked Kipling's representation and justification of British rule in India. As Bart Moore-Gilbert summarises,

> A much older tradition of Kipling criticism insists that one of his major weaknesses lies in a failure to register real criticism of, or opposition to, colonial rule. This charge is often tied up with another, which is that Kipling's narratives are transparent and monologic in large measure because they are unable to register a challenge to their own, and colonial, authority.[17]

According to these critics, Kipling's inability to register real conflicts became even worse as time passed by, and by the time *Kim* was written, we get, as Said argues, the picture of India with no conflict whatsoever.[18] On the other hand, Moore-Gilbert, against this tradition and in the wake of Bhabha, attempts to spot the moments of resistance and hybridity in Kipling's work. According to him, Kipling's work reflects the political changes and conflicts in India from the 1880s onwards. Thus he argues, for instance, that the 'reference to the mobilisation of 8000 British troops' in *Kim*, which shows that the setting of the novel is the Second Afghan War, serves as a good example to rebut 'those who see Kipling creating a conflict-free India in the text'.[19]

These criticisms of Kipling's work on India take it for granted that his work *is* the representation of India. It seems to me, however, that Kipling's Indian stories should not be read as a representation or justification of the colonial reality in India, but must be seen in a

wider context than the setting in which they are placed. It is true that Kipling was born in India and later worked in India from 1882 to 1889, but we should nevertheless not forget the fact that many of Kipling's well-known Indian stories were written after he left India. For example, Moore-Gilbert's approach does not acknowledge the politics of geographical and temporal relocation in Kipling's work, by juxtaposing and even equating his earlier stories with *Kim*. His early Indian stories written in India, such as 'On the City Wall', might be, as Moore-Gilbert argues, categorised as Anglo-Indian, written in India on India, thus based on the experience of the direct contact with the place and therefore far more sympathetic towards local culture than what he calls the 'metropolitan' stereotypical view of the Orient.[20] However, it may be worth assuming that Kipling's Indian work was deeply influenced by imperial contexts other than Indian, and that this was even more so after he physically relocated himself from India. In fact, 'relocation' abounds in Kipling's later Indian work. To take *Kim* as an example, it was mostly written in England and South Africa during 1898-1900, a decade after he left India, and the setting of the novel itself is not at the turn of the century, but in the 1880s, almost two decades before the novel was written: the novel was both spatially and temporally relocated from the India with which he had had direct contact.

Homi Bhabha demonstrates in his essay 'By Bread Alone' that the act of narrating and historicising the Indian Mutiny has served for the British to contain and 'objectify' the fear caused by the indeterminacy of the situation by projecting it on 'native custom and ethnic particularity', that is, to represent and fix their own panic as native panic.[21] According to Bhabha, any attempt to narrate the Mutiny has to deal with this original moment of uncertainty where a 'contingent, borderline experience opens up *in-between* colonizer and colonized'[22]; the moment in which 'the binary opposition of racial and cultural groups, sipahis and sahibs, as homogeneous polarized political consciousnesses' breaks down and 'cultural differences "contingently" and conflictually touch', 'producing another hybrid site or sign'.[23] Bhabha detects the disavowal of this hybrid moment not only in John Kaye's account in 1864 but also in Malleson's rewriting of Kaye's in 1889. He even suggests that it is resonant in the Indian historian Sen's account of the 'Revolt of 1857' written in 1957. Bhabha is right in saying that the act of 'rememoration' of the Indian Mutiny opens up 'the *unheimlich* space for the negotiation of identity and history', haunted by 'what has been excluded, excised, evicted'.[24] However, he fails to point out that to look back on the Mutiny after a time-lag will involve much more than the conscious or unconscious confrontation with

the borderline experience. The act of remembering inevitably reflects the present state of the mind of the one who remembers. Therefore the borderline experience itself, if indeed there is such a thing, will be retrospectively reconstructed and thus altered with time, and what is excluded, excised and evicted from the representation will accordingly change.

In this chapter, I propose to view the representations of the Indian Mutiny at the end of the nineteenth century not as the *in-between* space still haunted by what was experienced when the Mutiny broke out, but rather as the mirror onto which contemporary Britons could project whatever fear they felt about the condition of the Empire: a convenient mirror which transforms the fearful 'reality' into what one wishes to see. I argue that Kipling, as the writer of *the* novel of the Mutiny, offered India as this kind of mirror to the British audience when it was most needed. India in *Kim* is, for example, rather an imaginary location constructed from Kipling's point of view in 1901, away from a 'real' India, as a place where not only the contemporary problems within India but also those within the Empire were exposed or relocated to be solved. And what is more interesting about Kipling is that his India as a mirror is always haunted by the other contemporary representations which he had to exclude from its surface.

As Said notes, a 'remarkable, complex novel like *Kim*' is 'filled with emphases, inflections, deliberate inclusions and exclusions as any great work of art is'.[25] Although Said limits Kipling's deliberate manipulation of the representations of the contemporary political problems only to those concerning the relationship between England and India, I argue that the Irish Question is also a problem of the Empire which Kipling had to deal with while writing *Kim*. In fact, it is very significant that Kipling places his Irish characters not in Ireland, to which they originally belong, but mostly in India; for instance, the eponymous hero of *Kim* is, as is well known, Irish. At one level, this can been seen as the realistic representation of India, for many Irish people indeed sailed there in order to participate in the Raj. However, if we recollect that large numbers of Irish people left their country in the latter half of the nineteenth century because of the extreme poverty which many saw as largely due to the misgovernment of England, the Irish relocation outside of their own birthplace is itself a very political issue. I demonstrate in the following section that Kipling's use of the Irish characters in his Indian stories reflects his own anxiety towards the Irish question and the future of the Empire. His work can be seen as an attempt to relocate the whole 'Irish Question', which was becoming severer at Home, to India, where all the troubles in Ireland

seemed to become less problematic and even invisible, for the Irish easily turned into white Sahibs. Kipling's Indian stories are, in a sense, *the* Novel of the Mutiny, the complex 'reality' of the Empire made into a palatable eastern story of the Magician and his Geniis, and the Irish question is one of the untamable Afreets which his work tried to capture using the Indian setting.

1

P. J. Keating, in his *The Working Class in Victorian Fiction*, points out that Kipling's Indian poems and stories opened the way to represent the lowest stratum of the British working classes in the nineties: many unemployed working-class people became soldiers simply because they had no other choice. As Kipling's biographer Charles Carrington puts it, '[s]ocially, the private soldiers were in fact drawn from the unemployed or unemployable, so that "going for a soldier" was, in the respectable working-class, regarded as the last degradation, analogous with "going to the bad"'.[26] Kipling had plenty of opportunity to observe these soldiers in India instead of in the East End of London to which they originally belonged, which, Keating argues, made it possible for him to create a more realistic, humane and vivid stereotype of the working class.[27]

By identifying the soldier in India as a former working-class outcast in East London, Keating has presented us with a direct link between Great Britain and India as well as a link between the issue of class and imperialism. However, Keating is mainly preoccupied with finding out how Kipling's literary representation reflects the reality of the working-class in the late nineteenth-century, and does not really question the ideological side of the representation: why does the working-class have to be represented in India as soldiers? What is more, he defines Kipling's soldiers only in terms of class, and dismisses all other aspects: for example, Mulvaney is for Keating nothing but a working-class character from one part of Britain, namely, Ireland; just as Learoyd is from Yorkshire and Ortheris from London: 'Although they come from different parts of Britain and speak different dialects, they share working-class attitudes, amusements and emotions... Their memories of civilian life serve rather to reinforce than alleviate their outcast state, for in the social structure of Anglo-India

they occupy very much the same position as they did at home in England'.[28] Nevertheless, Keating does notice some differences between Mulvaney and the other two: whereas Ortheris and Learoyd are 'more conscious of the ineradicable ties they have with their pre-army lives', Mulvaney, 'the central and more fully rounded character' is

> someone who belongs so completely to barrack life that it is impossible to believe he has ever experienced any other kind of existence. He attains, as Andrew Lang was first to point out, 'mythical' status. His social background is never exactly pinpointed; it is a cornucopia of memories and adventures from which he can draw fabulous tales as and when the occasion demands.[29]

We may here try to elucidate Mulvaney's pre-war background mystified by the author. According to *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, it is presumed that Terence Mulvaney was born in Portarlington, Queen's County, Ireland, sometime between 1844 and 1850, and enlisted as a soldier between 1863 and 1868.[30] That is to say, he was born right in the midst of the Great Famine, and was brought up when Ireland was in the worst condition. If Mulvaney had to be a soldier, it is not because he was literally born in the slums, but rather because at that time for much of the population Ireland was no better than the slums, when, besides encouraging emigration, to send its young men off as soldiers to the front line was the surest way of relieving the distress of Ireland. We may say that Kipling's mystification of Mulvaney's pre-army life operates to cover up the hard reality of Ireland as well as indicating the difficulty of his representing it as it was.

Kipling, instead of giving the slightest hint about the condition of Ireland from which his Irish characters had to escape, describes how they adjust themselves pretty well in India. In 'The Daughter of the Regiment' (1887), the McKennas, a prolific Irish couple, tired of thinking of new names for their coming children, decide, instead of numbering them off as the husband proposes, to 'christen them afther the names av the stations they was borrun in': 'So there was Colaba McKenna, an' Muttra McKenna, an' a whole Prisidincy av other McKennas, an' little Jhansi'.[31] This peculiar combination of the Indian place names and the typically Irish surname not only allows us to follow the itinerary of the Irish regiment and how the Irish spread and took root in the Indian soil, but also embodies how they truly transformed themselves into British subjects through incorporating India into themselves and literally becoming a part of it.[32] Mulvaney acts as a matchmaker between Jhansi McKenna and an Irishman in the regiment; thus Irish fertility is safely relocated to India, where epidemics and the hot weather will take care of any excess of the population; in fact, none of

the children except Jhansi survive the harsh living conditions in India.

While the Irish characters marry and make India their home in Kipling's fiction, India can by no means be called 'home' for the English Ortheris and Learoyd. Mulvaney is the only one of the 'Soldiers Three' who marries; the other two stay single during their service in India. If the notion of 'home' in the Victorian period required the presence of a woman as the angel in the house beside its sacred hearth, there is no 'home' for Ortheris and Learoyd in India, for both of them left a woman whom they wanted as a wife in England: domestic home and England as Home are inseparably intertwined.[33] 'If I'ad a stayed at 'Ome, I might a married that gal and a kep' a little shorp in the 'Ammersmith 'Igh',[34] laments Ortheris, when he is suffering from the homesickness which seems to assault him from time to time. For him, 'home' is London, where he might have married and settled down. Learoyd, in 'On Greenhow Hill' (1890), also talks of his first-love 'Liza Roantree, a girl whom he fell in love with in England. The story tells us how Learoyd found, through 'Liza, a true home space, and then lost it forever. Learoyd, who came to Greenhow Hill 'because of a little difference at home',[35] found himself lying in bed in 'Liza's house with his arm broken; he had been carried into her house after falling off a wall and becoming unconscious. 'Liza nurses Learoyd back to health, which gives us another example of what Miriam Bailin calls the sickroom scene in Victorian fiction, in which the characters, through the act of being nursed and nursing, leave the 'social roles and norms by which they previously defined themselves'[36] and accept new ones in order to create a better family and community. Learoyd, who had been a lawless young lad, becomes a member of the Primitive Methodist church, under 'Liza's influence. 'Liza figures as an ideal angel in the house, a dutiful daughter with all the domestic skills such as sewing and making tea. Since she is rarely away from home except for going to the chapel, Learoyd's longing for her is almost equated with his visiting her house or seeing it from a distance, the only place where he found himself at home. His love for her was so strong that he was even tempted to murder a man who was his competitor in love. However, he was soon to lose his newly found home, for it turned out that she was in a decline and would soon die, which made him decide to be a soldier. He said good-bye to a dying 'Liza at her home, and joined the army. That is to say, his loss of the girl and the domestic hearth coincides with his self-banishment from England as Home.

Moreover, as many critics have already suggested, any love affair between an Englishman and a native girl never fails to end in tragedy in Kipling's world (Lispeth is

jilted, both of Bisesa's hands are cut off, and 'George Porgie' deserts his Burmese wife to marry an English woman[37]). It seems to me that it is not only due to Kipling's fear of, as is often argued, the possible racial mixture, but also because he has to guard the idea of English 'home' itself against contamination. For example, in 'Without Benefit of Clergy' (1890), John Holden, an English official, provides a tiny home for his native wife Ameera. Holden sincerely loves her, but the harsh climate in India and a cholera epidemic take his son, and then his wife away from him. The landlord, who first plans to let the house to somebody else, changes his mind after hearing Holden's wish to keep the home as his, and declares that he will have it pulled down to the point that 'no man may say where this house stood'.[38] Englishmen are not allowed to have a 'home' outside and other than England.

The contrast between the adaptability to India which the Irish characters show and the incapability of the English characters to make a home in India may become clearer if we note that it is mostly the English characters who experience difficulty with life in India. As we have already seen, of the Soldiers Three, it is not the Irish Mulvaney but the other two who suffer from homesickness (Ortheris) and homelessness (Learoyd). Also in 'Thrown Away' (1888), a young English officer commits suicide, for he takes all things too seriously in India, 'a place beyond all others where one must not take things too seriously'.[39] Just before he kills himself, he spends 'half the night' in writing to 'his people, to his Colonel, and to a girl at Home',[40] looking at their photographs. This distinction in representation between the English characters and the Irish ones seems to correspond neatly with the contrast which Abdul R. JanMohamed makes between the exile and the immigrant in his essay on Edward Said. According to JanMohamed, although both of them 'cross the border between one social or national group and another', the immigrant can show a far more positive attitude towards the host culture, because the immigrant, unlike the exile, does not suffer from the nostalgia caused by 'the absence of home', that is, 'an involuntary or enforced rupture between the collective subject of the original culture and the individual subject', which 'often makes the individual indifferent to the values and characteristics of the host culture'.[41] The Boy in 'Thrown Away' dies from this rupture. If letter-writing stands for the long distance which separates him from Home, the photograph, showing both the absence and the partial presence of the object, indicates that his home is absent, but nevertheless he has brought part of his home, his life at home with him, which makes his separation from Home even more painful. The immigrant, on the other hand,

> is not troubled by structural nostalgia because his or her status implies a purposive directness toward the host culture, which has been deliberately chosen as the new home. Most importantly, his or her status implies a voluntary desire to become a full-fledged subject of the new society... indeed, his or her success as an immigrant depends on what Said calls 'uncritical gregariousness', that is, on an ability to identify rapidly and to merge with the structure of the new culture's collective subjectivity.[42]

Thus we may say that, following JanMohamed's distinction between the immigrant and the exile, Kipling's Irish characters are represented not as exiles but as immigrants, who do not miss Ireland and are willing to accept the new life in India. Just as the McKennas in 'The Daughter of the Regiment' 'uncritically' merge their Irish surname with the Indian place name, the Irish in Kipling's world have no problem with accepting the place and its culture as part of themselves. Their children are born not as Irish but rather as Anglo-Indian, as a new identity with India already incorporated as part of them. Indeed, JanMohamed's dichotomy between the exile and the immigrant corresponds all too well with the differences in Kipling's treatment between the English characters and the Irish ones. In other words, he denies any aspect of the 'exile' to his Irish characters, and only presents them as the immigrants who uncritically accept the condition of the place to which they have moved.

Whereas Kipling locks his Irish characters in India as immigrants, his English characters, if they are 'English' enough, eventually escape from India and go back to England. Even Strickland, the English police officer versed in the native culture and languages and the art of disguise, who figures as the guardian of the Raj in some of Kipling's stories and *Kim*, returns to England after his retirement, and becomes a church-goer on behalf of his wife.[43] 'Englishness' even split the strong tie of the Soldiers Three. Both Ortheris and Learoyd go back to England after time-expired; Ortheris's longstanding dream to open a '"little stuff" birdshop' in London will come true and Learoyd will be 'back again in the smoky, stone-ribbed North, amid the clang of the Bradford looms',[44] while Mulvaney chooses to live in India as a civilian. Mulvaney does go home as well 'in the *Serapis*, time-expired', but he soon comes back to India with his wife Dinah, in order to work for a new Central India line:

> It was all Dinah Shadd's fault. She could not stand the poky little lodgings, and she missed her servant Abdullah more than words could tell. The fact was that the Mulvaneys had been out here too long, and had lost touch with England.[45]

It is interesting here that Mulvaney has lost touch with 'England', not 'Ireland'. Mulvaney might have geographically gone back to Ireland, but ideologically he has gone back to

England to which Ireland belongs within the imperial context. Among many aspects of England with which the Mulvaneys have lost touch, there are the poor conditions of life which the Irish had to live with as colonised, which draw a striking contrast with the privileges that any 'British' coloniser could enjoy in India. The British colonies were an exceptional space in which the differences in class and ethnicity inside 'England' easily disappeared and everybody could equally assume an English identity, regardless of their status at home. As Francis G. Hutchins puts it, 'Englishmen in India, high and low, *were* of a class, sharing a common lot and forced to bury the differences which would have separated them in England';[46] this was at least the British portrayal of the Raj which made India appear even more free from any social problems at home.[47] Even the Irish Mulvaneys, who have to live in one of 'the poky little lodgings' in Ireland, can be treated like Sahibs by native servants in India (It is interesting that Dinah Shadd, in the quotation above, objects to going back to England more than Mulvaney. As an Irishwoman, she would be placed not only under the English but under the Irishmen in the social hierarchy. In India, on the contrary, she secures the position to command, as a memsahib, her Indian servant Abdullah[48]). Kipling, instead of putting Mulvaney back into the miserable life in Ireland, chooses to let him live comfortably in India. A curse was cast on him in 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd' that he should die 'in a strange land'.[49] He is destined to be away from home, never to go back to Ireland. The narrator in 'Private Learoyd's Story', describes Mulvaney as 'grizzled, tender, and very wise Ulysses, sweltering on the earthworks of a Central India line'.[50] Indeed, Mulvaney can be said to be 'Ulysses', for he wanders away from his home, but in which way 'wise'? Wise enough to bring his Penelope with him, so that he does not have to suffer the longing for home? Or wise in the sense that he stays away from Ireland and lives in India knowing that it is the only way to make being at once Irish and British possible?

For whatever reason, Kipling chooses not to represent his favourite Irish character Mulvaney in Ireland, except in his reminiscence, as if his return to a troubled Ireland under British rule might disrupt the integrity of England as Home and Mulvaney's identity as the loyal 'English' soldier. In fact, Kipling's sympathetic treatment of Mulvaney the Irishman as a 'Tommy Atkins' is in sharp contrast to the 'ape-like' representation of the Irish formed under the influence of Darwinism during the nineteenth-century. According to L. P. Curtis, the assumption that Anglo-Saxons and the Irish Celts were completely different as a race or breed, along with the increasing fear of Fenianism, accelerated the Irishman's degeneration in

his image from 'the peasant Paddy' to 'the white negro' and the simian such as the orangutan and the gorilla.[51] The Irish as well as the working-class, abhorred and distorted into hideous stereotypes at home, had to be placed far away from home before they could be more 'humanely' treated. Cecil Rhodes's view on the relationship between imperialism and socialism at home, well known since it is cited by Lenin, may be worth citing again here:

> I was in the East End of London (working-class quarter) yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread! bread!' and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism... My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines...[52]

Kipling's soldiers in India were those safely removed from the East End of London where they were clamouring for bread. If Kipling's representations of the working classes are more or less 'objective' and 'humane', it is not because Kipling was, as Keating argues, 'the first important Victorian writer who was not scared of the working classes'.[53] It is, I argue, rather because his stories are themselves the literary practice of the imperial policy expressed by Rhodes as well as the faithful description of the outcome: imperialism was to relocate home problems to make them safer.

It is worth noting that Kipling chooses to relocate the Irish question only in India and not any other place. I argue that it was one of the few places where the Irish could be represented safely. After the Great Famine in the 1840s, many Irish people were sent away as emigrants, to places such as America, Canada and Australia where they turned, in the eyes of the English, into ferocious Fenians. As one contributor to *The Nineteenth Century*, commenting on the result of 'deporting troublesome Irish subjects to America', remarks, 'it might have been safer to have such men, if they conspired at all, conspiring within reach of British law rather than beyond it'.[54] It may explain why Kipling strongly objects to a suggestion that William McMann, a former Irish soldier in India but now a resident of San Francisco, is a model of Terence Mulvaney: 'There is but one Terence, and he never set foot in America and never will'.[55] Mulvaney, in order to remain a loyal 'Irish' soldier, should stay clear from any association with his fellow-Irishmen in America. India was, along with other major colonies such as Canada and Australia, a territory in which the law of Great Britain could punish conspiracies. What is more, India had one advantage which Canada and Australia did not have: it was under direct military control. In fact, many Irish people went to

India to be soldiers – the percentage of the Irish in the Indian army was always high[56] – which is to say that they came all the way to India to place themselves under direct military discipline as well as to be the very force to check any mutinous attempt against the Empire. Only in India, the Irish degeneration into and reappearance as Fenians will be checked.

The Irish who escaped British control became an even more formidable enemy, for they gathered strength from the foreign capitals and sought aid from the anti-imperial forces outside. Indeed, in Kipling's work, the subversive power which attempts to overthrow the British Empire is often represented as an international conspiracy against the Empire, in which the Irish are either working at the very centre of the conspiracy or are ready to lend a hand. Kipling's suspicion of foreign conspiracies was confirmed when Dhulip Singh (1837-93), Maharaja of the Sikh, who was forced into exile in England due to the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, proclaimed the overthrow of the British in India with Russian support in 1889. Kipling composed a poem on this issue, which is titled 'The Irish Conspiracy': it is significant that he calls the conspiracy by an Indian Prince with the Russian support *Irish*, not Indian or Russian. That is to say, the most shocking part of the conspiracy was that Dhulip Singh took it for granted that he could also procure support from the Irish regiments in India. The poem was written in response to an article in *The Pioneer* (February 15th, 1889), which reports the news that another Indian Mutiny is planned by Dhulip Singh:

> The Maharaja Dhulip Singh has issued a manifesto addressed to the Princes and People of India. In it he declares that there are supporters in Europe and America, who are ready to form an army for the overthrow of British rule in India, but a fund of four million pounds is necessary for the purchase of munitions in order to carry out that object. Besides the Punjabis the Irish soldiers serving in British regiments in India would assist in the movement. [57]

In the poem, Mulvaney is asked to have a look at the article by the narrator who is indignant at the rumour of the Irish conspiracy. Mulvaney, after reading the article, at first eloquently elaborates the possibility of the success of the Mutiny with the help of 'six Oirish Regiments', and then in the very last stanza, sternly denies the rumour that the Irish regiment would assist any such attempt. This last stanza is separated from the rest by three asterisks, as if to protect Mulvaney's loyal last word from his prior open approval of another Indian Mutiny, given, though, as a jest.[58]

Another Irish conspiracy is planned in 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks' (1891), a story in which a Fenian organisation in the United States sends an Irish-American boy to the Mavericks, an Irish regiment in India, with a view to inciting a mutiny. The despicable

degeneration of the Irish outside the Empire and their cooperation with the other foreign forces is symbolically shown by the hybridness of Mulcahy, an 'Irish American-Jew' boy sent to the Mavericks, who sucked 'that blind rancorous hatred of England that reaches its full growth across the Atlantic… from his mother's breast in the little cabin at the back of the northern avenues of New York' and 'had been taught his rights and wrongs, in German and Irish'.[59] The Fenian organisation chooses the Mavericks as the target of incitement, for it considers them to be 'masterless and unbranded cattle – sons of small farmers in County Clare, shoeless vagabonds of Kerry, herders of Ballyvegan, much wanted "moonlighters" from the bare rainy headlands of the south coast, officered by O'Mores, Bradys, Hills, Kilreas, and the like'[60]:

> The English people, when they trouble to think about the army at all, are, and with justice, absolutely assured that it is absolutely trustworthy. Imagine for a moment their emotions on realizing that such and such a regiment was in open revolt from causes directly due to England's management of Ireland. [61]

Mulcahy tries to talk the Irish soldiers into a mutiny by generously buying them drinks and circulating his copies of the Irish papers.[62] The Mavericks, however, prove to be totally immune to such persuasion. The soldiers congenially listen to Mulcahy in order to let him pay for more drinks (in this way, they absorb the Irish-American capital invested for the purpose of overthrowing the empire), though they deeply detest his plea to 'join with the niggers, and look for help from Dhulip Singh and the Russians'.[63] Whereas from the Fenian point of view, Irish men owe a duty to Erin to mutiny against England, Kipling's Irish soldiers seem to embody the purity of the loyal Irish preserved in India. At the end of the story, it turns out that even the Irishness corrupted by Irish nationalism and its foreign associations can be purified through service in India, for ironically Mulcahy dies in the front line as a hero who 'would have been recommended for the Victoria Cross had he survived'.[64]

Both in 'The Irish Conspiracy' and 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', the Irish are represented as capable of scheming against the Empire in collaboration with the Russians and Indians. And in both stories, the loyal Irish soldiers, fully understanding the Fenian point of view, nevertheless disapprove of the 'Irish' conspiracy against the British Empire. I argue that *Kim,* in which the Great Game is played against the Russian invasion of India, should be understood in the same context. The spies appearing in the novel are Russian and French, showing that the Russian invasion is assisted by some international collaboration to weaken the imperial rule, which will be, at least in Kipling's imagination, supported by the Fenian

Irish. Kim's Irishness functions similar to that of Mulvaney's and the Mavericks' (which was his father's regiment), representing the loyal Irish in India who candidly fight off the foreign scheme against the Empire. Far from being accidental, it is meant as a strong antidote to the whole Irish conspiracy.

2

It is J. Mukherjee who points out the 'relevance' of Kim's Irishness: according to him, Kim's 'capacity to absorb, understand and appreciate the occult' in India can be attributed to his 'Druidic, Celtic heritage'.[65] I agree with Mukherjee in that the Irish characters are depicted as having a certain affinity with the most mysterious side of India in Kipling's work. However, it seems to me that it is not the 'relevance' but rather the 'politics' that should be questioned first. The Irish and the Indian, the two most supernatural elements found in the British Empire, quite far away from each other, are, in Kipling's work, summoned and deliberately overlapped and almost identified in order to naturalise the Irish presence in India, which became only possible as a result of British rule in both countries.

According to Murray G. H. Pittock in his book *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, 'characterizations of the Celt from *outside* have been primarily ethno-cultural, while internal self-definition has dominantly emphasized the civic and territorial, even while appearing to stress the ethnic'.[66] Therefore, the British Empire tended to characterise Ireland in ethno-cultural terms, refusing to let Ireland have any political entity which would threaten British political space and identity.[67] In this sense, all other colonies of the Empire were bound to be characterised as ethno-cultural, so that the Empire without any problem could export and extend its civic and territorial entity to the colonies. Besides, with the Indian setting, Kipling could more easily catalogue the Irish as another oriental race, knowable and therefore governable, at the same time emphasising the ethno-cultural side. The association thus made between the two colonies serves to represent the strength of the imperial bond, best illustrated in the friendship of Kim and the Lama.

As far as the 'Druidic, Celtic heritage' of the Irish characters is concerned, Kipling seems to make full use of the supernatural legacy of both India and Ireland in order to forge a

natural connection between the two colonies. The violation of the imperial hierarchies by the supernatural, which Peter Morey observes to be characteristic of Kipling's supernatural Indian stories, does not apply to the ones in which his Irish characters figure.[68] Many of the English characters are defeated by supernatural and inexplicable incidents, which the Irish characters seem to cope better with. The supernatural is not necessarily represented as in opposition to reality, nor does it disturb the every day life of the Irish characters. It is depicted more or less as natural, as if part of the Irish reality. For example, in 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd' (1891), both Mulvaney and Dinah readily accept 'the Black Curse of Shielygh', of 'ould Mother Sheehy' cast on them without asking whether it is valid or not.[69] In 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney' (1889), Mulvaney, finding himself in a temple surrounded by native women who mistake him for the Hindu god Krishna and worship him. He successfully gets out of the difficulty by acting as the God and the Irish song he sings is taken for the divine song of Krishna himself.[70] In 'The Solid Muldoon', clearly a ghost story, in which Mulvaney tells how he had to fight with the ghost of a man while courting a married woman, the moral of the story is 'kape out av the Married Quarters',[71] and meeting a ghost itself, though Mulvaney admits that it is '*not* an ivry-day expayrience',[72] is nevertheless not treated as an unusual event. In fact, in 'The Solid Muldoon', the supernatural seems to draw closer together India and Ireland, two separate colonies far way from each other: it suddenly ends with Mulvaney's looking back on his days in Ireland, which comes rather out of the blue for the reader. 'An' that's fourteen years gone! Eyah! Cork's own city an' the blue sky above ut – an' the times that was – the times that was!'.[73] This almost gives us the impression that the whole story in fact took place in Ireland, though the story's setting is supposedly India. The supernatural elements merge the two places, India and Ireland, into one, as safe and nostalgic places associated with the good old days.

Kipling's view on the Irish as a race is well summarised in 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks' which describes the Irish as 'that quaint, crooked, sweet, profoundly irresponsible and profoundly loveable race that fight like fiends, argue like children, reason like women, obey like men, and jest like their own goblins of the rath through rebellion, loyalty, want, woe, or war'[74]: they are total chaos, with no fixed principle of conduct nor reasoning power. In Kipling's Indian stories, the Irish are tamed into the fighting force of the Empire by those who know how to treat them. In 'Namgay Doola' (1891), a little Indian Kingdom is threatened by a rebel who not only refuses to pay taxes but also stirs the people 'up to the like

treason'.[75] The narrator immediately identifies this rebel as an Irish descendant from his red-hair, a song which he repeatedly sings, and the name of his father. The narrator then advises the king to make the man the chief of his army: 'Feed him with words and favour, and also liquor from certain bottles that thou knowest of, and he will be a bulwark of defence'.[76] The Irish, though rebellious in nature, become the most reliable subjects when well treated and their pride is flattered, if, as the narrator boasts, you 'know that breed',[77] that is, how to deal with the Irish.

'My Lord the Elephant' (1892) also makes a similar point: the rebellious quality of the Irish is subdued by the one who knows the race best. In fact, it is the Irish Mulvaney who figures as an orientalist specialised in knowledge of the Irish. In this story, Mulvaney tells how he once tamed an elephant which suddenly had become so unruly that even his mahout could not control him. It is interesting to note that Mulvaney the narrator calls the elephant by many different names: he is interchangeably 'a Kumeria of the Doon',[78] 'ould rapparee' (51), 'Ould Grambags' (52), 'Ould Barrel-belly' (53) 'Ould Thrajectory' (56), 'ould Potiphar' (57), 'Ould Double Ends' (58), 'Ould Typhoon' (60) and so on. This naming act is noteworthy because it presents a story of taming as that of naming: just as Adam named his animals as he tamed them, an animal has to have a 'proper' name to be tamed. Mulvaney's narrative device to invent new names for the elephant not only re-traces his desperate effort of trying whatever means available to calm down the 'murderin' volcano' (56) (in fact, he did try various names for domesticated animals as if to downsize him, such as 'Good Dog' 'Pretty puss' 'Whoa mare' (56), which seem to have worked for a while), but also represents the elephant as a kind of protean being which eludes any definition lest it should be caught. Informed by a sergeant that the elephant started being rebellious because he resented that he was put to the gun-team instead of carrying tents, the job which he most takes pride in doing, Mulvaney sympathises with him and comes to the conclusion that the elephant is an Irishman: 'He's an Irishman ... for all his long Jew's nose, an' he shall be threated like an Irishman' (58). The 'proper name' which Mulvaney finally comes up with then is 'Smith O'Brine' (58). He starts treating him as an Irishman, that is, talking to him, cleaning him, and having a drink together to 'let bygones be' (60), through which he successfully tames the elephant. At the end of the story, Mulvaney's insight that the elephant is an Irishman, which subdued the wild elephant, proves to be true. The elephant's real name is Malachi, the name of an Irish saint and also that of a brave Irish king who fought against the invasion of the

Danes.[79]

Interestingly, in this story Mulvaney does not reveal the elephant's name to be Malachi from the beginning of his story, despite the fact that he already knows the elephant's real name when he retrospectively tells this adventure to the narrator. The mutinous side of the Irish is better defined at first as 'Smith O'Brine', who is full of grudges and resentment about the treatment they receive from England. It is not until the elephant 'let[s] bygones be' and is transformed into a loyal and obedient servant of the Empire that Mulvaney can address him as Malachi, his *true* name, thereby rendering Smith O'Brine the unmanageable elephant as temporary. Irish rebelliousness is also represented in the form of Mulvaney's extravagant and unmanageable imagination, whose narrative course corresponds to that of the rampant elephant: the story can be read as the taming of the Irish by the Irish through storytelling, with the help of Kipling the narrator.[80]

It may be noted here that both 'Namgay Doola' and 'My Lord the Elephant' peculiarly echo the quotation from Oliphant which I gave at the beginning of this chapter, the Victorian era as an eastern story of 'the great Genii, Afreets, Jins, whatever the name Oriental fancy may have given them, whose force infinitely transcended every human force, yet who were at the mercy of the wise man who knew how to secure and train them': that is to say, the oriental story of taming the untamable. Kipling, using the format of this Victorian fantasy, represents Irishness as an oriental creature whose protean quality can be pinned down only by a magi-like character. In 'My Lord the Elephant', Kipling draws a parallel between the Irish and the elephant. They are not the tiger, for example, the animal which stands for the most ferocious and untamable side of nature who has to be killed and excluded in order to make the exploitation of the land easier for the coloniser. Unlike the Indian natives who were often likened to the tiger,[81] the Irish are the elephant, ferocious yet manageable, who, once tamed, will be the most reliable and efficient vanguard of imperialism.[82]

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to note one other aspect, or a stereotype, which Kipling seems to associate with the Irish: theatricality. In Kipling's world, the Irish are actors who can play any role. Just like Kim who turns into anything, Mulvaney extempore impersonates Krishna, and can even act as an efficient British soldier. It is interesting to note that what information we have about Mulvaney's life in Ireland is mostly associated with the place called 'Silver's theatre' in Dublin. The theatre, always short of

money, gave anybody a chance to play who would pay for the role. Mulvaney, who was, according to him, 'a patron av the drama'[83] when he was young, was once supposed to play the role of Hamlet, but it was taken over by somebody else in his regiment, named Hogin. Then Mulvaney went to see the play, and disturbed the play by inciting the audience to jeer about the costume. The whole theatre became a stage in which not only actors played but also the audience took part. In this way, Kipling successfully locks Ireland in a theatre, inside a representation, where 'reality' is, if only for a short time, suspended. '[A]fther this performince is over me an' the Ghost'll trample the tripes out av you, Terence, wid your ass's bray!',[84] retorts Hogin still on stage, knowing the ringleader was Mulvaney. However, he is not likely to be able to take his revenge on Mulvaney, because in Kipling's world, the Irish characters are transfixed on Silver's theatre, and the performance will never be over. The Irish talent for representation in the theatre should never be used to represent themselves in the political area. The Irish have to keep on playing their stereotype, the stage Irishman.[85]

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[1] Margaret Oliphant, ''Tis Sixty Years Since', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 161 (May 1897), 606.
[2] Oliphant, 609.
[3] Oliphant, 616.
[4] Oliphant, 612.
[5] Oliphant, 612.
[6] Shailendra Dhari Singh, *Novels on the Indian Mutiny* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1973), 73. This book chronologically surveys the novels on the Mutiny, and gives an outline of each novel.
[7] As for the negative representation of the natives in the novels on the Mutiny, see, for example, Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1988), Chapter 7, 'The Wat Cawnpore: Literary Representations of the Indian Mutiny of 1857', 199-224; Nancy L. Paxton, 'Mobilizing Chivalry: Rape in British Novels about the Indian Uprising of 1857', *Victorian Studies* 36:1 (Fall 1992), 5-30.
[8] Hilda Gregg, 'The Indian Mutiny in Fiction', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 161 (February 1897), 219.
[9] Flora Annie Steel, *The Garden of Fidelity, Being the Autobiography of Flora Annie Steel, 1847-1929* (London: Vintage, 1993), 226.
[10] Steel, 226.
[11] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 86.

[12] Gregg, 230. As for the popular demand for '*the* novel of the Mutiny' at the turn of the century, see also, J. Lockwood Kipling, 'The Novel of the Mutiny', *New Review* 16 (January 1897), in which Lockwood Kipling, Kipling's father, praises F. A. Steel's *On the Face of the Water*, as a successful attempt: 'we have frequently been been told, as of a thing inevitable, that some day *the* novel of the Indian Mutiny would appear. And – heave or sink it, leave or drink it – here it is!' (78).
[13] Gregg, 231.
[14] Gregg, 231.
[15] Oliphant, 612.
[16] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling,* ed. Thomas Pinney (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 2:219-20.
[17] Bart Moore-Gilbert, '"The Bhabhal of Tongues": Reading Kipling, Reading Bhabha', in *Writing India: 1757-1990, The Literature of British India*, ed. Bart Moore-Gilbert (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 1996), 111.
[18] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 176.
[19] Moore-Gilbert, 120.
[20] For the discussion on Kipling as an Anglo-Indian writer, see B. J. Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and "Orientalism"* (London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1986).
[21] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 204.
[22] Bhabha, 206.
[23] Bhabha, 207.
[24] Bhabha, 198.
[25] Said,163.
[26] Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1955), 105.
[27] P. J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), Chapter 6, 'Rudyard Kipling and Cockney Archetypes', 139-66.
[28] Keating, 143.
[29] Keating, 143.
[30] *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1961), 1:10. For a rough chronology of Mulvaney's life, see also the appendix B in Rudyard Kipling, *Soldiers Three and In Black and White* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 209-10.
[31] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Daughter of the Regiment', *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 186.
[32] In fact, Kipling often uses this combination of Celtic names and Indian ones. For example, one of the titles of the stories labels Mulvaney as 'Krishna Mulvaney', in which he is mistaken for the God Krishna. In *Plain Tales from the Hills*, one of the characters who marries a native wife, converts into a Muslim, and is a regular visitor to the Opium Den is called MacIntosh Jellaludin. Kim's name, when he is found by the Mavericks, is 'Kim Rishti ke', meaning 'Kim of the Irish' in Hindi.
[33] For the idealisation of the Victorian home as a sacred place of love and peace, see, for example, Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-70* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1957), 341-48, Eric Trudgill, *Madonnas and Magdalens: the Origins and Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 38-49. Also see Rod Edmond, *Affairs of the Hearth: Victorian Poetry and Domestic Narrative* (London: Routledge, 1988), for a more critical discussion of the ideologies of this ideal image.
[34] Kipling, 'The Madness of Private Ortheris' (1888), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 243.
[35] Rudyard Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill' (1890), *Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 84.
[36] Miriam Bailin, *The Sickroom in Victorian Fiction: The Art of Being Ill* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 5.
[37] These oriental heroines respectively appear in 'Lispeth' (Lispeth), 'Beyond the Pale' (Bisesa) in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 'George Porgie' (Georgina) in *Life's Handicap*.
[38] Kipling, 'Without Benefit of Clergy', *Life's Handicap*, 155.
[39] Kipling, 'Thrown Away', *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 43.
[40] Kipling, 'Thrown Away', 46-7.
[41] Abdul R. JanMohamed, 'Worldliness-without-World, Homelessness-as-Home: Toward a Definition of the Specular Border Intellectual', in *A Cultural Studies Reader: History, Theory, Practice*, eds. Jessica Munns and Gita Rajan (London and New York: Longman, 1995), 446.
[42] JanMohamed, 446.
[43] Rudyard Kipling, 'A Deal in Cotton' (1909), *Actions and Reactions* (London: Macmillan, 1909). 'Strickland has finished his Indian Service, and lives now at a place in England called Weston-super-Mare, where his wife plays the organ in one of the churches' (173).

[44] Kipling, 'Private Learoyd's Story' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 20

[45] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Big Drunk Draf''(1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White*, 28.

[46] Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967), 112.

[47] Recent studies have criticised this portrayal of the British colonial community as 'socially cohesive, composed mainly of upper-middle-class' stressed by the 'first generation of historians' including Hutchins, [Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 221], and have shed light on the fact that the British Indian population was in fact made of 'many occupational, ethnic, and other groups with disparate interests and concerns' (224) and there were 'various groups on the margin of British society – vagrants, orphans, prostitutes, the insane, and pushed to the social periphery by their mixed racial origin' (225). See also, Teresa Hubel, Tommy Atkins in India: Class Conflict and the British Raj', *Kunapipi* 22:1 (2000), 95-105, which reads Kipling's poem 'Danny Deever' as a representation of the experience of working-class soldiers by a middle-class author, Kipling.

[48] As for the colonisers's returns home as the loss of prestige as white (mem)sahibs, see, for example, Elizabeth Buettner, 'From Somebodies to Nobodies: Britons Returning Home from India' in *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late-Victorian Era to World War II*, eds. Martin Daunton and Bernhard Rieger (New York: Berg Publishers, 2001), 221-240.

[49] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd' (1891), *Life's Handicap,* 74.

[50] Kipling, 'Private Learoyd's Story', 20.

[51] L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (New Abbot: David & Charles, 1971).

[52] V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1970), 126.

[53] Keating, 166.

[54] A. M. Sullivan, 'Why Send More Irish Out of Ireland?', *Nineteenth Century* 14 (July 1883), 133.

[55] *A Kipling Note Book* (New York: M.F. Mansfield & A. Wessels, 1899), 113-4.

[56] According to H. J. Hanham, in 1830 the Irish constituted 42.2 per cent of the British army, and '[g]iven the immense popularity of O'Connell's repeal movement, that was an alarming proportion, because it meant that a substantial section of the army had to be regarded as at least potentially disloyal and unsuited for employment in Ireland'. The proportion gradually dropped to 37.2 per cent in 1840, and to 12.2 per cent in 1896 [H. J. Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army' in *War and Society: Historical Essays in Honour and Memory of J. R. Western, 1928-1971*, ed. M. R. D. Foot (London: Elek, 1973), 161].

[57] *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, Verse Section, vol. 1, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1969), 5256.

[58] Kipling, 'The Irish Conspiracy', *The Readers' Guide,* Verse Section, vol. 1, 5256-7.

[59] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks' (1891), *Life's Handicap*, 179.

[60] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', 179.

[61] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', 178.

[62] The possibility of the Irish Mutiny in the British army funded by the Fenian organisation was not totally constructed out of Kipling's imagination. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, in his Irish-American newspaper *The United Irishman* encourages Irish soldiers to desert and murder their officers in the heat of the battle, and to 'avail himself of every opportunity to assist' the enemy who are 'fighting gallantly against the cruel, hypocritical, blood-thirsty nation that for so many years held Ireland in bondage' [K. R. M. Short, *The Dynamite War: Irish-American Bombers in Victorian Britain* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1979), 219-220]. According to Short, '[f]ree copies of *The United Irishman* were offered postpaid to Irish soldiers in the 'English' army anywhere in the world'(220).

[63] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', 181.

[64] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', 193.

[65] J. Mukherjee, 'The Relevance of the Irish Aspect in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', *The Literary Criterion* 22:4 (1987), 41.

[66] Murrat G. H. Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), 7.

[67] Pittock, 11.

[68] See, Peter Morey, *Fictions of India: Narrative and Power* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2000), Chapter 1, 21-52.

[69] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd' (1891), *Life's Handicap*, 74-5.

[70] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', *Life's Handicap*, 53.

[71] Kipling, 'The Solid Muldoon' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White,* 40.
[72] Kipling, 'The Solid Muldoon', 37.
[73] Kipling, 'The Solid Muldoon', 45.
[74] Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', 180.
[75] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', *Life's Handicap*, 223.
[76] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 230.
[77] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 230.
[78] Rudyard Kipling, 'My Lord the Elephant', *Many Inventions* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), 46. Further references will be cited in the text.
[79] The name Malachi reappears in 'The Dog Hervey' (1914), this time as the narrator's most loyal and obedient dog. The dog wears a 'collar of gold'(140), which allows us to verify the source of the name 'Malachi': Thomas Moore's 'Let Erin Remember the Days of Old' in *Irish Melodies*.

Let Erin Remember the Days of Old
Ere her faithless sons betray'd her;
When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from her proud invader ..

[Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies* (London: Longmans, 1849), 20].
[80] I explore further the role of the narrator in Mulvaney's stories in Chapter 3.
[81] For the role of the tiger as representation of the dangerous Orient, see, for example, Colin Pedley, 'Blake's Tiger and the Discourse of Natural History', in *Blake: An illustrated Quarterly* 24:1 (Summer 1990), 238-46, and John Barrell, *The Infection of Thomas de Quincey: A Psychopathology of Imperialism* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1991), Chapter 4, 'Tigridiasis: Tipu's Revenge', 48-66.
[82] Within this context, *The Jungle Books* (1894-5) can be seen as a political allegory of how the Irish were 'tamed' into a major force of the British Raj. Hathi the elephant, by request of Mowgli, the future member of the Forestry Service of the Imperial Government in India, blots out an entire village of the unruly natives, by eating up all the crops with his three sons and other animals in the Jungle, and leaves the villagers absolutely at the mercy of English charity. [Rudyard Kipling, *The Jungle Books* (Oxford: The World's Classics, 1992), 'Letting in the Jungle', 183-211].
[83] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', 61.
[84] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', 61-2.
[85] As to the representation of the Irish as the Stage Irishman, see, for example, J. O. Bartley, 'The Development of a Stock Character', *The Modern Language Review* 37 (1942), 438-47; Declan Kiberd, 'The Fall of the Stage Irishman', *Genre* 12 (1979), 451-72.

Chapter 2: When East meets West: Kipling's India of anti-gravity

In the preceding chapter, I argued that the peculiar combination of the Irish characters and the Indian setting in Kipling's work is not an accidental choice (i.e. Kipling did not choose India simply because he happened to know India better than any other places where he had a chance to meet many Irish people), but a highly political one. India was one of the few places in which Irish people could be represented more or less 'safely', unlike, for example, America where the association of Fenianism and Ireland was too obvious. Kipling's Irish characters, unlike the English ones who suffer from nostalgia for Home, are shown to accept the new life in India – Kipling naturalises the disturbing fact that many Irish people had to move out of Ireland. Even the 'Druidic, Celtic heritage' of the Irish seems to be summoned in order to make the Irish appear fitter to the supernatural side of India.

In this chapter, I will shift the focus from the representation of the Irish characters and the imperial ideologies to the Indian *ground* itself on which these are represented. George Didi-Huberman, in his work on Fra Angelico, argues that the artist's work cannot be fully understood by the commonplace reading which sees a figure as 'a discernible aspect' which 'must necessarily detach itself from a ground and relate to an object in the real world',[1] because this type of reading completely ignores the presence and role of the ground in Fra Angelico's paintings: 'the figure would be defined as what supports meaning, what is able to present us with a story, *in contrast to the ground*, a place that merely "contains" this meaning and this story'.[2] Instead, he argues that, in Fra Angelico, the ground which is thought to be non-figurative is far more figurative than the figure. He proposes to see what we usually call the ground as 'zones of *relative disfiguration*', through which 'the memory of the mystery of Incarnation' can be possibly produced.[3] Following Didi-Huberman's example, I investigate the function of *relative disfiguration* of the background against which Kipling's Irish characters are represented.

'In colonial discourse', as Homi Bhabha points out, 'that space of the other is always occupied by an *idée fixe*: despot, heathen, barbarian, chaos, violence'.[4] That is to say, the critique of colonial discourse has been concerned with the same old 'figures', clearly discernible against *any* background. If so, it is illuminating to think of the ground as 'zone of relative disfiguration', in order not only to destabilise these fixed figures in full relief, but

also to give them back their particularity and identity which have been lost through the homogenising process of colonisation.

Resorting to topological metaphors is, in fact, common in postcolonial contexts, for it will open up the possibilities of 'reterritorisation'.[5] For example, Bhabha deals with the *space* where various stereotypical ideas and figures are found. It is a 'hybrid space' where the authority of the coloniser is so threatened that the same stereotypical figures have to be repeated over and over again. Also it is 'the Third Space', 'though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixty; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized, and read anew'.[6] These spaces, however, refer not so much to an actual space as to a possibility of a linguistic strategy, a possibility of introducing an ambivalence in the act of interpretation: Bhabha, in spite of his frequent use of spatial images, is concerned more with the figure, the interaction between different 'figures', *idées fixes* which fore*ground*, and 'where' and 'when' do not really matter in the end, which makes Bhabha's theory amazingly applicable to any period and any place.

I will view the colonial experience not so much as the encounter between the coloniser and the colonised, but as the coloniser's resistance to the force of the foreign ground. The process of colonisation inevitably exposed the coloniser to the influence of the new territory which did not necessarily support his way of existence in his native ground. The effect of the foreign ground, for example, is witnessed by one Irish nun who went to the Crimean War to nurse the soldiers:

> A wet muddy day – we have as much mud about us this moment as would build a cabin for one of our poor countrymen. Of course this assertion will be recognised as an Oriental tale, but speaking candidly of the Russian mud, we never saw such a thing as it is. It sticks to one without 'rhyme or reason' in a most unbecoming manner. When we fain would pass it over, it takes fast hold of our habits and then holds on until it attracts general observation. If we go to our wards with a bright pair of leather boots, before we come up, we are forced to exchange them for a pair of mud ones and we can only disengage ourselves from this unpleasant attachment by *force of arms*.[7]

In this interesting passage where an Irish nun, Sister Croke, figures both as the coloniser (accompanying the English army to the Crimea) and the colonised (many of whose countrymen were homeless or/and had no choice but to live in a mud house). As the coloniser, she finds 'the Russian mud' to be the most 'unpleasant attachment' which forces her to change her way of existing. Sister Croke, rather than letting herself be transformed by

the mud, tries to break away from its grip by the *force of arms*. Her repugnance for the Russian mud is in stark contrast to her sympathy towards the Turkish soldiers whom she encountered during her Crimean mission and managed to communicate with by using a word 'bono' – 'a general word for all sorts of goodness'.[8] It is important to note here that Sister Croke, caught in the middle of the Russian mud, figures and acts more as the coloniser than as the colonised, though the presence of the mud remotely connects the two separate grounds which are both subject to the same colonising power.

The effect of the foreign ground over the coloniser's figure is especially important when considering the Anglo-Indian experience, for India proved to be 'Bad Lands' for the coloniser to settle.[9] Unlike the former colonies such as Ireland and North America, India was considered unfit for colonial settlement. The coloniser encountered the hostile environment, which would have become, if not overcome, a serious threat to European survival and the viability of colonial rule. Francis G. Hutchins argues that British imperialism did not seek to mix the home culture with that of the conquered but rather tried to open up a space similar to the home country where their standard and identity would be easily maintained: 'the British never became Indianized, as had earlier conquerors. Earlier conquerors had not possessed a foreign home from which they continuously drew their standards and which induced them to look upon India only as a place of permanent exile'.[10] The hostility towards the foreign land can be witnessed in the environmentalist paradigm which emphasised the influence of climate and topography on the human body and was strongly believed in India even after it had been effectively deposed by the germ theory of disease in Europe[11]; it was, as David Arnold puts it, 'a vast metaphor for an ineluctable otherness – of people as well as places – that European science and medicine found in India and could never entirely gainsay'.[12] It is interesting that the Raj, built against the hostile land where the European could never settle, nevertheless became a symbol of the Empire, the highest achievement of imperialism ready to be applied to any other land.

In the following sections, I view the English colonial encounter in India as a struggle to preserve its figure as the coloniser in the foreign ground, while keeping in mind that a large part of the Anglo-Indian were in fact of Irish descent. I also argue that Kipling's writing in India is also influenced by the same force which affected the coloniser. The figure-ground framework is especially useful in reading *Kim*, which I characterise as Kipling's representation of an Irish figure's encounter with the Indian ground.

1

According to Michel Foucault, from the nineteenth century on, the hidden and unthinkable which nevertheless conditions the perceptible phenomena became the object of scrutiny. For example, natural history in the Classical Age turned into biology only when living beings are lined with invisible 'life': 'On the other side of all the things that are, even beyond those that can be, supporting them to make them visible, and ceaselessly destroying them to make them with the violence of death, life becomes a fundamental force'.[13] This hidden and invisible ground, the sand on which Man's face emerges as a figure in the modern episteme, is a passage of time. Living beings are now a 'living historicity'[14] thrown into time: 'the incessant transition from the inorganic to the organic by means of respiration or digestion, and the inverse transformation, brought about by death, of the great functional structures into lifeless dust'.[15] Figures are no longer permanent, and are subject to change. The ground, out of which all the figures are born, transforms or else 'corrupts' all that it embraces in the course of time.

J. H. Buckley argues that time became 'the medium of organic growth and fundamental change rather than simply addictive succession' in the nineteenth century[16]: living creatures cannot any longer be thought separately from the infinite duration of time which has shaped them into the present forms. It was due to this new concept of time that the idea of both progress and degeneration became one of the major concerns of the Victorian. Incidentally, it was also a period in which the transforming power of foreign places was strongly felt, because of the unprecedented scale of imperialist expansion. The concept of 'acclimatization', the feasibility of living organisms to transform and adapt themselves over time in alien environments, emerged in the late eighteenth century, and helped justify the imperialist endeavour of the Europeans to mobilize the world's resources, giving the theoretical foundations for 'a world-wide exchange of plants, animals, and people'[17] and the colonial settlement, until it was replaced by the theory of heredity at the end of nineteenth century. What Charles Darwin, by his voyage on the Beagle, proved was that the species were not fixed (that is, created by God), but had been transformed through natural selection to be fitted to varied circumstances. The great tableau of the eighteenth-century naturalists in which every species is to fit into its own appropriate location was now reinterpreted as the proof and visualisation of the slow process of evolution into numerous numbers of species,

due to geographical distribution and isolation. Natural selection is the struggle to be the fittest adaptation to changing circumstances.[18]

The colonisers spreading themselves all over the world provided the best examples of the power of natural selection and acclimatisation in the short term. However, the possibility of adaptation to a foreign ground was double-edged, for it could endanger the racial type of the coloniser. Dane Kennedy, in his *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj*, argues that the racial identity of the British was seriously threatened both by the effect of the harsh foreign climate and by miscegenation with the local women. While the view that the Europeans physically degenerated over time due to the exposure to high temperatures and tropical diseases, was accepted by the medical and administrative authorities as true, this 'threat of physical extinction' was aggravated by 'the prospect of miscegenation' which would risk 'the possibility of a European settler population's surviving over several generations *as* Europeans'.[19] The English had spread their territory at the cost of being 'corrupted' and assimilated into the soil which they had colonised. To become sexually involved with native women was regarded as a degradation of the race, not merely because such a liaison would supposedly produce a hideous hybrid, but also because it was to allow the coloniser to interact with the organism fittest to the place, and to be part of the place itself. Those who came to live in a colony for a certain period of time or those who were born in the place might have experienced what Robert Young calls 'colonial desire' in a different way: not as an invitation to transgress a forbidden sexual border, which seems to have been the greatest attraction of the travellers of the day, real or imaginary.[20] Colonial desire was rather experienced as the effacement of the border demarcating figure and ground, against which one had to fight if one wished to sustain one's identity and origin.[21]

Somerset Maugham, another later colonial writer, names this effect of the ground as 'The Force of Circumstance', the title of a story in which an Englishwoman finds that her newly married husband with whom she came to Malaya to live, had a native wife and three children by her before their marriage. The 'force of circumstance' or the irresistible attraction of native women proves to be stronger than that of the couple's racial affinity. 'You belong to them, you don't belong to me... It's a physical thing, I can't help it, it's stronger than I am'.[22] As soon as the bond breaks away, each of the two is pulled back to the ground to which each most naturally belongs: the wife goes back to England and once she has left the husband calls his deserted native wife and children back to him.

The man in the story is English by blood, but is described as having less powerful ties with England, having been born and brought up in Sembulu. He states, '[a]fter all, England's a foreign land to me'.[23] Although England is supposedly the home ground of Englishness, and he hopes to have an English woman as his wife, he does not feel any urge to go back to England in order to form a true tie with the land of his racial identity. Thus, he lets himself become less and less English, becoming more and more rooted in a foreign land. In fact, it was the risk which the English had to take by extending their territory: the Englishness of the English, deprived of its own ground, was to be attenuated, exposed, and subject to change in the colonies.

Kipling, born and brought up outside England until he was six years old, is notorious for his presentation of stereotypical 'figures', whether English or native: they are so stereotypical that one can easily spot them and relate them to the ideologies of the day. But before dismissing Kipling's characters as stereotypical, it may be worth supposing that Kipling, who spent a substantial time away from England, was fully aware of the force of the foreign ground and that his writing is affected by this awareness. Alan Sandison argues that Kipling's Indian stories are *not* the presentation of the Imperial Heroes, tough and resourceful English administrators and subalterns who are dedicated to their duties; his stories are rather the presentation of the coloniser's desperate effort to maintain 'self-consciousness, identity and moral integrity'[24] in the face of 'great, grey, formless India' which is the true main character in Kipling's Indian stories, with its 'inexorable powers of assimilation'.[25] India represents 'the forces of persecution raged against the individual in his struggle to sustain his identity. Physically and morally it overwhelms and crushes. One's own truths and moral definitions blur and diffuse themselves into meaninglessness'.[26] Kipling's characters identify themselves with the values of the Empire, in the hope that sticking to their own cultural ethos might help them sustain their identity, even though they run the risk of failing to understand the people they govern and imposing blindly their own cultural values on them,[27] an argument which I find very convincing. Sandison, then, characterises Kipling's Indian stories as the presentation of the individual's praiseworthy struggle to maintain his identity, which reflects Kipling's deep sense of moral philosophy as an artist. I will, instead, interpret the same phenomena as Kipling's presentation of the hostile Indian ground which endangers the racial types of the coloniser. If Kipling's characters are, as is often stated, stereotypical, it may be because he tries to write against a corrupting effect of the force of the ground in order

to preserve the ideal racial types from being weathered away.

''Yoked with an Unbeliever''(1886), in *Plain Tales from the Hills,* is Kipling's version of 'The Force of Circumstance'. At the beginning of the story, a 'stereotypical' view of India is presented in order to be contrasted with Kipling's treatment of it:

> [Miss Agnes Laiter] had reason to cry, because the only man she ever loved – or ever could love, so she said – was going out to India; and India, as every one knows, is divided equally between jungle, tigers, cobras, cholera, and sepoys.[28]

Here, India is ironically represented as nothing but an assemblage of the most stereotypical orientalist images of India – jungle, tigers, cobras, cholera, and sepoys – only fixed figures without any ground. The rest of the story, however, demonstrates the powerful force of the ground which Agnes is ignorant of, which affects her lover Phil Garron over time. Phil soon forgets about Agnes, his initial ambition and England altogether, marries a native girl Dunmaya, and becomes naturalised in India, whereas Agnes, though the circumstances also force her to marry another man in England, remains faithful to Phil at heart, believing in a letter which he wrote to her in a fit of sentimentality. Phil's process of acclimatisation (moving away from one's origin to the extent that one no longer longs for home) is virtually described as demoralisation:

> It is to be remembered that Phil was living very comfortably, denying himself no small luxury, never putting by a penny, very satisfied with himself and his good intentions, was dropping all his English correspondents one by one, and beginning more and more to look upon India as his home. Some men fall this way, and they are of no use afterwards. The climate where he was stationed was good, and it really did not seem to him that there was any reason to return to England (64).

There is no satisfactory explanation nor reasons given to Phil's transformation, except that we are told that Phil is 'the least little bit in the world weak' (62). This weakness in his character turns out to be fatal, for it means that he is not self-disciplined nor strong enough to sustain himself as an English figure; he lets his new circumstances recreate him. By the time Agnes, after her husband dies, goes over to India to join him, he has become totally inseparable from native life, being presented in the text only with his new background: 'She found him. She spent a month over it, for his plantation was not in the Darjeeling district at all, but nearer Kangra. Phil was very little altered, and Dunmaya was very nice to her' (65). Phil whom Agnes retrieves is not so much Phil per se as Phil inseparable from the Indian landscape, and his wife. That which initially degrades him is not typically discernibly Indian;

it is not jungle, tigers, cobras, cholera, sepoys nor even the famous Indian heat, but simply his being away from the place of his origin for a certain period of time. His native wife – an unbeliever with whom Phil becomes yoked – personifies the force of the ground which acclimatises the figure: 'It is curious to think that a Hill-man after a lifetime's education is a Hill-man still; but a Hill-woman can in six months master most of the ways of her English sisters ... Dunmaya dressed by preference in black and yellow, and looked well' (65). It is interesting to note that she prefers to dress in black and yellow, for this is the combination of colour many tropical animals adopt. It is the colour, for example, of the tiger, which deceives the eyes of the prey by appearing as part of the ground. Thus, Dunmaya represents the inseparable tie between the figure and the ground: she is not only the 'ground' itself which seduces Phil but also the figure which has learned to survive by mimicking (or being) the ground – or alternately the ground mimicking the newly arrived foreign figure. In fact, Dunmaya might remind us of the passage from Jacques Lacan's *Of the Gaze*, which Homi Bhabha quotes at the beginning of his famous essay 'Of Mimicry and Man', in which Lacan explains mimicry in terms of figure and ground, the aspect which Bhabha does not expand in his essay:

> Mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called an itself that is behind. The effect of mimicry is camouflage.... It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled – exactly like the technique of camouflage practised in human warfare.[29]

Dunmaya, who has 'a reasonable estimate of her husband's weaknesses',[30] becomes a great source of help to Phil in adapting himself to the place, and through her training, 'he will ultimately be saved from perdition' (66). Only through uniting himself with Dunmaya, can Phil survive the harsh struggle for existence.

It is interesting to note that in ''Yoked with an Unbeliever'', letters – writing thrown into time and space to traverse them – operate as a counter-force against adaptation to a new environment. As Phil drops 'all his English correspondents one by one', he feels more and more at home in his new environment. Equally, it is because of one letter which Phil sent from India in a fit of sentimentality that Agnes can blindly believe in his constancy. Thus, even though she finds Phil with his native wife and has totally acclimatised to India, to Agnes's eyes, 'Phil was very little altered'; she still can see the old identity in him. It is only through writing that one can sustain one's identity, one's faith, against the irresistible physical (and even sexual) forces and time which make the coloniser gravitate to the place

and erodes his identity as English.

Phil Garron, described as 'the least little bit in the world weak', is an exceptional figure in Kipling, one of the few examples in which Kipling lets the power of the ground win over the Englishmen. Even if an Englishman temporarily becomes involved with the Indian soil, he is not allowed to root himself there – if, in 'Beyond the Pale', Besesa's freshly cut-off wrists look like 'the stumps',[31] is it not because her lover Trejago is removed from her just as a tree is cut down? In fact, it is usually 'English' characters with characteristically Celtic names (but not specified as Irish) who suffer most dishonourable defeats against the Indian conditions, often in spite of their top academic education. For instance, Aurelian McGoggin, a 'brilliantly clever' disciple of Comte and Spencer with a lot of other 'isms' in his head, suddenly falls into a temporal aphasia because of the Indian heat,[32] and McIntosh Jellaludin, 'an Oxford Man' and a first-rate scholar, ends up in the lowest strata in India – in an opium den among half-castes.[33] Apparently, they represent a weaker part of England, who cannot sustain themselves as English in the face of the corrupting effect of the Indian ground. One might say that Kipling tends to write against this 'natural' process, demonstrating how the Englishmen can go away intact after touching the native soil.

If the English are to leave India unscathed, these British heroes with Celtic names (possibly the Scottish), who do not live up to the English standard, perish in the native ground. Thus, it is interesting that Kipling's Irish characters neither leave India nor seem to be affected by the force of the foreign ground. As I have argued in the preceding chapter, the Irish settlement in India is treated as more or less natural immigration, rather than exile from Home. Kim, unlike Phil the Englishman, manages to escape from being permanently caught by one native location (or woman) and retains his mobility and adaptability to any new ground which would cross his way. The Irish are given a role which their English counterpart cannot possibly achieve: they live in India without losing their outline as English.

2

Lispeth, a Hill-girl who is raised by a Mission but later goes back to her own people with a total distrust of the English in her heart, is given an important place in Kipling's Indian world, appearing, as it is pointed out, in 'the first story in Kipling's first book about India', *Plain Tales from the Hills*, and reappearing in 'the last story about India that he intended ever to write', *Kim*.[34] With the figure/ground model in mind, 'Lispeth' seems an appropriate story for his first collection about India to begin with: it tells how the Indians who had been nothing but part of landscape suddenly emerged as figures to the coloniser's eyes. Lispeth's parents come to the Mission, because they wish to be protected from the violence of nature which holds their lives at its mercy: 'One year their maize failed, and two bears spent the night in their only opium poppy-field just above the Sutlej Valley on the Kotgarth side; so, next season, they turned Christian, and brought their baby to the Mission to be baptized'.[35] Ironically, her parents cannot escape from the harsh Indian living conditions regardless of their conversion, for they soon die of cholera, leaving Lispeth alone with the Mission. Lispeth grows into a beautiful lady just like 'Diana of the Romans' (L33) and 'the Princesses in fairy tales' (L34), universal characters without any particular background and by no means rooted in India. That Lispeth dissociates herself from the native ground and becomes a European-like figure is more conventionally symbolised by the bathing habits she acquires due to the education given by the Mission: 'Her own people hated her because she had, they said, become a white woman and washed herself daily' (L34). Here, being a white woman and washing oneself are misleadingly equated, for the concern about bodily cleanliness and the custom of washing oneself developed in Europe only throughout the nineteenth century.[36] Thus, their own unsanitary past is now imposed on the Indian as Other – *dirt*iness meaning being still caught up in the ground – and Lispeth, in order to maintain herself as a white woman, has to wipe off all the dirt which her body takes on daily. The education given to her to become like a European figure turns out to be too successful; her own people will not accept her and the Chaplain feels the difficulty of placing her in Indian society.

It turns out, however, that there is still one thing even Christianity cannot 'wipe out' in Lispeth, that is, 'uncivilized Eastern instincts, such as falling in love at first sight' (L35). The tragedy occurs when this hidden instinct is awoken by an Englishman, who, according to the Chaplain's wife, is 'of a superior *clay*' (L36. Italic is mine), and Lispeth wishes this foreign clay to mingle with the Indian one. Unlike Dunmaya's Phil who severs every tie he

had with England and settles down in India, Lispeth's English lover is one of those 'globe-trotters' (L35), who are willing to expose themselves to unfamiliar new worlds and shake off their fixed way of seeing while keeping their roots and family safely at Home (Lispeth's lover even has a fiancée in England (L35)): travelling and adventure are, probably, only possible when one has a place elsewhere to return. Otherwise, one is merely an immigrant moving from one place to the other, with no hope of restoring the 'original' shape which needs to be transformed to adapt oneself to new circumstances. The Englishman, induced by the Chaplain's wife, falsely promises Lispeth that he will come back to marry her, a promise which he has no intention of keeping. And when later he writes a book on the East, 'Lispeth's name did not appear there' (L36). The native girl who saved his life cannot become even a character in his book – she is lost in the margin. It is very symbolical that Lispeth, after realising that the man and the Chaplain's wife cheated her, goes straight back to 'her own unclean people' and becomes 'infamously dirty' (L37). She will be soon dis*figure*d by her native husband who beats her and finally become 'the bleared, wrinkled creature, exactly like a wisp of charred rag' (L37), whom no one can distinguish from the filthy earth any longer.

Interestingly, the idea of following him to England to be his bride never occurs to Lispeth: however educated they are, native women are not allowed to even dream of life outside of India. Lispeth is single-minded: she wants her white lover to marry her and settle down. In *Kim*, Lispeth, now speaking as 'the Woman of Shamlegh' – a representative of the Indian ground – voices this wish in a more direct way: 'Shamlegh is thine: hoof and horn and hide, milk and butter. Take or leave'.[37] If the coloniser wants the land as well as its fruits, he is not allowed to take *and* leave. He has to become part of the land. This demand seems to have a direct appeal to the part of Kim which is secretly but surely tied to the Indian ground, since he, after hearing the plea, thinks 'in vernacular' (K306), the language which he acquired by being brought up in the land.

In 'Lispeth', the heroine's hatred is exclusively set against the English: 'You are all liars, you English' (L37). In *Kim*, however, her grudge against the English is cunningly substituted by that against 'Sahib': Lispeth never mentions her lover as English, but only as her 'Sahib'. This is why the *Irish* Kim can play a role to appease her grudge, without giving the reader any sense of contradiction. This encounter between Kim and Lispeth is very meaningful. It is not a simple encounter between a Sahib and an Indian woman, the coloniser and the native land. It is an encounter between Irish and Indian, a colonised coloniser and a

colonised ground, one which would not occur in this way if England did not colonise their countries. And, significantly, their compromise is made only in an English way:

> ...putting his arm round her waist, he kissed her on the cheek, adding in English: 'Thank you verree much, my dear. [...] 'Next time', Kim went on, 'you must not be so sure of your heatthen priests. Now I say good-bye'. He held out his hand English-fashion. She took it mechanically. 'Good-bye, my dear'.
>
> 'Good-bye, and – and'– she was remembering her English words one by one – 'you will come back again? Good-bye, and –thee God bless you' (K315).

How should we understand this perfect reconciliation prepared by Kipling towards the end of *Kim*? On one level, it is possible to read this as the moment of double colonisation: Lispeth's long-standing grudge against the coloniser is finally appeased, and Kim internally colonises himself by proving himself to be an ideal coloniser. If I stick to my formulation of Lispeth as a personification of the ground, it is significant that Kim is trained to be a chain-man, the one who knows 'how to make pictures of roads and mountains and rivers – to carry these pictures in thine eye till a suitable time comes to set them upon paper' (K166). It is Kim's job to have a mastery over the land and represent it so as to make the Raj easier. Indeed, the above scene is a moment in which Kim successfully assumes the identity as an Englishman when he avoids being seduced by Lispeth, the native ground, and moreover has recovered friendly terms with her.

Both Kim and Lispeth can be categorised as the colonised, but the way they are colonised is by no means equal. Whereas Kim is allowed to assume an identity as the coloniser and as a grown-up white male, which gives him some sense of superiority and freedom over the natives – the fellow colonised, Lispeth is only allotted the single role of the native woman, who is to be deceived and utilised but never capable of deceit as Kim is. Nevertheless, there is one thing which Kim and Lispeth have peculiarly in common, as those who have suffered a blow of colonisation and Anglicisation. Neither has a *proper* name – other than the parents' name or the place name, and notably both names are 'corrupt' – Kim being the shorter version of 'Kimball', Lispeth 'Elizabeth' (L33) – as if to show the degree of erosion of Englishness through the contact with the colonised ground. It is true that Kim has a birth certificate, on which his name must be written. However, he is given the same name as his father – Kimball O'Hara, not any other name. It is worth remembering that his father is the one who was caught and lost in the Indian ground, just like some of Kipling's other characters: 'he came across the woman who took opium and learned the taste from her, and

died as poor whites die in India' (K49-50). That his son who bears the same name is rescued by the same Irish regiment among the natives where his father has been lost is a symbolic restoration of the Irish regimental tradition in India, which Kipling counts on as a loyal vanguard of imperialism.[38] The pedigree of the white stallion to be established is also that of the Irish who are loyal to the Empire, to be recovered by the Mavericks finding the Irish boy. Kim is primarily 'Kim of the Rishti' (K134), the combination of his father's name and the Irish regiment. In other words, Kim's name does not designate his identity as an individual, but serves as a code which recovers the lost linkage between his father and the Irish regiment. In fact, Kim is called by other names such as 'Friend of all the world' or 'chela' before he is found by the regiment. As for Lispeth, when she discards her identity as 'Lispeth of the Kotgarh Mission' (L37), she has no choice but to call herself 'old Jadéh's daughter – the daughter of a *pahari* and the servant of Tarka Devi' (L37), and later simply 'the Woman of Shamlegh'. So, it is not an encounter between Kim and Lispeth, but the two nameless persons whose chance of having initially a *proper* name is deprived by being colonised, who can only describe themselves gathering as much information as they can, trying to reconnect themselves with the place and tradition. If Lispeth, as I argue, represents the native ground, she is the ground always already colonised and anglicised. Kim's case is even more peculiar. Unlike Lispeth who at least can decide which people and place she belongs to (whether or not it is totally possible), Kim, as 'Kim of the Rishti', has only an Irish Regiment as a place of origin, which is not only a colonised location but also colonising force of Great Britain. Then, is it possible to read this as a moment in which the two colonised change the stigma of being colonised into a means of communication? The important thing is not so much that Kim can perfectly act like an Englishman, as that Lispeth can understand the meaning of Kim's gesture and respond to him in an equally English way. Is it naïve to read between the lines a recognition that each is colonised – though in a different way – by the same country, the same culture, and that a secret sympathy is exchanged between them? Maybe it is, for Kim warns us. 'Next time … you must not be so sure of your heatthen priests'. We should not trust the Christian mission who colonised the land in the name of Christianity, as much as Kim who disguises himself as an innocent heathen priest. Kim is an expert in disguising and deceiving others, and nobody knows what he will turn into next. He even disguises himself as an innocent Irish boy, a poor colonised to us the reader, but what for? And will there be any 'next time' – next colonisation – we should be aware of?

3

The coloniser did not passively wait to be endangered by the new environment to which they relocated themselves, but on the contrary attempted to dominate and transform it so as to meet their demands. We have to recall that in the nineteenth century to colonise was to conquer the natural resources of a new land for the coloniser's use – rivers, jungles, mountains, animals, climate and so on, as well as the natives that were part of the landscape. From the coloniser's point of view, it was not so much a psychological, face-to-face confrontation between the coloniser and the native inhabitants as a challenging process of getting rid of the physical obstacles and resistance he encountered in his way. In this context, the biggest crisis in British India, I suggest, has to be seen neither as the mutiny of sepoys nor as the first war of independence, but rather as the spontaneous restoration of the original shape and equilibrium of the Indian ground which had been greatly disturbed by its exploiter.[39]

Lord Roberts (both Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Indian), looking back on the Indian Mutiny in which he himself participated about forty years before, recollects that any delay in retrieving Delhi was felt to be fatal for the efficient officers: '[if] Delhi were not taken, and that speedily, there would be a struggle not only for European dominion, but even for European existence within the Punjab itself'.[40] The Indian Mutiny was not merely the battle fought to preserve British rule in India and to prove the British superiority over the natives; in reality, it was rather the desperate struggle of the British figures for existence – so as not to be erased from the Indian ground. The success of the Mutiny meant for the English in India not only the dissolution of English ideologies and values – the protection and 'vaccination' against the Indian ground, which had allowed them to safely prefigure as English – but also the loss of the ground in which they could exist at all. With the outbreak of the Mutiny, the English suddenly found themselves fully exposed to the natural forces of the foreign ground. The early battles were fought in the most oppressive climate of the year (the Mutiny broke out on May 10th at Meerut, and Delhi was recaptured on September 21, which means that the European troops had to fight throughout both the hottest and rainiest seasons). Soldiers were struck down by the heat and exhaustion, and epidemics reduced the limited human resources at an alarming rate even before the actual fighting. Quite a few officers had to give up their command due to ill-health or death.[41] Not only the climate but also the configuration of the

land hindered the swift progress of the British troops and caused further delay, while the same gave the natives a great advantage, giving them time to attack weaker places and reduce the number of Europeans. As Roberts recalls, the bad weather and ground conditions were the more formidable enemies who relentlessly robbed the English troops of their time:

> It proved a most difficult march. The rain fell in torrents, and the roads were mere quagmires. In the first nine miles two swamps had to be got through... while running round the enemy's right and rear was a huge drainage cut, swollen by the heavy rain. The cut, or nulla, was crossed by a bridge immediately behind the rebels' position. Nicholson advanced from a side-road, which brought him on their right with the nulla flowing between him and them. Even at the ford the water was breast-high, and it was with much difficulty and not without a good deal of delay that our troops crossed under a heavy fire from the serai. It was getting late, and Nicholson had only time to make a hasty reconnaissance.[42]

According to Paul Virilio, 'Speed is Time saved in the most absolute sense of the word, since it becomes human Time directly torn from Death – whence those macabre emblems of decimation worn down through history by the Assault troops, in other words, the *rapid troops*'.[43] Indeed, the success of the Assault of Delhi depended absolutely on how rapid the British troops could be. As Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer of the Delhi Troops puts it in reply to Commander Wilson, 'waiting for reinforcements involved inaction – an inaction which might last for weeks. Such inaction ... involved a risk greater even than the risk of a repulse before the walls of the city'.[44] It was a case in history in which inaction – the lack of speed – literally meant perdition. The problem was, however, that the British troops in the Indian Mutiny were deprived of the speed most needed, because they were fighting in and against the very plane on which they proceeded. Roberts, in his accounts of the initial stage of the Mutiny, repeatedly draws a contrast between the natives who, having a geographical advantage, proceeded speedily and 'lost no time'[45] and the British who failed to take action 'with sufficient promptitude'[46] and therefore suffered from 'unaccountable delay'[47]: 'every hour that passed without assaulting was a loss to us and a gain to the enemy'.[48] At night when the battles were not fought further delay occurred, because at night, when the shape of the British figures became least visible, the mutineers secretly succeeded in effecting the breaches, 'notwithstanding the steady fire we had kept up'.[49] Moreover, as we will see later in this chapter, it was exhaustingly hot at night in summer.

The feeling that any more delay would be fatal was all the more intensified by the fact that Archdale Wilson, who had assumed the command of the Delhi field force, was reluctant to attack the city, preferring to wait for reinforcements of European troops which he

believed were available. Roberts quotes a letter sent from John Lawrence (an Anglo-Irish commander) to Wilson, in which Lawrence urges Wilson to take immediate action: 'There seem to be very strong reasons for assaulting as soon as practicable. Every day's delay is fraught with danger. Every day disaffection and mutiny spread. Every day adds to the danger of the Native Princes taking part against us'.[50]

The Siege of Delhi typically illustrates the dilemma which the coloniser had to face: the coloniser could maintain his rule over a ground only if he did not touch the ground. Too close a physical contact with the ground might undermine his existence and identity as the coloniser. To solve this dilemma, the coloniser of the nineteenth century set himself the unusual task of erasing the ground as he owned it, with the help of 'speed', moving so rapidly that he barely touched the ground. Again according to Paul Virilio, modern transportation – for example, the armed car – has made it possible for mankind to 'go over every kind of terrain' and erase the obstacles: 'With it, earth no longer exists. Rather than calling it an "all-terrain" vehicle, they should call it "*sans-terrain*" – it climbs embankments, runs over trees, paddles through the mud, rips out shrubs and pieces of wall on its way, breaks down doors... It offers a whole new geometry to speed, to violence'.[51] With speed acquired thanks to modern technologies, mankind can now disregard the force of the ground (Virilio's quote from Marinetti in *Speed and Politics* is worth quoting again: 'Hoorah! No more contact with the vile earth!'[52]).

Lord Roberts concludes, in the preface to his memoir, that the Indian Mutiny eventually contributed to consolidating the British power in India, as it 'hastened on the construction of the roads, railways, and telegraphs', which 'have done more than anything to increase the prosperity of the people and preserve order throughout the country'.[53] The new technologies such as 'roads, railways, and telegraphs', radically diminished the danger of delay which proved to be fatal during the Mutiny, made the ground spatially shrink and minimised the duration of time necessary to cover the vast spatial distance inside India.

Among British technological achievements, the electric telegraph most radically annihilated space and time; as James W. Carey argues, it decisively separated 'transportation' and 'communication', which had been identical till the advent of the telegraph: the telegraph 'not only allowed messages to be separated from the physical movement of objects; it also allowed communication to control physical processes actively'.[54] It made it possible for the information to be sent independently of geography, and what is more, gave the user the

power and time to intervene with the course of events. The telegraph was first introduced during Lord Dalhousie's era by an Irishman, William Brooke O'Shaughnessy, Assistant Surgeon and Professor of Chemistry in the Medical College at Calcutta, another example of the close involvement of the Irish in the Raj. The telegraph, in fact, turned out to be 'the most powerful weapon with which Lord Canning confronted the mutiny'.[55] Of course, in the nineteenth century, the materiality of time and space was yet to be overcome. The transportation (or the movement along the physical plane) was, and still is, to a certain extent inevitably caught up with the force of ground. As Hurree Chunder in *Kim* puts it, 'you cannot occupy two places in space simultaneously. Thatt is axiomatic'.[56] However, it is this axiomatical impossibility that modernisation has nevertheless been trying to disprove: to speed up against the ground effect, in order to obliterate space and time, and occupy more than one place at the same time, which will make the force of the ground almost unnoticeable, and in the end, eliminate the need to touch the ground altogether: transportation is asked to catch up with the speed of communication enabled by the new technology. After the Indian Mutiny, the colonies of the British Empire were quickly networked by the telegraph, unifying the Empire not so much the extension of the geographical territory as the imagined community sustained by the shared time and information.

4

Kipling's earlier stories on India were written with the pull of the Indian ground's gravity, the same force which could have annihilated the Delhi troop in the Indian Mutiny. I argue that the ground-effect influenced his earlier writing on India, as much as the sudden removal of it affected his later stories, written outside India.

A few critics have already argued that there is a change of tone in Kipling's writing before and after his leaving India. For example, as early as 1896, E. Kay Robinson notes that '[o]n leaving India Kipling was plunged into a new world, and to some extent seems to have lost his bearings, while his Indian writings – of jungle life, etc. – are losing the exactitude of local colour which marked his earlier work'.[57] Also, J. H. Fenwick writes, concerning the stories of 'Soldiers Three', '[a]fter Kipling leaves India the soldiers continue to appear, but

one can mark the way in which the old frame formula is becoming anachronistic, often effective in itself, but seldom serving an exploratory or analytic purpose'.[58] According to Fenwick, Kipling's later soldier stories no longer show 'a real and successful balance between the problems of the individual and that of military society as a whole'[59] which he values in the earlier stories. Instead, the stories become more tactless and overtly ideological. Fenwick finds the narrator of the later stories is 'as a civilian ... unbearably presumptuous in his outspokenness', and notes 'an increasing tendency to rhetorical persuasion': '[t]he rhetoric is sometimes crude, sometimes effective, but its very existence shows that Kipling's aim is no longer strictly fictional – that it verges at times on the propagandist'.[60] I will go on to claim here that Kipling's earlier Indian stories written in India are a little different from his later ones written after 1889 when he left India. It may trouble some readers, because what I am suggesting could lead to read differences between *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1889) and *Life's Handicap* (1891), both of which are often discussed in the same context.

Kipling's departure from India – his freeing of himself from the Indian ground – interestingly coincides with both the beginning of his literary fame and his becoming more obviously imperialistic. I argue that these two phenomena are closely interconnected. By the time he went back to England, his name was well-known among the English public. Edmonia Hill, one of Kipling's close friends during his days in India, writes in her diary in April 1888:

> I shall never forget the glee in which RK came in one afternoon saying, 'What do you suppose I just came across in reading the proof of this week's English letter? Andrew Lang says, "Who is Mr Rudyard Kipling?"' He was so pleased that they really had heard of him in England, for in all modesty he intends to make his mark in the world.[61]

It is a significant moment in which Kipling realised not only that his name had been known in England, but also that the representation of India and Anglo-Indian society had been equated with his name. The period in which Kipling wrote anonymously or with various pennames in the Indian newspapers was over. According to Michel Foucault, whereas a proper name refers a discourse to the real person who produces it, an author's name, 'points to certain groups of discourse and refers to the status of this discourse within a society and culture'.[62] When Kipling reached England in person, his name had already been an author's name, which shortly became identified with certain discourses which were very powerful at the turn of the century, namely discourses of empire and race. Within the text which bore the name Kipling, the reader could vividly visualise British India, the solidarity of the British Empire, and even racial differences between black and white, all of which were supposed to

exist. Kipling quickly responded to the expectation of the British public. We may say that Kipling was an author 'that nobody read', long before his fame declined.[63] Even in his palmy days when everybody read him with avidity and his ballads were sung in the music-halls, the British audience might have seen only what it expected to see in Kipling. That is why his fame declined quickly after Britain started losing its hegemony and all the ideological assumptions became no longer valid, and only the association between his name and imperialism remained. Kipling as an author's name still keeps functioning as a strong frame which discourages us from reading his work in any other contexts, which makes Kipling's text almost inaccessible. The association between his name and the ideology is itself a powerful text which still circulates today, constituting a crucial part of his work.

The attempt to read some inconsistencies in his work might help shake the too much taken-for-granted connection between his name and the ideology of imperialism, and refer us to the text itself, which was produced interactively with the ever changing situations of the Empire. For example, Kipling is often criticised for failing to register 'time' and 'reality'. His India is likened to the Garden of Eden, where the coloniser can still enjoy the full sense of power and from which the changing colonial realities outside are all left out.[64] The best example of such an approach is Edward Said who argues that Kipling's India in *Kim* is 'a timeless, unchanging, and "essential" locale, a place almost as much poetic as it is actual in geographic correctness',[65] which, according to Said, is deliberately chosen in order to mask the changing realities of the British India at the turn of the century and to perpetuate the hegemony of the British Empire. Similarly, Kipling's world is often referred to as 'adolescent' caught between childhood and adulthood[66] or belonging to 'the Imaginary'[67]: his India is destined to be caught in adolescence, as if, unlike in England where maturity was associated with the idea of tradition and progress, any transformation in time which India would experience immediately meant hybridisation, therefore degradation, into Indian nationalism.

I argue that Kipling's India during his seven years as a journalist is far from idyllic, and not so timeless nor *ground*less as these critics have argued it to be. On the contrary, it is permeated with the pernicious effects of the Indian ground, such as delay and the hot climate. It is true that Kipling, in his posthumous autobiography, described India in his childhood memories as if it were a 'Garden of Eden before the Fall',[68] but Kipling experienced a very different side of India when he went back there as a journalist. Indeed, the hot Indian weather

can be seen everywhere in his early stories and letters, which makes its absence in his later work far more interesting. I will go on to argue that Kipling's later Indian stories, after 1889, are indeed timeless and groundless, as often argued, but not because they are a representation of the timeless Orient, but rather because Kipling presents the Orient as timeless and groundless in order to protect the representation of the Raj from the hostile force of the Indian ground. It might not be a truthful representation of India itself, but at least it mirrors the reality of the British Empire trying to perpetuate its rule by making India as timeless and groundless as possible.

5

'The fact is, we must get this work over, or the sun will become very deadly'[69]: by the time William Howard Russell, a special war-correspondent of *The Times*, arrived in India in January 1858, the Mutiny had been virtually suppressed. However, Russell, who stayed in India till the retaking of Lucknow, went through a war as formidable as that against the Indian rebels, that is to say, the experience of going through one whole Indian summer. He witnessed European soldiers carried past him 'fainting, or dead'[70] during the march under the burning sun. He himself fell ill on the way, and was unfit for his duty for quite a long time. Russell found that the work and the climate were not compatible in India especially during the summer. Russell later wrote an essay titled 'The Climate and The Work', in which he identifies the Indian climate as the most formidable enemy of the Raj, simply because '[t]he climate kills as many as the sword'[71]:

> There would be less envy of Great Britain, on account of her Indian possessions, if the world could be made aware of the price of their retention... See, mail after mail, how the list of the dead lengthens out! What household is there which does not own its losses? What family is there which has not to say of some loved one – 'He died in India?'... It may be true that few of the great statesmen of India died in office, though some there have been who did; but the number of those who have fallen victims to the effects of climate, incessant mental exertion, and physical suffering, and exposure, cannot be easily estimated'.[72]

Kipling's 'Seven Years Hard', the period during which he stayed in India as a journalist, was also the painful effort to work in the tremendous summer heat. Kipling found the climate in

summer totally unbearable. Indeed, just a brief look at Kipling's correspondence in his Indian days makes us realise that his own experience in India was far from being Edenic, and very different from the way he would later present in *Kim*. His letters most frequently mention the temperature of the day: 'Would 94 ° in the office interest you? It has no charms for me' (May 1888).[73] '"How's your room? Mine's 96°." "You're lucky. Can't keep mine below 100°. Any hope of rain?"' (10 June 1884),[74] 'By the way red hot is not such an exaggeration as it sounds. The thermometer is 86°, under the Punkah, 108° away from it and 167° in the sun'. (24 April 1883).[75] Despite his effort to 'talk of more pleasant things',[76] the heat of the summer kept coming back to Kipling, and left indelible marks on his writing as well.

Working in such a hot temperature was, however, *not* the worst part of the Indian heat. Kipling found the night time, when there was nothing to do other than to sleep, difficult to bear. In one of his letters, he writes, 'The heat here is maddening and gets worse at night. In the day one can force oneself into work and not notice but in the night there is no such relief and so one kicks and knocks about "till the day break"' (May 1888).[77] Kipling is here referring to his own sketch 'Till the Day Break' in *The Civil and Military Gazette,* published in the same month. It is the stream of consciousness of a sleepless man, suffering from both heat and fever. Despite the narrator's utmost effort to get some sleep, the very effort soon turns into what he calls 'sick fancies' and 'a helpless knot of doubt, perplexity, argument, re-argument, wonder and pain',[78] while the number of sheep which he is counting in order to fall asleep reaches some nine hundred thousand, enough to fill the whole of Australia[79] by the time the day actually breaks. A sketch called 'From the Dusk to the Dawn', in *The Civil and Military Gazette* on September 14, 1886 (the year which Kipling found the heat most unbearable) deals with exactly the same situation. Here, the horrors of insomnia are likened to the Chinese torture for treason, 'death through want of sleep'.[80] Kipling gives us a detailed account of the Chinese torture, followed by a detailed account of a sleepless night. The latter is as bad as the former. The only difference is that the torture by Nature is 'superior in degree'[81] and has 'a refinement of cruelty which even the Chinese would abandon'.[82]

Janet Montefiore has already pointed out that there is a clear dichotomy between day and night in Kipling's Indian stories, the former representing the white man's world of reason and work and the latter the world of natives which cannot be explained and threatens to undermine the former.[83] We may also paraphrase it as the contrast between Day's Work and Night's sleeplessness: indeed, '[i]n the day one can force oneself into work and not

notice but in the night there is no such relief'. Therefore, here is a less known aspect of Kipling's Empire builders. They do their hard day's work, not because they are truly devoted to the cause of the Empire, but rather because there is no other way to forget the unbearable heat of summer. Work is virtually the only means to escape from it and avoid losing their sanity: as Kipling puts it in 'Wressley of the Foreign Office', 'without the work and the sense of purpose, however delusional, it gives, they would sit down and kill themselves'.[84] And they have no prospect of resting their tired brain after work. Kipling, in his autobiography, later describes his experience of the Indian night time in summer as follows: from 'mid-April to mid-October – one took up one's bed and walked about with it from room to room, seeking for less heated air'.[85] The search for a cool air was also the quest for a chance to represent India as a journalist and writer – for the hot climate certainly undermined his capability of forming any representation. Kipling lets his narrator wander throughout the night in search of less hot air, as Kipling himself did in his Indian days. "The City of Dreadful Night", first published in *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 10 September 1885 (later collected in *Life's Handicap*), is an account of an adventure into the city of Lahore by a narrator who has given up the effort to sleep in the first place: 'The dense wet heat that hung over the face of land, like a blanket, prevented all hope of sleep in the first instance... The heated air and the heavy earth had driven the very dead upward for coolness' sake'.[86] The narrator's attention is repeatedly drawn to the ground, probably because the heat of the night, along with the epidemics it propagates, is prone to drag whomever is within its grasp downward, that is, to death. The narrator sees hundreds of corpses scattered all around him and 'sleeping men who lay like sheeted corpses' (283). Literally, 'the ground is covered with them' (284). Corpses and those who sleep are so alike that the only way to tell that they are not dead is to see the 'lean dogs snuff at them and turn away' (284). Inside the City, the heat feels even worse, with its 'high house-walls... still radiating heat savagely' (285).

In the middle of the sketch, the narrator finds a way to the top of the minarets, and thereby successfully lifts himself up from the hot ground which might well batter him together with those whom he observes. It gives him at once a less heated air and a better view of the City. It is in this moment that the narrator gains the full power of description:

> There is the shadow of a cool, or at least a less sultry breeze at this height; and refreshed thereby, I turn to look on the City of Dreadful Night.
>
> Doré might have drawn it! Zola could describe it – this spectacle of sleeping thousands in the moonlight and the shadow of the Moon. (286)

From the top of the minaret, the narrator can now visualise the City as a spectacle, and liken himself to masters of realism like Doré and Zola, even 'watch and wonder over that heat-tortured hive till the dawn' (288).

It is important to note that the hot weather has the effect of localising the coloniser. Far from freely exercising his omnipresent rule over India, the coloniser looks for a narrow strip of space with less heated air, where some representation is possible. His representation of India is, for this reason, destined to be limited and selective. The climate and the point of view were closely entwined in the Raj. As Kipling, when interviewed on the subject of 'Indian Journalism' in 1889, maintains, '[o]ur local news is comparatively limited. The ubiquitous reporter is unknown with us. It is too hot for one thing, and again he is not needed, and absolutely unknown'.[87] In India where it is too hot, the point of view is likely to become 'local' rather than all-seeing.

The movement up from the heated ground in order to find a place to forge a representation corresponds to the reality of the Raj. Just as the narrator in 'The City of Dreadful Night' goes up the minarets to find cooler air, the Anglo-Indians escaped the heat of the summer by going to the hill-stations. The hill-station was the only place in which the English could dismiss the supremacy of the Indian ground-effect over them. Kipling represents the hill stations as a panacea for almost any unintelligible problem which the European encounters in the plains where the heat dominated. For example, in 'Haunted Subalterns' – a story which demonstrates that 'the easiest way to see ghosts is to go to 'the hottest Cantonment of all'[88]– a haunted subaltern in the story, Tesser, is released from the ghost playing his banjo only when he obtains a post at the Hills: 'The Devil stayed below, and Tesser went up and was free'.[89] In 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin', an Indian Civil Servant who tried to '[play] bricks with words'[90] against the climate, all of sudden loses control of his speech. The prescription of the doctor for his aphasia is simply 'Go up into the Hills for three months, and don't think about it'.[91] He goes into the Hills, 'in fear and trembling, wondering whether he would be permitted to reach the end of any sentence he began'.[92]

Also the hill stations were indispensable for the English because of the illusion of similarity between India and England which they created. As Francis Hutchins puts it, the discovery of hill-stations facilitated the 'reconciliation to Indian residence as a permanent condition'.[93] With their less harsh and almost 'English-like' climate, the hill-stations 'did

give a "hearty English tone" to Indian government'.[94] The Indian climate, especially in summer, did not allow the English to cherish the illusion that India was a larger England – as Kipling expresses in his letter, 'India isn't England and a thermometer at 168° in the sun isn't calculated to bring about a resemblance'.[95] If there was a certain location where any similarity between India and England could be forged, it was only the hill region. Kavita Philip, in her essay 'English Mud: Towards A Critical Cultural Studies of Colonial Science', argues that colonial narratives construct the hills in India as an English landscape and as 'a home away from Home'[96]: the hill region was repeatedly described as very similar to England, compared to the plains where the climate is oppressive and the natives were densely populated. The hill stations, such as the 'Nilgiri district of Madras Presidency where the British colonial government located its summer capital in order to escape the heats of the plains', Philip argues, 'was the object not of those common constructions of the colonized landscape as hostile and barren ... but of constructions so cloying and rosy that they might seem ... to assimilate India to the English self, rather than figuring it as radically other'.[97] In fact, the hill regions were, as Dane Kennedy puts it, 'Landscapes of Memory' through which the memories of England were brought back to the Anglo-Indian mind.[98] We may here recall that in 'On Greenhow Hill', 'the bare sub-Himalayan spur' reminds Learoyd of 'his Yorkshire moors'.[99] The resemblance between the two regions is so perfect that it suddenly brings to his mind the memories of his early love and the life at home which he has been forgetting since he left England. Only through the hill region can such a psychological identification between India and England become possible.

The importance of the hill regions for the English coloniser cannot be overemphasised. The act of *representing* India – literary as well as political – from the English point of view was never possible without the height of the hills (as is well known, the administration was moved to Simla during the summer). Kipling's narrator tells tales of the plains from the hills, never vice versa. The Plains can be represented only from the hills, or when the weather is a little cooler, as a picture or as a glimpse. If one dares to tell stories about the Indian plains, as Kipling does, it should be done in a few strokes; otherwise, the picture will be caught in the ground-effect and will be damaged. Here again, speed is needed, just as it was needed in the siege of Delhi. We may say that it is why most of the stories in *Plain Tales from the Hills* are very short. 'Writing back' from the plains – all that was excluded from the safe representational space constructed as Home – was impossible rather

than impermissible. And tales told from the Hills should be by all means plain; otherwise the Indian climate relentlessly takes off all the false embellishments.

Kipling spent seven summer seasons in India, of which he says in his letter 'I like it less each year'.[100] In *Something of Myself*, Kipling writes 'I felt each succeeding hot weather more and more, and cowered in my soul as it returned'.[101] It was 'one hot-weather evening, in '86 or thereabouts' that he felt that he had come to the edge of all endurance': 'As I entered my empty house in the dusk there was no more in me except the horror of a great darkness, that I must have been fighting for some days. I came through that darkness alive, but how I do not know'. Encouraged by a novel by Walter Besant which 'dealt with a young man who desired to write ...and who eventually succeeded in his desire', Kipling decided to try his literary talent at Home in England: 'I was certainly, I argued, as well equipped as the hero and – and – after all, there was no need for me to stay here for ever'.[102] He left India in 1889, never to return. To be precise, he did once go back to India, but he chose Christmas time, when the heat of India was absent.[103]

6

There are two noticeable differences in Kipling's writing on India before and after he left India. Firstly, the hot weather disappears from his stories on India. Secondly, the narrator becomes more and more omnipresent and all-knowing. We can see both changes consummate in *Kim*. The detrimental effect of the Indian ground seems to disappear from his bricks of word in his later writing on India. It is as if the narrator's bodily presence in India (without which the heat cannot even be felt) diminished, as the author removed himself from the effect of the Indian climate.

The omission of the weather is all the more interesting, considering that the heat of the summer is most prominent in the earlier stories: in 'The Daughter of the Regiment', it is the 'bitter, burnin' sun'[104] which kills Mother Mckenna who has overworked to nurse back the soldiers of her Regiment dying of cholera. In 'With the Main Guard', Mulvaney has to talk through 'a stifling June night'[105] in order to keep Learoyd in his senses, who, 'feeling the heat acutely, being of fleshly build',[106] is 'half mad with the fear of death presaged in the

swelling veins of his neck'.[107] 'In the Matter of a Private', it is the oppressive heat of the summer – 'eight hours a day in a temperature of 96° or 98° in the shade, running up sometimes to 103° at midnight'[108] – which is solely responsible for a murder in the Irish regiment.

Of course, Kipling cannot completely do away with the hot Indian weather, without which his writing would have sounded less oriental. Yet, he seems to be less willing to leave his characters at the mercy of the Indian climate in his later stories on India. They are therefore preferably told 'at the beginning of the hot weather'[109] ('My Lord Elephant'), instead of the middle of it, or in autumn[110] ('His Private Honour'), or when '[m]ercifully the hot weather was yet young'[111] (''Love-O'-Women'').

Interestingly, the change in his representation of the Indian summer seems to directly affect his presentation of what is true and/or real. In his early Indian stories, the heat of the summer often entails hallucinations, but Kipling does not present them as false or illusory, but rather as the most crucial part of the Indian experience. There is little point in questioning the validity of the phenomena, because they are perfectly real as long as they kill and destroy people and, what is more, there is no truer experience available outside them. However, in Kipling's later Indian stories, the reality or truth (of the British Empire) which cannot possibly be affected by the Indian summer suddenly emerges. The heat of the summer, now associated with hallucinations or madness rather than with reality, becomes a convenient excuse to cover up a truer situation. In 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', Ortheris says 'You lie! ... You're mad or sunstrooke', to which Mulvaney answers, 'Then my lie an' my sunstroke is concealed under that lump av sod yonder'.[112] In 'His Private Honour', Ortheris defends a lieutenant who hit him saying that the latter 'has been in the sun too long'.[113] In ''Love-O'-Women'', 'reeking heat', which triggers a tragic murder in 'In the Matter of a Private', is reduced to a mere setting and a possible explanation of a murder by a sergeant, which masks the true reason that his wife had an affair with one of his corporals whom he shot down.[114]

As the hot weather loses importance in his later writing on India, the omnipresent and omniscient narrator emerges who can occupy any narrative position, which was not possible under the tremendous summer heat. It is true that many critics argue that one of the characteristics of Kipling's writing is his pretence to 'know-all' about India, and as, for example, K. Bhaskara Rao suggests, this quality can be seen in Kipling's use of the

omniscient and omnipresent narrator 'I'.[115] Rao's comment seems to be correct as far as his later stories on India are concerned – especially those written after 1890 when he left India, including *Kim*. His earlier Indian stories, however, especially the ones written in India, do not necessarily have an omniscient and omnipresent narrator. There is a narrator 'I', to be sure, but we can see that the narrator is physically present in the stories and sometimes even intervenes in the course of the events. He plays the role of a witness and often, though not always, tells us how he got to know the story he narrates, rather than being an omniscient and omnipresent narrator whom no one knows where he is narrating from nor how he obtains all the information. This is especially true of the stories about 'Soldiers Three'. We find the narrator, for example, sitting beside his soldiers with his notebook in order to write down what they can tell him. This is the kind of a narrator who is proud of knowing his characters personally, and informs us how he comes to know the story. He buys some drinks for his characters in order to encourage them to tell him more stories, and sometimes even takes part in the course of the events which he is narrating.

The change in tone concerning the climate and the role of the narrator can be observed in the Mulvaney stories. In the later collections, written after Kipling left India, the emphasis mainly falls on presenting the reader with the solid picture of the British Empire, how it has a safe network even throughout India. This change is already seen as early as *Life's Handicap*, the first collection published soon after Kipling went back from India. Here, the narrator is no longer a conscientious writer scribbling down whatever his soldiers tell him in his notebook so as to make a story out of them later. Now, whatever Kipling's Tommy Atkins does has to be seen in a bigger framework, that is, of the British Empire. 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd' (1890) starts by expressing 'a bird's-eye view' of the British army in India: 'Thirty thousand troops had, by the wisdom of the Government of India, been turned loose over a few thousand square miles of country to practise in peace what they would never attempt in war'.[116] The narrator's friendship with the privates itself has been recognised by the officers of higher rank: 'I bundled several things into Mulvaney's haversack before the major's hand fell on my shoulder and he said tenderly, "Requisitioned for the Queen's service. Wolseley was quite wrong about special correspondents: they are the soldier's best friends. Come and take pot-luck with us tonight"'.[117] He is no longer an innocent friend of the Three Musketeers, who by sheer luck is accepted among their company. In 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', he even knows the conversation that has taken place

between the colonel and his 'much-trusted adjutant', his recognition of Mulvaney as 'worth a couple of non-commissioned officers when we are dealing with an Irish draft'.[118]

In *Kim*, written ten years after Kipling left India, the Indian weather and climate are, as Rukmini Bhaya Nair has already pointed out, almost absent: '*Kim* is an outdoor novel that prances all over Upper India for several years during the hero's adolescence, but is it ever drenched by the monsoons, oppressed by the heat, frozen in the snowy Himalayan passes? No. Just two fleeting references to rain occur in *Kim*'.[119] Nair rightly argues that the inclusion of the weather would have spoiled Kipling's picture of the efficient and successful Raj. Firstly, the description of the Indian climate would be embarrassing in *Kim* where everybody is 'frightfully energetic' because the reality is probably that 'the Indian climate enervates its masses so that they loll about all day long, unable to bestir themselves at any cost'.[120] Secondly, she suggests that Kipling has to check 'the metamorphosis of (destructive) weather into (dangerous) crowd'[121]: Kipling's fear of Indian nationalism and democracy results in the omission of the weather, for it may trigger again the tragedy which Great Britain once had gone through – the Indian Mutiny. In order to make the Raj and the Indian climate compatible, Kipling has to eliminate the latter to the extent that his India does not seem to correspond to the reality. We may also say that Kipling felt the need to put his Irish regiment under a more manageable condition, due to the growing concerns about the Irish question. In fact, in 'With the Main Guard', an uneasy issue to which Kipling cannot possibly give any appropriate answer slips into the text through the mouth of Mulvaney in the terrifying heat of a June night: the reason why the Irish have to be in India. 'Mary, Mother av Mercy, fwhat the devil possist us to take an' kape this melancolious counthry? Answer me that, sorr'.[122] The story begins with this exclamation, as if the narrator, startled by an insurgent voice coming from the darkness, immediately puts Mulvaney under his narrative control. Here we may also recall that the Irish mutiny in India in 1920 broke out in Jullundur, a military station 'situated in an immense fertile plain where the climate is oppressively hot during the summer months'.[123]

The two changes, that is, the gradual disappearance of the earth-effect typically embodied by the hot weather, and the narrator's transformation into a god-like omnipresent being, come together in his last Indian narrative, *Kim*, which seems to me to reflect the coloniser's desire to be away from the effect of the ground, by achieving the speed of light so that there is no delay any more, and one can even be 'in two places at the same time': *Kim*

seems timeless and even *ground*less, because Kipling in *Kim* pushes this colonial desire further away, and presents India as the place least bound to the earth's gravity.

We have nearly achieved what was felt impossible in Hurree's time: the advance of telecommunication tools in the twentieth century more or less allows us to be 'in two places at the same time', without travelling from one place to another. Paul Virilio terms this new state of being 'telepresence', the term originally derived from the remote control of autonomous robots, the state in which 'the robot operator gets a sense of being "on location", even if the robot and the operator are miles apart'.[124] According to Virilio, instantaneous 'telepresence' by immediate teleaction has radically changed the concept of time and space, by supplanting 'delayed time' with 'real time'. Whereas delay takes place only within the gravity of the Earth as we move from the 'here and now' in which we are located, 'real time' opens up 'a communicative elsewhere that no longer has anything to do with our "concrete presence" in the world'.[125] In 'real time', there is only presence but no delay. The speed of light necessary for 'real time' and 'telepresence' is possible solely up in the open sky, away from the actual geographical spaces and distances. As Virilio puts it, a 'secret perspective is, in fact, hidden on high'.[126] So there is a movement *up*, as far away from the ground as possible in the way a narrator narrates, as well as *speed* in describing rather than fiddling around with the details.

I argue that Kipling's imperialism became, as he left India, more and more the search for this hidden thus yet to be discovered perspective, up in the open air: the narrator who looks omnipresent in *Kim* has, in fact, achieved telepresence, looking down on Kim's India outside the earth's gravity. It is true that *Kim* looks like a timeless Eden, without any 'geographic correctness', because Kipling is here presenting something very different from the geographically correct representation of India. Compared to the Russian spies who have to struggle on the Indian ground and against delay in order to smuggle out the important information they acquired ('We have not time. We must get into Simla as soon as possible'[127]), the British intelligence system in which numerous spies who recognise each other by a certain password form a wide network to exchange and relay necessary information seems to function on a more real-time basis (thus, indeed, 'there is no hurry for Hurree'[128]). Moreover, the world of *Kim* can be said to be what Virilio calls 'a communicative elsewhere', where all the colonies of the Great Empire 'meet at a distance', to be united into one, rather than a representation of the actual India 'in geographic correctness'.

Kim, friend of all the world, who is English, Indian and even Irish, with the perfect command of every language spoken in India, is the ideal embodiment as well as an instrument of this 'communicative elsewhere'. The association between India and Ireland is easily achieved through Kim. The narrator insists that Kim's parents are Irish, not only because he has to make sure that Kim is free from the gravity of the Indian ground (for, as I have already argued, to be half-caste is for the coloniser to be trapped by the Indian ground), but also because in this way Kim can claim equal identity as Irish and as Indian. Through Kim, India and Ireland, the two separate places, truly meet, under the sky-high supervision of the British Empire.

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[1] Georges Didi-Huberman, *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance & Figuration,* trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15.
[2] Didi-Huberman, 15.
[3] Didi-Huberman, 27.
[4] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 101.
[5] As for the metaphor of location and the possibilities of reterritorialization for the deterritorized through writing, see, Caren Kaplan, 'Deterritorialization: The Rewriting of Home and Exile in Western Feminist Discourse', *Cultural Critique* 6 (Spring 1987), 187-98.
[6] Bhabha, 37.
[7] Sister M. Joseph Croke, *Diary of Sister M. Joseph Croke*, Original in the Convent of Mercy, Charleville, Mercy International Centre, Dublin, Ireland, 34. I discuss the Irish nuns in the Crimean War in more detail later in Chapter 6 on Nightingale and the Irish Famine.
[8] Croke, 22.
[9] M. K. Naik, in his work on the representation of India in Anglo-Indian fiction, has a chapter titled '"Bad Lands" and Victim', in which he shows how Anglo-English fiction portrays India as 'bad lands', a dreadful place for the Anglo-Indian to live in: the characters find the Indian heat, dust, insects, and tropical diseases unbearable, and they are often afflicted by apathy, boredom, alienation, the thought of death, guilt and shame. In fact, Naik borrowed the phrase 'Bad Lands' from Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier, *The Naulakha: A Story of West and East* (London: Macmillan, 1892), which, as Naik quotes, reads, 'The land isn't fit for rats; it's Bad Lands... a great big Bad Lands – morally, physically and agriculturally Bad Lands. It's no place for white men, let alone whitewomen; there's no climate, no government, no drainage; and there's cholera, heat and fights, until you can't rest' [quoted in M. K. Naik, *Mirror on the Wall: Images of India and the Englishman in Anglo-Indian Fiction* (New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1991), 33].

[10] Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967), 118.
[11] David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 59.
[12] Arnold, 293.
[13] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1970), 278.
[14] Foucault, 276.
[15] Foucault, 277.
[16] Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress, and Decadence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1968), 5.
[17] Warwick Anderson, 'Climates of Opinion: Acclimatization in Nineteenth-Century France and England', *Victorian Studies* 35:2 (Winter 1992), 136.
[18] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (London: John Murray, 1859).
[19] Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 33. See, also his 'The Perils of the Midday Sun: Climatic Anxieties in the Colonial Tropics', in *Imperialism and the Natural World*, ed. John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990), 118-40, in which Kennedy traces the medical and official views concerning the tropical environment, which was considered the biggest barrier to the colonial settlement of the white race.
[20] For this point of view, see, for example, Ronald Hyman, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience* (Manchester and New York: Manchester UP, 1990).
[21] As to the racial discrimination against the 'outcome' of colonial desire, that is, Eurasians, see, for example, Graham Sandberg, 'Our Outcast Cousins in India', *Contemporary Review* 61 (June 1892), 880-899.
[22] W. Somerset Maugham, 'The Force of Circumstance', *The Complete Short Stories of W. Somerset Maugham*, 3 vols (London: Heinemann, 1951), 1:501.
[23] Maugham, 1:482.
[24] Alan Sandison, 'Kipling: the Artist and the Empire', in *Kipling's Mind and Art*, ed. Andrew Rutherford (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), 151.
[25] Sandison, 156.
[26] Sandison, 155.
[27] Sandison, 157.
[28] Rudyard Kipling, ''Yoked with an Unbeliever'', *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 62. Further references will be cited in the text.
[29] Bhabha, 85.
[30] Kipling, ''Yoked with an Unbeliever'', 65.
[31] Kipling, 'Beyond the Pale' (1888), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 166.
[32] Kipling, 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin' (1887), *Plain Tales from the Hills,* 117-21.
[33] McIntosh Jellaludin is first mentioned in Kipling, 'The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows' (1884) as 'an English loafer – MacSomebody' (238), and the more detailed story of his life is revealed by himself in 'To be Filed for Reference' (1888). Both stories are collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills.*
[34] *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, vol. 1, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1961), 28.
[35] Kipling, 'Lispeth' (1886), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 33. Thereafter, quoted as L, and further references will be cited in the text.
[36] For the relation between the physical and social environment and the Victorian body, see, for example, Anthony S. Wohl, *Engendered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (London: Methuen, 1983).
[37] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 305. Hereafter, quoted as K, and further references will be cited in the text.
[38] In this respect, it is interesting to recall that his father's regiment, the Mavericks, is elsewhere shown to have a long history of having fought as part of the British army: in 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', the regimental colours, which the Mavericks 'keep long and guard ... very sacredly' tells us the names of the important wars which the regiment fought for the British Empire: 'Vittoria, Salamanca, Toulouse, Waterloo, Moodkee, Ferozshah an' Sobraon ... Inkermann, The Alma, Sebastopol' [Rudyard Kipling, 'The Mutiny of the Mavericks', *Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 183].
[39] When we view the Indian Mutiny as the war between the Indian ground and the modernisation of India, it is interesting to note that in the decade preceding the Mutiny India was ruled by Lord Dalhousie (1847-56), an 'Englishman' of Scottish origin, who vigorously promoted the modernisation and unification of India.

Dalhousie was well aware of the detrimental effects of the Indian climate on the British and its administration, which was felt at the most personal level: both he and his wife suffered from ill-health during his service in India. When a rebellion broke out at Mooltan in the end of April 1848, only three months after his arrival in India, he resolved to delay the military action against the rebels till November, in order to avoid a considerable loss of life among the British army and a failure in suppressing the revolt which could be the possible consequence if the war were fought through the hottest season of the year in a locality 'where the fierceness of the heat is reputed to exceed that of any other district' [*DNB*, vol.16, 692]. In a letter to his friend George Couper, he writes, 'I decline a war against God Almighty and His elements, for they would be our real antagonists, and not the Sikhs' [Letter dated 10 May 1848, in *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, ed. J. G. Baird (Shannon: Irish UP, 1972), 27]. Eight years later, in his last speech as Governor-general, he likens the outbreak of the native insurrection to 'an exhalation from the earth', and the 'little cloud' which might 'rapidly darken and swell into a storm' [18 April 1856, 10b]. Dalhousie closely identified the native power with the land itself, and for him the conquest of the latter directly meant the conquest of the former. During his governorship, he constructed railways, telegraphs and canals for the purpose of both irrigation and navigation, introduced uniform low postage without reference to distance, all of which contributed to breaking down the geographical barriers which had been hindering free communication within India. Dalhousie is notorious for having annexed several native states within his no more than eight years of governorship. His policy of annexation is often seen as the main cause of the Indian Mutiny, which has obscured his more worthy achievements such as public works, education and modernisation. However, we should not overlook the fact that the annexation of native states was to realise his policy of modernisation and centralisation in India, for the construction of railways, telegraphs, canals, and post offices would never have been fully realised without unifying the scattered Indian dominions.

As for Dalhousie's social reforms in India, see, for example, Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *Dalhousie in India, 1848–56: A Study of his Social Policy as Governor-General* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1975).

[40] F. S. R. Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India, from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), 1:214.

[41] According to David Arnold, 'Of 9,467 losses sustained by British forces during the 1857-58 uprising, only 586 soldiers were killed in action or died of their wounds: the rest perished from disease' [Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, 65].

[42] Roberts, 210.

[43] Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Semiotext(e), 1986), 22.

[44] John Kaye, *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8*, ed. Colonel Malleson, 6 vols (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971), 4:4.

[45] Roberts, 85.

[46] Roberts, 87.

[47] Roberts, 86.

[48] Roberts, 224.

[49] Roberts, 227.

[50] Roberts, 213. It is interesting to note that Richard Baird Smith (a Scot) and John Nicholson (of Anglo-Irish descent), who were most impatient about Wilson's inaction and put the greatest pressure on him, were the two who knew the place best and were most concerned about the condition of the field. Baird Smith, the Chief Engineer, who had been 'personally familiar with the localities about Delhi for fully sixteen years', produced a long and detailed account of the topography of Delhi, with the conclusion that the only chance to win back the city was to attack it as immediately as possible [Letter from Baird Smith to Col. Lefroy, quoted in H. M. Vibart, *Richard Baird Smith: The Leader of the Delhi heroes in 1857: Private Correspondence of the Commanding Engineer during the siege, and other interesting letters hitherto unpublished* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1897), 45]. He was well aware that the British force, with its limited amount of human resources and the insufficiency of artillery and engineer material, was in fact 'a besieged, instead of a besieging army' (30): 'the army was steadily and surely being used up by the ordinary process of the Siege, and it seemed as though a simple calculation would show how long such a rate of waste of life could be maintained in the presence of an enemy by a force numerically so feeble; long it plainly could not be' (31). As for John Nicholson, the Brigadier General and a 'man of the field', we have already seen him leading his troops in the pouring rain and the ground turned into quagmires in the passage quoted above. Nicholson even intended to propose that Wilson should be superseded if he hesitated any longer. According to Neville Chamberlain, an adjutant-general who fought the siege of Delhi with Nicholson, '[h]ardly a day passed but what he [Nicholson] visited every battery, breastwork,

and post; and frequently at night, though not on duty... [he] was the only officer, not being an engineer, who took the trouble to study the ground which was to become of so much importance to us' [Chamberlain's letter to Herbert Edwardes, October 25th, 1857, quoted in G. W. Forrest, *Life and Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1909), 370]. Though Nicholson lost his life during the storming of Delhi, he successfully fixed himself as a legendary English figure in British military history, whereas many authors on the Mutiny have described Wilson as 'a good soldier but not a man of strong character' (*DNB*, vol. 21, 551). It is ironical that many of those who made up the 'weak' character of Wilson the Englishman were of the Celtic origin, but nevertheless figured far more strongly as English. Indeed, one may say that it was the fight of the Celtic figures defending to the last the only ground in which they could be English.

[51] Virilio, 55.

[52] Virilio, 52.

[53] Roberts, ix.

[54] James W. Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 203.

[55] William Lee-Warner, *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie K.T.*, 2 vols (Shannon: Irish UP, 1972), 2:191, originally published by Macmillan and Co., London, 1904. The construction of lines connecting Calcutta, Agra, Bombay, Peshawar, and Madras was launched in November 1853, which were opened in February, 1855. By 1857, the telegraph was extended to as far as 4,555 miles, bringing Mysore, Ootacamund, and Calicut into the system [*The Imperial Gazeteer of India, published under the Authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council*, new ed. (New Delhi: Today & Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, [1981-1989]), vol. III, 437]. The Morse system was introduced early in 1857 in order to increase the efficiency of the telegraph system in India, just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. '[W]hat a political reinforcement is this!', Dalhousie enthusiastically writes, when the telegraph covered nearly 5000 miles in total in less than a day, enabling the government to make communications which, before the telegraph was introduced, would have occupied a whole month [Letter dated December 9, 1854, in *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie*, 332]. The process of constructing the subterranean telegraph lines was itself the conquest of the Indian nature (the plan of constructing the aerial lines, which were more common in Europe, was rejected, in order to avoid the mischief of monkeys and birds): the varied terrain of mountains, swamp, jungle, the excessive heat, the disturbances caused by 'thunderstorms, the torrents and size of rivers, the properties of the soil', and the attacks of insects, and so on [*The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie K.T.* , 2:191]. During the Mutiny, thousands of telegrams were sent, providing the British with a strategic advantage. The phrase 'the telegraph saved India' is attributed to John Lawrence, by which, as Mel Gorman very aptly comments, 'he meant for the British Empire' [Mel Gorman, 'Sir William O'Shaughnessy, Lord Dalhousie, and the Establishment of the Telegraph System in India', *Technology and Culture* 12 (1971), 599].

[56] Kipling, *Kim*, 299.

[57] E. Kay Robinson, 'Rudyard Kipling in India', *Pearson's Magazine* 1 (June 1896), 662.

[58] J. H. Fenwick, 'Soldiers Three', in *Kipling's Mind & Art*, ed. Andrew Rutherford (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), 244-5.

[59] Fenwick, 244.

[60] Fenwick, 245.

[61] Edmonia Hill, 'Young Kipling', *Atlantic Monthly* 157 (1936), 409.

[62] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard , trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), 123.

[63] Here I am referring to the title of Edmund Wilson's famous essay 'The Kipling That Nobody Read' in his *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature* (London: Methuen, 1941), 94-161.

[64] As for the Edenic themes in Kipling's stories, see Constance Scheerer, 'The Lost Paradise of Rudyard Kipling', in *Rudyard Kipling's* Kim, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), 75-85. James Harrison, *Kipling's Jungle Eden*, in *Critical Essays on Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Harold Orel (Boston, Mass.: G. K. Hall & Co., 1989), 77-92.

[65] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 162.

[66] Robert F. Moss, *Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982).

[67] Andre Viola, 'Empire of the Senses or a Sense of Empire? The Imaginary and the Symbolic in Kipling's "Kim"', *ARIEL* 28:2 (April 1997), 159-72.

[68] Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Works* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), 4.

[69] William Howard Russell, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, ed. with an essay on the Mutiny and its consequences by Michael Edwardes (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), 137.
[70] Russell, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, 140.
[71] William Howard Russell, 'The Climate and the Work', *Cornhill Magazine* 6 (August 1862), 244. As for the British experience of the hot summer in India before the advent of air-conditioning, see also *Plain Tales from the Raj*, ed. Charles Allen (London: Futura Publications, 1975), Chapter 11, 'The Hot Weather'.
[72] Russell, 'The Climate and the Work', 241.
[73] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 1:174.
[74] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:67.
[75] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:31.
[76] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:34.
[77] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:194.
[78] Rudyard Kipling, 'Till the Day Break', *Civil and Military Gazette*, 19 May 1888, in *Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches 1884-88*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1986), 287.
[79] Kipling, 'Till the Day Break', 287.
[80] Rudyard Kipling, 'From the Dusk to the Dawn' (1886) in *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, vol. 2, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1963), 1091.
[81] Kipling, 'From the Dusk to the Dawn', 1091.
[82] Kipling, 'From the Dusk to the Dawn', 1092.
[83] Janet Montefiore, 'Day and Night in Kipling', *Essays in Criticism* 27 (October 1977), 299-314.
[84] Kipling, 'Wressley of the Foreign Office' (1887), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 260.
[85] Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself, For My Friends Known and Unknown* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), 64.
[86] Rudyard Kipling, 'The City of Dreadful Night', *Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 283. Thereafter, further references will be cited in the text.
[87] Kipling, 'Indian Journalism', 3323.
[88] Kipling, 'Haunted Subalterns' (1887), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 107.
[89] Kipling, 'Haunted Subalterns', 111.
[90] Kipling, 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin', 118.
[91] Kipling, 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin', 121.
[92] Kipling, 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin', 121.
[93] Hutchins, 104.
[94] Hutchins, 105.
[95] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:34. William Russell also writes, '[t]here is a sun, indeed, which tells us we are not in Kent' [Russell, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, 141].
[96] Kavita Philip, 'English Mud: Towards a Critical Cultural Studies of Colonial Science', *Cultural Studies* 12:3 (July 1998), 305.
[97] Philip, 303.
[98] See Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, Chapter 3, 'Landscapes of Memories', in which Kennedy traces the Anglo-Indian representations of the mountainous regions as similar to the English highlands.
[99] Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill', *Life's Handicap,* 83.
[100] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 1:130.
[101] Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 71.
[102] Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 71.
[103] Kipling went back to India in December, 1891. He recorded his visit in his article titled 'Home' for *Civil and Military Gazette*, 25 December 1891. See, Harbord, R. E., ed. *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, vol. 5 (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1970), 2488-2504.
[104] Kipling, 'The Daughter of the Regiment', *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 189.
[105] Rudyard Kipling, 'With the Main Guard' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 46.
[106] Kipling, 'With the Main Guard', 46.
[107] Kipling, 'With the Main Guard', 47.
[108] Kipling, 'In the Matter of a Private' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White,* 61.
[109] Rudyard Kipling, 'My Lord Elephant', *Many Inventions* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), 44.
[110] Kipling, 'His Private Honour'(1893), 136.
[111] Kipling, ''Love-O'-Women'' (1893), 264.
[112] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', 54.

[113] Kipling, 'His Private Honour', 149.
[114] Kipling, ''Love-O'-Women'', 261-2
[115] K. Bhaskara Rao, *Rudyard Kipling's India* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 162.
[116] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', 56.
[117] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', 58.
[118] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', 45.
[119] Rukmini Bhaya Nair, 'The Pedigree of the White Stallion', in *The Use of Literary History,* ed. Marshall Brown (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1995), 181.
[120] Nair, 182.
[121] Nair, 183.
[122] Kipling, 'With the Main Guard', 46.
[123] Anthony Babington, *The Devil to Pay: The Mutiny of the Connaught Rangers, India, July,1920* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), 2.
[124] Paul Virilio, *Open Sky*, trans. Julie Rose (London: Verso, 1997), 152.
[125] Virilio, *Open Sky*, 10.
[126] Virilio, *Open Sky*, 2.
[127] Kipling, *Kim,* 286.
[128] Kipling, *Kim,* 273.

Chapter 3: Exiled Home: the Voice of the Irish Soldiers

> My first rig'mint was Irish – Faynians an' rebils to the heart av their marrow was they, an' *so* they fought for the Widdy betther than most, bein' contrairy – Irish. They was the Black Tyrone. You've heard av thim, sorr?
>
> Heard of them! I knew the Black Tyrone for the choicest collection of unmitigated blackguards, dog-stealers, robbers of hen-roosters, assaulter of innocent citizens, and reckless daring heroes in the Army List. Half Europe and half Asia has had cause to know the Black Tyrone.[1]

When the narrator meets the Soldiers Three in India, Terence Mulvaney already belongs to his last regiment, the 'Ould' regiment. According to the narrator, Mulvaney served with 'various regiments from Bermuda to Halifax'[2] before joining the 'Ould' regiment. Interestingly, Mulvaney, though he tells us many episodes of his younger days, gives away surprisingly few clues as to when he served with which regiment, and even when he does, the details about his past, spread all over the eighteen separate stories, sometimes contradict each other. Thus it is almost impossible to make a precise chronology of Mulvaney's military career.[3] It is as if his past becomes more distanced and mystified as he tells more about it. In this way, he raises himself into the almost mythical status of a loyal soldier in the British army – 'old in war, scarred, reckless, resourceful, and in his pious hours an unequalled soldier'[4] – out in India.

Hence, it is worth paying special attention to the 'Black Tyrone', the only regiment which Mulvaney names and therefore is identifiable in his military career, apart from the 'Ould' regiment. In fact, the presence of the 'Black Tyrone', a piece of his past which somehow keeps coming back to haunt Mulvaney's narrative, makes his stories something other than a 'cornucopia of memories and adventures' with an obscured social background, which Keating characterises them to be.[5] What we have instead is a series of stories about a loyal British soldier who tries to come to terms with his rather Fenian past through narrating it. At one level, Mulvaney's career as a soldier which starts with the 'Black Tyrone' and ends with the 'Ould' regiment can be read as his transformation from rebellious Irish to law-abiding British through his service in the British army in India. I argue that the voice of Mulvaney is not only the representation of the Irish accent and character, but functions as an apparatus through which the political 'reality' of Ireland seeks to find a place to be represented among the discourses which constitute the British Empire. In this sense, it is significant that Mulvaney defines his first regiment, the Black Tyrone, first and foremost as

'Irish'. The 'Black Tyrone', which is, according to Mulvaney, recruited from 'here, there, and ivrywhere'[6] in Ireland can be seen as Ireland itself represented rather than, for example, the Mavericks in *Kim*, in which Irish Protestants are the large majority[7] (Mulvaney himself is a Catholic). Or, to put it more precisely, Mulvaney's stories show that the 'true' representation of Ireland is possible if it is spatially and temporally mediated by narrative devices, that is to say, only in the form of the reminiscences of an old Irish soldier who serves in India.

Here, I propose to take a closer look at Kipling's reference to Mulvaney as a 'very wise Ulysses', a comment made by the narrator in 'Private Learoyd's Story'. It seems to me that the reference goes beyond the general attributes of Ulysses, such as traveller, trickster and married man.[8] In fact, the series of Mulvaney stories and Homer's *The Odyssey* bear some peculiar resemblances to each other. *The Odyssey* starts with a plea to the Muse to tell the story of Odysseus, which characterises his journey as the struggle to 'preserve his life and bring his comrades home'.[9] In other words, Odysseus's journey is not solely by and for himself, but rather a journey to take his people back to Ithaca. Odysseus and his countrymen, like the Irish people in the nineteenth century, are driven away to wander from one foreign land to another, but cannot give up their desire to go home, which unites them and keeps the long journey going. The peaceful Lotus-eaters become formidable enemies only in this context, for their lotus make his crew 'forget all thoughts of return' and 'think no more of home' (127). It should be noted here that unlike Odysseus, Mulvaney has to move geographically away from his home (Ireland) so as to sail ideologically towards Home (the Empire). And this causes a painful separation from his crew whose destination – Ireland – somehow differs from his own.

Indeed, the striking similarity between Mulvaney and Odysseus becomes more apparent when we remember that both stories tell us how the heroes come to part from their own countrymen who violated the society's laws. As Mulvaney confronts the Fenian side of the other Irish soldiers, Odysseus has to deal with his crew who turn out to be by no means law-abiding. The opening paragraph of *The Odyssey* reveals Odysseus's failure to take home his comrades, who broke a rule and angered a god:

> he fails to save those comrades, in spite of all his efforts. It was their own transgression that brought them to their doom, for in their folly they devoured the oxen of Hyperion the Sun-god and he saw to it that they would never return.[10]

Odysseus, in his reminiscence, recalls that his men often refused to obey his order, as if to

confirm the statement of the opening paragraph which condemns his men for their transgression and cleanse himself of any further charge. For example, when Odysseus raided the city of the Ciones, he urged his men to escape with all possible speed, but they refused and 'kept on drinking and butchering sheep and shambling crooked-horned cattle by the shore',[11] which gave the Ciones the time to ask for help and attack them. Also, it was their fear of hunger, Odysseus recalls, which made them disregard his order and eat the sacred cattle of Hyperion. Many times Odysseus has to delay the smooth course of his journey in order to save his crew who, for example, are easily turned into pigs by the magic of Circe, which suggests that they have more in common with chaos and animal nature rather than with civilisation and laws. Only Odysseus does not transgress the law of Gods, and therefore survives to tell the story. In Mulvaney's case, it is the Law of the Empire which he observes through his long journey as a soldier, which in turn ensures that Mulvaney's story is perpetuated by the bard of the Empire, Kipling – even though it costs him the tie with his Fenian countrymen whose intention was to overturn the Empire.

It is worth noting that both in Mulvaney's stories and in *The Odyssey*, the hero's encounter with monsters, as well as his dealing with his countrymen who transgress the Law is never told in the third person, but only in the first person as the hero's recollection of the past. Odysseus's twenty-year long wanderings are retrospectively narrated by Odysseus himself at the very end of his journey, the flashback which occupies only four out of twenty-four Books of *The Odyssey* (Book 9 to 12). The famous monsters such as the Cyclops, the Wandering Rocks, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Sirens all appear in this personal reminiscence. It is not until he finishes looking back on his journey that he can embark upon his last journey home to reclaim his homeland and wife. Likewise, in Mulvaney's stories, the lawless Black Tyrone figures only in his reminiscence. It is interesting that in the above quotation from 'With the Main Guard' the Black Tyrone is shown to be a chimera: it is the most unlikely combination of the loyalist Irish and the Fenian Irish – at once 'Faynians an' rebils' *and* the most courageous heroes of the war. That is to say, the dealing with the monsters – those which are fully inexplicable yet which the hero knows to be threatening to his own existence and identity – as well as the transgression of the Law by his own countrymen and his own survival are confronted only in a fictional form, a reminiscence already rendered safe enough for the hero to tell – or retrospectively reconstructed (or even invented) to fulfil the psychological justification of the narrator.

In my view, the theme of transgression in *The Odyssey* has a special resonance with Kipling's work, for some of his major stories are written around the primal scene of violence, the moment when laws and taboos of the community are violated and the world is, as a consequence, irretrievably transformed. Kipling does not write directly about the primal scenes, but only *around* them, as if the direct treatment of the subject might release further violence and disturb the order of the Empire as well as that of his narrative. The best example of this is the Indian Mutiny, the turning-point of British history in India which Kipling rarely touches upon, though all his Indian stories are mostly about a post-Mutiny world deeply marked by the impact of the incident. In *The Jungle Books,* there is the original sin committed against Man by the First of the Tigers, which, just as the Mutiny did, broke the taboo and let loose chaos and fear into the world.

In both *The Odyssey* and Kipling's stories, the primal violence which broke the society's law, though safely mediated in a personal reminiscence, still seems to be powerful enough to disrupt the entire narrative structure. Just like *The Odyssey* which is marked by temporal disruptions and a great flashback, *The Jungle Books* do not follow a chronological order, and in addition are separated from each other by other animal stories. For example, 'Tiger! Tiger!' which describes Mowgli's hunt for Shere Khan, precedes 'How Fear Came', in which Shere Khan is still alive and the reason why the tiger has a rightful claim on Mowgli is revealed by Hathi the Master of the Jungle. The primal scene of violence (the First of the Tigers' killing of Man) is introduced into the narrative, only *after* daily scenes of violence (Mowgli's hunt for Shere Khan), for which some kind of justification is always found necessary. It is only in *Kim* that Kipling finally succeeds in representing the violence of the Indian Mutiny without letting it interfere with his grand narrative of the Empire: the novel achieves a long consistent narrative and the single point of view of an omnipresent and omniscient narrator, though, here again, the Mutiny, 'the first evil' through which a 'madness ate into all the Army',[12] is narrated only by being framed within a personal reminiscence, that is, through the mouth of an old Indian soldier who fought for the British and was duly rewarded for his loyalty.

Mulvaney's stories, just as in *The Odyssey*, are full of digressions that tend to delay his coming home to the heart of the Empire. And like *The Jungle Books,* they are found among other Indian stories and arranged without regard to the chronological order (for example, 'The Big Drunk Draf'', chronologically the last of the stories of Mulvaney, is

placed in the middle of *Soldiers Three*). In the world of Mulvaney, the primal scene of violence takes place in Ireland, when an Irish regiment took up arms against the English. The incident is told in 'Belts' in *Barrack-room Ballads*, a poem which describes a row between 'an Irish regiment an' English cavalree' in 'Silver Street' in Dublin.[13] This fictitious event is narrated by an Irish soldier who was himself in the row. Though the fight seems to have started from the excess of drink ('The English were too drunk to know'), it is unambiguously portrayed as an 'Irish' version of the Indian Mutiny against England. The English call the Irish 'Delhi Rebels', and the narrator portrays himself as a staunch Fenian whose 'uniform' is 'A *Freeman's Journal Supplemint*'. 'There was a row in Silver Street – it might ha' raged till now', but the fight suddenly draws to a close when an Irish soldier Hogan is accidentally murdered, and as a consequence, half of the Irish regiment, including the narrator himself, receive a punishment. Kipling dares not let an English soldier die in the row, which would have meant the success of the Irish Mutiny. In other words, the row is subdued when the Irish regiment kills an Irish soldier: it is not only the primal scene of the Irish rebellion against England, but also the original moment in which the Irish turn their weapons against themselves, and let violence loose within Ireland.[14]

We have some reason to assume that the Irish regiment in 'Belts' is the same as the Black Tyrone and Mulvaney is the narrator of the poem who is responsible for the murder. In a poem 'The Way Av Ut' (1888), composed two years before 'Belts', Mulvaney uses three lines in 'Belts' with amazing precision:

> I lay wid thim in Dublin wanst, an' we was Oirish tu,
> We passed the time av day an' thin the belts wint *whirraru*:
> I misremember fwhat occurred but, followin' the shtorm,
> A *Freeman's Journal Supplemint* was all *my* uniform.[15]

The last three lines of the stanza above are the identical ones, preceded by the first line in which Mulvaney clearly defines himself as Irish.

It is true that there is no definite evidence that the narrator of 'Belts' is indeed Mulvaney, and the poem can be read independently from the other work of Kipling. However, the way in which Kipling suggests the connection between 'Belts' and his stories while determined not to reveal the true link between them makes us even more suspicious of Mulvaney's involvement in the row in 'Silver Street'. According to the narrator in ''Love-O'-Women'', Mulvaney 'had never given the tale in full', though he does admit that there was a trouble related to 'a belt and a man's head'[16] in his past, on account of which he was

'caressed an' pershuaded to lave the Tyrone'[17]. The connection is more clearly stated in 'With the Main Guard', in which Mulvaney says, 'I cut a man's head tu deep wid me belt in the days av me youth, an', afther some circumstances which *I will oblitherate*, I came to the Ould Rig'mint, bearing the character av a man wid hands an' feet'.[18] Here, Mulvaney admits that he deliberately wipes out the true connection between his Fenian past in Ireland and the loyalist present in India. That is to say, his stories are not so much the trustworthy recollection of what happened as the process through which the Irish past is edited and translated into a more acceptable form for the Empire.

Indeed, 'Belts', if viewed in the context of Mulvaney's other stories, makes an exceptional text in many senses. Nowhere else does Kipling represent an Irish regiment in Ireland, nor allow the Irish to rebel against the English. It is also the only piece in which the past is directly presented by the narrator who was also in the fight between the English and the Irish, whereas in the world of *Soldier Three*, Fenianism belongs to the past rather than to the political present. In contrast, the same incident concerning 'a belt and a man's head', is, in Mulvaney's stories, doubly (by Mulvaney and by the narrator) mediated as if to mitigate the violence released in the primal scene. Then it is significant that, when Mulvaney looks back on his old days in Ireland, the place is referred to as 'Silver *Theatre*' instead of 'Silver Street'. The violence against England which was once disclosed in the public space now has to be absorbed in the 'theatrical space' where every performance is watched and censored, and rendered into a safe representation. Mulvaney, as he talks about his days with the Tyrone, offers us a slightly different version of 'Belts'. For example, Mulvaney more than once stresses that the man whose head he broke did not die,[19] whereas in 'Belts' the murder does take place which turns the Irish soldiers into 'murderers' and the murdered Hogan into a 'poor dumb corpse'.[20] The rewriting of his Fenian past is most clearly shown in 'Black Jack' when Mulvaney talks of his old days with the Black Tyrone:

> Now there are Irish an' Irish. The good are good as the best, but the bad are wurrse than the wurrst. 'Tis this way. They clog together in pieces as fast as thieves, an' no wan knows fwhat they will do till wan turns informer an' the gang is bruk. But ut begins agin, a day later, meetin' in holes an' corners an' swearin' bloody oaths an' shtickin' a man in the back an' runnin' away, an' thin waitin' for the blood-money on the reward papers – to see if ut's worth enough. Those are the Black Irish, an' 'tis they that bring dishgrace upon the name av Ireland, an' thim I wud kill – as I nearly killed wan wanst.[21]

We can see that initially there is little distinction between the two types of Irish; on the contrary, they are identical – 'Irish' and 'Irish'. It is his next sentence, however, which

introduces discrimination and judges one as good and the other as bad and black. Mulvaney goes on to tell us that he had to protect himself from the 'dog's thricks' of twelve 'Black Irish' with whom he had to share the room: 'I dhrew a line round my cot, an' the man that thransgressed ut wint into hospital for three days good'.[22] Here Mulvaney physically and symbolically distinguishes himself from the 'Black' Irish, in order to define himself as a good Irish. The circle, once drawn, turns into a boundary between the self and the other, creating an immune system through which the self fights against being contaminated from the outside, and restores its identity according to the plan of what the self is supposed to be. His narrative becomes almost a ritual act of inventing a line between 'Irish an' Irish', making it visible and real, to the extent that it gains power over the reality outside. I would like to point out here that in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) a holy circle is also drawn around Mina Harker in order to keep the vampire away from her. Van Helsing writes in his memorandum: 'I drew a ring so big for her comfort, round where Madam Mina sat; and over the ring I passed some of the wafer, and I broke it fine so that all was well guarded'.[23] The similarity of the two circles in function and purpose seems to me striking: both are drawn to protect the loyal British subjects from the outer forces which try to assimilate them. This may allow us to interpret *Dracula* as the story of the loyalist Irish who struggles hard not to be influenced by Fenianism.[24] It seems to me that the circle which Mulvaney draws around his cot symbolises the split national identities and loyalties in Ireland: it is a fight to keep a piece of the ground in Ireland which would belong to the Empire forever.

It is interesting to note that Mulvaney uses the word 'black' to describe the Fenian Irish. Blackness is associated with potential rebelliousness of the ruled races, as can be seen in *Kim*, in which the year of the Mutiny is called 'the Black Year'.[25] Indeed, the blackness of the Irish, when relocated in India, seems to easily overlap the blackness of the Indian. Mulvaney, a Ulysses who has travelled the two worlds of the 'black' Fenian and the 'white' loyalist, becomes something of a borderline being between Black and White, East and West. In 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', Mulvaney comes back safely from his contact with Indians. His success in freely transgressing the border makes a sharp contrast with the tragic failure of Dravot and Carnehan in 'The Man who would be King', who cross the border of the Empire and try to pass as Gods in Kafiristan where no Englishman has ever been. In the same story, Mulvaney is given a different role from the English Learoyd and Ortheris. A boxing match, a typically English national sport, is held between two

Englishmen, Learoyd and Dearsley, with Ortheris as a referee. The fairness (considered to be an English quality) of the match is emphasised: 'the fat man in the red coat [Learoyd] fought with Dearsley Sahib after the custom of white men – with his hands, making no noise, and never at all pulling Dearsley Sahib's hair'.[26] Note that Mulvaney does not directly participate in the match, while it is initially Mulvaney who finds out that Dearsley has been exploiting the wages of his coolies by forcing upon them a raffle which does not give back any profit, and provokes him into a fight to win a palanquin, the prize for the raffle. Mulvaney, however, asks Learoyd to take over the fight, and places himself between these three Englishmen and the coolies in order to protect this purely English space from being disturbed by the interference of the natives:

> some fifty of us made shift to rush upon the red-coats [Learoyd and Ortheris]. But a certain man [Mulvaney] ... ran upon us, and of us he embraced some ten or fifty in both arms, and beat our heads together, so that our lives turned to water, and we ran away. It is not good to interfere in the fightings of white men.[27]

The match is narrated by the Indians who witness it, to whose eyes the racial differences among the white races do not exist, especially because this is the passage where Kipling clearly separates the English and the Irish. The reader has to reconstruct what the native eyes fail to see, which reinforces whatever subtle racial stereotypes exist. In the next section, I focus on Kipling's representation of this *invisible* racial difference which he successfully captured as a visual image: the transcription of the Irish voice.

2

According to Linda Dowling, there emerged a new interest in spoken dialects in the late nineteenth-century, due to a strong sense felt at that time that 'written language, the literary tongue of the great English writers, was simply another dead language in relationship to living speech'.[28] The identification of written language with national spirit typically seen in Coleridge's 'lingua communis', the idea that written language can hold people in common who are otherwise widely different and through which 'men may conceive of themselves as belonging to a larger cultural and historical whole',[29] was now felt to be artificial and inauthentic, and needed to be supplemented by the living spoken voice. Thus, songs, ballads

and local dialects started being discovered and incorporated into literature. Although Dowling dismisses Kipling's work and prefers to discuss other 'Counter-Decadent' poets such as W.E. Henley and John Davidson, we may say that Kipling's work can be seen as a perfect example of newly discovered spoken dialects in the Victorian *fin de siécle*. In fact, Andrew Lang, one of the earliest proponents of Kipling, was himself a well-known folklorist. In his article on 'Ballads' for *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he writes,

> Ballads sprang from the very heart of the people, and flit from age to age, from lip to lip of shepherds, peasants, nurses, of all the class that continues nearest to the state of natural men... Ballads are a voice from secret places, from silent peoples, and old times long dead; and as such they stir us in a strangely intimate fashion to which artistic verse can never attain.[30]

Kipling not only brings new voices into literature, but also gives life to the representation of the British rule in India, which had been reduced to written documents by the Indian administration and numerous books on the subject covered with dust and buried in the library.

If the 'voice' of the subaltern, the silenced Other who is deprived of the power of self-representation, and the (im)possibility of their speaking for themselves is at stake in recent criticism, we may be made to feel a little uneasy by the fact that Rudyard Kipling, regarded by many as a racist, seems to pay special attention to such voices too.[31] If we are not to push 'the subaltern' too much into the margin, into a repressed and almost esoteric sign which only a chosen elite can decode, we may argue that the British soldiers serving outside the 'British Isles' in the nineteenth century can be called the subaltern. They were 'real-life' soldiers, mostly privates who had no hope of being promoted to the rank of commissioned officer. As we have already seen, many of them were from the lower-class and/or Ireland, the dangerous and unmanageable excess which would have disturbed the peace of the Empire if kept at home. Compared to those who emigrated to, for example, America and gained a voice as 'Fenians', the British soldiers sent abroad seem to have been more quiet. Their voices are not well known to us, and not only because they were placed geographically too far away from England to make themselves heard. They were not supposed to complain; after all they agreed – no matter what their circumstances were – to take the Royal shilling and fight for the British Empire; therefore, they should keep whatever grudge they might have against Great Britain to themselves, for it would endanger the order of the army and that of the Empire. It is these 'silent' soldiers, especially in India, whom Kipling lends his ears to.

Much has been written on the politics of seeing in Kipling's work. Even from the very start of his literary career, he was praised as 'an Englishman with eyes, with a pen extraordinarily deft, an observation marvellously rapid and keen' who 'has the power of making us see what he sees'.[32] The narrator's eyes are also given the power to frame what would have been otherwise lost in the margin of the Western representation, as best shown in 'The Man who would be King'. Carnehan, on the threshold of sense and madness, asks the narrator to keep him under his gaze ('Keep looking at me, or maybe my words will go all to pieces. Keep looking at me in my eyes and don't say anything'), while he narrates 'everything from beginning to end' of what happened after he and Dravot went beyond the territory of the Raj.[33] Thus it is interesting to observe that Kipling's narrator seems to resort to his ears rather than his eyes when he represents his Irish soldiers. In fact, it is very difficult to visualise 'Irishness'. It was Charles Kingsley who in his letter famously expressed his desire to see blackness in the Irish: "to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours..."[34] The whiteness of their skin disappoints the narrator's desire to fix the racial inferiority of the Irish to the English as visual images. The red hair, a stereotypical racial marker of the Irish, does not always help, for in reality not all Irish have red hair and those with the red hair still possess the white skin.[35] In this sense, the Irish body does not exist. However, when he resorts to the ears, the missing racial difference starts emerging: it is difficult not to notice the Irish accents. That is to say, the voice is the only bodily component which can be truly called Irish (Samuel Beckett's obsession with the theatrical representation of the voice may be heard as the representation of Irishness extracted onto the stage in its purest form). Some of the stories are narrated at night in the dark, when the narrator can easily concentrate on their voices without being tricked by their appearances.[36] Kipling does not give us any detailed account of Mulvaney's body. We only vaguely know that he is 'the tallest man in the regiment'[37] and has black hair (that is, without being visibly marked as Irish with red hair). Nevertheless, Mulvaney is rather superfluously visible in the text with his Irish accent. The presence of the narrator in Mulvaney's stories is there not only to watch and control the potential rebelliousness of the Irishman. It also helps visualise the 'corruption' (or degeneration) of Mulvaney's English by contrasting it against the narrator's standard English. In this way, Kipling succeeds in retrieving the visual body of the Irish (as 'misspellings') on his pages.

At first glance, there are striking similarities between the world of Soldiers Three and that described by Mikhail Bakhtin. Kipling's transcription of different voices – an Irishman, a Yorkshireman, a Cockney mixed together – could be seen as a perfect practice of Bakhtinian polyphony and dialogism as multivocality. As Michael Holquist writes on Bakhtin's use of musical metaphors like polyphony and orchestration:

> Music is the metaphor for moving from seeing to *hearing*. For Bakhtin this is a crucial shift... Within a novel perceived as a musical score, a single 'horizontal' message (melody) can be harmonized vertically in a number of ways, and each of these scores with its fixed pitches can be further altered by giving the notes to different instruments. The possibilities of orchestration make any segment of text almost infinitely variable.[38]

'The Three Musketeers', the first story of Mulvaney and Co., presents the speeches of the three soldiers as if in a scene from an opera. The soldiers take turns to play a solo, occasionally mixing some Indian words which give an exotic flavour to their tune. In the middle of the story, Mulvaney and Ortheris speak together, which is described as a 'duet'[39]; the reader is asked to distinguish one voice from another, in a musical equivalent to the Lombrosian technique of detecting different classes and races (Irish, working-class). The narrator even tells how the soldiers perform their part ('Mulvaney leading',[40] 'Here Ortheris, slowly, with immense pride',[41] 'Here the Three Musketeers retired simultaneously into the beer'[42]). The narrator's notebook on which he scribbles down the soldier's conversation becomes a musical score, in which the name of their troop, '*B C*ompany of a *Line* Regiment'[43] may look like a part of the musical notation.

Recent critics have found Bakhtin's dialogism among many post/colonial and feminist texts. For example, Mae Gwendolyn Henderson points out black women's writing's 'interlocutory, or dialogic, character, reflecting not only a relationship with the "other(s)", but an internal dialogue with the plural aspects of self that constitute the matrix of black subjectivity'.[44] Or, as Michael Bernard-Donals puts it, 'there is a subaltern effect even in the most monologic of utterances'.[45] The association between Kipling's soldiers and dialogism or the so-called 'subaltern' is, however, rarely made. It is probably because the voice of the soldiers in Kipling's work is usually considered to be the complete opposite to dialogism or multivocality. Regardless of the seeming similarity with multivocal orchestration in which various voices are given a chance to vertically subvert the single 'horizontal' melody, Kipling's soldiers' chorus seems to accentuate the 'horizontal' melody, namely, the ideology of the British Empire. Kipling's narrator listens to the soldiers and lets them speak, to be

sure, but as soon as they open their mouths, they start speaking not so much for themselves as for the Empire. Supposing that the soldiers serving the army were indeed the silenced Other of the Empire, it is as though their voices were discovered only to justify the very cause of their distress. The voice which Kipling grants his soldiers is, to borrow Robert Buchanan's phrase, 'the Voice of the Hooligan': 'a wild carnival of drunken, bragging, boasting Hooligans in red coats and seamen's jackets, shrieking to the sound of the banjo and applauding the English flag'.[46] Kipling's transcription of different voices can be seen as the act of fixing the subaltern as knowable thus manageable stereotypes, or, worse still, as the 'silencing' of the real voices of the subaltern by forcing them to speak in a false voice, the voice which 'univocally' speaks for the glory of the Empire.[47] It is probably true to say that Kipling's methods for making the soldiers mouthpieces of the Empire met the taste of the time, because they succeeded in presenting an image of the Empire which the British audience wanted; that is to say, the image of the Empire supported by the very lowest stratum of the society, proud to serve as soldiers despite the hardest living condition of the colonies. Yet, it seems to me that the way in which Kipling and his narrator listen to them is worth looking at more closely. Kipling, after all, could have chosen to ignore the voices which might at any time start speaking in the Empire's disfavour, whereas the Irish speak quite loudly in Kipling's fiction. In fact, Terence Mulvaney is, we may safely say, the most loquacious character in Kipling's short stories. I argue that Kipling's representation of the voice of Irish soldiers should not be seen as a mere silencing of the Irish voice, but as a powerful counter-representation to the voices which were raised against the Empire. His stories were written with a keen awareness of various disturbing voices which started being heard inside and outside the Empire. The 1880s and 1890s during which Kipling wrote most of his Irish stories were when Irish Home Rule, which Kipling detested as a Unionist, came very close to realisation and Irish nationalism was active on both sides of the Atlantic. Mulvaney makes his loyalty to the Empire clear as if to negate the voice of Irish nationalism which claimed to be authentically Irish.

Indeed, if we look at Mulvaney's stories a little more closely, we will soon notice that the voices of the three soldiers are not treated equally. That is to say, they do not even sing a univocal chorus for the imperial cause, but Kipling, especially in his later stories, seems to give more credence to the English voice of Learoyd than to the Irish voice of Mulvaney, even though the latter would not speak against the Empire. It is interesting to note

that the narrator is always present in the text (either as a listener or as an omnipresent narrator) whenever Mulvaney speaks, while he allows Learoyd to speak on his own, without being interrupted by the narrator in 'Private Learoyd's Story'.[48] The gesture of silencing the disturbing voices of the Other and letting the English monologue be heard undisturbed is consummated in 'On Greenhow Hill'. The story opens with the sudden outbreak of a native voice which invites the Indian soldiers to desert and 'fight against the English'.[49] It is the voice of a deserter from a native corps, for whom the Three Musketeers go out to hunt. While they wait for the deserter to come out, Learoyd starts telling his old story at home in England. His story soon turns into a monologue, for he '[takes] no heed' of Mulvaney's comments (thereby refusing to interact with any other voices) and the Irishman only gives '[s]ympathetic grunts'[50] and '[nods] sympathy'[51] to the Englishman's story. In this way, the Englishman's self-representation of England as a sacred Home (as I characterised the story in Chapter 1), is completed without being disturbed by the voices of the Other. At the end of the story, another Englishman, Ortheris, shoots the deserter, whereby not only Mulvaney's Irish voice but also the native Indian voice is successfully silenced. The same hierarchy of the voices can be seen in 'My Lord the Elephant', in which the narrator doubts the authenticity of the story of Mulvaney who, in his opinion, has 'a profligate imagination', and decides to 'wait till Learoyd comes' who does 'not tell lies' before believing the story.[52] At the very end of the story, Learoyd appears, and gives his word that the story is true.[53]

However, as I have already pointed out, the voice of Mulvaney is always framed by that of the narrator, who lets Mulvaney speak, and even uses every possible means to get as many tales as possible out of him. The narrator is by no means a passive audience, but takes a great part in shaping Mulvaney's narratives into stories. In 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', for example, the narrator insists that Mulvaney 'begin at the very beginning',[54] just as the narrator in 'The Man who would be King' encourages Carnehan to talk from the beginning. In this fashion, Kipling does not disguise the fact that the voice of Mulvaney is not the unmediated truth of the Irish soldier but rather its representation through English ears. It can even be interpreted as Kipling's literary representation of the Irish inability of self-representation without the help of the English or the precaution against letting the armed Irish form their own story without the English inspection of the content. At any rate, the constant presence of the narrator and listener in Mulvaney's stories seems to me to contradict the assumption that Mulvaney is a one-hundred percent trustworthy loyalist soldier: it is as if his

voice has the possibility of destabilising the truth of Empire and therefore needs controlling. In fact, Mulvaney is represented to forever elude the narrator's attempt to frame him and his stories, which makes him intriguing as a character. If we focus on *what* Mulvaney tells, we are likely to hear the most imperialist remarks. However, when we focus on *how* Mulvaney tells his stories, there seems to be some incongruity between the content and the form of his speech. Indeed, Mulvaney speaks for the Empire, but his speech is not necessarily as disciplined as he says he is. His tale tends to become bigger and digresses – in the manner of Tristram Shandy. In 'The Big Drunk Draf'', Mulvaney, now time-expired and a civilian, tells the narrator how he came to help a new young officer of the Ould Regiment to restore the order when a 'Home draft' of the Ould Regiment became too drunk and started 'knockin' red cindhers out av ivrything an' ivrybody'.[55] Here, we find that the course of his story is as out of his own control as the drunk draft which he in his story put back into the order. Mulvaney himself realises that, as soon as he starts talking about the draft, he is 'digresshin'' and complains to his wife Dinah Shadd, 'You and your digresshins interfere wid the coorse av the narrative'.[56] Thus, the story of the ex-Irish soldier who disciplined an unlawful draft of his old regiment is in truth that of the taming of the Irish voice (which might have become even more chaotic because he has been away from the military discipline so long) with the help of the English narrator.

That is to say, Mulvaney's narrative even under the close inspection of the English narrator still shows a resemblance to Bakhtin's dialogical concepts: the narrator's single horizontal narrative is vertically and infinitely disturbed by that of Mulvaney whose story, despite his best loyalist intention, tends to digress. A Bakhtinian reading does sound plausible, except for one problem. Graham Pechey argues that Bakhtin's dialogical concepts, such as polyphony, heteroglossia and carnival, refuse the kind of narratives 'that seek to pull these concepts back to a primary instance or origin'.[57] In other words, Bahktinian concepts which challenge the master narrative refuse any longing for an origin. However, the Irish voice in the nineteenth century is, on the contrary, marked by its desire for the place of origin, that is, Ireland. It is a land of the origin from which so many Irish people had to emigrate, a lost origin that had been waiting to be liberated from the long subjugation under the English rule. It may be true that the Irish voice has a power of disturbing the imperial grand narrative, but it is not by its refusal of the narrative which pulls them back to an origin but rather by its longing for an origin somewhere else England as Home. In this sense,

Kipling's representation of Mulvaney as an Irish soldier is truthful, for he denies Mulvaney the possibility of going back to his origin. Although the voice of Mulvaney might echo the ideology of the Empire, he nonetheless suffers the same fate as the Irish, that is to say, the wandering away from home while deprived of the possibility of his voice having its firm origin within the discourse of the Empire.

3

In 'The Last of the Stories', the story which Kipling wrote as the last story for the *Week's News* in 1888, which is, to use the word of Hugh Haughton, 'a kind of playful, self-conscious coda to the fiction he wrote and published in India',[58] Kipling once again places his narrator – who also figures as the author Kipling himself who has published all the fifty-one stories in the *Week's News* – under the influence of 'the brain-fever bird'.[59] The narrator is caught in a hot weather. The punkah, a large ceiling fan usually moved by a native servant, does not work well enough to allow the narrator to escape from the ground-effect. On the contrary, it stops again and again, for the heat has also assaulted the punkah-coolie, who is too tired to keep working. Thus the narrator curses 'go to Jehannum and get another man to pull' (374). This somehow summons a Devil, who offers the narrator to take him to 'the Limbo of Lost Endeavour', where stay the souls of all the characters that 'are in any way created by anybody and everybody who has had the fortune or misfortune to put his or her writings into print' (375). The narrator promptly agrees to this proposal (though he makes it sure that the Limbo is not hotter than Northern India (375)), but this journey to hell, in order to see his own characters and to escape from the heat, turns out to be even more nightmarish.

The story straightforwardly draws our attention to the relationship between the figure and the ground in fictional representation. In contrast to the narrator who is pinned down to the Indian ground by the Indian heat, none of the characters in this Limbo, including his own, stand on their feet: 'the lameness that seemed to be almost universal in the Limbo of Lost Endeavour. Brave men and stalwart to all appearance had one leg shorter than the other; some paced a few inches above the floor, never touching it, and others found the greatest difficulty in preserving their feet at all' (380). The characters are cut off from their ground, and none of them has autonomy enough to stand on his own. The narrator finds it difficult to

face his own creatures, for they are nothing but marionettes which awkwardly limp, stutter, mouth and stagger around him. For example, Mrs Hauksbee, the wittiest woman in Simla, turns out to be a 'limp-jointed staring eyed doll ... hirpling towards [him] with a strained smile of recognition', and the narrator steps back and exclaims, 'I never made *that*!' (381). The distorted picture of his characters is nightmarish enough, but the real nightmare begins when the Devil, by some kind of magic, makes his characters stand on their own feet, and turns them into what the narrator initially intended to create. However, the characters, as soon as they recover their contact with the ground, start expressing the truth which the narrator does not want to accept: 'You didn't understand'. Every single character of his repeats the same phrase, 'You didn't understand', pointing out the narrator's complete failure in creating real characters. The narrator despairingly turns to the Three Musketeers, 'dearest of all [his] children', who 'would not turn against me as the others had done'. However, Mulvaney answers the same with his Irish accent:

> Savin' your presence, sorr, an' it's more than onwillin' I am to be hurtin' you; you did not onderstand. On my sowl an' honour, sorr, you did not onderstand (385).

In this story, Kipling bluntly admits that the voice of his own characters in India is no more than a misrepresentation. The narrator, horrified by the accusation from his characters, tells the Devil to change his characters back into disfigured dolls.

The story is surprisingly Bakhtinian in the sense that it takes the form of a conversation between the narrator and the characters who are given their own voices. The theme of the story can be summarised by the question which the Devil asks the narrator, 'Have you never known one of your Characters – even yours – get beyond control as soon as they are made?' (377). There is another interesting coincidence between the story and Bakhtin's concept of dialogism: François Rabelais, the epitome of the Bakhtinian world along with Dostoevsky, is 'the Master of the Limbo' in the story, to whom the narrator turns for advice in order to create real characters instead of paper-dolls. However, Rabelais can only give the narrator a piece of advice which the narrator already knows: 'The First Law is to make them stand upon their feet, and the Second is to make them stand upon their feet, and the Third is to make them stand upon their feet' (386). The Master of the Limbo fails to provide the answer to the narrator's question, *how* to make them stand upon their feet (387).

The characters whose feet are not firmly on the ground can be interpreted as a

metaphor for the postcolonial subjects who have been cut off from the native ground as a result of colonisation. The characters are also forbidden to have full access to various social contexts and ideologies of the day, without which they are far from being called round-characters. More importantly, 'The Last of the Stories' brings us to another set of figures and ground models, namely, the voice of the characters and the voice of the narrator, each of which functions as the background of the other. The characters' groundlessness can be interpreted as the lack of a true conversation between the author and his characters. In fact, when Kipling makes his characters grounded, they reveal their truer voices – though the only thing that they articulate is the unbridgeable miscommunication between the author and themselves. The story peculiarly echoes Paul De Man's criticism of Bakhtin that dialogism and understanding simply do not coexist:

> When it is said, for example, that 'the heteroglot voices [...] create the background necessary for [author's] own voice', we recognize the foreground-background model derived from Husserl's theories of perception and here uncritically assimilating the structure of language to the structure of a secure perception: from that moment on ... we are within a reflective system of *mise en abyme* that is anything but dialogical... Bakhtin modulates irrevocably from dialogism to a conception of dialogue as question and answer of which it can be then said that 'the speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory against his, the listener's, apperceptive background'... there is no trace of dialogism left in such a gesture of dialectical imperialism that is an inevitable part of any hermeneutic system of question and answer. The ideologies of otherness and of hermeneutic understanding are not compatible, and therefore their relationship is not a dialogical but simply a contradictory one.[60]

Dialogism and understanding are not compatible, for any two voices, if they are truly different from each other, theoretically cannot understand each other. In order to establish understanding, some code has to be shared, which will make the two initially unique voices alike. De Man here describes Bakhtin's dialogism not as a free conversation among different voices but rather as an imperialist project to break down the otherness and implant a common ground onto the listener. To establish an understanding could easily end up in a violent attempt to colonise the other. On the other hand, the refusal to give one a chance to understand and communicate with the other is equally violent, as the sentence 'You did not understand' by the 'misunderstood' characters strikes the narrator with a sheer shock. Maryanne Dever, in her essay 'Violence as *lingua franca*', suggests that where verbal communication fails, non-verbal, physical forms of communication ranging from hugging to beating or even killing take its place. This kind of non-verbal communication directly affects the shape of the body of the receiver and violence can be seen, according to Dever, as 'an

extreme or perverse form' of this 'frustrated effort to communicate'.[61] Thus the narrator, frustrated by the fact that his characters refuse to communicate with him, puts them back again into disfigured forms. If the body, no matter how disfigured, still exists, there might be a chance of speaking out, as Kipling's characters in 'The Last of the Stories' manage to do with the help of the Devil. Though violence may be the most radical way of expressing one's alterity and the impossibility of verbal communication, it destroys the recipient's physical and psychological potentiality to speak out. Caught between the two extreme shapes of violence, one has to just keep trying. *How* to do so is yet to be discovered; it might contribute to preventing the two types of violence from causing further damage to our chance to communicate.

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[1] Rudyard Kipling, 'With the Main Guard' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 48.

[2] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', *Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 32.

[3] A rough chronology of Mulvaney's life is attempted in *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, vol. 1, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1961), 10.

[4] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', 32.

[5] P. J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 143. See Chapter 1 of this thesis, pp. 16-7.

[6] Kipling, 'Black Jack' (1888), *Soldiers Three and In Black and White,* 74.

[7] As F. V. F. in his article 'The Mavericks of 'Kim'' (*Kipling Journal,* December 1964, no. 152) points out, Father Victor in the Mavericks is described as 'the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Irish contingent' [*Kim,* 133], which suggests that the main body of the regiment is Protestant, of which Reverent Arthur Bennett, 'the Church of England Chaplain of the regiment' [*Kim,* 130] is in charge (9). Further evidence of this, according to F. V. F., is the existence of a Masonic Lodge in the Mavericks: 'Free Masonry was proscribed by the Roman Catholic Church and a Lodge would have been a constant cause of offence to the Catholics' (9).

[8] See the 'Notes' to *Soldiers Three and In Black and White,* 177, n. 7.

[9] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991), 3.

[10] Homer, 3.

[11] Homer, 125.

[12] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 100.

[13] Rudyard Kipling, *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads*, ed. Charles Carrigton (London: Methuen & Co. LTD, 1973), 36.

[14] It is worth noting that the idealisation of the old days as the period free from violence and injustice was also a common aspect of Irish nationalism. For example, Frances Power Cobbe, in her article 'The Fenian Idea' [*Atlantic Monthly* 17 (May 1866)], criticises a 'popular Irish idea' (573) that Ireland, before being colonised by England, was 'an age of gold' (576), a grand era of universal prosperity and civilization' (575), in which every Irishman was 'not a labourer or carter, shoemaker or tailor, but the head of some ancient house, – Some O' or Mac, – living not in his own mud cabin, but in the handsome residence of some English gentleman whose estate was wrongly taken in "former times" from his – the labourer's or shoemaker's – ancestors' (574), the idea which helps perpetuate 'the tradition of imaginary wrongs' (577).

[15] Kipling, 'The Way Av Ut' in *The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work*, Verse Section, vol. 1, ed. R. E. Harbord (Canterbury: Messrs. Gibbs & Sons Ltd, 1969), 5226. The corresponding stanza from 'Belts' is as follows [Kipling, *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads,* 36]:

> There was a row in Silver Street – an' I was in it too;
> We passed the time o' day, an' then the belts went whirraru!
> I misremember what occurred, but subsequint the storm
> A *Freeman's Journal Supplemint* was all *my* uniform.

[16] Rudyard Kipling, 'Love-O'-Women', *Many Inventions* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899), 271.
[17] Kipling, 'Love-O'-Women', 270.
[18] Kipling, 'With the Main Guard', 48. Italics are mine.
[19] In ''Love-O'-Women'', Mulvaney says, 'Faith, ivry time I go on prisoner's gyard in coort I wondher fwhy I was not where the pris'ner is. But the man I struk tuk it in fair fight, an' he had the good sinse not to die' (271). Also, in 'Black Jack', Mulvaney admits that he 'nearly killed' one Black Irish once [Kipling, 'Black Jack', 75].
[20] Kipling, *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads,* 36-7.
[21] Kipling, 'Black Jack', 74-5.
[22] Kipling, 'Black Jack', 75.
[23] Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, eds. Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal (New York & London: Norton & Company, 1997), 316.
[24] Much has already been written on how Stoker's Irishness is represented in *Dracula*. For example, Burton Hatlen argues that, though there are no Irish characters in the novel, his Irishness as Otherness is displaced onto the three outsiders, namely, Count Dracula, Quincey Morris, Van Helsing [Burton Hatlen, 'The Return of the Repressed/ Oppressed in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', *Minnesota Review*, vol.15 (1980), 94]. Stephen D. Arata suggests a way to read *Dracula* within the Anglo-Irish context, for Bram Stoker himself was a 'transplanted Irishman, one whose national allegiances were consciously split' [Stephen D. Arata, 'The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization', *Victorian Studies* 33 (Summer 1990), 633]. Dracula's invasion of Britain can be read, according to Arata, not only as a manifestation of the 'seldom dormant fear of an Irish uprising' (633), but also as a good example of 'a reversal of Britain's imperial exploitations of "weaker" races, including the Irish' which is 'mirrored back as a kind of monstrosity' (634). The anxiety and feeling of guilt found expression in contemporary literature in the form of the 'terrifying reversal' of roles, through which 'the coloniser finds himself in the position of the colonized, the exploiter becomes exploited, the victimizer victimized' (623). The equation that 'Dracula is to England as Ireland is to England' always accompanies another equation that 'Dracula is to England as England is to Ireland' (634). See also, Michael Valdez Moses, 'The Irish Vampire: Dracula, Parnell, and the Troubled Dreams of Nationhood', *Journal X* 2:1 (Autumn 1997), 66-111, in which Moses argues that Stoker's vampire reflects the figure of Charles Stewart Parnell, and Susanne Hagemann, 'The Irishness of *Dracula,*' *Literature of Region and Nation: Proceedings of the 6th International Literature of Region and Nation Conference, 2-7 August 1996,* ed. Winnifred M. Bogaards (Saint John, NB: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, with University of New Brunswick in Saint John, 1998), 239-53, in which Hagemann suggests the possibility of reading the death of Dracula as a triumph of Irish nationalism, Count Dracula being a personification of England and Mina that of Ireland, which needs cleansing from the colonial violation.
[25] Kipling, *Kim*, 100.
[26] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', 39-40.
[27] Kipling, 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney', 40.
[28] Linda Dowling, *Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siécle* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1986), xv.
[29] Dowling, 28.
[30] Andrew Lang, 'Ballads' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the 9th edition, vol. 3 (1875), 285.
[31] The word 'subaltern' was originally Gramsci's euphemism for the proletariat. In the postcolonial field it is used for the Others whose voices cannot be heard, since they have been deprived of the power of self-representation [David Lloyd, *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1993), 126].
[32] 'Andrew Lang on "Mr. Kipling's Stories"' in *Kipling: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Roger Lancelyn Green (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), 70.
[33] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Man who would be King' (1888), *Wee Willie Winkie* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1989), 224. Zohreh T. Sullivan argues that Kipling is torn between the urge to see all and the fear of going blind by seeing what he is not supposed to see, and his narrative device works as a means to make the two

contradictory demands compatible: 'In his fiction, Kipling became the divided framer of tales in which a survivor sees the forbidden and tells of the dismemberment, madness, or death of another who ventured where frame narrators fear to tread'. [Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 16].

[34] Charles Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life,* edited by his wife (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888), 208.

[35] In fact, many of Kipling's characters have red hair. Kipling represents the Irish descendant Namgay Doola and his children with 'flaming red hair' in 'Namgay Doola' [*Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 227]. Judy Sheehy, who tries to seduce Mulvaney in 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', *Life's Handicap,* has hair 'that was like red snakes' and 'green cat's eyes' (70). Jhansi McKenna in 'The Daughter of the Regiment', also has 'all yellow freckles and red hair' [*Plain Tales from the Hills* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987),185]. In *Stalky and Co.*, an Irish boy M'Turk is represented with the hair of 'the dark mahogany red that goes with a cerain temperament' [Rudyrad Kipling, *The Complete Stalky & Co.* (Oxford: The World's Classics, 1991), 11]. In these cases, red hair represents the fiery temper and potential rebelliousness of the Irish, whereas the exemplary Irish couple, Mulvaney and Dinah Shadd are *not* marked with red hair.

[36] For example, in 'Daughter of the Regiment', the narrator proposes going to the 'parade-ground' which is 'under the stars', instead of listening to Mulvaney's story at the refreshment-table (185-6). Also, 'In the Matter of the Private' and 'With the Main Guard' have a night-time setting.

[37] Kipling, 'The God from the Machine', *Soldiers Three and In Black and White*, 11.

[38] M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination, four essays, by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 431.

[39] Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 88.

[40] Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', 88.

[41] Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', 89.

[42] Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', 88.

[43] Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', 85.

[44] Mae Gwendolyn Henderson, 'Speaking in Tongues: Dialogics, Dialectics and the Black Woman Writer's Literary Tradition', in *Women, Autobiography, Theory, A Reader*, ed. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 344.

[45] Michael Bernard-Donals, 'Knowing the Subaltern: Bakhtin, Carnival, and the Other Voice of the Human Sciences', in *Bakhtin and the Human Sciences*, eds. Michael Mayerfield Bell and Michael Gardiner (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 124.

[46] Robert Buchanan, 'The Voice of the Hooligan', in *Kipling: The Critical Heritage*, 241.

[47] Ambreen Hai, in her 'On Truth and Lie in a Colonial Sense: Kipling's Tales of Tale-Telling', *ELH* 64 (1997), argues that Kipling is 'heavily self-conscious about his role as a colonial writer' (600), and suggests that he is well aware that he takes part in this silencing (622, n.15).

[48] Kipling, 'Private Learoyd's Story', *Soldiers Three and In Black and White.*

[49] Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill', *Life's Handicap.* 79.

[50] Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill', 88.

[51] Kipling, 'On Greenhow Hill', 93.

[52] Kipling, 'My Lord the Elephant', *Many Inventions*, 61.

[53] Kipling, 'My Lord the Elephant', 70.

[54] Kipling, 'The Courting of Dinah Shadd', 64.

[55] Kipling, 'The Big Drunk Draf'', *Soldiers Three and In Black and White*, 30.

[56] Kipling, 'The Big Drunk Draf'', 31.

[57] Graham Pechey, 'On the Borders of Bakhtin: Dialogization, Decolonization', *Oxford Literary Review* 9:1-2 (1987), 64.

[58] Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie,* 428.

[59] Kipling, 'The Last of the Stories', in *Wee Willie Winkie,* 387. Further references will be cited in the text.

[60] Paul De Man, 'Dialogue and Dialogism' in *Rethinking Bakhtin: Extensions and Challenges*, ed. Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1989), 112.

[61] Maryanne Dever, 'Violence as *Lingua Franca*: Keri Hulme's *The Bone People*', *World Literature Written in English*, 29:2 (Autumn 1989), 31.

Chapter 4: Shamrocks in the veldt: two types of aphasic empires

In Chapter 2, I have argued that the 'force of the circumstance', the potential for the coloniser to intermingle with the native and with the lapse of time physically assimilate to the place was felt to be threatening to English rule in the colony, because it would corrupt 'Englishness' and the purity of the race, and thus had to be resisted: the coloniser may enjoy whatever riches the colonies offer him, but has to leave the place for Home before being assimilated. We see this self-imposed banishment from the colonial ground face its biggest dilemma at the turn of the nineteenth century. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa, the English now allowed themselves to be fully seduced by the force of this foreign ground, only to find that they were forbidden to have full access to it. The place had already been populated by another white race, namely, the Boers, who labelled the British as 'Uitlander', the outsider to the land. Unlike the British colonisers, who sought to maintain their Englishness out in their colonies, the Boers seemed to have, after their two hundred years of South African wandering, quite successfully become assimilated with the land. The Boers were often referred to as 'the sons of the soil', who, according to Arthur Conan Doyle, trained themselves 'in constant warfare against savage men and ferocious beasts, in circumstances under which no weakling could survive'.[1] Paula M. Krebs points out that Olive Schreiner also understood the successful assimilation of the Boers in South Africa in terms of social Darwinism.[2] The ability of the Boers to assimilate to a new environment was seen as a crucial factor for the survival of the fittest. As Schreiner remarks on the South African Boer's 'astonishing gift for forming new societies, and as it were, instinctively creating for himself a new social structure, under whatever conditions he may find himself',[3] which draws a striking contrast with the notorious inflexibility of the English coloniser which we have already seen.

It is true that the Boer War officially ended with victory for the British Empire. However, the war, on the contrary, marked the defeat of British imperialism at a very fundamental level. If the British Empire, as Conan Doyle puts it, obtained her colonies by 'the right of conquest and the right of purchase',[4] these rights, which the Empire had fully enjoyed throughout the nineteenth century, were squarely challenged by the people's right to the land. The tie which the Boers had created with the country was the most formidable

enemy which the British had to fight against (the right of the native 'black' Africans was, though, never seriously taken into account, neither by the Boers nor by the British). Thus, it is no wonder that neither the relief of the besieged principal towns like Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley, nor the seizure of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria could completely terminate the war. Instead, the war soon developed into bitter guerrilla warfare. The inhabitants of the veldt demonstrated their rootedness to the place by turning themselves into part of the supportive background among which the guerrillas freely moved: the non-combatants such as housewives, children and elderly men participated in the war by providing guerrillas with supplies, information, hiding-places.[5] Against this resistance from the land and its people, the British ruthlessly carried out the 'land-clearance' policy. This meant sweeping the land bare of everything which could be the enemy's sources of supply, thereby eradicating whatever tie the Boers had built up with the ground. The British burned and blew up farmhouses, slaughtered livestock, and herded women and children into poorly-run concentration camps, where many suffered from undernourishment and illness, which made them easy victims of epidemics.

The Boer War seemed to show that the right of the inhabitants had become more powerful a claim to the land than the right of conquest by the end of the nineteenth century. It was not until the Boers were forcefully uprooted from their land that the Empire could gain real control over it. After the Boer War, the colonial government promoted a large-scale settlement of British colonists in South Africa, in order to solve the British/Boer racial problem which was expected to linger longer after the war. Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner of South Africa, writes in his memorandum, 'I attach the greatest importance of all to the increase of the British population. British and Dutch have to live here on equal terms. If, ten years hence, there are three men of British race to two of Dutch, the country will be safe and prosperous'.[6] In fact, *large-scale* settlement was the only hope for maintaining the British settler 'British' against the corruptive force of circumstances: Milner goes on to write, '[a] mere sprinkling is no use. They only get absorbed, and become more Dutch than their neighbours'.[7] The greater importance placed on settlement rather than mere conquest is also shown by the fact that Milner considers not 'tommies' but farmers as the ideal settlers: the 'common interest of the British and Dutch in agriculture will go a great way to break down the barriers of separation existing at present between the two races, and which will always exist as long as one race absorbs one set of employments and the other a different

set'.[8] The coloniser now had to learn to be a settler. Besides, the whole Land Scheme had a resonance of agriculture: the settlement is to 'plant' men on 'the land of suitable quality' chosen by the colonial government.[9] The imperial government's capacity to disseminate British seeds in a well-scorched land and make them grow alongside the hostile Boer breed was seriously tested.

Kipling's work written around the Boer War responds to the transformation which the body of the English 'coloniser' had to go through as he turned himself into the settler. As has already been discussed, the motif of racial degeneration is quite conspicuous in his Boer War stories.[10] For example, in 'A Burgher of the Free State', Allen, an Uitlander, tries to insult a Boer girl by mentioning the 'purplish moons' which are supposed to appear at the base of the fingernails when 'tainted with native blood',[11] and in 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', Copper actually checks the fingernails of the 'renegade' to see if he is half-caste. As Philip Holden puts it, the Boers are shown as having become degenerate 'to the point at which they are no longer white';[12] in 'A Sahibs' War', the Boer family 'who provides cover for the ambush exhibits the features of Nordau's degenerate types'.[13] Interestingly, whereas the degenerate bodies of the non-English are accentuated in Kipling's Boer War stories, the bodies of the Englishmen are, as Holden points out, surprisingly invisible,[14] which Holden interprets as a manifestation of the fear of racial degeneration: Kurban Sahib is talked about, and Private Copper is talked to, but their bodies remain curiously absent from the stories, as if to mask the effect of 'degeneration' or hybridization visible on their bodies as a natural result of their being exposed to the foreign ground. Holden notes that Kipling's hope for the regeneration of imperial manliness 'lies in the new children of Empire, Canadians and Australians'.[15] Racial revitalization takes place in the settler colonies, only after Englishness once loses itself in the foreign land, far away from Home.

In fact, in his poem 'The Settler' (1903), the body of the Englishman, which had to disappear from view during the war, comes back as that of a farmer. Kipling was also enthusiastic about Milner's policy to encourage British settlement. In his letter to Lady Edward Cecil, Kipling writes: 'each English county should interest itself in picking out a few of the best class of settlers on the land – yeomen farmers and the like... It might be that in time each county might take an interest in its settlers, and their lives in the Colony'.[16] The English settlement is shown as not degeneration but regeneration through the act of turning the furrows of the land which they have conquered:

Here, where my fresh-turned furrows run,
And the deep soil glistens red,
I will repair the wrong that was done
To the living and the dead.
Here, where the senseless bullet fell,
And the barren shrapnel burst,
I will plant a tree, I will dig a well,
Against the heat and the thirst. [17]

Here, the English settler's involvement with the South African soil is equated with the healing of the split between the land and the people, for which too much blood was shed during the war: the split between the Uitlanders and the land, and then the split between the Boers and the land which the British land clearance policy created. And only through this interaction with the South African soil can the English reach out to the Boers:

Here, in a large and a sunlit land
Where no wrong bites to the bone,
I will lay my hand in my neighbour's hand,
And together we will atone
For the set folly and the red breach
And the black waste of it all,
Giving and taking counsel each
Over the cattle-kraal.[18]

We can see Kipling conduct a great alchemical work in this second paragraph: the 'I' of the English, which had carefully guarded itself from any hybridisation, allows itself to dissolve in a land, in order to be regenerated into the 'we' of South Africa. Even the English 'cattle' are now inside the South African kraal [a pen for cattle], fully accepted in the South African land. The rest of the poem consistently uses 'we', and the pronoun 'I' does not return, except when 'old fights' are looked back on, where 'blood on his head of my kin/ Or blood on my head of his kin'[19] was shed.

A fusion between the English settler and the 'native' Boer was thought to be the best solution, and moral and racial degeneration became an issue only concerning 'the presence of black men and women'.[20] Indeed, 'the force of the circumstance', which Kipling's coloniser had to fight against, turned out to be the only hope to unite the two races into 'one people under one British flag': Joseph Chamberlain, in the speech which he made in Cape Town on the eve of sailing for England, says, 'I leave this shore more convinced than ever that the forces – the natural forces which are drawing you together – are more potent than those evil influences which would tend to separate you'.[21] The 'evil influences', he explains, include a 'sentiment which … unfortunately in the past, has maintained a

distinction of race, has cherished the animosities of the past, has nurtured suspicions which had so baneful a result'.[22] In another speech in South Africa, he even 'reminds' the citizens that the Empire has already had many successful examples of racial amalgamation such as that between Scotland and England under the Union.[23] Kipling's true Empire builders are, therefore, not the English but the Uitlanders and the people from the settler colonies such as New Zealand and Australia, that is, those who have allowed themselves to become fused with the foreign land. When he focuses on 'England' or 'Englishness', it is rather to admonish England for not living up to the expectation of what it should be. His poem 'The Return', written shortly after the Boer War, refrains the following stanza:

If England was what England seems,
An' not the England of our dreams,
But only putty, brass, an' paint,
'Ow quick we'd drop 'er! But she ain't![24]

The very sound of 'England' is repeated, but it somehow reveals itself as a split or hollow sign – its signifier, 'what England seems' does not reflect nor even have what is supposed to be its essence, 'the England of our dreams'.

In fact, Kipling represents Englishness which stubbornly resists being transformed as unfit for the imperial service: it is shown to be an empty form whose inflexibility hinders other more important signs from freely going around. In 'The Outsider', Walter Setton, a pure-bred Englishman from 'the Home Counties', is an embodiment of this superficial and inflexible 'England'. His superficiality is shown by his concerns about looking like 'an officer and a gentleman', that is to say, wearing the uniforms which his position demands (such as 'tunics, richly laced lined silk £6 14s. 6d'[25]), and his contempt for the 'unbuttoned' soldiers. In fact, he reminds us of another superficial English officer, Lieutenant Golightly in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, whose only concern is also looking like 'an Officer and a Gentleman'.[26] Unlike Golightly who instantly loses his appearance as he leaves the hill station and starts behaving like a native, Setton's failure to be a true Englishman comes from his inability to forget his appearance and dignity even at a time of emergency. His excessive adherence to English form extends to his way of thinking. He was educated to despise 'the "outside" – the man beyond his circle', for '[i]f you got mixed up with an outsider, you ended by being "compromised"'.[27] Setton intervenes when the men are about to finish repairing a bridge which was broken by the Boers, saying that they need to get the orders first. In contrast, Private Thrupp, an Uitlander who has lived on the Rand for ten years and can let

'his shirt [be] torn to the waist in a scuffle to get water for a sick man'[28] is shown to be a true coloniser. Another bridge fails to function because of English red tape in 'Folly Bridge': McManus, 'head of the Corporate Equatorial Bank of South Africa',[29] who is summoned by Lord Roberts and Alfred Milner, in order to urgently disentangle some financial difficulties in the war, is detained at the foot of the bridge, due to the purely bureaucratic reason that his pass has not been countersigned. McManus walks away from the matter, and the colonial office loses potential support from this key figure.

In contrast, Kipling's characters who are given Celtic names seem to figure as more flexible and competent colonisers, or, to be more precise, as settlers. Allen, the 'Burgher of the Free State', who settled and married into a Boer family is a Scot from Edinburgh.[30] Kipling, in 'Folly Bridge', also gives the key person of the war an Irish name, McManus. In fact, this story makes a good contrast with *Kim*, completed around the same period, where the unhindered passage of an Irish boy as a spy saves India from the Russian invasion. In 'Folly Bridge', on the other hand, McManus cannot move on, regardless of the fact that he has a 'pass calling on all officers, civil and military, to assist and expedite R. L. McManus, Esq., by every means in their power'.[31] The Empire had to be dependent on the Celtic ability to circulate, settle down, and transform themselves under various circumstances, while 'England', on the other hand, loomed as an obstacle to the smooth circulation of the Celtic signs and became less and less qualified as the heart of the imperial connection.

2

It was Alfred Austin (1835-1913), the nowadays forgotten laureate, who published *Songs of England,* a collection of his poems throughout which he resorts to the word 'England' in order to inspire imperial subjects with patriotic feeling. It was compiled and published in 1898, shortly before the Boer War, at the low price of one shilling, in order to 'place it within the reach, at least, of the many'.[32] For Austin, 'England' is still a magic word which unites 'not only Great Britain and Ireland, but Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and every spot of earth where men feel an instantaneous thrill of imperial kinship at the very sound of the Name'.[33] The book is dedicated to his friend Lord Garnet Wolseley (1833-

1913), another distinguished Irish officer who 'fought and bled for England'[34] in his youth out in the colonies, and the poet unambiguously asks the reader to follow Wolseley's example, namely, 'to live and die for England'.[35] Despite the profuse use of the word 'England', however, it appears that this volume was received rather coldly by his audience. One of the reviewers sarcastically notes that 'the Laureate at any rate has done his duty. He has written songs which are undoubtedly about England – the name occurs in almost every stanza… If every man now does not do his duty as England expects, it is not the fault of Mr. Alfred Austin'.[36]

The unpopularity of his book was, of course, greatly due to Austin's reputation as an untalented poet. Austin was an unfortunate laureate, unfavourably compared to his great predecessor Alfred Tennyson, overshadowed by Kipling as true bard of the Empire, and said to be 'essentially a lyric poet' and 'most successful when he writes untrammelled by the course of political events'.[37] Nevertheless, that his repeated use of the word 'England' could not impress the reader so much as he hoped seems to me to symbolically demonstrate the loss of prestige which 'England' suffered at the turn of the century. The good old Victorian period which Austin and Wolseley had lived through was beginning to end. It is true that the old familial model of the Empire – England as the Mother and its colonies as her children – was still used, but many of her children had already grown up and were ready to leave their mother's protection, if we follow the logic of the metaphor. In fact, when the Boer War began a year later, England was not the one to give protection but appeared rather as the one to be rescued by her colonies. A gap was looming between 'England' and the British Empire: the synecdochic use of 'England' to represent the entire Empire was no longer to be taken for granted. Kipling even lets the General in 'The Captive' choose the imperial 'game' over 'England' as the thing to preserve.[38] England is, as Kipling writes to Cecil Rhodes, 'a stuffy little place mentally morally and physically',[39] too small to train soldiers into Empire builders. It is not so much that the concept 'England' had become less important as that it had lost some of its power as the bonding force of the British Empire. In fact, Kipling rarely uses 'England' with a view to inspiring patriotism. He uses 'the White Man' instead, an ideal alternative to 'England', which unites 'Five nations' – Britain, South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (note that, in this way, the differences among the 'British Isles' are silently obliterated), which emphasises more of 'brotherhood' between England and her self-governing colonies, rather than the mother-children relationship implied by the word

'England'. Apart from his famous poem 'The White Man's Burden' (1899), he composed 'A Song of the White Men' (1900), a poem first printed in *The Friends.* This newspaper was experimentally published at the special request of Lord Roberts for his army, during his occupation of Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State captured on March 12, and edited by the special war correspondents of various newspapers (i.e., Julian Ralph of the *Daily Mail*, Perceval Landon of *The Times*, H. A Gwynne of *Reuter*) and by Rudyard Kipling who willingly participated as sub-editor. In this poem, the phrase 'the White Men' is, just like Austin's 'England', obsessively repeated, seven times in the three-stanza poem:

> Now, this is the road that the White Men tread
> When they go to clean a land –
> .....
> Oh, well for the world when the White Men tread
> Their highway side by side. [40]

Whatever the extent to which 'resistance' contributed to subverting the image of Empire, there was certainly a change in this image which made it easier for the resistance to be seen, and we see a rather unsettling version of the British Empire articulated both by the imperialist and by the nationalist during the Boer War. Let us look at the imperialist version of the Empire first. It was not simply the 'Empire in crisis', fighting a difficult war against the two South African republics, but rather the 'Empire adrift', or 'the Empire falling apart', threatened by the very possibility that the imperial union might dissolve during the crisis of the war. It is usually followed by the image of the Empire drawn even closer together through overcoming the crisis: the Boer War was supposed to 'weld the Empire together' more firmly than when it started. The following extract from a speech by Alfred Milner shows how this works:

> The struggle with the Boers demonstrated for the first time the solidarity of the British Empire. Many continental critics had long believed that the moment Great Britain found herself in difficulties, her Colonies would seize the opportunity to throw off their allegiance to the Crown. The fact was 'very otherwise'. From Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and every portion of the Empire, came help and offers of help in men, money and material. The spirit thus demonstrated and fostered by the experience of a brotherhood in arms, rendered it possible later on to take steps in the direction of organizing the defence of the Empire, based upon a co-ordination of its immense resources. And having thus fought in the cause of a united Empire against the threat of dismemberment, the self-governing Dominions not only helped greatly to preserve it, but also themselves took a forward step in their political status and relation with the Empire.[41]

And Lord Tennyson, the Governor of South Australia, writes in his letter to Queen Victoria:

> The war has done an infinity of good on this island-continent, and has welded Australia to the Empire in such a way that the bond of union will, I feel convinced, be henceforward indissoluble. Before the war there was a party for the separation of Australia from Great Britain, but such has been the earnest and impetuous loyalty of the labouring classes all through the country, that the demagogues have been compelled to give up the utterance of their unpatriotic sentiments, and now are among the most patriotic speakers at public meetings.[42]

In both cases, the voices wanting to break off from the Empire are mentioned, in order to create an image of the 'Empire adrift' only to be contained within a renewed sense of imperial kinship. However, would the inclusion of these voices within the text, rather than in the footnotes or in the margins, inevitably turn the imperialist text itself into *their* frames and annotations?

Roman Jakobson, in his essay 'Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances' (1915) suggests the distinction between the metonymic mode of language and the metaphoric mode of language. They respectively correspond to two aspects of language, combination and selection: the constituent parts of a given message (parole) are 'combined' in a state of spatial or temporal *contiguity* and form a context, whereas the constituent parts are 'selected' from a code (langue), 'the repository of all possible constituent parts',[43] in which set signs are 'linked by various degree of *similarity* which fluctuate between the equivalence of synonyms and the common core of antonyms'.[44] Aphasia is caused by the disorder of either of these two linguistic aspects. For example, the aphasiac with similarity (or metaphoric) disorder has to rely on spatial or temporal congruity or a context when forming a message, and 'can neither switch from a word to its synonyms or circumlocutions, nor to its heteronyms, i.e. equivalent expressions in other languages'.[45] 'Loss of bilingualism', writes Jacobson, 'and confinement to a single dialect variety of a single language is a symptomatic manifestation of this disorder'.[46] On the other hand, the aphasic with contiguity (or metonymic) disorder lacks the ability to combine words into contexts, thus his sentences are likely to degenerate into a 'word heap',[47] linked to each other only by similarity in the code: this type of aphasia 'tends to give rise to infantile one-sentence utterances and one-word sentences... While contexture disintegrates, the selective operation goes on'.[48] Interestingly, Jakobson draws a parallel between his framework and Freud's theory of dream: when 'the symbols and the temporal sequences used' are based on contiguity, it corresponds to 'Freud's metonymic "displacement" and synecdochic

"condensation," and when they are based on similarity, it corresponds to 'Freud's "identification and symbolism"'.[49]

Here, I propose that the trope to justify imperialism is more metonymic, whereas the nationalist discourse which aims at undermining the Empire is more metaphoric, and in either case, there will always be the Subaltern who cannot speak, for the metonymic or metaphoric use of language is likely to produce aphasia, to a varying degree. Of course, there are exceptions which do not well apply to this framework: for example, the analogy between the Roman Empire and Great Britain frequently drawn during the nineteenth century may be said to be more metaphoric than metonymic. Nevertheless, the image of the British Empire was constructed primarily with the metonymic mode of language, for it was by definition the combination of the various colonies (which were not necessarily similar to each other) under the context (or pretext) of imperialism. This may explain the reason why the phrases such as 'to wedge the Empire' and 'to draw the colonies closer together' were obsessively used when the Empire was thought to be in crisis. The more the colonies were imagined in a state of spatial or temporal contiguity, the stronger the solidarity of the Empire was felt to be. In this respect, it is very symbolical that the achievement of the British Empire was most successfully demonstrated in the shape of the Great Exhibition of 1851, which, according to a contemporary observer, William Whewell, did 'bring within [man's] field of view the surface of the globe, with all its workshops and markets, and produce instantaneously a permanent picture, in which the whole were seen side by side'.[50] Modernisation and imperialism went together well, because the former's tendency to work towards economising time and space greatly contributed to a greater congruity among colonies. Whewell writes, 'it is not a mere picture of things which are found standing together that we have had presented to us; the great achievement was the bringing them together... By annihilating the space which separates different nations, we produce a spectacle in which is also annihilated the time which separates one stage of a nation's progress from another'.[51]

In fact, the Boer War in which, to use Milner's phrase, from 'every portion of the Empire, came help and offers in men', was the best occasion to see all the imperial subjects together in close proximity. For example, H. A. Gwynne, in *The Friends*, welcoming the participation of Rudyard Kipling in the editorial board, who, according to Gwynne, 'has contributed more than any one perhaps towards the consolidation of the British Empire', writes:

> His visit is singularly appropriate. He will find encamped round the town not only his friend Tommy Atkins, but the Australian, the Canadian, the New Zealander, the Tasmanian, the volunteer from Ceylon, from Argentine, and from every quarter of the globe. He will see the man of the soil – the South African Britisher – side by side with his fellow colonist from over the seas. In fact, Bloemfontein will present to him the actual physical fulfilment of what must be one of his dearest hopes – the close union of the various parts of the greatest Empire in the world.[52]

Gwynne then goes on to write, 'His visit, therefore, will have in it something of the triumph of a conqueror – a conqueror who, with the force of genius, has swept away barriers of distance and boundary, and made a fifth of the globe British, not only in title, but in real sentiment'[53]: here again, the metonymic magic is to break down time and space so that all the elements of the Empire will be seen together. In fact, Kipling, in his Boer War stories, gives us a picture of the colonial subjects from various parts of the British Empire collaborating with each other. Kipling's representation of the Irish in India can be said to be metonymic. Kipling does not draw direct analogies between India and Ireland. Instead, he represents the two different elements, the Irish and the Indian, side by side. By superimposing the Irish on India, he erases the vast geographical distance between the two major colonies. Moreover, Kipling's background is also said to symbolise 'Anglo-Saxon unity, a possession of Greater Britain ...' *The Bookman* notes that the office of the next Poet Laureate-to-be after Tennyson should be 'something more than a petty insular distinction' and singles out Kipling's name for the post:

> Mr. Kipling represents not only in his verse, but in his personality, at once the extension and unity of the race. Born in India, of English stock, he is closely identified in his life and works with the greatest of England's possessions, whose strange life he, in many cases, first revealed to the wondering world; his knowledge of the other British colonies is almost equally minute. By ties of marriage he is in some degree American, and his home for a number of years has been in the most homogeneously English portion of America. He is not, therefore, a mere Englishman, nor a mere Anglo-Indian, nor a mere American, but something above and beyond all these distinctions – an Anglo-Saxon..[54]

S. B. Cook, in his *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland*, emphasises the role of colonial officials in the formation of the analogies: [t]hey shared common adolescent experiences and some were connected by ties of blood or marriage. Scattered throughout the empire, contact was fostered by the *esprit de corps* of their chosen service and facilitated, from the 1870s, by a global communication system. With a limited knowledge of local conditions, they sometimes attempted to govern in the light of recent experience in other colonies'.[55] The colonial officers who located

themselves at the intersection of all aspects of colonial experience were metonymies of the Empire themselves: apart from representing the imperial administration, their function may be considered as analogous to the effects of Freudian condensation (thus, Jakobson's metonymy): just as the objectionable content of the unconscious has to be censored and condensed into a more acceptable dream image, the complicated colonial situations and the grievances of the colonised were translated by these officers into a more palatable form which did not interfere with the image of British imperialism. The transferral of the officers from one colony to another and their repeated use of the same methods and policies in different colonies can be likened to Freud's displacement, for it helped to detach the officers from being too involved in the core problem of the colonial encounter which might subvert their control. The exchanges of policy and personnel among colonies was necessary, so that the officers could draw analogies in the light of their former experiences and therefore make the uncanniness of the new colonial encounter familiar and manageable. The pure-bred 'English' officers in Kipling's Boer War stories are useless as colonisers, for they have no former colonial experience and are therefore incapable of making and embodying any metonymic connections between colonies.

While the imperialists were busy seeking to wedge the colonies back into the Empire by employing the metonymic mode of language, we can see some Irish people resorting to the 'metaphoric' analogies, in order to free Ireland from the yoke of the Empire. In fact, the history of Irish nationalism can be seen as a persistent effort to associate Ireland, an island uneasily floating close by England, with other countries through a certain similarity, so as to annul its proximity to England as a natural reason to be ruled. For example, during the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, Ireland sympathised respectively with America and France. The Union followed immediately after, as if England were afraid that Ireland should draw a connection with any nation other than herself. Thomas Moore, as Javed Majeed has shown, declared that 'the spirit that had spoken in the melodies of Ireland found itself at home in the East', when writing in his orientalist epic poem *Lalla Rookh* (1817) of 'a fierce struggle' of the ancient Persians against 'their haughty masters', Muslims[56]: here the voice of Ireland was found through identifying the struggle of Persians against Muslims with that of the Irish against England. Another interesting example can be found in the political writing of Daniel William Cahill, a prolific Catholic preacher and lecturer who became famous for his vigorous attack on British government and the Church of

Ireland. Cahill, at the beginning of the Indian Mutiny, celebrated the defeat of the English in India by the harsh climate and the numerous native forces.[57] The English defeat in India immediately means Irish liberation for Cahill, for in the modern world where the nations and their interests are 'so closely interwoven', '[s]uccessful tyranny in one kingdom often establishes slavery elsewhere, and vice versa, the overthrow of despotism in one locality elevates into liberty the neighbouring peoples'.[58] He attributes the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny to an 'overwhelming and irresistible feeling of hatred, amounting to horror, against everything English', which was derived from causes such as the insolent and unfair treatment of the natives, the cruel collection of the rent, 'the persecution of the Catholic soldiers',[59] and, above all, the mistreatment of Ireland:

> this item [the mistreatment of Ireland], perhaps more than any one or all the other causes taken together, has awakened the most hostile feelings in India towards England... Whatever may be the result of our struggles in India, the historian must own, that in any country which English power has ever conquered, she has never made a friend to her constitutional policy or a convert to her creed... [60]

Note here that Cahill calls the Indian Mutiny '*our* struggles in India'. It is not difficult to see that the 'overwhelming and irresistible feeling of hatred, amounting to horror, against everything English' which Cahill argues to be the very reason for the Mutiny is in fact the Irish feeling towards England. Through his identification of the Indian hatred towards the ruler with that of the Irish, the Sepoys now fight for the sake of Irish liberation, and the Irish, through his logic, fight alongside the Indian soldiers.

The similarity which Ireland evokes by identifying with other countries, though, may not be always immediately obvious for those who are not well versed in their code. 'It is difficult to understand', Byron Farwell writes concerning a series of the attempted invasions by American Fenians into Canada from Vermont around 1870, 'how the Fenians reasoned that they could free Ireland by attacking Canada, but attack they did – and more than once'.[61] During the Boer War, Irish nationalists draw a powerful comparison between Ireland and South Africa. In the House of Commons, speeches were made by the Irish MPs, which express the secret tie of sympathy which unites Ireland and South Africa. Michael Davitt, before resigning from the House of Commons and going to South Africa to assist the Boers, says, 'in conclusion, let me say that we Irishmen are compelled to give our sympathies to the Boers because they are absolutely in the right in heroically defending with their lives the independence of their country'.[62] John Redmond, in his speech on 17 February 1900, more

clearly emphasised the metaphoric connection between the two countries: he repeats '[t]he sympathy of Ireland is with the Boers'.[63] The sympathy of the Irish was given through their identification with the Boers. Many Irish interpreted the Boer War as 'the struggle for liberty against England', and used it to articulate their own colonial situation. Redmond specifies the main source of the sympathy towards the Boers to be 'antagonism to England',[64] and an Irish unionist Michael J. F. McCarthy also observes that '[h]atred of "England", distrust of the English Sassenach, the memories of "treasured wrongs"' were 'the mainsprings of the sympathy felt for the Boers'[65]: South Africa is suffering from British imperialism, *just as* Ireland has been. Those who held the imperialist point of view (that is to say, those with similarity disorder) refused to see the logic of this identification: J. B. Robinson, in his article in *The Contemporary Review*, writes, 'The notion that we might have a second Ireland in the Transvaal is simply absurd. I have known the country and the people intimately from my childhood. They have no similarity whatever to the Irish in their character or their ways of thinking'.[66] Or, Dr. Clark declares in the House of Commons, 'The Boer position in this country is entirely different from that of the Irishman. Why does the able and learned Gentleman come before the House of Commons to offer us an argument of that kind?'.[67] Even Kruger, the President of the Transvaal Republic, seemed to have difficulty in accepting this identification, though he gratefully accepted the help offered by the Irish.[68]

I argue that this metaphorical identification of the Irish with the Boers was a means through which the Irish nationalists could find an Irish voice, which had been lost for a long time under the dominantly metonymic mode of imperial discourse. It is interesting to find some words exchanged as to which was the 'true' Irish voice after John Redmond expressed the Irish sympathy towards the Boers on February 7, 1900. Redmond, 'has spoken of Ireland's voice on this question',[69] whereas J. H. M. Campbell argues that his speech was nothing but 'the discordant note' which can have little effect on 'the harmonious chorus of loyalty and patriotism which has been re-echoed to the furthermost corners of the world in which are gathered the subjects of the Queen'.[70]

We have already examined Kipling's representation of the Irish soldiers in India, especially his Irish soldier Mulvaney who speaks for the Empire. During the Boer War, this image was to be contested more publicly even outside his text. The Irish soldier, silently serving for the cause of the Empire became a figure through which both the Irish nationalists and the imperialists tried to speak the authentic Irish voice on their own behalf. Campbell

quotes a passage from *The United Irishman*, without explaining the full context, which says that the complaints of the Irish are 'merely the popular grumbling – a little exaggerated, being Irish', and Irish loyalty is testified not by words but by deeds – by the fact that the Irish fight for England.[71] Here, he not only forces *The United Irishman*, the recognised organ of Irish nationalists, to speak in favour of the imperial cause, but also interprets the silence of the Irish soldiers – they are the ones literally made aphasiac by their imperial service – as the best proof that the majority of the Irish supported the Boer War. The Irish nationalists, on the other hand, sought to undermine this representation of the Irish as the 'Servant of the Queen'. In fact, the strongest anti-Empire demonstration was carried into practice when John MacBride organised an Irish Brigade in the Transvaal to fight against the British force. In *The United Irishman*, there appeared almost every week a strong appeal to the Irish people not to enlist, along with the articles which denounced the Irish involvement with the British army as treason to Ireland. The appeal, composed by the 'Irish Transvaal Committee', reads:

> The Irishmen in England's Service who are sent to South Africa will have to fight against Irish Nationalists who have raised Ireland's flag in the Transvaal, and have formed an Irish Brigade to fight for the Boers against the oppressor of Ireland... In preventing recruiting for the English Army you are working for Ireland's honour, and you are doing something to help the Boers in their Struggle for Liberty. [72]

Identification and substitution, founded on the secret 'similarity' between the Boers and the Irish – both are fighting against the same oppressor for liberty – strongly colours the rhetoric of this passage, in which the Boers and the Irish become almost synonyms for each other. Thus, it is no wonder that the Boers in the veldt suddenly turn into the Irish Brigade: to fight against the Boers is, for the Irishmen, to fire at their own country folks. Moreover, to help the Boers is to work for the Irish cause, 'in their Struggle for Liberty'.

The war of representation concerning the 'true' Irish voice through the Irish soldier was fought not only in the House of Commons. Queen Victoria herself took the strong initiative to publicly acknowledge the bravery of the Irish soldiers at the front. She authorised the formation of a regiment of Irish Guards, which can be interpreted as a gesture to reassert that the Irish Army is her loyal army, as a counter-representation to the Irish Brigade on the Boer side. Moreover, the Queen, instead of going for her spring holiday in Italy as she had first intended, paid a visit to Ireland in 1900 (from the 4th of April to the 26th), which she had not visited since her last rather unsuccessful visit with Prince Albert in 1861. Although it was announced that the nature of the visit was non-political, the Irish nationalists interpreted

it as nothing less than the 'clearly political' attempt to 'to misrepresent Ireland as being "loyal to the Empire"'[73] in order to enlist more soldiers from Ireland: the Queen, to use George Moore's phrase, 'comes to do the business which her recruiting sergeants have failed to do'.[74] According to W. B. Yeats, 'It has been announced that the Queen will leave Windsor for Ireland on April 2nd. That is a remarkable day, for on that day a hundred years ago the Act of Union, having been pushed through the Irish Parliament by bribery, was introduced into the English Parliament'.[75] Maud Gonne invented the image of Victoria 'the Famine Queen' in order to 'counteract the poisonous lies which the English Press agencies will spread abroad about the Queen's visit'.[76] I argue that the Queen's visit to Ireland was not the old Queen's self-complacent gesture made with a view to pacifying Ireland but an act made from the Queen's strong determination to put the voice of the Irish under control. In her journal, she registers the patriotic voices of her Irish subjects which her own visit aroused:

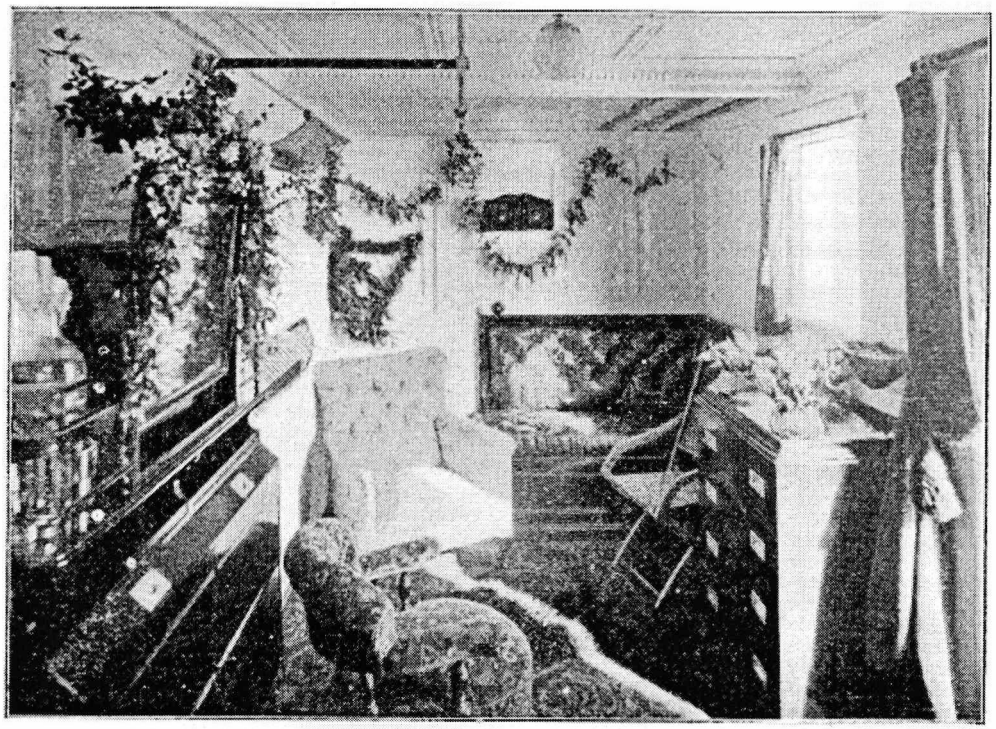
> We went all along the quays in the poorer parts of the town, where thousands had gathered together and gave me a wildly enthusiastic greeting. At Trinity College the students sang *God Save the Queen*, and shouted themselves hoarse. The cheers and often almost screams were quite deafening. Even the Nationalists in front of the City Hall seemed to forget their politics and cheered and waved their hats. [77]

Among the 'screams' which the Queen heard, there must have been the nationalist ones, but in her account of the loyal chorus of her Irish subjects they are not allowed to make any noise. We have to look somewhere to supplement the noises which were not included in her text; for example, as Elizabeth Longford puts it in her biography of the Queen, 'there were few flags in the back streets of Dublin where she did not drive, and these few caused scuffles. The Dublin Council voted to present an Address provided it did not mention loyalty to the Crown. Copies of *The United Irishman* were seized before she landed, Home Rule meetings broken up and Dubliners arrested for tearing down decorations and smashing shop windows adorned with Union Jacks. The French newspaper *Charivari* published a cartoon of British bayonets forcing the cheers from Irish throats...'[78] Maud Gonne also describes the 'true' Irish voice on the Boer War as it reached her ears, when Trinity College was conferring Honorary Degrees on Joseph Chamberlain 'to show Ireland's loyalty to the British Empire'[79]: 'Pat O'Brien called for cheers for the Boers, which was responded to wildly by the crowd. The noise and the cheering must have considerably marred the dignified proceedings within the College and made Chamberlain doubt about the love and loyalty of the Irish nation of which he was being assured'. [80]

If the Irish soldiers were deprived of the ability of speech, and their service at the front was to be univocally interpreted as silent approval for the imperial cause, the wearing of the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day, the symbol of the national identity on the Irish side, was the only possibility left to the soldiers to speak up their voice as the Irish. 'Wearing of the green' had been, therefore, a punishable offence in the army: the Irish soldiers were 'ordered and compelled to remove the shamrock'[81] from their helmets, and it was possible, for example, to be 'sentenced' to '48 hours imprisonment'[82] by their commanding officer. In 1899, a paragraph was introduced to the Queen's Regulations 'to the effect no officer or soldier is to wear unauthorised ornament or emblem when in uniform'.[83] Thus, it was received with surprise when the Queen, prior to her visit to Ireland, marked her appreciation for her Irish soldiers by ordering them to wear the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day. The following order was promulgated to the army a week before St. Patrick's Day:

> GALLANTRY OF IRISH REGIMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA -- DISTINCTION TO BE WORN ON ST. PATRICK'S DAY.
>
> Her Majesty the Queen is pleased to order that in future, upon St. Patrick's Day, all ranks in her Majesty's Irish regiments shall wear, as a distinction, a sprig of shamrock in their head-dress, to commemorate the gallantry of her Irish soldiers during the recent battles in South Africa.[84]

The Queen herself, when landing in Ireland, wore 'bunches of real shamrocks' with her bonnet and parasol also 'embroidered with silver shamrocks'.[85] Lord Roberts also wore the shamrock on March 17 to show that asserting Irishness and the loyalty to the crown did no longer contradict each other.[86] *Black and White Budget* even shows a picture of the inside of Lady Roberts' cabin in Cape, which was, 'in honour of her ladyship', 'tastefully' decorated with 'garlands of shamrock' and 'the time-honoured Irish harp'.[87] To use the phrases in *The Annual Register*, 'a periodically recurring source of irritation between Irish soldiers and their commanding officers was converted by the Queen's intuitive perception into an occasion for the innocent gratification of national feeling'.[88] The *Irish Figaro* also welcomed the new use of the wearing of the shamrock: it turned 'an emblem of discord into an emblem of reconciliation and of peace': 'the green immortal shamrock will henceforth be connected with sentiments of love and loyalty, and form a fresh link in the chain that binds us to our English brethren'.[89] The Queen, in this way, tactfully created a context in which wearing of the shamrock is no longer a rebellious act, but nothing less than the demonstration of the most loyal sentiment towards her.



'Lady Roberts's cabin on the "Dunnottar Castle", in which she went out to the Cape. In honour of her ladyship it was tastefully decorated with garlands of shamrocks; nor was the time-honoured Irish harp forgotten.'
(*Black and White Budget*, 14 April 1900)

The Irish nationalists were also aware that the Queen's new order was an ingenious 'transvaluation' of the meaning of the wearing of the shamrock. It is interesting to observe how this new use of the shamrock is received in *The United Irishman*. 'The shamrock, Ireland's emblem of Faith and fatherland, we regret to say has been grossly outraged'.[90] It is converted into 'the emblem of murder', 'the emblem of a lost nation', the 'symbol of our thanks for Butcher Service', which has made the Irish soldier into 'a slave who is praised and patronised, who wears his chain as a badge of honour'[91] – all of which testifies to the importance of giving back the 'true' meaning of the wearing of the shamrock, which has been stripped away. 'England has taken everything she could take away from us save the Faith, a remnant of our Language, and the National Emblem. It rest with us to guard these three heritages, and we can do it if we are true to our principles and firm in our love for our motherland'.[92] Moore writes, 'the shamrock is an emblem which can only be worn by Irishmen who believe that Ireland is a nation with a special destiny to fulfil'.[93]

W. B. Yeats sent letters to the Irish newspapers (*Freeman's Journal*, *Irish Daily Independent*, *Daily Express*) a day before the Queen's arrival, which argue that the Queen's visit to Ireland should be received in silence:

> Whoever is urged to pay honour to this Queen Victoria to-morrow morning should remember this sentence of Mirabeau's – 'The silence of a people is the lesson of kings'. She is the official head and symbol of an Empire that is robbing the South African Republics of their liberty, as it has robbed Ireland of hers. Whoever stands by the roadway cheering for Queen Victoria cheers for that Empire, dishonours Ireland, and condones a crime.[94]

In this letter, Yeats draws two metaphorical identifications: liberty in Ireland is unjustly suppressed just as in France before the French Revolution and as currently in South Africa. And through these identifications, Yeats seeks to give back to the Irish their speech. The Irish should not be any longer coercively silenced nor conditioned to chant univocally whenever the English monarchs pass by. However, this chosen silence to be written between the univocal imperial chorus inevitably entailed the risk of being taken for the silent approval of the Empire. Therefore, Yeats goes on to ask the Irish people to go to the meeting of the people, in order to use their voice to *protest*. The silence is one powerful form of protestation, but it has to be followed by the real voiced protest so as not to be mistaken for the docile acceptance of English rule. To speak for the Boers, by appropriating the suffering of the Other, was one way for Ireland to recover from its chronic metonymic aphasia.

3

For the Irish nationalists, the name 'Kipling' was almost a synonym for British imperialism. He was nothing but a 'mouthpiece' of the Empire, and to sing 'Absent-Minded Beggar', a poem which Kipling composed in order to raise a fund for the families of the soldiers who had gone to South Africa was thought as equally imperialistic as to sing 'God Save the Queen'. And these imperialist charges against him were not without reason. Kipling was one of the numerous British patriots who impatiently dashed to South Africa in order to offer help. He also passionately welcomed the 'personal' gift from the Queen for her Irish soldiers. He composed a one-stanza poem called 'St. Patrick's Day' at the Cape Town telegraph office and sent it off at once, so that it would be in time for the second issue of *The Friends*, on March 17, 1900.[95] The fuller version of the poem was published a week later; it lengthily praises the gallantry of the Irish soldiers at the front in the added four stanzas. In this poem, Kipling, again, lets his Irish soldiers enthusiastically speak for the Empire:

Oh! Terence dear, and did you hear
The news that's going round?
The Shamrock's Erin's badge by law,
Where'er her sons be found.

From Bobsfontein to Ballyhack
'Tis ordered by the Queen,
We've won our right in open fight,
The wearing of the Green.[96]

It is interesting to note that the narrator first and foremost addresses Terence Mulvaney, Kipling's most famous Irish soldier in India: the 'news' is going all around the Empire, even to India where Mulvaney serves, inspiring patriotic sentiment in every Irish soldier's heart. In this way, he weaves the Boer War into his literary world, which has been quite successful in creating a sense of the integrity of the Empire.

I have argued that there are two ways in which the metonymic mode of language constructs the unity of the Empire: by representing different parts of the Empire together in one picture and to drawing analogies between colonies based on one's former colonial experience. Kipling, by introducing Mulvaney in the first line of 'St. Patrick's Day', employs both modes of metonymic language. Firstly, we can see in this short stanza the interconnection between India, Ireland and South Africa which British imperialism brought about. Secondly, Kipling superimposes the Irish-Indian connection which he mastered into

his literary assets onto South Africa, thereby making the Transvaal scene more familiar and accessible. Elsewhere, we can more clearly see Kipling describe his experience in South Africa in the light of his former colonial experience in India. South Africa was, Kipling writes, 'the nearest approach to Anglo-Indian in many of its ideas that I know',[97] and, what is more, '*in all things* life is a heap easier, I think, than India. There is no hot weather; no one goes to the Hills'.[98] When entering into the 'editorial dust bin' of *The Friends*, Kipling, according to Julian Ralph, 'sniffed the mingled odours of ink, wet paper, and dust, and said "It's quite like old times in India."'[99] When Lord Roberts, the Irish general who served nearly forty years in India, was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the Boer War, it might have been felt like a realisation of Kipling's own literary world. Roberts, just like Kim, embodies a magic combination of the Irish and the Indian: Gandhi reports an interesting rivalry between the Indian community and the Irish Association in South Africa over the right to welcome the Commander-in-Chief.[100] With his identity as Anglo-Irish/Indian and his forty-one year long experience as an officer in India, it was expected that he would surely extinguish the fire set in the veldt, both by the Boers and by Irish nationalists.

With the representation of the Irish soldiers being publicly contested between the imperialists and Irish nationalists, it would be reasonable to assume that Kipling wrote many stories and poems to contribute to the victory of the imperialist representation of the Irish soldiers in the Boer War, as he had already done in his Indian stories. However, 'St. Patrick's Day' is virtually the only piece in which Kipling directly treats the Irish soldiers in the Boer War. As the Irish soldiers became publicly more conspicuous, they seem to gradually recede from Kipling's text. As we have seen, there are a couple of characters with Celtic surnames in Kipling's Boer War stories. However, the characters such as McManus, McGinnies and Allen are all civilians, not soldiers. The only Irish soldier is McBride, 'the professional humorist of D Company'[101] in 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', whose name peculiarly coincides with the name of the leader of the Irish Brigade which served on the Boer side, John MacBride; it may be interpreted that Kipling, by using the same name, reclaims the Irish regiments from the 'misrepresentation' by the Irish nationalists. What we have instead is the peculiar *absence* of the Irish soldiers. Or, the Irish soldiers are deprived of their arms. What is equally strange in his Boer War stories is that there are, as Angus Wilson has already pointed out, some 'floating Indian memories', which seem to him totally irrelevant for the Boer War.

> What has his old [Indian] theme ... to do with South Africa's war? Or even the devotion of a Sikh non-commissioned officer to his British officer which takes us back to *Plain Tales*? There *were* Indian troops from the British Indian Army serving in Africa. Kipling may have been right to think that there should have been more. But it is an irrelevance. Of the real and large community of Indians in South Africa he showed no awareness whatsoever. In all his winter stays at the Cape, he never visited Natal where the large Indian trading community now lived – perhaps it was as well, for the advocate of their cause was Gandhi, a Babu lawyer. [102]

Thus, we witness both the absence of the Irish soldiers and the fragmented Indian memories hovering around. I argue that Kipling's Boer War stories can be defined as the failed attempt to superpose the Indian context – especially the tried connection between Ireland and India – onto South Africa. In this respect, 'A Sahibs' War' (1901), in which the British officer 'Kurban Sahib' goes over from India to South Africa to fight, accompanied by the elderly Sikh trooper Umr Singh who acts as his servant, can be interpreted as a gesture of bringing the Indian contexts into South Africa. Kurban Sahib was born and served in India, and his colonial experience made him a better coloniser, even in South Africa. In contrast to the English officer who cannot compromise nor mix with 'the outsider', he seems to perform a metonymic magic by easily making connections with people from different parts of the Empire as he travels: he immediately makes friends with the Canadians, and is 'stolen' by the Australians who discern his worth.[103] In addition to Umr Singh, who would not leave his Kurban Sahib, Sikandar Khan becomes attached to him and becomes his cook. Then the story tells us how Kurban Sahib was killed by Boer treachery, and accordingly the imperial circle once formed around him had to disperse.

The whole story is narrated by his Sikh servant, Umr Singh, in his native tongue. However, we can read the story in standard English, thanks to a 'Sahib' who happens to ride in the same carriage as him and acts as both a listener and interpreter of this former Sikh trooper's story. Kipling chooses Umr Singh as a narrator, to whose eyes the differences among the white people virtually do not exist: after all, they are all Sahibs. We know his 'Kurban Sahib' is from 'England', but we cannot be sure which part of 'England' he is from – Ireland, Scotland, Wales, or England? Thus, it is very significant that Umr Singh, at the end of the story, asks the listener of the story to read aloud the inscription on the tomb of 'Kurban Sahib.' This is the only place in which Kipling allows any 'racial' politics among Sahibs, which have been obscured throughout the story by the use of the Sikh soldier as a narrator, to slip back into the text: 'In Memory of WALTER DECIES CORBYN Late Captain 141 Punjab Cavalry'.[104] The British soldier who served in India is buried in South Africa. Here

we see a middle name 'Decies'. The word can be read as a Latinised form of 'Deise', an ancient tribe in Ireland, which is still used for the name of one of the baronies of County Waterford.[105] Therefore, the inscription shows us a strange combination of India and Ireland. Of course, it is not possible to decide only from his name if Kurban Corbyn is Irish or not. However, it seems to me significant that Kipling chooses this rather rare word as his middle name, which could be read as a place-name of Ireland. The tomb of Kurban Sahib is, I argue, also a secret tomb of the Irish and Indian connection, which had been so effective in creating the unity of the Empire. Incidentally, Lord Roberts was often mentioned as 'Roberts (of Kandahar, Pretoria, and Waterford)', being a member of a county Waterford family. Since a Sahib accompanied by an Indian servant inevitably evokes the image of Lord Roberts (see the Frontispiece), it could be argued that the grave was that of the imperial analogies which Roberts embodied. Then, it is interesting to note that Umr Singh emphasises the hollowness of the inscription as a sign: the unity of the Empire built on the metonymic connection between India and Ireland which Kurban Sahib embodied no longer exists. The inscription ends with a Latin sentence 'Si monumentum requiris circumspice'[106]– If you would see his monument, look around.[107] Umr Singh interprets it as follows:

> That is the second jest. It signifies that those who would desire to behold a proper memorial to Kurban Sahib must look out at the house. And, Sahib, the house is not there, nor the well, nor the big tank which they call dams, nor the little fruit trees, nor the cattle. There is nothing at all, Sahib, except the two trees withered by the fire. The rest is like the desert here – or my hand – or my heart. Empty, Sahib – all empty! [108]

Umr Singh names 'a proper memorial to Kurban Sahib' to be a house. Although it is the house of the Boer family who deceived him, the image of the lost house reminds us of the popular usage of the Home as the Empire. The imperial home was lost for ever, leaving only the tomb of the imperial analogies which once were its powerful signifier. It is even more of a jest, considering that it was the British side that burned down the house and thus made the inscription devoid of its referent.

4

'The Comprehension of Private Copper' (1902) is Kipling's last story about the Boer War. An English soldier named Copper, while scouting across the Colesberg kopjes, is captured by a young man. The captor, with his gun pointing toward Copper, tells how he has come to hate the English. According to him, his father moved to the Transvaal and bought land, believing the words of the British government that 'so long as the sun rose and the rivers ran in their courses the Transvaal would belong to England'[109]; however, the independence of the Republic was restored by Gladstone in 1881, after the crushing defeat of the British at Majuba, and his father lost 'everything down to his self-respect' (148), since there were, the captor claims, no terms made to protect the Uitlanders. The man is determined to torture Copper after he finishes telling the latter all his grievances against the English, but Copper turns the tables and succeeds in taking the man as a prisoner.

The story contains a curious digression whose connection to the main plot cannot be fully explained: while Copper is listening to his captor (Copper calls him 'renegid' throughout the story, because he is, Copper thinks, 'English' but nevertheless against the English), the memories of India, especially those concerning the Eurasian, keep coming back to him, because the man's accent sounds similar to 'pukka bazar chee-chee' (150) which he heard Eurasians speak while serving in India two years before. In fact, this is one of the stories which Angus Wilson has pointed as haunted by 'irrelevant' Indian memories. Copper suspects the man to be a Eurasian – he looks like one, being 'dark-skinned, dark-haired and dark-eyed' (145) – and when Copper captures him in turn, the first thing he does is to check the finger-nails, for the Eurasians are said to have blackened nails. It turns out that the man's nails are as clean as Copper's, from which evidence he concludes that the man is definitely not a half-caste (150). However, Copper makes the man pronounce the word 'Pore Tommy' several times, and confirms that the man does speak in a chee-chee accent. However, Kipling does not give any reasonable explanation of why the man speaks chee-chee in the story.

C. A. Bodelsen devotes one chapter in his *Aspects of Kipling's Art* to make sense of this Eurasian theme which looks 'totally irrelevant to the subject' but nevertheless quite conspicuously haunts the entire story. He admits that the digression gives the story 'the appearance of being very badly put together, in a way that seems quite uncharacteristic of Kipling'. However, he argues that 'this apparent digression, so far from being irrelevant,

forms an integral part of the story'[110]:

> The theme is far too insistent to be a mere digression, and no one familiar with Kipling's short story technique, whose principal characteristic is an extreme verbal economy, could believe that it was. It is entirely foreign to his practice to introduce something into a story that does not serve a purpose, and in this case the theme appears, at the first glance, to be not merely a digression, but to have nothing whatever to do with the ostensible subject of the tale. It *must* mean something, and it must be explicable, if one could only find the clue, for this is obviously not one of the stories that are *meant* to be enigmatic, like for example, *Mrs Bathurst*.[111]

Thus Bodelsen, instead of dismissing the Eurasian motif as a digression, explains that it is 'a piece of daring symbolization'[112] deliberately chosen by Kipling. He reminds the reader of the dispatch of Alfred Milner to Joseph Chamberlain, in which the former likens the position of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal to that of helots. Kipling, according to Bodelsen, by investing the renegade with the Eurasian accent and appearance, intends to show that the Uitlanders will actually degrade into an inferior race if they keep being treated as such.

I do agree with Bodelsen that 'The Comprehension of the Private Copper' has 'the appearance of being very badly put together'. However, instead of retrieving the verbal economy which is supposed to exist in Kipling's work by reading a symbolization into the story, I argue that the digression simply reveals a bankruptcy of the unified vision of the Empire. What appears like mysterious left-over jigsaw puzzle pieces which do not fit anywhere gives us some idea about what failed to fall into place in the grand picture of the Empire.

In fact, the odd digressions enable us to relate 'The Comprehension of Private Copper' to two other texts by Kipling: 'Namgay Doola' in *Life's Handicap* and *Kim*. 'Namgay Doola' is, just like 'The Comprehension', a story about finding out the real identity of a rebel and forcing him into submission. In fact, 'Namgay Doola', though it takes place in a fictitious Indian kingdom 'on the road to Thibet',[113] may remind us of the Transvaal problem which was already current when the story was written, for the king calls the rebel 'an outlander and no man of [his] own people'.[114] The narrator of the story suspects the rebel to be Irish, because of his flaming red hair. Therefore, the narrator, just as Copper does to his renegade, makes the rebel pronounce his father's name 'Timlay Doola',[115] and then the strangely familiar song which Namgay Doola sings also turns out to be a corrupt version of an Irish song 'The Wearing of the Green'.[116] The narrator finds out that Namgay Doola is a Eurasian, with an Irish soldier in the East India Company[117] as his father and a woman of the

hills[118] as his mother.

Kim, completed during the Boer War, also shows striking similarities with 'The Comprehension of Private Copper'. Just as Copper suspects his captor to be half-caste, many readers first receive the impression that Kim is a half-caste.[119] In fact, his father lived with an Indian woman who took care of Kim and there is no proof that she is not Kim's real mother. However, Kim vehemently denies any blood relationship with the woman[120] and does not hide his contempt towards the Eurasian boys who pretend to be pure white and mistreat natives.[121] Just as Copper confirms that the young man is not half-caste, the narrator takes pains to mention that Kim's mother is also Irish.[122] Therefore, in both *Kim* and 'The Comprehension', there is a person who gives the impression of being Eurasian, a suspicion which, for some reason, has to be clearly negated. Moreover, Kim, though he is allegedly non-Eurasian, has the same 'chanting' way of speaking as Copper's renegade has – Kipling does not usually make a big differentiation between the speech of the Anglo-Indian and the Eurasian in his work. For example, in 'The Bold 'Prentice', a young Yorkshire boy, 'being born in India, naturally talked the clipped sing-song that is used by the half-castes and English-speaking natives'.[123]

Therefore, there are three stories similar to one another: one about an Eurasian of mixed Irish and Indian parentage ('Namgay Doola'), one about a Eurasian-looking boy in India who 'turns out' to be a pure Irish (*Kim*), one about an Eurasian-looking young man who speaks English in a Eurasian accent but 'turns out' to be non-Eurasian ('The Comprehension of Private Copper'). It is interesting to observe that all of the three stories involve finding out the identity of a 'rebel' who pronounces English with an Indian accent. Thus may it be possible to assume that the renegade in 'The Comprehension' is also an Irishman with a chee-chee accent? If so, it is very likely that the renegade will in due course become another example of the Irish in India with a chee-chee accent, since, just as Namgay Doola and Kim are successfully placed in the Indian context of the Empire, he may be sent to India and may prove to be useful, the destinations of the British prisoners-of-war mentioned in the story being 'Bermuda, or Umballa, or Ceylon'.[124]

'The Comprehension of Private Copper', however, radically differs from the other two stories. Both in 'Namgay Doola' and *Kim*, the subversive elements are specified as Irish, and are successfully incorporated into the imperial system (Namgay Doola becomes the chief of the King's army and Kim a secret agent). The name of the rebel plays a crucial role in

finding out their identity as Irish, and is even used as a title. In 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', on the other hand, the renegade is *not* identified as Irish. Copper does not even try to find out his name. And, as I have pointed out, there is no explanation as to why the renegade speaks in chee-chee. The reader is left in a certain kind of uneasiness, even after the order is restored by Copper's capture of the renegade, for we are not informed of the renegade's true identity.

Ireland has been traditionally and stereotypically associated with violence. This may be why most of Kipling's Irish characters belong to the Irish regiment: they are mostly armed. Thus, when Ortheris momentarily suspects that Mulvaney would mutiny, seeing, in the heat of the Indian night, his naked toe on the trigger of his Martini-Henri rifle, it is not 'Mulvaney's rifle' but rather 'the Irishman's rifle' that Ortheris dashes aside.[125] Moreover, there were some Irish who were armed but not under the discipline of the British army, namely, the Fenian, whose activity more and more threatened the peace of the Empire towards the end of the century. Thus, the British Empire was replete with armed Irishmen. As long as one could identify violence with the Irish, both could be seen as still manageable and even part of the system. The occasional identification of the insurgent factors as Irish and the elimination or domestication of them could help consolidate the unity of the Empire. However, as we have already seen, the Irish are disarmed in Kipling's Boer stories. What we have instead is an armed American, Laughton O. Zigler from Ohio, an inventor who came to South Africa to try his own weapons such as 'the Laughton-Zigler automatic two-inch field gun, with self-feeding hopper, single oil-cylinder recoil, and ball-bearing gear throughout' and 'Laughtite, the new explosive'.[126] Zigler represents the United States whose growing power as a nation was becoming a threat to the British Empire – they could be a strong ally of the Empire or the most formidable enemy.[127] Kipling puts Zigler's capacity for violence under control, just as he used to with his Irish soldiers armed with their guns: Zigler first fights for the Boers, but when captured by the British, he finds that his weapons have not killed any of the British soldiers, even though they wounded ten of the British soldiers one way and another, 'killed two battery horses and four mules' and 'bagged five Kaffirs',[128] and he decides to offer his weapons to the British side. However, this identification of violence with an American inventor (with a very *un*-Celtic name) and having him on the British side cannot completely relieve Kipling's Boer War world from subversive violence. An unidentified renegade is still out in the field, ready to point his gun at any English soldier,

which makes the 'comprehension' (or control) of the British Empire of the colonies almost impossible. As more Irish left their own country and spread all over the world, it became more and more difficult to pin down the source of violence – the Irish. Moreover, Irish violence was consciously becoming more elusive and widespread to be more effective; as Patrick Ford, in his Irish-American newspaper *The Irish World,* already urges on December 4, 1875: 'The Irish cause requires skirmishers ... a little band of heroes who will initiate and keep up without intermission a guerrilla warfare – men who will fly over land and sea like invisible beings – now striking the enemy in Ireland, now in India, now in England itself, as occasion may present'.[129] The Queen's order that all ranks in her Majesty's Irish regiments shall wear shamrocks on St. Patrick's Day can be interpreted as an attempt to make all the Irish inside the Empire visible and bring them back under control. The veldt as well as all the British colonies were filled with shamrocks, indicating the potential violence against the Queen. However, the trouble was that, by the time of the Boer War, the association of the Irish with violence – they were either soldiers or terrorists – could no longer completely identify the forces which were working against the solidarity of the British Empire. Thus, Kipling's Irish characters no longer figure as soldiers, nor can the renegade who points his gun at Private Copper be identified as Irish. Both the violence and the Irish become widespread and elude the grasp of the Empire. They had completely submerged themselves into the land of the colonies to which they had spread, hidden and undetected within the system of the Empire, ready to overthrow it.

[1] A. Conan Doyle, *The Great Boer War* (London: Smith, Elder, 1900), 1.
[2] Paula M. Krebs, 'Olive Schreiner's Racialization of South Africa', *Victorian Studies* 40:3 (Spring 1997), 439.
[3] Olive Schreiner, *A Selection*, ed. Uys Krige (Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1968), 141-2.
[4] Doyle, 4.
[5] Byron Farwell, *The Great Boer War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 348.
[6] A. M. Milner, *The Milner Papers: South Africa*, ed. C. Headlam (London: Cassell, 1931), 242.
[7] Milner, 242.
[8] Milner, 243.
[9] Milner, 283.
[10] As to the motif of racial degeneration in Kipling's Boer War stories, see C. A. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1964), Chapter 8, and Philip Holden, 'Halls of Mirrors: Mimicry and Ambivalence in Kipling's Boer War short stories', *ARIEL* 28:4 (October 1997), 91-109.
[11] Rudyard Kipling, 'A Burgher of the Free State' (1900), *The Sussex Edition of the Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 30 (London: Macmillan & Co, 1938), 161.
[12] Holden, 102.
[13] Holden, 101.
[14] Holden, 97.
[15] Holden, 104.
[16] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 3, ed. Thomas Pinney (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 107.
[17] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Settler', *The Five Nations* (London: Methuen and Co., 1903), 153.
[18] Kipling, 'The Settler', 153.
[19] Kipling, 'The Settler', 154.
[20] Arnold White, 'Concerning South African Settlers', *The Contemporary Review* 78 (November 1900), 670.
[21] Joseph Chamberlain, *Mr Chamberlain's Speeches*, ed. Charles W. Boyd, 2 vols (London: Constable and Company LTD, 1914), 2:113.
[22] Chamberlain, 114.
[23] Chamberlain, 80. Here, it may be appropriate to recall the speech of John Dillon in the House of Commons, speaking for Ireland through the South African situation – '[w]hen you have slaughtered a third of the whole population of the Transvaal, do you think the time will come to knit the two races together in harmony?' (*Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., House of Commons, vol. 77, 25 October 1899, 684).
[24] Kipling, 'The Return', *The Five Nations*, 210.
[25] Kipling, 'The Outsider' (1900), *The Sussex Edition*, vol. 30, 120.
[26] Kiping, 'The Arrest of Lieutenant Golightly' (1886), *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 138. This story can be read as a good illustration of how one step out of the hill regions can instantly erode the Englishness of the Anglo-Indian, the point which I made in Chapter 2.
[27] Kipling, 'The Outsider', 123.
[28] Kipling, 'The Outsider', 124-5.
[29] Kipling, 'Folly Bridge' (1900), *The Sussex Edition*, vol. 30, 101.
[30] Kipling, 'A Burgher of the Free State', 144.
[31] Kipling, 'Folly Bridge', 101.
[32] Alfred Austin, *Song of England* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), 7.
[33] Austin, 7.
[34] Austin, 5.
[35] Austin, 36.
[36] *Literature*, 7 May 1898, vol. 2 (London: *The Times,* 1902; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1974), 526.
[37] *Literature*, 13 July 1901, vol. 9 (London: *The Times,* 1902; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1974), 26.
[38] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Captive', *Traffics and Discoveries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 51.
[39] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:73.
[40] Julian Ralph, *War's Brighter Side: The Story of "The Friend" newspaper edited by the Correspondents with Lord Roberts's Forces, March-April 1900* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1900), 263.
[41] Milner, 29-30.
[42] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, third series, vol. 3, ed. George Earle Buckle (London: John Murray, 1932), 457.
[43] Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, vol. 2: Word and Language (The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 243.
[44] Jakobson, 244.
[45] Jakobson, 248.
[46] Jakobson, 248.

[47] Jakobson, 251.
[48] Jakobson, 251.
[49] Jakobson, 258.
[50] William Whewell, 'The General Bearing of the Great Exhibition on the Progress of Art and Science', in W. Whewell, and others, *Lectures on the results of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: David Bogue, 1852), 14.
[51] Whewell, 14.
[52] *The Friend*, 21 March 1900, in Ralph, 86-7.
[53] Ralph, 87.
[54] *A Kipling Note Book* (New York: M.F. Mansfield & A. Wessels, 1899), 49-50.
[55] S. B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 26-7.
[56] Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings, James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 96. This passage can be found in Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance* (London: Longman, 1861), xvii-xviii.
[57] D. W. Cahill, *Important Letter from the Rev. D. W. Cahill, D. D.*, on the defeat of the English in India, *This Day*, Saturday, 5 June 1858 (Dublin: J. F. Nugent, 1858), 1-7.
[58] D. W. Cahill, *Important Letter from the Rev. D. W. Cahill, D. D.*, on the General Conditions of the Army in India, *This Day*, Saturday, 12 June 1858 (Dublin: J. F. Nugent, 1858), 2.
[59] Cahill, 'Army in India', 7.
[60] Cahill, 'Army in India', 7.
[61] Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 1973), 180.
[62] *Hansard,* 25 October 1899, 621.
[63] *Hansard,* vol. 78, 7 February 1900, 831.
[64] *Hansard,* 7 February 1900, 831
[65] Michael J. F. McCarthy, *Five Years in Ireland, 1895-1900* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1901), 447.
[66] J. B. Robinson, 'The South African Settlement', *Contemporary Review* 78 (October 1900), 461.
[67] *Hansard,* 7 February 1900, 851.
[68] Emanoel Lee, *To the Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War 1899-1902* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 53.
[69] *Hansard,* 7 February 1900, 841.
[70] *Hansard,* 7 February 1900, 850.
[71] *Hansard,* 7 February 1900, 845.
[72] *The United Irishman*, 28 October 1899, 8.
[73] *The United Irishman,* 7 April 1900, 5.
[74] *The United Irishman*, 17 March 1900, 7.
[75] W. B. Yeats, *The Collected Letters of W B Yeats*, ed. John Kelly (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), vol. 2, 503.
[76] Letter from Maud Gonne to W. B. Yeats, dated 29 March 1900 in *The Gonne-Yeats Letters 1893-1938: Always Your Friend*, eds. Anna MacBride White and A. Norman Jeffares (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 73.
[77] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, 522.
[78] Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R.I.* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 555.
[79] Maud Gonne MacBride, *A Servant of the Queen: Reminiscences* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1983), 301.
[80] MacBride, 301.
[81] *Hansard*, vol. 32, 4 April 1895, 909.
[82] *Hansard*, vol. 33,10 March 1896, 592.
[83] *Hansard,* vol. 78, 13 February 1899, 667.
[84] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, 501.
[85] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, 521.
[86] *Black and White Budget*, 14 April 1900, 35.
[87] *Black and White Budget*, 14 April 1900, 36.
[88] *Annual Register, A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the Year of 1900* (New York and Bombay: Longmans, 1901), 251.
[89] *The Irish Figaro*, 24 March 1900, 177.
[90] *The United Irishman*, 24 March 1900, 6.
[91] *The United Irishman*, 17 March 1900, 5.
[92] *The United Irishman*, 24 March 1900, 6.
[93] *The United Irishman*, 17 March 1900, 7.

[94] W. B. Yeats, *The Collected Letters of W B Yeats*, vol.2, 508-9.
[95] V. C. Malherbe, *Eminent Victorians in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta & Company Limited, 1972), 192.
[96] Ralph, 31.
[97] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:87.
[98] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:101.
[99] Ralph, 104.
[100] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 3 (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1960), 198.
[101] Kipling, 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', *Traffics and Discoveries,* 147.
[102] Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Works* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), 219.
[103] Kipling, 'A Sahibs' War', *Traffics and Discoveries,* 94.
[104] Kipling, 'A Sahibs' War', 103.
[105] I wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Dr. Janet Montefiore who pointed this out to me.
[106] Kipling, 'A Sahibs' War', 104.
[107] Kipling, 'A Sahibs' War', 319 (note).
[108] Kipling, 'A Sahibs' War', 104.
[109] Kipling, 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', 147. Further references will be cited in the text.
[110] C. A. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1964), 155.
[111] Bodelsen, 159-60.
[112] Bodelsen, 164.
[113] Rudyard Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', *Life's Handicap* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 220.
[114] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 222.
[115] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 228.
[116] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 228.
[117] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 227.
[118] Kipling, 'Namgay Doola', 228. Namgay Doola's wife is also a Thibetan (228). Thus Kipling, in this story, makes a similar connection between Kim the Irish boy and the Lama from Tibet, probably because Kipling found the Irish connection with the Hill region more manageable than that with the Plain.
[119] For example, George Grella, in his preface to Brijen K. Gupta, *India in English Fiction, 1800 –1970: An Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 1973), writes that *Kim* is a story of 'a half-caste boy' (ix), in which Kipling provides 'a background for the special problems of mixed blood' (xiii).
[120] Kipling, *Kim*, 134-5.
[121] Kipling, *Kim*, 192.
[122] Kipling, *Kim*, 60.
[123] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Bold 'Prentice', *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), 197.
[124] Kipling, 'The Comprehension of Private Copper', 152.
[125] Rudyard Kipling, 'With the Main Guard', *Soldiers Three and In Black and White* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1993), 47. J. J. W. Murphy, in his essay on Kipling's Irish soldier, delineates the same episode and comments that '[r]ifles of those on guard were always loaded, a memory of the Mutiny' [J. J. W. Murphy, 'Kipling and the Irish Soldier in India', *Kipling Journal* 168 (December 1968), 23].
[126] Kipling, 'The Captive', *Traffics and Discoveries,* 39.
[127] As for the involvement of the United States in the Boer War, see, for example, Thomas J. Noer, *Briton, Boer and Yankee: the United States and South Africa, 1870-1914* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State UP, 1978), chapter 4, 'A British War for American Interests: The United States and the Boer War'.
[128] Kipling, 'The Captive', 47.
[129] *The Irish World*, 4 December 1875, p.4.

Chapter 5: the dynamite war of analogies

> Has it occurred to you that if you turned up the files of 81-85 on Ireland and India you would find almost verbatim the identical questions which are asked to-day as to lawlessness in Ireland: the identical flippant replies, and the same growth of lawlessness. It seems to me sometimes in reading the Standard, that I am back again in India in the middle eighties, when Ripon was introducing Local Self Government into India, and I suppose it must have been Morley – the Irish Secretary – was veiling and palliating intrigue in Ireland. (Rudyard Kipling to H. A. Gwynne, 15 June 1907) [1]

Kipling, in his letter to H. A. Gwynne specifies one moment in Indian history in which India and Ireland, with 'the same growth of lawlessness', looked almost identical: the early to mid 1880s. It is interesting to see that Kipling, in his recollection of the day, slightly modifies the dates of the three separate incidents in order to emphasise their contemporaneity: Kipling returned to India not 'in the middle eighties' but rather the beginning of the eighties, October 1882. Lord Ripon was Governor General and Viceroy of India from 1880 to 1884. John Morley, whom Kipling remembers 'veiling and palliating intrigue in Ireland' in the 1880s as 'the Irish Secretary' when Lord Ripon was plotting for the Indian self-government, was elected to Parliament in 1883 and became the Irish Secretary in 1886, that is to say, two years after Lord Ripon's resignation, and held office till the liberal government was beaten at the general election of the same year, though he took up the same position later in 1892-5. The link which Kipling retrospectively forms between India and Ireland, Lord Ripon and John Morley, and the first half of 1880s and 1907 when Kipling writes this letter is not difficult to see: during both periods the Liberal government – the party to which Kipling always bitterly attributes the disintegration of the Empire – was in power, and Lord Ripon and John Morley are both liberal politicians and William Gladstone's strongest supporters.

Kipling in this letter projects his anxiety that the Liberal party might undo the unity of the Empire onto the events nearly twenty years before. In the 1900s, England had to combat a new surge of the nationalisms among her colonies, which gained strength from the decline of the British Empire. Immediately after the humiliating victory of the Boer War, there came the stunning news of Japan's triumph over Russia which blasted the myth of the invincibility and superiority of the West and drastically restored the self-confidence of the Asian people, the Indian among them.[2] Lord Curzon's notorious measure of the partition of Bengal (1905) was enforced in the middle of these new aspirations and exalted feelings about their racial and national identity, and it triggered the Swadeshi movement, the boycotting of foreign goods. In the middle of this revolutionary movement, the Indian Congress split into

the moderates and militants in 1907, and the latter, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, pushed the movement to terrorism which quickly spread all over India.

Nevertheless, Kipling's impression that there was the parallel growth of 'lawlessness' in India and Ireland during the 1880s seems to be not totally constructed out of his imagination. In the 1880s, on Gladstone's return to power, the liberal reforms were simultaneously inaugurated in India and Ireland. It was this period when the Irish Home Rule looked most promising under the strong leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. Gladstone made his Irish policy for his third government clear by appointing John Morley as the Irish Secretary in 1886, who had been known as the strongest advocate of the Irish Home Rule. In India, Lord Ripon won the favour of the educated Indians by his policy of 'training Indians for self-rule', even at the expense of administrative efficiency for this purpose.[3] Apart from promoting Local Self Government, Lord Ripon repealed the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 which had been passed during Lord Lytton's era to suppress the growth of Indian nationalism, and restored the freedom of speech of the native newspapers. His Ilbert Bill (1883) with which he attempted to give Indian judges jurisdiction over Europeans failed because of the strong opposition from the Anglo-European community.[4]

More interestingly, it was during this period that the Irish and Indian nationalists started self-consciously drawing on each other's instance. According to Lyn Innes, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Irish engagement with India was demonstrated not only by 'the renewed interest in Indian philosophy and religions which was part of a European wide interest in Folklore and myth' but also by 'the development of political alliances between Indian and Irish nationalists'.[5] The association of India with Ireland opened up the possibility of helping each other achieve self-government, and made it easier to portray both India and Ireland as oppressed colonies which needed liberating, and thereby organise the grievances and resentment bred under the British rule into the force to break from the yoke. The London Indian House, which was formed in 1872 in order to bring into closer union the Indians residing in England and which later became 'notorious as a centre of sedition' in the 1900s,[6] was, from the start, haunted by the Irish connection: an Irish MP Frank Hugh O'Donnell (1848-1916) made approaches to this society in the 1870s with a proposition to form an Irish-Indian organisation to help each other achieve self-government.[7] Lord Ripon, to the eyes of the Irish nationalists, seems to have represented something of the Irish-Indian connection, not only because his liberal policy was seen as the Indian version of the Irish

home-rule, but also because of his sudden conversion to Roman Catholicism in the 1870s, which caused him to resign as Grand Master of the Freemasons in England and withdraw from public service till 1880. Frank Hugh O'Donnell expresses his enthusiasm over the appointment of Lord Ripon by assuming the Indian voice: he argues in his letter to the Editor of *The Times*, that despite the apprehension of 'some earnest Protestants ... at the possible effects of the Marquis of Ripon's appointment of Governor-General of India', the natives of India heartily welcome Lord Ripon as a new viceroy, whose noble character has been proved by his recent religious conversion. O'Donnell generously quotes from a leading Indian newspaper *Hindoo Patriot*: 'That the Marquis of Ripon is distinguished by high conscientiousness is evident from the fact of his change of faith. A nobleman and a public man in his position would not have changed his ancestral religion if he had not been moved by high conscientious scruples'.[8] O'Donnell saw in Lord Ripon's personal choice of religion a potential of breaking with the tradition of the Protestant (that is to say, Anglo or Anglo-Irish) rule in India, and by identifying India and Ireland, wished to be able to bring the same radical change to Ireland.

The subversive association between the Irish and Indian nationalists did not go unnoticed. In March 1886, Lord Dufferin, who was appointed the Viceroy of India (1884-88) after Ripon's resignation, wrote to the Earl of Kimberley, the Indian Secretary of the day, about the danger of the Irish example on Indian politics:

> I cannot help having a strong suspicion that the course of events at home in regard to Ireland has produced a very considerable effect upon the minds of the intelligent and educated section of our own native community. Associations and sub-associations are being formed all over the country which are also being furnished with a network of caucuses, who of course work the telegraph wire in the orthodox fashion ...[9]

That is to say, Kipling went back to India when it resembled Ireland in a most subversive way, and the similarity ignited a sense of alarm among Anglo-Indians. It is even more significant that Kipling is, at least in retrospect, aware of the resemblance. We may safely assume that Kipling's India, created around this significant period when he worked for the Indian newspapers, inevitably reflects the political analogies between India and Ireland frequently made and rebuked in the contemporary political arena. In this light, Kipling's Irish soldiers in the Indian setting can be seen as the literary representation of the political analogies between Ireland and India in the 1880s. It is no wonder that the representation of his Irish soldiers in India is double-edged. On the one hand, their presence in India, made

possible and even naturalised by the fact that both India and Ireland were under the English rule is an integral part of Kipling's representation of the unified Empire. On the other hand, they are often depicted as undisciplined and dangerous, as seen with the potential of a mutiny aided by the foreign powers which intended to overthrow the hegemony of the Empire. Kipling's representation of the Irish soldiers in India thus becomes a locale in which the significance of the Indo-Irish association is contested. Kipling's use of his Irish soldiers can be seen as a safety measure against nationalist analogy between India and Ireland: he lets his Irish soldiers – lawless and drunken – embody the similarity and the chaos which it produces and even multiplies, and then retrieves the order by showing that what appears to be sheer unlawfulness turns into Irish loyalty once the unity of the Empire is in any way threatened. This is most clearly seen in 'The Irish Conspiracy' and 'The Mutiny of Mavericks', in both of which the Irish soldiers in India have to defeat the attempt of the Irish version of the Indian Mutiny in India.

According to S. B. Cook, the Indo-Irish analogies frequently used and even abused as an aid in the process of inventing and charting the legislative course in India and Ireland suddenly became 'increasingly irrelevant' and were 'made superfluous', once 'official information and scholarly knowledge attained a certain threshold'[10]: '[f]rom the 1890s, Indian and Irish legislation assumed increasingly divergent paths and the scope for emulation or adaptation narrowed sharply. After 1900, no Indian tenancy acts were discernibly influenced by the Irish example'.[11] Considering that England had had a considerably long history of ruling India and Ireland, however, it seems to be misleading to attribute the sudden disappearance of the Indo-Irish analogies in the 1890s, which, according to Cook, flourished in the 1880s, solely to the 'fact' that the Indian and Irish legislative courses were finally separately established, especially when it is in the 1890s that the British management of the colonies notably started crumbling. I argue that the analogy had become unpopular at the end of the 1880s, because it turned out to be not so much 'irrelevant' or 'superfluous' as dangerous and something which was, if possible, desirable to do away with. The frequent use of analogies and comparison between colonies, the exchange of the colonial experience among contemporaries on both physical and discursive levels, which had greatly contributed to creating the sense of the solidarity and 'reality' of the Empire, proved to be no longer effective and even dangerous to evoke. With the growing demand for self-government and more independence among the colonies, the comparison between colonies started arousing

anxiety rather than a sense of unity.

It is interesting to note that Lord Dufferin, in the letter which I quoted above, notes that the educated class of Indian makes 'associations and sub-associations' by means of telegraph. If, as I have discussed earlier, the British Empire could maintain its huge territory by the improvement of communications (including the propagation of English and European values among the colonised, which facilitated communication with the colonies),[12] the Indian and Irish nationalist took advantage of the very system which governed them in order to form a subversive anti-Empire network.

In this sense, the use of the analogy between Ireland and other colonies can be likened, I argue, to that of the 'dynamite' invented in 1867 by a Swedish chemist Alfred Nobel and put to extensive use in the late nineteenth century. In fact, the dynamite turned out to be a double-edged 'power' which materialised two opposite discursive effects which imperialists on the one hand and Irish nationalists on the other sought to create.[13] On the one hand, the dynamite enabled the British Empire to quickly establish the communication networks and bring the vast territory close together, providing the infrastructure of metonymic language of the Empire which I discussed in Chapter 4. As Arthur Mee's *Popular Science* (1912) celebrates:

> the invention of dynamite marked a new epoch in the history of civilization. It enabled men to change, in a single generation, the face of the earth. By means of it he flung a network of railways swiftly over the continent; he removed mountains from his path; he mined for miles into the fiery heart of his planet. He brought oceans together by blasting away the rocks and earth that sundered them. [14]

On the other hand, the same power to make a change 'in a single generation' was soon adapted by the Irish nationalists as the tool of terrorism to blow up the British Empire. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa (1831-1915), after being released from his eight-years long mistreatment in an English prison in 1871, fled to America and in the 1880s waged the 'dynamite war' against England. Although Rossa's dynamiters 'skirmishers' used gun-powder instead of dynamite to blow up public buildings, Rossa consistently used the word 'dynamite' in his newspaper, the New York version of *The United Irishman*, which came to be known as dynamite journalism.[15] Rossa's terrorist tactics were more successfully pursed by another Fenian organisation, Clan na Gael, whose bombers employed actual dynamite. Public buildings such as the Victoria Station, *The Times* office, the Houses of Commons, the Tower of London, and London Bridge became the target of the Fenian dynamite outrages.[16]

A QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED, OR JUDGMENT GOES BY DEFAULT.

Bull to Parnell.—"DO YOU OR DO YOU NOT COUNT THIS REPTILE AMONG YOUR FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS?'

See Political Palaver, p. 57.

'A Question to be Answered, or Judgement Goes by Default'.
(*Judy, or The London Serio-Comic Journal,* 4 February 1885)

THE SONG OF THE HOME RULERS.

SING a song of dynamite,
Of massacre and treason;
Give us nitro-glycerine,
Not eloquence nor reason.
We have no need of arguments,
We scoff at wit's corrosives;
Sing a song of kerosine,
And horrible explosives!
We care not whether friend or foe
Is doomed by us to sorrow;
Sing a song of dynamite,
We'll have a lark, begorra!
Sing a song of glycerine,
Gun-cotton's not bad,
We're gintilmen for divilry,
Arrah, musha, and bedad!
Sing a song of dynamite,
We'll show the English nation
How fit we are to rule ourselves
By blowing up creation!

THE PRAYER OF THE CHINA PAINTERS.—*Plaques vobiscum.*

'The Song of the Home Rulers'.
(*Judy, or The London Serio-Comic Journal,* 28 March 1883)

For both the imperialist and the nationalists, the dynamite signified a power to create, connect and unite through destruction. The imperialists expanded the Empire by means of destroying nature, native culture and tradition, while the dynamite was put to use by the nationalists as a supplement (or even a substitute) of the nationalist/political discourses, which otherwise would have been too easily dismissed, to reclaim their lost tradition and unite the divided people of Ireland into one.[17] From the 1880s to the 1910s the intra-imperial analogies, especially those between India and Ireland, took on the same double-edged power of the dynamite, and were used alongside it.

If as Cook observes, the analogical practice between India and Ireland to create the sense of imperial unity became obsolete by 1890, we may be able to assume that the frequent use of the Indo-Irish analogy by the Irish nationalists together with the use of bombs which became prominent during the 1880s subverted the imperial use of the same analogy. Ireland, being the oldest colony of England, had been a nodal point of the analogical practice to which any new experience with other colonies could be constantly referred to and thereby contextualised. The association with Irish nationalism and dynamite/violence, once established, became a serious threat to the imagined solidarity of the empire woven by the intra-imperial analogies. Therefore, it was pertinent to deny the similarity and emphasise the difference, in order to guarantee that India was, unlike Ireland, free from violence and content with British rule.

The need to deny any association between the Indo-Irish analogies and the violence can be seen in an article entitled 'The Home Rule Movement in India and in Ireland' published in 1890 in *The Contemporary Review*. It was simply signed by 'a Bengal Magistrate', for Charles William McMinn, the author of the article, requested anonymity when sending it to the editor, Percy William Bunting.[18] It is also a perfect example of the downfall of the analogical practice at the end of the 1880s, for the article, subtitled 'A Contrast', deals with the 'striking and instructive contrasts' rather than the similarities of the two colonies from his fifty years of experience both in India and Ireland.[19] Most interestingly, McMinn, in the early part of the essay, records an old episode which shows that the British officials made the Indian policy on the analogy of Ireland and their former colonial experience.

> Lord Mayo once remarked to the present writer, when we were waiting in our howdahs for the outburst of a family of tigers, that the problems which he had to solve as Secretary at Dublin and as Governor-General at Calcutta, showed a great mutual resemblance. But I

> would dwell rather on the contrasts which the two countries present, because I consider them more instructive on the question of Home Rule, and more pregnant with emphatic lessons in the art of government .[20]

Here, McMinn evokes an exotic picture of two Irishmen in the Indian landscape – on the elephants' back, ready to hunt tigers – talking of 'a great mutual resemblance' between India and Ireland. Lord Mayo was assassinated in 1872, nearly twenty years before the article was written, so we may say that the episode testifies to the good old days in which the imperial affinity – making analogies between Ireland and India, and between the Irish experience and the Indian one, and the physical presence of the Irish on the Indian soil – seemed to sustain the reality and success of the Raj and the entire Empire in the post-mutiny India. The 'great mutual resemblance' between India and Ireland noted above is in fact ironical, considering that the Irish officials are here depicted with the power to kill (tigers) and control over (elephants) the Indian nature. It is the same power that Lord Mayo, an Anglo-Irish politician, seeing Ireland in India and India in Ireland, thought it appropriate to exercise over his 'Irish' countrymen.

McMinn admits that both colonies look alike in their nationalist aim and strategy, namely, 'the abolition of bureaucracy and the development of Imperial Federation by means of constitutional agitation'.[21] Nonetheless, he argues that the situations of the two countries are too different to even make analogies: they are first of all two different 'units' of the British Empire, differing from each other in size, population, religion, climate and ancient history. British India turns out to be far more successful a colony than Ireland, increasing 'not only in area, but in wealth, strength, and population', while in Ireland all of them have decreased.[22] Moreover, it is the feeling towards the British administration which most decisively separates India and Ireland. McMinn more than once emphasises that India is, unlike Ireland, free from the 'legacy of national bitterness' towards England. For example, whereas Ireland is 'still garrisoned with 42,000 soldiers and military police', in India '[p]eace has been maintained for many years without a single white soldier'.[23] In India, those discontented are only 'a small minority', whereas in Ireland the people 'dislike with varying degrees of intensity their magistracy, their police, and the Coercion laws'.[24] Indian nationalists are supported by 'very few rupees',[25] whereas Irish nationalists have been financially supported by Irish emigrants scattered all over the world who 'have given of their substance as freely as their sisters in Carthage contributed their hair in order to manufacture bowstrings'.[26]

To do McMinn justice, we have to admit that he, as an Irishman, gives a very sympathetic account of the Irish suffering and holds the English government responsible for it. However, when it comes to the Indian situation, his picture of peaceful India seems to be hardly a sympathetic nor accurate report. For example, the statement that there was not a single white soldier in India for many years is difficult to believe, for there *were* quite a few white soldiers in India in the nineteenth century. According to *The India Office List for 1889*, for example, the number of the European soldiers in British India for the official year 1886-87 is 73,582, while that of the native soldiers, 'exclusive of Native Artificers and followers', is 134,492.[27] The contrast between the total absence of the white soldiers in the vast territory of India and the overabundance of them in Ireland which McMinn demonstrates is, however, significant, for in his essay the refusal to make analogies between India and Ireland works in tandem with the disavowal of any violence in India. His comparison between the two countries is purged of the armed white in India whom, if not checked, might anytime turn into the Irish violence in India: thus he summarises by claiming that, even though India also suffered many great famines and scarcities, 'not one landlord or public servant was assassinated, not one dynamite cartridge was exploded in India by the survivors of the great Indian famines, or by the sons of those who perished'.[28]

The Irish-Indian analogies gathered their bomb-like potential of spreading militant nationalism to India, but it still remained as a potential till the late 1900s, when it eventually took the form of an actual explosion. The first bomb with a fatal result was thrown at Muzaffarpur on the 30th of April, 1908. Two Bengali young men bombed a carriage which they mistakenly believed to belong to D. H. Kingsford, the unpopular District Judge who took strict measures against Bengal newspapers, and killed both wife and daughter of a pro-Indian European barrister Pringle Kennedy who were inside. While the British government immediately acted by passing a series of Acts to suppress both the bombs and seditious discourses, Tilak advocates the incident by likening it to the terrorism in Ireland, in his newspaper *Kesari*, a Marathi weekly published at Poona:

> The terrible murders that took place in Ireland spontaneously riveted England's attention to the grievances of that country and then Home Rule or Swarajya for Ireland began to be discussed. Such usefulness, of one sort, of these murders has been indirectly described by Lord Morley in one place. Will the terrible occurrence at Muzaffarpur rivet Lord Morley's attention to the grievances about the partition of Bengal?'[29]

Here, it is significant that Tilak immediately resorts to the Irish example in order to defend

the incident: the bombs and murders in India should turn the government's attention to Indian grievances and promote home-rule, just as the Irish violence had achieved. Lord Morley, the former Irish Secretary appointed to the post of Indian Secretary in 1905, known for his sympathy towards the Irish questions and having strongly supported Irish Home rule, was now expected to act in the same way in the face of the same political situation in India through this analogy between Indian and Irish violence.

The justification of the political terrorism resorting to, again, the analogies with the foreign examples can be seen in an extract from Tilak's article in *Kesari*, which was translated and quoted in *The Times* when he was arrested and tried for his seditious writing. According to the quotation, he advocates only the use of nationalist or patriotic bombs, which directly attack the system that suppresses the freedom of the nation. He on the other hand disapproves of a mere anarchism which stems from 'hatred felt for selfish millionaires' and takes the lives of individuals and destroys the society.[30] According to Tilak, '[t]he Bengalis are not anarchists, but they have brought into use the weapons of the anarchists; that is all': there is 'as wide a difference ... as between earth and heaven' between the bombs of anarchists and those of patriotic Bengalis, for there is 'an excess of patriotism at the root of the bombs in Bengal'.[31] However this wide difference, the rightness of the terrorism against the British Empire in the name of patriotism, and the identification with Irish nationalism through the use of the bombs, was not so self-explanatory and therefore needed to be clearly supported in the political discourses such as Tilak's. Otherwise, there was no way to distinguish the bombs from chaos and anarchism. The discourses and bombs needed one another, and it is this too close relationship between the dynamite and the 'inflammatory' discourse that alarmed the coloniser most. It is, then, no wonder that the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act was passed 'in connection with and simultaneously with'[32] the Explosive Substances Act in 1908. The police ransacked the publishing houses in search of explosives and the evidence of Bomb conspiracy: immediately after the Muzaffarpur incident, *The Times* reports, 'A large quantity of bombs, explosives, ammunition, and arms has been seized in the raids on the Anarchist dens and the office of the *Navasakti* newspaper. A box containing correspondence has also come to light and a library of up-to-date books on the manufacture of explosives, and pamphlets preaching sedition has been secured'.[33] Lord Ripon's repeal of the Vernacular Press Act twenty years ago was now accused of having been most unwise. Flora Ann Steel in her letters to *The Times* in July 1909, deplored that 'there is

no line of demarcation in the minds of the millions of India between "unrest" which produces a crop of disloyal questions in Parliament or edits a paper like *India* and the anarchism which wantonly murders a friend simply because he is an Englishman'.[34] Her comment provoked an immediate protest from the editor of *India*, who argued that the paper advocated 'the methods of strictly constitutional agitation'.[35] Steel also immediately answered to this protest, saying that 'every syllable that is printed' has to be watched lest it should 'sow' unrest whose 'crop' is anarchism, since the uneducated, not knowing how to differentiate between the discursive unrest and the actual anarchism, are easily incited to violence by 'the petty slanders against their rulers which even the best native newspapers seldom fail to reproduce from the miserable broadsheets which disgrace India'.[36] It is interesting to note that Steel here suggests that the unrest on the India soil are disseminated by the educated class of the Indian. As Morley also puts it, '[t]he danger arose from a mutiny, not of sepoys about greased cartridges, but of educated men armed with modern ideas supplied from the noblest arsenals and proudest trophies of English literature and oratory.[37] Lord Curzon in his speech concerning the Indian situation criticised the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act for being confined only to 'incitements to murder and violence' but not 'the whole range of seditious writings and speech in India': [38]

> we must remember that though the classes which propagate sedition may be numerically small, they are classes which have almost the monopoly of education and the influence which education gives. They have a perfect command both in speech and in writing of the two languages – English and the vernacular – and they possess an influence with their countrymen greatly in excess either of their numbers or of their social standing in the country.[39]

Indeed, it is ironical that the connection between bombs and political discourses was fed and flamed by the analogies with foreign countries, especially when the Swadeshi – meaning 'of ones own country' – movement boycotted anything foreign and aimed at fostering national unity and self-reliance. Valentine Chirol, in his *Indian Unrest* (1910), the book dedicated to John Morley, observes that 'in the literature of unrest one frequently comes across the strangest juxtaposition of names, Hindu deities, and Cromwell and Washington, and celebrated anarchists all being invoked in the same breath'.[40] It may be said that the seditious writing aroused anxiety within the colonial authority, not only because it directly led to anarchism, but partly because by juxtaposing and equating the western culture and the Indian ones, it blurred the distinction between West and East, the white and the black, producing, to the coloniser's eyes, an alarming hybrid which might anytime subvert the racial hierarchies.

The bombs and murders only helped to validate their vague anxiety.

According to Chirol, apart from the emergence of Japan which had created a strong impact on the Indian mind, the Indians had been 'the most slavish imitators of the West, as represented, at any rate, by the Irish Fenian and the Russian anarchist' and their literature was 'replete with references to both':

> Tilak took his 'No-rent' campaign in the Deccan from Ireland, and the Bengalees were taught to believe in the power of the boycott by illustrations taken from contemporary Irish history. When the informer Gosain was shot dead in Alipur gaol the Nationalists glorified in the deed, which had far excelled that of Patrick O'Donnell, who shot dead James Carey, the approver in the Phoenix Park murders... [41]

Indeed, the leading Indian extremist politicians made clear and self-conscious analogies between Sinn Fein and themselves. Tilak wrote a series of editorials on Sinn Fein, 'telling his reader of that Party's belief that "nothing will be achieved by begging to Parliament". Such tactics only wasted money, time, energy, which could more usefully be spent in other ways'.[42] Sri Aurobindo identifies Parnell's rise and fall in the 1880s with India's own struggle for self-government, and he made his Irish sympathies clear by writing two elegies on Parnell.[43] One of his editorials in *Bande Mataram* was titled 'An Irish Example' in which he argued that India should follow the Irish nationalist example of refusing any 'bait' from the Liberal government to 'kill the Home Rule Movement by kindness' and to make Ireland a big English county governed by a magnified and glorified Parish Council', instead of 'a separate nationality with its own culture, language, government'.[44] He praised Sinn Fein for making 'the great ideal of an Irish Nation for which Emmett died, for which O'Connell and Parnell planned and schemed ... more and more practicable':

> The *Statesman* says that Mr Redmond has been forced to the refusal by the necessity of deferring to the Sinn Fein Party in Ireland, and hopes that the Indian Moderates will not commit the same mistake. Our sapient contemporary opines that the Nationalists in India are not really so strong as they seem, and that the Moderate leaders, if they desire to betray the country, can do so with impunity, without losing their influence and position. Well, we shall see.[45]

In this passage, the Irish Parliamentary Party led by John Redmond is likened to the Indian Moderates, and Sinn Fein to the Extremists. It should be noted here that during the same period Gandhi in the Transvaal also drew an analogy between Sinn Fein and the Swadeshi movement, welcoming the fact that Sinn Fein had replaced bombs with the supposedly more powerful means of protest, that is, *non*-violence. In his article in *Indian Opinion* on the 7th of

September, 1907, he urges the Indian to follow the Irish example which now favours 'passive resistance' – boycotting British goods, for example – to achieve Home Rule in place of violent action which has been used. [46]

The Indian-Irish analogies were not contained inside India. The Indians abroad also acted as the analogies which connected different anti-British organisations.[47] A strong connection between Indian and Irish nationalists was formed in the United States and Canada. According to Chirol, the Indian students, 'chiefly from Bengal' found 'ready helpers amongst the Irish-American Fenians'.[48] These students, after arriving in the United States, joined the *Clan Na Gael* and other Irish societies based in America, and articles on Swadeshi appeared, for example, in the *Gaelic American*, an organ of the Irish nationalists, to illustrate that 'India's cause is also Ireland's cause, they must march along the same road, and on the same lines to ultimate victory'.[49]

The subversiveness of those Irish examples may be witnessed also by the fact that English journalism often likened the Indian situation to the Russian revolutionary movement, but less frequently to Irish terrorism. For example, when *The Times* reported that the Indian Anarchists were making 'a close study of a Russian manual of revolution and other Russian Anarchist literature' and repeating 'like a parrot' certain western propaganda and methods,[50] the article did not mention the Indian nationalist's frequent self-identification with Sinn Fein. It seems that the analogy between the Swadeshi movement and Russian anarchism was felt relatively less problematic, for it could be easily represented as the foreign threat to the Empire which had to be simply expelled, whereas the analogy with the Irish situation indicated that the Empire was not supported by its colonial subjects and thus falling apart at its seams. For example, Lord Minto who took the post of the Viceroy of India after Lord Curzon resigned in 1905, insisted on calling the bomb outrages Indian 'anarchism' (the term with a strong association with the Russian revolutionary movement), so that he could view it as a 'law-and-order' problem but not as 'the efforts of a people to relieve themselves from an oppressor' (the view which could be naturally inferred from the supposition that Indians were following the Irish example).[51]

In terms of the Indian-Irish analogies which I trace, it is indeed an irony that John Morley, who was considered to be 'undoubtedly the most prominent and consistent exponent of the Irish cause amongst Liberal leaders' and had been 'closely identified with that cause for the last forty years',[52] was appointed in 1905 as Secretary of State for India, when Lord

Curzon's partition of that colony had left it in the middle of turmoil. That is to say, Morley inadvertently put himself in a perfect position to embody the analogical connection between India and Ireland which his colleague Lord Ripon once embodied, when it was turning most explosive. Ras Behari Ghose expressed his hope that Morley 'might be safely trusted .. to pacify Bengal' as he had 'pacified Ireland',[53] an expectation made out of the analogy between India and Ireland which Morley could not live up to. Morley's appointment to the India Office when India was infested with the political analogies was in fact doubly ironical, considering that Morley, as a disciple of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, faithfully observed the utilitarian tradition of criticising the figure of speech or loosely defined words used in political discourses.[54] As the Indian Secretary, Morley was forced to confront the rhetoric of the Indian nationalists which demanded the same home-rule as Ireland was demanding. A man of letters who took the editorship of leading magazines such as *Fortnightly Review* (1867–82), the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1880-1883), and *Macmillan's Magazine* (1883-85), who was the biographer of major liberal theorists like Gladstone and Burke, who fought for freedom of speech for Ireland, now set about restricting the same freedom in India, and attacked the use of western theorists by Indian intellectuals. Once Morley had to stand up in the House of Commons to argue that the identification between the Irish situation and the Indian one was misleading:

> Reference has been made to my having resisted the Irish Crimes Act, as if there were a scandalous inconsistency between opposing the policy of that Act and imposing this policy on the natives of India and supporting the deportation of these two men, and other men who may follow if it should prove to be necessary. That inconsistency can only be established by anyone who will take up the position that Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom, is exactly on the same footing as these 300,000,000 people – composite, heterogeneous, with different histories, of different races, different faiths.[55]

Morley was aware that his coercive measures in India could become a threat to the organic consistency of his Liberal belief which he had been endorsing all through his life. He published his Indian speeches to defend his position, in which we see him explain that the political confusion within the Empire was created not by the inconsistency of the imperial nor liberal policy in dealing with Indian and other colonial affairs, but greatly due to the political language which drew a parallel between various colonies. In his speech on October 21, 1907, Morley points out 'one tremendous fallacy' in a statement whose logic is based on an analogy between two British colonies: 'whatever is good in the way of self-government for Canada, must be good for India'. This concise statement, attributed to a 'British Member of

Parliament now travelling in India' contains, according to Morley, 'the grossest fallacy in all politics'. Here the imperial affinity among colonies was officially announced invalid:

> It is a thoroughly dangerous fallacy. I think it is the hollowest and, I am sorry to say, the commonest, of all the fallacies in the history of the world in all stages of civilisation. Because a particular policy or principle is true and expedient and vital in certain definite circumstances, therefore it must be equally true and vital in a completely different set of circumstances. What sophism can be more gross and dangerous? You might just as well say that, because a fur coat in Canada at certain times of the year is a truly comfortable garment, therefore a fur coat in the Deccan is just the very garment that you would be delighted to wear. I only throw it out to you as an example and an illustration. Where the historical traditions, the religious beliefs, the racial conditions, are all different – there to transfer by mere untempered and cast-iron logic all the conclusions that you apply in one case to the other, is the height of political folly… [56]

It is very significant that *Kim*, written and completed in the very last years of the nineteenth century, turned out to be not only Kipling's last Indian story but also his last representation of the Irish in the Indian setting. India was no longer a safe representational space in which the unshakeable solidarity of the whole Empire can be shown through the use of the intra-imperial analogies, while the Indian Officials still looked up to him as the very person to represent the glory of imperial India. When Lord Kitchener, now the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, decided to publish a vernacular newspaper for his Indian Army in 1908 in response to the circulation of the nationalist seditious writing, he wrote to Kipling asking for 'a short serial story' for the paper. His new army newspaper, *Fauji Akhbar,* was hoped to 'prove both interesting and instructive to the native rank'.[57] Kitchener must have surely remembered that Kipling, during the Boer War, composed the famous 'The Absent-Minded Beggar', and energetically participated in the editorship of the experimental army newspaper, *The Friends*. However, against Kitchener's expectation, Kipling did not contribute a new story. Instead, he suggested that the paper translate some of his old Indian stories. He gave a list of four stories, which, according to Kipling, 'all deal more or less directly with the relations between the Sahibs and the natives'.[58] More surprisingly, Kipling gave him 'an absolutely free hand in cutting down or simplifying these tales as he thought best'.[59] His enthusiasm for representing India was already consigned to the past. The gaze of Kipling, the Bard of the Empire had drifted away from India in search of a more suitable representation of the new imperial situation. When Lord Curzon invited Kipling to India for the coronation durbar in 1903, which was to be 'attended by 100 ruling chiefs and was climaxed by a review of 30,000 troops before Curzon as Viceroy and the Duke and Duchess

of Connaught', Kipling chose not to go. He replied to Curzon: 'at present I must go down to the Cape this winter when instead of seeing India consolidated I shall have the felicity of watching South Africa being slowly but scientifically wrecked by "the strongest government of modern times."' Kipling, at the end of the letter, added, 'Thank you so much for remembering us'.[60] India was dethroned from its long-held status as *the* representation of imperial solidarity, left with a legacy of analogies with other colonies, which the nationalists could readily ignite.

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[1] Rudyard Kipling, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling,* vol. 3, ed. Thomas Pinney (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1990), 241.

[2] For example, Lord Curzon comments that 'The reverberations of that victory have echoed like a thunderclap through the whispering galleries of the East. They have produced the progressive movement in China, the constitutional movement in Persia, the revolutionary movement in Russia, and almost the whole of the activity that has been manifested in different parts of Central Asia. In India, I can certify, because it occurred in my time, that they gave an immense impetus to the racial feeling in that country. They lent shape and confidence to the aspirations long formed in the native mind and they led agitators to think that the time had arrived when the policy of deeds might be substituted by the policy of words' (*Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 191, House of Lords, 30 June 1908, 507). The Indian celebration over Japan's success in the Russo-Japanese War is another good example of the anti-imperial discourse formed on the basis of analogies. According to Peter Heehs, *The Bomb in Bengal, the Rise of Revolutionary Terrorism in India, 1900-1910* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1993), Indians who 'had been in the habit of looking down on the Japanese' were suddenly 'hailing the Japanese as the champions of resurgent Asia' after the Japanese victory. Regardless of 'the dissimilarity in the circumstances of the two countries and the lack of real contact between them' (63), the Indians, by identifying themselves with the Japanese (on the ground that both are Asian), who had just triumphed over 'Europeans' (regardless, again, of the fact that Russians could be categorised as Orientals as well), could find an outlet for their discontent and disaffection against the British government.

[3] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 200.

[4] S. Gopal praises Lord Ripon's policy as equivalent or even nobler than Gladstone's policy of Home Rule for Ireland: ' "Where else in history," it has been asked, "can a man be found who has given to a people ruled by his race such sympathy and devotion as Gladstone gave to Ireland?" For an answer one has only to turn eastwards, where a like crusade was being fought but against greater odds. In Ireland, moreover, Gladstone respected self-conscious impulses of national sentiments; in India Ripon went out of his way to foster them' [S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon: 1880-1884* (London: Oxford UP, 1953), 225].

[5] An unpublished paper by Lyn Innes, 'Yeats, Ireland and India', given to the Ireland-India Society in Dublin, October, 2000.

[6] Sedition Committee 1918, *Report* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1918), 6. As for the Indian House in London as the centre of the Indian Nationalist movement, see also Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan, 1910), 148-9; S. A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 168-9.

[7] See, Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968), 258; Narinder Kapur, *The Irish Raj: Illustrated Stories about Irish in India and Indians in Ireland* (Antrim: Greystone Press, 1997), 32.

[8] *The Times*, 27 May 1880, 6c.

[9] B. L. Grover, *A Documentary Study of British Policy towards Indian Nationalism 1885-1909* (Delhi: National Publications, 1967), 171.
[10] S. B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges between India and Ireland* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 79.
[11] Cook, 80.
[12] 'Besides defence, however, there are no doubt many matters in which a closer union of the component parts of the Empire is not only desirable, but possible of attainment; such, for example, as posts, telegraphs and cables, steamship subsides, patents, currency, weights and measures, census and statistics, extradition, naturalisation, judgments, criminal law, commercial and maritime law, law of status, courts of appeal, loans, and many others'. [Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain,* 2 vols (London: MacMillan and Co., 1890), 2:468].
[13] The word *dynamite,* coined by Alfred Nobel in the form of *dynamit* in Swedish, was taken from Greek *dunamis,* "power".
[14] *Popular Science*, vol.4, ed. Arthur Mee (London: Amalgamated Press, 1912), 2402.
[15] For example, Frank Hugh O'Donnell mentions Rossa as 'the O'Donovan Rossa of dagger and dynamite journalism' in his article 'Fenianism – Past and Present', *Contemporary Review* 43 (May 1883), 752.
[16] As for the contemporary account of dynamite outrages, see, for example, 'Crimes and Criminals: No. I. – Dynamite and Dynamiters', *Strand Magazine* 7 (February 1894), 119-132; Patrick J. P. Tynan, *The Irish National Invincibles and their Times* (London: Chatham and Co., 1894), 327-331.
[17] In *The United Irishman*, the power of discourse was itself seen as being as powerful as dynamite, able to blast the British rule in Ireland. For example, Daniel O'Connell's book was called 'the Dynamite Book', which would make 'any man or woman of Irish blood ... an apostle of dynamite, or of hell-fire, or any force that would strike the enemy of Ireland to her knees' [*The United Irishman* (New York), 6 June 1885, p.8.]
[18] *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, vol.1, ed. Walter E. Houghton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 286, 995.
[19] Charles William McMinn, 'The Home Rule Movement in India and in Ireland: A Contrast', *Contemporary Review* 57 (January 1890), 78. According to *The India Office List for 1893* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893), McMinn was educated 'at Queen's College, Belfast; appointed to the Bengal civil service after open competitive examination of 1860; arrived in India, 21st Jan., 1863; from July , 1864, to Feb., 1879, served in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh as assistant magistrate and collector, settlement officer, assistant commissioner, and joint magistrate and deputy collector, and was placed on special duty for completion of Oudh gazetteer, July, 1872, also at Simla, July, 1873; from March, 1879, served in the Central Provinces and was appointed deputy commissioner, 1st Class, Jubbulpore, Nov., 1884; officiated as commissioner in 1887; deputy commissioner, Damoh, Feb., 1888; Chanda, Jan., 1890; Hoshangabad, May, 1891; retired, Aug., 1891, complied Gazetteer of Oudh, 1877' (328). He is also the author of *Famine Truths, – Half Truths, – Untruths* (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, 1902), in which he intends to 'correct famine fallacies' (61), that is, 'to expose famine falsehoods, the system of using garbled extracts, false or obsolete statistics, ignorant or prejudiced witnesses, partial quotations, which is being employed by several Bengali writers and Congress orators to blacken the character of English officers and administration' (60).
[20] McMinn, 80.
[21] McMinn, 78.
[22] McMinn, 79.
[23] McMinn, 78.
[24] McMinn, 96.
[25] McMinn, 96.
[26] McMinn, 79.
[27] *The India Office List for 1889* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1889), 159.
[28] McMinn, 81.
[29] Ram Gopal, *Lokamanya Tilak: A Biography* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1956), 290.
[30] *The Times*, 22 July 1908, 9b.
[31] *The Times*, 22 July 1908, 9b.
[32] The speech of John Morley , printed in *The Times*, 12 June, 1908, 11.
[33] *The Times*, 4 May 1908, 5b.
[34] F. A. Steel, *The Times*, 6 July 1909, 12d.
[35] *The Times*, 8 July 1909, 9c.
[36] *The Times*, 12 July 1909, 4c.
[37] John Viscount Morley, *Recollections*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1917), 2:154.

[38] *Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 191, House of Lords, 30 June 1908, 518.
[39] *Hansard,* 30 June 1908, 506.
[40] Chirol, 146.
[41] Chirol, 146.
[42] Wolpert, 180.
[43] Heehs, 14.
[44]Sri Aurobindo, 'An Irish Example', 24 May 1907, *Bande Mataram: Early Political Writings* (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1973), 367-8.
[45] Aurobindo, 368.
[46] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 7 (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1962), 211. Later, as Sinn Fein became associated with violence, Gandhi discarded the political identification between Ireland and India. In 1921, Gandhi, in his note titled 'Ireland and India', argues that the Boer or Irish martyrs who willingly sacrifice their own lives to hurl their ultimatum against the Empire should not be the example for Indians to follow. Gandhi warns that if Indians 'want slavishly to follow South Africa and Ireland ... [t]hen there is no swaraj during the present generation' [Gandhi, *The Collected Works,* vol. 22 (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1966), 18].
[47] As for the various anti-British activities undertaken and organisations formed by Indians abroad, see Tilak Raj Sareen, *Indian Revolutionary Movement Abroad* (New Delhi: Stering Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1979).
[48] Chirol, 147.
[49] Sareen, 53-4.
[50] *The Times*, 15 February 1909, 7d.
[51] Heehs, 254.
[52] W. J. Johnston, 'Mr. Morley and Ireland', *Westminster Review* 165 (1906), 476.
[53] Ras Behari Ghose, Opening address, Twenty-second Indian National Congress, Calcutta, December 26, 1906, in *Report of the Twenty-first Indian National Congress*, quoted in Stephen E. Koss, *John Morley at the India Office, 1905-1910* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1969), 8.
[54] According to J. H. Burns, 'concerns for the exposure of fallacious reasoning in social and moral discourse is one of the unifying factors in Bentham's long and diverse career as a writer', though this aspect of Bentham's work remains largely unknown (154), and '[p]olitics for Bentham is a matter for rational discourse, purged of the accretions and impurities of fallacy' (165) [J. H. Burns, 'Bentham's Critique of Political Fallacies', in *Jeremy Bentham, Ten Critical Essays,* ed. Bhikhu Parekh (London: Frank Cass, 1974)]. Bentham's most piquant critique of the deceptive and 'fallacious' use of political language can be seen in *The Book of Fallacies,* and also *Anarchical Fallacies,* in which he attacks the concept of natural rights as 'rhetorical nonsense' (501) by examining each article in the Declaration of Rights issued during the French Revolution [Jeremy Bentham, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham,* ed. John Bowring, 11 vols (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 2:379]. Fallacious arguments should be avoided, for they hinder the famous utilitarian principle of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number for the greatest length of time' being promptly put into practice. John Stuart Mill inherited this aspect of Bentham's thought. For example, Mill, in his essay 'Use and Abuse of Political Terms', argues that a vague term or a laxity in the use of language hinder a strictly logical reasoning and is likely to produce ambiguous arguments based 'not upon what is different in the two meanings, but upon what they have in common, or at least analogous', that is, 'a secret link of connection, unobserved by the critic but felt by the author' [John Stuart Mill, 'Use and Abuse of Political Terms', in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 18:7].
[55] John Morley's speeches in the House of Commons, 6 June 1907, *Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 175, 879-80.
[56] 'To Constituents', a speech made in Arbroath on October 21, 1907 in Viscount Morley, *Indian Speeches (1907-1909)* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1909), 35-6.
[57] *The Times* , 22 January 1909, 7c.
[58] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:343.
[59] *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:342. The four stories suggested by Kipling are 'Servant of the Queen', 'The Lost Legion', 'The Son of his Father', 'The Tomb of his Ancestors'. In 1908, *Fauji Akhbar* was published by *The Pioneer* in Allahabad in Urdu and Hindi (*The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:343, n. 1).
[60] The Letter to Lord Curzon, 16 September 1902, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 3:106.

Chapter 6: Florence Nightingale and the Irish Uncanny

We entered a cabin. Stretched in one dark corner, scarcely visible, from the smoke and rags that covered them, were three children huddled together, lying there because they were too weak to rise, pale and ghastly, their little limbs – on removing a portion of the filthy covering – perfectly emaciated, eyes sunk, voice gone, and evidently in the last stage of actual starvation. Crouched over the turf embers was another form, wild and all but naked, scarcely human in appearance. It stirred not, nor noticed us.[1]

In this locality death is doing its work to a fearful extent; 100 human beings weekly are consigned to pits in the graveyard of Abbeystrowry. Landlord power is not abated in the least; upwards of 40 families were turned out of their cabins in the townland of Lick and the island of Skerkin. The sick were dragged from their sops of straw and placed by the ditch. Two houses were, however, spared, the occupants being all in cholera, from which even the drivers recoiled with horror, choosing to incur the blame of their master rather than approach this fearful epidemic.[2]

[1] William Bennett, *Narrative of a Recent Journey of Six Weeks in Ireland, 1847*, in Peter Gray, *The Irish Famine* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995), 140.
[2] William O'Callaghan, his letter to a Cork paper dated June 24, 1849, quoted in *The Times*, June 29 1849, p. 8c.

Kipling, 'On the Strength of a Likeness' (1888), tells a story of a young Indian Official Hannasyde, who becomes a self-appointed 'special *cavalier servente*' of Mrs. Landys-Haggert because she is the living image of his old love, Alice Chisane: 'Not only were the face and figure of Alice Chisane, but the voice and lower tones were exactly the same, and so were the turns of speech; and the little mannerisms, that every woman has, of gait and gesticulation, were absolutely and identically the same. The turn of the head was the same; the tired look in the eyes at the end of a long walk was the same; the stoop-and-wrench over the saddle to hold in a pulling horse was the same...' Hannasyde only wishes to see and think about the 'maddening and perplexing likeness of face and voice and manner' between the two women and '[a]nything outside that, reminding him of another personality, jarred, and he showed that it did'. He is shaken from his self-satisfactory delusion when Mrs. Haggert demands the true reason of his devotion saying that she is 'perfectly certain' that he does not 'care the least little bit in the world for [her]' and, after listening to his confession on his old love, points out that it is not fair to expect her to act 'as the lay-figure for him to hang the rags of his tattered affections on'. Since then, even after he goes back to his station and sees no more of Mrs. Haggert, 'he found himself thinking steadily of the Haggert-Chisane ghost; and he could not be certain whether it was Haggert or Chisane that made up the greater part of the pretty phantom'. He gets understanding when he meets Mrs. Haggert a month later and he realises that the two women are different individuals and it is Mrs Haggert whom he loves.[1]

This story of the projected semblance can be read as another allegory of the Empire, especially of the Empire built on the strength of a likeness between her colonies. Hannasyde sees the similarities between the women in order to perpetuate and idealise his old love, just as England saw her experience with Ireland as the most successful and primal example to be repeated. The awakening of the Indian Official from the world woven with similarity is all the more interesting, for the story was written around the time – the late 1880s – when the analogical practice on the administrative level became suddenly obsolete (see Chapter 5). It is significant to note that the figure which is most familiar to Hannasyde because of its resemblance to his old love turns into a 'ghost' once its legitimacy is challenged. Here, the story reminds us of Sigmund Freud's famous essay *Das Unheimlich* (1919) in which he shows how the familiar and homely (heimlich) could easily slip into and coincide with its apparent antonym the uncanny and unhomely (unheimlich). For Freud, the uncanny is not the

encounter with the unfamiliar or unknown, but rather the repeated return of the same and familiar. Thus, in *Die Elixire des Teufels*, the novel by E. T. A. Hoffman who is, according to Freud, 'the unrivalled master of the uncanny in literature',[2] there is the multiplication of 'characters who are to be considered identical because they look alike': 'there is a doubling, dividing and interchanging of the self. And finally there is the constant recurrence of the same thing – the repetition of the same features or character-traits or vicissitudes, of the same crimes, or even the same names through several consecutive generations'.[3]

According to Javed Majeed, in the late eighteenth century when the British empire started expanding there was a search for 'an idiom in which cultures could be compared and contrasted' through which 'the cultures of the heterogeneous British empire could be compared, the nature of British rule overseas determined, and the empire unified by the same ethos', which is seen, for example, in the works of William Jones.[4] The frequent reference to the analogies and former colonial experience was, I argue, the desire to see what is the same and familiar in the *foreign* land, enabling the coloniser to repeatedly see through the matrix of what they had already known and thereby sweep the incomprehensible under the domestic carpet. To borrow Homi K. Bhabha's phrases, the '*heimlich* pleasures of the hearth' were possible only through repressing 'the *unheimlich* terror of the space or race of the Other'.[5] However, the return of the same never failed to accompany the repressed, rendering the British Empire as Home into something like a ghost house.

In this sense, it is very interesting that Ireland, the oldest and nearest colony which England *should* find most familiar and indeed was made part of her Home by the act of Union, turned into the most ghostly and deserted place in the Empire as the nineteenth century rolled on. William Meredyth Somerville, for instance, points out the uncanny recurrence of the same concerning the Irish question during the debate on the Protection of Life (Ireland) Bill in the House of Commons, on June 8, 1846 – another attempt at introducing a new Coercion Bill in the middle of the famine: 'Was this not the same thing over and over again? … After three quarters of a century, they were again trusting to the same thing, devising a remedy for the same disorder, and applying the same quackery to the disease, which had entered into the very body politic'.[6] If Ireland was made un*home*ly through the Act of Union, then it may be no coincidence that the Irish question of the nineteenth century was fought over how to and who should rule the Irish home. To be sure, Home Rule was, for Irish nationalists, the fight to regain national autonomy and

independence. However, within the imperial context, it was, I argue, an attempt to shed the ghosts of intra-imperial analogies from the Irish home and thereby the English Home by treating Ireland independently of the imperial matter. W. E. Gladstone denied the charge that Irish Home Rule was intended for the disintegration of the Empire. On the contrary, Home Rule 'within the limits of safety and prudence' would 'obviate all danger to the unity and security of the Empire'.[7] The point of 'the Irish Home Rule' was, to use the words of Parnell cited by Gladstone, 'securing the management of purely Irish affairs by Irish hands' so that they were 'appropriately and separately dealt with from those Imperial affairs and interests'.[8] Irish Home Rule became necessary because it turned out that the Irish question did not remain a mere local politics but crippled the representation of the entire Empire. The Irish question was a malady of representation: Ireland was over-represented in the Parliament to the extent that it hindered more important questions from being taken up. For example, W. E. Gladstone deplores 'an inconvenient amount of Parliamentary time'[9] devoted to Ireland: 'The population of Great Britain is to the population of Ireland as eight to one. The time spent on the affairs of Great Britain is to the time spent on the affairs of Ireland as three to one. We should at once reduce by one-fourth the load that is pressing our Parliament to the ground, could we get rid of Irish affairs'.[10] McMinn also argues in his essays which contrasts India and Ireland, that 'petty domestic matters in Ireland' prevent the British Parliament from being representative of the Empire and dealing with 'the broad questions which concern two hundred and fifty millions of Indians'.[11] On the other hand, the Irish question was at the same time very poorly represented in Parliament, not only by the absentee landlords who did not know the Irish language or the real conditions of the place, and were hostile to the very people that they represented, but also by an 'absentee Parliament' which 'made laws for landlords and tenants in Ireland without well understanding what is either an Irish landlord or an Irish tenant'.[12] In addition, Ireland was represented, not by herself, but for herself, often with reference to something other than herself – sometimes the dependencies like India and sometimes the Crown colonies, while being precisely categorised as neither. For example, John Morley repudiates the argument that Ireland lacks the conditions which the other self-governing colonies have. Ireland ought to attain a self-government which is free from 'some shy bungling underhand imitation of a Crown Colony':

> They are distant, Ireland is near; they are prosperous, Ireland is poor; they are proud of the connection with England, Ireland resents it. But the question is not whether the conditions are identical with those of any colony; it is enough if in themselves they seem to promise a

> certain basis for government... If the people of Ireland are not to be trusted with real power over their own affairs, it would be a hundred times more just to England, and more merciful to Ireland, to take away from her that semblance of free government which torments and paralyses one country, while it robs the other of national self-respect and of all the strongest motives and best opportunities of self-help.[13]

If, as Morley argues here, the 'semblance' with other colonies 'tormented' and 'paralysed' Ireland's power of self-representation, it is then very ironical that when the Irish nationalists tried to speak for themselves, it was the analogies with other colonies which they immediately resorted to. Ireland needed the suffering of the others to represent herself, having being deprived of the ability to represent her own.

In 'On the Strength of a Likeness', Hannasyde is released from the Haggert-Chisane ghost only when he comes to perceive two women separately as different individuals. The disappearance of the ghost on recognition of the difference is, however, one detail which did not happen in the history of Ireland. The Home Rule to exorcise the uncanny resemblance of Ireland to other colonies was attempted, promised but never realised. 'The Empire' was haunted and has been haunted by the ghost of resemblance between India and Ireland even to this day – the partition lines drawn in both countries when they achieved independence opened up a threshold which the ghost would not leave.

It may be safely said that the potato famine in 1846-50 was the most uncanny event in Irish history, not only in the ghastliness of what happened and its aftermath – one million died from hunger and disease and the emigration that followed the famine halved the population of Ireland by the end of the nineteenth century – but also because it persistently comes to the forefront in Irish history as one of the most traumatic events under British rule. In the following section, I examine the moment when the Irish Famine was about to be made a secret of the English home, carefully locked up in its attic.

1

When an Irish journalist William Howard Russell, who later became world famous for his report on the Crimean War as *The Times* Special Correspondent, came back to Ireland in 1846 to get married, he was instructed by the editor of *The Morning Chronicle* to write some letters on the Irish potato famine and the land question. However, Russell refused to

write on that subject. He was in the middle of his honeymoon, and he did not want to disturb his new domestic happiness by studying such a difficult and depressing topic. However, as a journalist, he could not totally escape from facing the ghastly reality. On returning to London after his prolonged honeymoon, he was asked to go back to Ireland to report the details of the famine by a certain politician. Unlike his reports during the Crimean War, the honour of being the first one to report the terrible disaster of his own country was not granted to Russell this time, since the newspapers were already full of articles and letters discussing remedies. The details of the famines had been made known to the English audience notably by the letters of William Edward Forster (1818-86), a Yorkshire Quaker who with his father visited the famine-stricken districts on a relief mission.[14] Later, in his autobiography, Russell recalls the 'panorama of suffering and death' which he witnessed during his tour:

> In all my subsequent career – breakfasting, dining and supping full of horrors in full tide of war – I never beheld sights so shocking as those which met my eyes in that famine tour of mine in the West. They were beyond not merely description, but imagination. The effects of famine may be witnessed in isolated cases by travellers in distant lands, but here at our doors was a whole race, men, women and children, perishing round Christian chapels and churches railways and steamers, and all the time generous England was ready to pour out her treasure to save these people. I was indignant at what I saw, but I could not say with whom the blame lay.[15]

In the popular account of the Crimean War, Russell often figures as an honest *Irish*man who revealed the self-complacency of the British Empire by reporting on the frightful condition of the war hospitals full of dying and sick British soldiers in the Crimean War. However, this brief account of the Famine may give us a different picture. Here, it is the English people who were 'ready to pour her treasure' to save the starving Irish people, and it is the Irish Russell who chose to look away from the suffering of the countrymen happening just outside his home, in favour of domestic happiness with his bride.

'I was indignant at what I saw, but I could not say with whom the blame lay', writes Russell, and this is one central question which I ask in this chapter. Who was to blame for the catastrophe caused by the potato famine? To provide the real answer to this is beyond my capacities, but I would nevertheless like to ask it here, for it must have been an inevitable question which both English and Irish people asked themselves consciously or unconsciously in the face of the calamity. Who was to blame? We already know the Irish verdict. William Russell during his tour already witnessed 'the assaults of the local authorities' and 'raging jurymen' returning 'verdict of "wilful murder" against Lord John Russell'.[16] This charge

against the English government of the deliberate genocide of Irish subjects, a picture of the starving masses while landlords were exporting the food to Europe and evicting the tenants, quickly became the core of national memory of the Famine.[17] What is not really known is the English answer, their psychological response to the charge against them. According to A. M. Sullivan, in his *New Ireland* (1877), 'The English people, remembering only the sympathy and compassion which they felt, the splendid contribution which they freely bestowed in that sad time, are shocked and angered beyond endurance when they hear Irishmen refer to the famine as a "slaughter"'.[18] Whether this (Anglo-Irish) view is too forgiving or not, it is interesting that this sense of shock or anger or even possible guilt which the English might or might not have felt does not have any place to be represented either in the English or the Irish national memories. The Irish have chosen not to discuss it, for it contradicts their representation of the English as a merciless ruler. The English, on the other hand, seem to have wiped out the Irish famine itself – as well as whatever helping hand some of them offered – from their national history. It is certain that the memory of the Irish famine lingered on the mind of those who actually witnessed it. For example, it was the devastating scene of the potato famine in Boffin that came back to the mind of William Edward Forster on his death-bed, reminded by a bunch of shamrock for St. Patrick's Day sent by his daughter.[19] These memories of the Famine, whatever mixed feelings they must have had for members of the ruling country, perished with the individual bodies, without being registered on the memory of England as a nation.

'Silence' is much talked about with regard to the Famine. As Niall O Ciosáin puts it, there is 'an unexamined assumption' that 'the memory of the Famine is incomplete, that it has been forgotten or, consciously or unconsciously, suppressed, and that there has been a "silence" about it as a consequence', which, Ciosáin argues, may place inordinate and unrealistic expectations on historians and researchers to search undiscovered documents.[20] Silence is sought after as a sign of suppression and trauma. In this context, the absence of the Irish famine from the glorious history of the British Empire is interpreted as nothing but the eloquent proof of the English silencing of the Famine. Whether this view is correct or not, it is indeed interesting to ask how the British national memory could fail to record any blame or even the denial of it, while the people of their neighbouring country face to face named them as the perpetrator of what was originally a natural disaster. In fact, is it not uncanny that the British Empire managed *not* to take on the national guilt at any stage, while numerous cases

of injustice done in the name of the Empire are widely acknowledged?

In this chapter, I propose to interpret the national myth of Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War, the image of the benign English lady who heroically saves all *British* subjects, as one of the possible English answers to the charge of the wilful murder of the Irish people. I argue that Nightingale not only nursed the dying British soldiers but also purged the self-image of England from any unconscious sense of failure as a ruling country in the face of the Irish disaster. The Crimean War (1853-56), which broke out almost immediately after the Famine, was literally fought by the survivors of the Famine, both English and Irish. Then, it is very interesting that the two national myths, the Lady with the Lamp and An Gorta Mor (the Great Hunger), both established in the middle of the nineteenth century, do not usually make any reference to each other regardless of their close contemporaneity. The suffering Ireland is edited out from the myth of Nightingale as saviour, and the helping-hand of England from the story of 'the Great Hunger' which presents the Irish as victims. The good illustration of this may be Cecil Woodham-Smith, the author of both *Florence Nightingale* and *The Great Hunger* who does not make any particular interconnections between the two: they fare better by being treated separately.[21] This mutual exclusion appears to be all the more uncanny when they present opposing yet complementary pictures: a benign Englishwoman who relieves the suffering of her people on the one hand, and the mass starvation of Irish subjects caused by the English misgovernment on the other. I argue that these two national memories were not only derived from the same historical context but also were formed in response to each other.

There is one major theme which both the Lady with the Lamp and the Great Hunger have in common, that is, the image of 'home'. The Irish famine was, as my quotations at the beginning of this chapter show, most typically presented as the loss of its own home space by death, eviction and emigration. On the other hand, the popular myth of Nightingale tells us that she transformed ghost-house like hospitals abroad into comfortable homes by her timely appearance on the battlefield. Nightingale's nursing reform was the cleaning up of the unhomely Victorian domesticity, while the Irish nationalist view presents their home to be shockingly ghastly as a result of English misgovernment. The central imagery of this chapter is, therefore, a ghost house, since both 'the Lady with the Lamp' and 'the Great Hunger' built their national/home space on the countless dying bodies of their own countrymen.

2

Mary Poovey, in her chapter titled 'A Housewifely Woman: The Social Construction of Florence Nightingale', portrays Nightingale's nursing as an imperialist campaign to propagate the English middle-class values of domesticity and hygiene, 'the orderly happy middle-class home', to the uncivilised region, ranging from the lower class at home to the colonies abroad.[22] The role of the nurse is not only to create a home-like space for the patients and make them feel at home but also to reform them according to these ideologies. The image of the hospitals as a domestic home, 'where everybody was happy in his or her allocated place'[23] was useful for Nightingale, for it tactfully disguised the tension between classes and races, while concealing at the same time the implicit subversiveness of the nurse: women trespassing on the male-dominated medical community.

Poovey's argument rightly points out the imperialist implication of the idea of 'home' which Nightingale adopted as a slogan for her nursing reform. Nightingale's nursing was primarily a moral and hygienic crusade, and the Home or the idea of it was to be territorially pushed forward as the Empire expanded. However, it seems to me that Poovey takes it too much for granted that the concept of 'middle-class' home was unquestionably desirable for Nightingale, ready-made for her to disseminate throughout the Empire: for example, Poovey writes, 'With the complacency of an imperialist, Nightingale assumed that bourgeois domesticity and cleanliness were universally desired'.[24] I argue here that the 'the orderly happy middle-class home' was the very concept which Nightingale found unhealthy, uncanny and in need of being nursed. Nightingale's nursing primarily exercised a cleaning-up of the space, before it started serving the purpose of the domestication of the foreign territory.

Here, it may be useful to invoke Edmund Burke's famous aesthetic dichotomy proposed in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757).[25] According to Burke, the sublime is the feeling of awe which is invoked when confronted with vastness and greatness. It is associated with the idea of terror and pain, while the beautiful is related to that which gives one the feeling of pleasure. Recent criticism on Burke's *Enquiry* has argued that the sublime corresponds to the manly work ethics of the middle-class, which gives one the sense of difficulty without which one would be too relaxed and effeminate, whereas the beautiful represents the corruptive pleasure of luxury brought by

the rise of commercial society.[26] We may say that the sublime corresponds with the colonial space where men go and toil, whereas the beautiful is a domestic space at home which was made even more beautiful and luxurious thanks to the wealth which men brought from the colonies.[27] Indeed, Dean Mahomet (1759-1851), the first Indian writer to emigrate to Ireland where he married an Irishwoman, contrasts, in his autobiographical travel narrative published in 1794, the '*striking scenes* in India' which give the viewer 'a kind of sublime delight', with the more civilised scenes of Ireland. These sublime scenes are also picturesque, resembling scenes 'so finely drawn by the animated pencil of Milton', and Mahomet, to make his own country appear even more exotic to his European reader, does not fail to mention the Indian riches, 'the very bowels of the earth enriched with inestimable mines of gold and diamonds',[28] which he knows most powerfully attract the European. And it is the beautiful, the domestic space of Ireland/England embellished with the Indian treasure, which easily turns into the uncanny.

Poovey, in her long chapter on Nightingale as a 'housewifely woman', surprisingly does not mention 'Cassandra', an essay by Nightingale written before she went over to Scutari.[29] This essay gives a glimpse at how the highly educated woman in Victorian Britain found the domestic space suffocating, which seems to contradict Poovey's contention that Nightingale considered bourgeois domesticity totally desirable. Cassandra is a Trojan princess in Greek mythology whose prophecy is, though correct, cursed not to be heard, and she is the character Nightingale identifies herself with. In this essay, Nightingale angrily writes of how women of talent have to kill their 'passion' in order to become an angel of the house: 'they *must* act the farce of hypocrisy, the lie that they are without passion'.[30] Women forbidden to have any passion are like the feet of Chinese women who, being denied 'their proper development',[31] are deformed and have no power to escape. Girls, who have not yet given up their passion, have to seek consolation in 'fancy' and 'perpetual day-dreaming'; 'Mothers, who cradle yourselves in visions about the domestic hearth, how many of your sons and daughters are *there*, do you think, while sitting round under your complacent maternal eye? Were you there yourself during your own (now forgotten) girlhood?'.[32] The Victorian home, best symbolised by the image of the 'hearth' around which the family gather together to affirm mutual affection and the sacredness of their home, contrary to its happy appearance, is in fact a ghost house, already deserted by its own children who are most uncannily physically present:

> Oh! mothers, who talk about this hearth, how much do you know of your sons' real life, how much of your daughters' imaginary one? Awake, ye women, all ye that sleep, awake! If this domestic life were so very good, would your young men wander away from it, your maidens think of something else?[33]

Nightingale bitterly points out that '[m]arriage is the only chance... offered to women for escape from this death'.[34] However, marriage means that girls turn into exemplary mothers, the keepers of the 'sacred hearth', which is handed down from mothers to daughters, perpetually reproducing the most suffocating space for women – the eternal recurrence of the same – homely – which Freud defines as most unhomely. In this sense, as Anthony Vidler in his *Architectural Uncanny* argues, the sublime and the uncanny, in spite of their seeming similarity in that both provoke the feeling of terror, are quite different. Whereas the sublime causes 'a feeling of inadequacy in the face of superior powers' out in the public space to which men escape from their home space to try their luck, the uncanny is 'tied to the death or frustration of the desire', the feeling of being 'buried alive' inside the domestic space.[35] For women, the sublime was forbidden and the uncanny was destiny.

One significance of Nightingale's nursing reform was, therefore, to heal the sharp schism between the public space and the domestic one by establishing nursing as a decent occupation for women. Before Nightingale, nursing was the profession of the working-classes, and the nurse was represented as always drunk, irresponsible, and impure both hygienically and sexually. The most famous representation of this character is Sarah Gamp in Charles Dickens's *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1843-44).[36] Generally, women who worked outside were almost immediately disqualified from claiming to be the angel of the house. They were fitted into the category of 'fallen women', who, as the embodiment of deviant female morality, were kept outside the domestic space, thereby reinforcing the purity of the home and respectable demarcation between the home and its outside. The reality of Victorian Britain, however, did not always conform to these stereotypes. There were more 'respectable' women than the English homes could possibly accommodate: by the mid-nineteenth century, a large number of spinsters had been created by factors such as late marriage and low marriage rates while migration had become a serious social problem. To work as a governess was one of the few decent occupations allowed for women, but it did not solve the overpopulation of women in the house, for they merely migrated from their house to somebody else's house. It was nursing as a new occupation which offered these superfluous women an opportunity to step outside the domestic space without abnegating the role of the

'angel in the house', the nurse being modelled on the mother.[37]

I argue that Nightingale by establishing the nurse as a modern occupation, also nursed back the health of the Victorian domestic space. Then, it is very symbolic that she dedicated most of her energies to cleaning up the hospitals. Her biographer Edward Cook quotes a letter of the Lieutenant-Colonel, which ridicules Nightingale's nurses for taking to 'scrubbing floors'.[38] Nightingale nursed her patients through literally nursing the sanitary condition of the hospital itself. Her view of nursing as the art of house-keeping is theorised in her *Notes on Nursing* (1860), in which she stresses the need to watch the 'health of the houses'. The nurse has to secure pure air, pure water, efficient drainage, cleanliness, and light, '[w]ithout these, no house can be healthy'.[39] It is true that her obsession with cleaning houses comes from her life-long belief in the zymotic theory, in which diseases and fevers were not seen as contagious but as arising spontaneously as the result of something like fermentation in accumulated filth, a theory which she observed even after the germ theory became more dominant.[40] However, there is no denying that the zymotic theory in turn gave Nightingale a scientific ground for her sense that there was something uncanny in the home space which needed cleaning up.

For nursing as an art of house-keeping, Nightingale considered the ventilation of the house to be its most important aspect. At the beginning of the *Notes*, she writes that 'to keep the air he breathes as pure as the external air, without chilling him' is the 'very canon of nursing, the first and the last thing upon which a nurse's attention must be fixed'.[41] She even goes on to say that the controlling of the air is 'the main function of a nurse'.[42] The conventional method of closing the windows to keep the patient warm was too unhygienic, because it would make a sickroom a hotbed of diseases by not allowing the stagnant, musty and infectious air to escape: 'The safest atmosphere of all for a patient is a good fire and an open window'.[43] In fact, this method was supposed to make the nurse a better mother: whereas traditional mothers only took care of the hearth, the nurse watches both the hearth and the window. In this way, she can maintain the warmth and function of the hearth, while making the room less claustrophobic so that none of her children will wander away from her surveillance. It is interesting to note that Nightingale's theory of nursing did not intend to abolish the domestic space, but to make it more homely. Though she needed the house to be cleaner and less oppressive, she did not doubt the value of the 'home' itself. This may explain why she preferred opening windows to opening doors in order to get some fresh air:

'Windows are made to open; doors are made to shut'.[44] Nightingale cannot afford to leave the door open, because it will erase the distinction between the domestic space and the public space. To leave the window open was the only possible strategy for a woman to gain access to public values without entirely annulling her domestic space. And perhaps it might prevent more children from walking away through the door.

3

As Freud in *Das Unheimlich* points out, the word 'heimlich' shares the same root 'heim' (home) with the word 'geheim' (secret), and, together with its antonym 'unheimlich', connotes 'something withdrawn from the eyes of strangers, something concealed, secret'.[45] The homely space is unhomely not only because it is ingeniously designed to reproduce the suffering and paralysis of its female inhabitants, but also because it hides some ugly secrets behind its familiar façade. Nightingale found the happy 'English' middle-class home uncanny also because of its secretiveness about its wrongs and evils. In her diary entry dated July 2, 1849, she criticised the English country house for its superficiality and for hiding the 'truest' and the most painful out of sight.

> Life is in a much truer form in London than in the country – in a much stronger form certainly. In an English country place, everything that is painful is so carefully removed out of sight, behind those fine trees to a village three miles off, and all the intercourse with your fellow-creatures is that between the landlord and his tenant, the dependant and the dependee, the untruest possible...[46]

Indeed, to hide the unhomely with the image of prosperous domesticity was the strategy frequently used in mid-nineteenth century England, ranging from the madwoman in the attic in *Jane Eyre* (1846) to the image of Home on the most national level. The Great Exhibition in 1851 was prepared and held when Ireland was going through the Famine and its aftermath, with the glass façade of the Crystal Palace ironically emphasising the transparency of its representation of the domestic prosperity of England. Two of the Queen's rare visits to Ireland were paid around this time – in 1849 and 1853, 'calculated to promote the utmost happiness'.[47] In fact, domestic happiness was a major theme in the Queen's visit to famine-devastated Ireland. It was far from the ghost house with its inhabitants dying of hunger that received the Queen with 'cead mille failtha' (a hundred thousand welcomes): according to *The Times*, 'the illuminations were universal. There was scarcely a house from the centre to

the furthest suburbs of the city as well as in the adjacent villages, which did not exhibit a blaze of light' when the Queen entered Dublin.[48] In 1853, there was the Irish Industrial Exhibition in Dublin, modelled after the Great Exhibition, which was to mark Ireland's quick recovery from the famine and its happiness and wealth under English dominion.[49] Moreover, the Queen was accompanied by her family – Prince Albert and her children, emphasising the image of the Mother and Wife as well as that of the Queen, thereby showing 'a bright example of public and domestic virtue' to the Irish subjects who were 'a loyal, contented, and happy people'.[50] Cassandra's warning to the complacent mother *could* have been indeed used as the criticism against the Queen which let her Irish children wander away from Home through her negligence.

If the ideological construction of English domestic happiness which tactfully masked the suffering underneath was what Florence Nightingale brought into the open to reform, there is a curious contradiction in her career throughout and after the Crimean War: Nightingale, in the process of rewriting the idea of home through her nursing, seems to have carefully edited the *Irish* distress out of sight. That is to say, when Nightingale became a national heroine as influential as the Queen herself, she seems to have assumed the same imperial policy towards Ireland. It is as if the Lady with the Lamp who embarked on a crusade to sweep all the ghosts away from the English Home, dismissed the need to shed the ghost of the Great Famine.

Recently, various attempts have been made to question the authenticity of the myth of the Lady with the Lamp. The image of Nightingale as the only ministering angel in the Crimea and the apotheosis of *English* womanhood perpetuated in Longfellow's poem, have been deflated and denied by the recent focus on a Jamaican nurse Mary Jane Seacole (1805-81) and the Irish Sisters of Mercy, both of whom were regarded highly by the soldiers for their motherly care and skilled nursing.[51] Through these studies, not only her singularity as the Lady with the Lamp has been challenged, but also she and her official biographers are now being charged with having unjustly suppressed the Irish voice. The second batch of 46 nurses brought to the Crimea by Mary Stanley was mainly Catholic, and among them was a group of Irish nuns, the Sisters of Mercy, led by Reverend Mother Frances Bridgeman from Kinsale, County Cork, who offered their service in order to save the lives and souls of the Irish soldiers. While Nightingale claimed her absolute authority over all the nurses, Mother Bridgeman – an equally strong-willed and upper-class woman whom Nightingale bitterly

nicknamed 'Mother Brick Bat' – insisted on having an independent authority over her Irish nuns. In fact, though usually the title of 'Angel of the Crimea' is attributed to Nightingale, it was in fact the Sisters of Mercy (and also Mary Seacole) who settled in Balaclava in the Crimean peninsula, not Nightingale who worked mainly in Scutari as the 'Superintendent of Female Nurses in Turkey'. Mother Bridgeman and the Irish nuns resigned when Nightingale was appointed as 'general superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment of the Military Hospitals of the Army' towards the end of the war, refusing to recognise Nightingale's authority over them which was now officially confirmed. With their resignation, their noble service was erased from Nightingale's story. In Nightingale's biographies, they are usually mentioned as some difficult nuns with little nursing skill whom Nightingale had to deal with.

The Sisters of Mercy as a religious order has a peculiar 'Indian' origin. Mary Catherine Elizabeth McAuley (1787-1841), the foundress of the Convent of Mercy, was able to buy property and launch her charity for the poor, thanks to the sizeable fortune which she inherited from her adoptive father William Callaghan, who had made a fortune during his long service in India as a medical man (in this way, the wealth amassed in the sublime colonial space was redistributed to make distressed Ireland beautiful and homely). Although McAuley did not allow politics nor the hatred against the English to be overtly discussed, the religious order had a strong relationship with and was supported by the Irish nationalism of the day. As Austin Carroll puts it, '[r]eligion and politics were mingled, and the fathers and brothers of many of the Sisters were enthusiastic supporters of the "great champion of Catholic freedom"', Daniel O'Connell.[52] In fact, O'Connell was one of the benefactors of the Sisters of Mercy, and was seen in the Convent School on Christmas Day to carve for children.[53] The Repealer once called attention to the Sisters at a public dinner:

> No Country on the face of the earth is like Ireland. Look at the fairest portion of creation, educated and possessing all the virtues that adorn and endear life, forsaking their homes, and families, and friends, entering a convent in the morning of their days, to devote long lives to piety and to promotion of virtue. Look at the Sisters of Mercy (hear, hear), wrapped in their long black robes. They are seen gliding along the streets in their humble attire, while a slight glance at the foot shows the accomplished lady (cheers). Thus they go forth, not for amusement or delight – no; they are hastening to the lone couch of some sick fellow-creature fast sinking into the grave, with none to comfort, none to soothe; they come with love and consolation, and by their prayers bring down the blessings of God on the dying sinner, on themselves, and on their country (great cheering). Oh! Such a country is too good to continue in slavery (immense cheering).[54]

Mother McAuley kept on her desk the letter sent to her in which this speech by O'Connell was described, to look at it occasionally,[55] which seems to me to testify the unspoken tie between the Sisters and the politics of the day. Mother Bridgeman who was a kinswoman of Daniel O'Connell on her mother's side more explicitly represented the affiliation, and Lord Napier, secretary to the Embassy, told Nightingale, pointing out Bridgeman's connection with O'Connell, that 'there would be – metaphorically speaking – a 'rebellion' in Ireland if she and her Sisters were sent away'.[56]

The Irish point of view and involvement during the Crimean War subdued by the legend of Nightingale is thoroughly addressed in Evelyn Bolster's *The Sisters of Mercy in the Crimean War* (1964), and is being newly resurrected in the field of nursing history by the recent studies of Mary Ellen Doona.[57] The publication of the letters of Nightingale during the Crimean War, edited by Sue M. Goldie, also allows the general reader to get a far better picture of the conflict between Florence Nightingale and the Irish Sisters of Mercy which have been obscured by Nightingale's biographers.[58] These recent works not only reveal the discrepancy between myth and fact but also portray Nightingale as 'the epitome of the self-assured self-righteousness of British imperialism'[59] which relentlessly suppressed the voices of its colonial Other. Both Bolster and Doona quote from a confidential letter from Sydney Herbert to Nightingale dated March 5, 1855, to illustrate that Nightingale's unfair treatment of the Irish nuns fundamentally stemmed from racial biases on the English side:

> The real mistake we made in the selection of these ladies (between ourselves) is that they are Irish. You cannot make their lax minds understand the weight of an obligation.[60]

These recent studies have restored, in my view, the connection between the two myths, the Lady with the Lamp and the Great Hunger, which this chapter also tries to retrieve. However, it seems to me that they have restored it mainly from the Irish point of view. That is to say, they have uncovered exactly what the Irish national myth of the Famine seeks to find: the sign of silencing and injustice imposed on Ireland by the English and Anglo-Irish during and in the wake of the Famine. Through these studies, the Crimean War now looms as an extension or replay of the Famine.

It is not my intention to argue that there was no silencing of the Irish voice or loss of memory during the Great Famine and the Crimean War. There is no denying that Nightingale and her myth belittled and virtually erased the contribution of the Irish nuns who came to help the dying soldiers. To de/construct the myth of the Lady with the Lamp is also

one aim of this chapter, though I attempt it by taking into account Nightingale's side of the story as well, without which the gap between the two national myths, formed separately at the same period never to converge, could become wider. I argue that the Irish nuns in the Crimean War were not a *silenced* nor *suppressed* voice waiting to be discovered, but a threatening *presence* which could have undermined the English national myth if ever included. It seems to me important to identify what *was* there to be excluded, rather than looking for a lacuna, the sign of silencing.

4

The links between Ireland and Nightingale are in fact not difficult to find. The early life of Nightingale is replete with English figures sympathetic to the *Irish* distress which the myth of the Lady with the Lamp chooses not to tell. For example, two of the most significant others in her life – Sidney Herbert and Richard Monckton Milnes – were both deeply involved with the Irish question. And more significantly, Nightingale herself, though for a short period of time, looked up to the Roman Catholic Church as the true giver of Home, and wished to learn from Irish nuns.

Even a quick glance of her life tells us that she was surrounded with politicians and philanthropists who were in a position to relieve the Irish poor during the famine. Sidney Herbert, whom Nightingale first met in Rome and who later became the strongest supporter and partner of Nightingale's nursing reform throughout and after the Crimean War, was an Irish proprietor in the neighbourhood of Dublin, who, according to his biographer Lord Stanmore, 'devoted a large part of the income arising out the estate to the improvement and development of the district'.[61] When the potato famine broke out, he was one of the few members of Robert Peel's Cabinet to urge the immediate repeal of the Corn Law, and was, as a parliamentary member and an Irish landlord, closely involved with the Famine. In fact, we see the concept of national guilt towards the death of Irish people slip in one of his speeches in the House of Commons. It was Lord George Bentinck, a sturdy protectionist, who tried to introduce the Coercion (Protection of Life) Bill in Ireland while forcefully resisting the suspension of the Corn Law that argued that those who were opposing the Coercion Bill were

'guilty' for the death of the Irish caused by outrages and agitation.[62] Herbert indignantly renounced the charges made by Bentinck 'which are couched in language seldom heard in this House – in language which it would be for the character of this House should not be heard'.[63] He returned the same charges to Bentinck who, employing 'the whole tactics of [his] resistance to the Corn Bill' argued that 'there never was a necessity for any interference whatever in Ireland on the subject of food of the poor'[64]:

> The noble Lord said, that the blood of murdered men must rest upon the head of any man who delayed the passing of this Bill but one day: that the blood of the man who was murdered was upon the head of Her Majesty's Government, ay, and upon the head of every man who supported them, if they delayed for a single day. Upon whose head is the blood of murdered men to be now?[65]

During the 1840s, Nightingale enjoyed the company and courtship of Richard Monckton Milnes (1809–85; afterwards Lord Houghton), a man of letters, philanthropist and member of the Parliament, who had a strong sympathy towards the poor condition in which the Irish were placed within the Union. He had many friends in Ireland and was acquainted with famous Irish writers like Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan.[66] He voted for the Bill to increase the state grant to the Royal Catholic College of Maynooth in 1845, even though it outraged his constituents, who, according to Milnes, 'headed by parsons ... raged against me for six weeks, pledging themselves never to support me again, and ending by asking me to resign'.[67] His booklet called *The Real Union of England and Ireland* (1845) was published to defend his decision, in which he argues that 'without the bond of religious contentment, the Union is a fallacy and a name'.[68]

> what has England even done to attach an Irish priest or bishop to the imperial connection? ... after centuries of misgovernment we must submit to be misapprehended however honest, and to be distrusted however sincere; and any persistance in kindness and good faith can hardly hope to be perfectly successful, as long as so large and clamorous a portion of the English people retain a terror that obscures all judgement, and an abhorrence that amounts to superstition'.[69]

In November 1846, only a few months after the onset of Irish Famine, Milnes went over to Dublin and made a short tour of the famine areas, where he witnessed, as he phrased in a poem, 'the stark death in hunger and sharp cold, the slow exhaustion of our mortal clay',[70] the first-hand observation which Nightingale must have had a chance to listen to. Milnes was also aware of the uncanny nature of the Queen's visits to Ireland in the middle of the famine and immediately after, visits he sarcastically called 'regal puppet-shows'.[71] On August 17,

1849, he wrote to his Irish friend Charles MacCarthy who later became Governor of Ceylon: 'The Queen's reception in Ireland has been idolatrous, utterly unworthy of a free, not to say ill-used, nation. She will go away with the impression it is the happiest country in the world, and doubt in her own mind whether O'Connell or Smith O'Brien ever existed'.[72]

Not only did Nightingale seriously consider the man who was sympathetic to Ireland as a possible husband, she herself started thinking of 'devoting herself to works of charity in hospitals and elsewhere as Catholic sisters do' in mid-1840, that is to say, exactly around the time when the potato famine struck Ireland. Nightingale envied the Catholic nuns for their training as nurses which they received in the Convent, but it was Roman Catholicism's seeming capacity to make a better home which captivated Nightingale's attention. In June 1852, Nightingale found an Irishwoman 'living in a shed by the roadside' whose fourteen year old daughter had run away from her and was forced into prostitution: '[the mother] thought she could "catch" the child again if only she had somewhere to take her to when caught, but she had no home'.[73] To Nightingale's dismay, there was no organisation in the Church of England which would receive this 'fallen' Irish girl. In the end, Henry Edward Manning (afterwards, Cardinal Manning) who had newly become a priest of the Roman Church, instantly took the child under his protection and placed her in the Convent of the Good Shepherd.[74] Indeed, for Nightingale, the Catholic Church appeared to be a real 'home', which was not only capable of giving a home to the homeless, but also would not leave women inside the home unhappily oppressed:

> I say, *If* you knew. But you do know now, with all its faults, what a home the Catholic Church is. And yet what is she to you compared with what she would be to me? No one can tell what she is to women – their training, their discipline, their hope, their home – to women because they are left wholly uneducated by the Church of England, almost wholly uncared-for – while men are not. For what training is there compared to that of the Catholic nun?[75]

Nightingale's understanding that the Catholic Church provided the home for women seemed to have been the case especially in Ireland, where 'homeless' women were, just as in England and to an even greater extent, becoming a real social problem. According to C. L. Innes, the Famine created a serious surplus of unmarried women in Ireland, for a large portion of younger men left for North America or Australia to work, and the turn to 'familism', 'the passing on the land to the oldest son rather than subdivision among members of the family' expected the bride to bring a dowry, which 'often limited the option of marriage to one daughter in a family'.[76] While the Famine severely limited opportunities for female

employment, the convent 'provided an alternative and respected social structure',[77] where a woman became 'symbolically the bride of Christ'.[78] That is to say, just as the nurse as a respectable female profession which Nightingale later institutionalised, the Irish Catholic Church provided surplus women with an honourable vocation, and turned them into the agents who nursed the unhomely homes from which they fled.

Nightingale's fascination with a universal home which she found in Catholicism can be seen already in her letter to her father on New Year's Eve in 1847:

> Are you afraid that I am becoming a Roman Catholic? I might perhaps, if there had been anything in me for Roman Catholicism to lay hold of, but I was not a Protestant before. Protestantism is confining Inspiration to one period, one nation, and one place, if I understand it right, and within that period, that nation, and one place of inspiration, allowing you all possible freedom of interpretation and thought. Catholicism allows Inspiration to all times, all nations, and all places (it is her 'great merit'), but limits the inspiration of God to herself as its only channel.[79]

Later, when Nightingale came to represent a Protestant Lady in the Crimean War, indeed she narrowed her inspiration to 'one period, one nation, and one place' – the British Empire in the nineteenth century under the leadership of one nation England, dismissing the possibility of uniting more than two nations – England and Ireland – under the common inspiration. Here, though, it may be fair to point out that Irish Catholicism was, according to Nightingale's own definition, closer to Protestantism, for it was also inseparably connected with 'one period, one nation, and one place', that is, Ireland. As Richard Monckton Milnes puts it, the Irishman is 'the priest of his Nation' and 'derives less advantage than any of his continental brethren from the expansion and variety of the Catholic communion, and is nearly as insular in his ecclesiastical associations as an Englishman can be, who is confined to a national creed'[80]:

> There is no Church in Europe situated like the Irish Church, but there is no country situated like Ireland. Where else has the land been for centuries confiscated by invading armies and held by their descendants, without either subduing the spirit of the people or fusing together the conqueror and the conquered? Where else has the Roman Catholic religion remained ever since the Reformation, the watchword of patriotism on the one side, and therefore necessarily of treason on the other? Where else has the Roman Catholic Church, the champion of civil order and submission to authority throughout Europe, been perverted into an engine of tumult and protector of rebellion?[81]

If the Irish Catholic Church was different from any other churches on the continent, it is no wonder that Nightingale's inclination towards Roman Catholicism abruptly ended when she visited Dublin in August 1852 to receive medical training from the hospitals

attached to the Catholic religious orders. Nightingale's idealisation of Catholicism seems to have been suddenly battered by the ideological and local nature of the Irish version based on a deep-seated antipathy towards England. There is not much known about Nightingale's short visit to Dublin, except that she summarised it in a 'Memorandum of 1852' as a 'terrible lesson learned in Dublin'.[82] According to Gillgannon, Nightingale hoped to enter the hospital of the Sisters of Charity, Saint Vincent's Hospital, Saint Stephen's Green, using Manning's introduction. She sought to be admitted as a nun, and even agreed to wear the religious habit though she refused to undertake any of the obligations. The Sisters of Charity refused this arrangement, and Nightingale was deeply offended by the refusal, an ill-feeling which developed into an open enmity during the Crimean war.[83]

These Irish episodes edited out from the myth of the Lady with the Lamp reveal not an unbridgeable difference between Nightingale and the Irish nuns, but rather their striking similarity both in intent and function. In both cases, the single woman, who 'failed' to be domestic wife/mother, assumed the role of a mother figure in the public space through being a nun/nurse. Moreover, each respectively came to represent nationhood. Just as Nightingale embodied England and the Empire, the Irish nuns equally represented Ireland united around Catholicism. While Nightingale had to make the nurse a respectable occupation for women to attain public motherhood, Ireland already had a long tradition of women representing Catholicism/Ireland as Mothers (the most successful nuns entitled to be called 'mothers'). It was their authority which refused to allow the non-Catholic Nightingale to assume the role of nun, and later challenged the English Motherhood which Nightingale was about to embody during the Crimean War.

5

Nightingale's mission to reform the idea of 'home' found its biggest challenge in the Crimean War, the first war in the nineteenth century in which the image of the Home in danger struck the public consciousness (the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was still to come). Britain entered the war between Turkey and Russia over guardianship of the holy places in Palestine, partly to secure the unity of her territory, for Russia was threatening England's Mediterranean sea routes to India. Newspapers reported daily the situation of the war to

every British household eager to know anything about their sons and fathers. It created a sharp sense of the gap between 'home' and 'away', which must have been further deepened by temporal as well as geographical factors, such as the slight delay of the news (it took a week or two for the full reports to arrive). It was the first war for Britain in which the detailed process of the war was reported using the modern technologies of telegraphy and photography, which radically altered the representation of the war itself: as Nancy Boyd describes, the 'mock-heroics and the unreality of sketched illustrations that concentrated on the distended nostrils of the horses and the choreographed symmetry of raised sabres' were replaced by Roger Fenton's photographic records of helpless soldiers and Russell's 'first-hand' observations.[84] The most striking consequence of the press coverage of the Crimean War was that for the first time in British history the vivid image of the wounded and the sick on the battlefield entered the public imagination. It was a series of dispatches by William Howard Russell, 'Special Correspondent' of *The Times*, that, instead of retelling the same old story of their prowess and bravery, informed 'those who sat at ease at home' of the horrible condition of the British army. In fact, what Russell reported was the most uncanny picture of the inside of the unclean hospital, fraught with the feeble soldiers who looked like ghosts:

> Although the barrack is a vast hospital, and everywhere the eye encounters pale faces, forms bending with weakness, fever-stricken *spectres* creeping along by the support of the walls, or crouching in concerns with listless countenances too weak to take notice of the scenes passing around – although everywhere there are noise and discomfort, with that admixture of dirt and unclean smells which are unavoidable in such a place...[85] (Italic is mine)

Interestingly, this image of the hospital as a ghost house – which in fact uncannily echoes the Irish famine scenes – was immediately interpreted as the *English* Home endangered and neglected, and it was attributed to the absence of the mother figure to take care of the home. Russell's report on the Sisters of Charity, a band of Catholic nuns accompanying the French army efficiently taking care of the sick and wounded, created the sense that English women had been negligent in their responsibility to provide tender and motherly care to soldiers. 'Why have we no Sister of Charity?' asks a letter to *The Times*. A 'saving angel' with 'a kind heart and skilful hands' was needed as a mother figure to the soldier who became 'helpless and dependent like a child in his hour of need': 'There are numbers of able-bodied and tender-hearted English women who would joyfully and with alacrity go out to devote themselves to nursing the sick and wounded, if they could be associated for that purpose, and placed under proper protection'.[86]

The Crimean War brought into the open the secret that England as a Home hid behind its most prosperous façade a bleak house with no hearth nor mother which let its children die miserably. Nightingale became a national figure through her image as the mother attending the actual soldiers and thereby successfully nursing back to health the notion of Home – nationhood – which the war had endangered. The popular image of Nightingale, 'the Lady with the Lamp', whose shadow patients turn to kiss, was created at a quite early stage of her mission through an article by Macdonald of *The Times* Fund, and was immediately welcomed by the British imagination. Later it was perpetuated by Longfellow's poem, in which all the dreadful scenes of the battlefield and hospitals full of pain and suffering are contained inside of a house –'the house of misery', which Nightingale, with her lamp, relieves room by room:

Thus thought I, as by night I read
Of the great army of the dead,
The trenches cold and damp,
The starved and frozen camp, –

The wounded from the battle-plain,
In dreary hospitals of pain,
The cheerless corridors,
The cold and stony floors.

Lo! in that house of misery
A lady with a lamp I see
Pass through the glimmering gloom,
And flit from room to room.

And slow, as in a dream of bliss,
The speechless sufferer turns to kiss
Her shadow, as it falls
Upon the darkening walls.[87]

In this sense, the Crimean War performed the symbolical rite of reconstructing the notion of the English home, with Florence Nightingale as its ministering Angel. The image of the saintly English gentlewoman saving the suffering British soldiers was meant to integrate all the schisms which England suffered at home – between the public and the private, home and abroad, and England and Ireland which was widened because of the recent famine – into one idea of the English Home, nursing back England to its vigour.

The first European War since the Napoleonic war, in which the English and the Irish fought side by side in the face of the foreign threat, the Crimean War could have been

an occasion to strengthen the union between England and Ireland. However, the war rather disclosed the fact that the English and Irish views – the former which aspired to unify all the colonies under her single authority on the one hand, and the latter which sought to attain the autonomy and unification without English interference on the other – were fundamentally too different to even coexist or work together: Nightingale squarely confronted the untamable presence of the Irish nuns.

The condition of the hospitals in the Crimean War epitomised the situation of the British Empire in which the management of far-away colonies proved to be a difficult problem, as Sidney Herbert summarises in his letter to Nightingale, the 'multiplication of hospitals at some miles' distance makes any real supervision from Scutari impossible, and gives you, therefore, a responsibility without corresponding powers ...'[88] Herbert therefore asked her to adapt the policy of giving hospitals self-government, namely, to be in charge only at Scutari and leave other distant hospitals to other authorities, which Nightingale found impossible to obey. She was determined to have all the hospitals and nurses under her control, even when the governmental authority thought it hardly practical. In her reply to Herbert, she makes analogies between the hospitals and the colonies, making her imperial policy clear:

> As to Balaklava, you say nothing. If you see no radical objection, I should like to keep it *for the present* & if the war continues, to give it up to another Head, *when I have arranged it*. I shall not fight for the dependence of my Colonies, as England did for America. Balaklava shall be independent as soon as she is arranged.[89]

The confrontation between Nightingale the central authority and Mother Bridgeman the head of the local authority began the moment that Nightingale refused to accept Mother Bridgeman and her Irish Sisters. These were among the second batch of the nurses led by Mary Stanley sent without Nightingale's consent. Sue Goldie writes '[h]ad Florence Nightingale received these nuns more graciously it is just possible that she would have avoided much future friction, for Mother Bridgeman always acknowledged that she and her party had been consigned to the superintendency of Florence Nightingale in the first place, and were therefore bound to acknowledge her authority in hospital matters. But she considered herself released from this obligation when Miss Nightingale refused to accept her'.[90] Nightingale, on finding that she could not possibly send the nuns back, tried to exercise the power to *divide* them – the same power used by England which has drawn many visible and invisible demarcations on the Irish terrain. Nightingale wrote to Mother

Bridgeman, 'My question to you is, can you divide?',[91] asking five of the Irish nuns to be under Mother Clare Moore who had been explicitly instructed from her bishop to follow the direction of Nightingale. However, Mother Bridgeman decided to go to Scutari herself with four of her Sisters, refusing to let any of her nuns work directly under Nightingale. That the Sisters were closely united and refused to be separated from their Superior was immediately interpreted by Nightingale as the 'Roman Catholic question': 'Brickbat ... refusing to let five of her nuns come here without her to be under our Rev*d.* Mother thereby shewing that she has some second view besides nursing – & I refusing to let our little Society become a hotbed of R. C. intriguettes – Of course we shall have a R. C. storm – But *our* Rev*d.* Mother, heart & hand with us, is doing her best to stop it'.[92] It should be noted here that Nightingale's dealing with Bridgeman resulted in dividing the Kinsale nuns and the Bermondsey ones, the former as her Irish friends and the latter her Irish foes. The Irish sisters recalled that they had virtually no contact with the ones from Bermondsey.[93] Mother Clare Moore – an Irishwoman by birth – was dismayed when Mother Bridgeman later resigned and went home without sending a word to her and when she heard some priests express their displeasure regarding the Catholic nuns at Scutari working under Nightingale.[94]

On the other hand, the Irish Sisters found their protector in a medical superviser who was hostile to Nightingale's nursing reforms. Dr. Hall, Inspector General and Chief Medical Officer of the Army, who was summoned from India at the outbreak of the War to take charge of the Medical Department, was, to use Nightingale's words, 'dead against'[95] her, and became a strong supporter of Mother Bridgeman and her Sisters whom he found more agreeable. The Irish nuns, at the request of Dr. John Hall, offered their service at Balaclava without asking Nightingale's permission, which she saw as 'papal aggression'. [96] Nightingale's insecurity over her own authority reached its peak when she learned that Deputy-Purveyor-in-Chief David Fitzgerald in his 'Confidential Report' described Nightingale's nurses to be lacking discipline and praised the Irish Sisters for efficiency, and that the report was being circulated among medical officers. Nightingale was not allowed to see the report, which reads 'the superiority of an ordered system is beautifully illustrated in the "Sisters of Mercy", – one mind appears to move all; – and their intelligence, delicacy, and conscientiousness, invest them with a halo of confidence extreme; the Medical Officer can safely consign his most critical case to their hands…'[97] Thus, there was a little twist in the whole political conflict. The male Medical authority from India, who had been monopolising

the sublime colonial space and was greatly responsible for confining women in a domestic space, now relied on the Irish nuns for support – India and Ireland teaming up – to push the Englishwoman who transgressed the boundary back to her 'proper' place.

The rivalry between Nightingale and Mother Bridgeman was, I argue, not limited to the issues of who was to take charge and which of them was the better nurse. Although it is true that their authority and skill as nurses directly represented the nation's capability to preserve the lives of her people, we should not dismiss the fact that they were needed at the front to attend the *death* of the soldiers. Whereas the Irish Sisters went to the Crimea to give a blessing to the dying soldiers so that they could die peacefully as Catholics, there are several episodes known when Nightingale nursed the soldiers on their deathbed and sent their last messages to their family in England.[98] Both the Lady with the Lamp and the Sisters of Mercy served in the Crimean War to preside over the death of their people and to guarantee the imaginary connection between dying individuals and the nation which they fought for. Then, it is natural that the question as to whose death belonged to whom soon arose. Nightingale was very sensitive to the possibility of proselytising the dying soldiers by the Irish Sisters, not only because it would violate her authority which forbade any act of proselytising, but also because, I argue, it would deprive her of the English deaths which rightly belonged to her. While the Irish Sisters' presence guarded Irish nationality from being absorbed into British, Nightingale's myth, in contrast, needed the dead bodies to be British in order to perpetuate itself. And within this context, the image of the Great Hunger creeps in. Countless Irish corpses during the Crimean War, especially with the presence of the Irish Sisters, inevitably echoed the Irish Famine, threatening to cancel out the image of the benign Englishwoman who nurses her soldiers at their deathbed.

The Crimean War, in which English incompetence again let the Irish soldiers die unheroically from epidemics and wounds, was a recurrence of the Irish Famine which the Irish nuns witnessed several years before. In fact, their nursing skill praised by doctors and soldiers were greatly due to their long experience of nursing the hungry and diseased before and during the Famine. According to Bolster, 'the sight of an araba-load of coffinless shroudless corpses being carted off for burial recalled for Mother Bridgeman the horror and hideousness of famine conditions at home'.[99] Indeed, it was one of the earliest apparitions of the Irish famine projected onto the East: not only were one third of the dying soldiers Irish, but also the same Sisters who nursed them were seen with their black habits nursing the sick

and wounded. Their nightly and almost ghastly visit was reported in one paragraph in *The Illustrated London News*, the same periodical that first illustrated the image of Nightingale as the Lady with the Lamp, in such a way that strikingly echoes O'Connell's description of the nuns silently gliding among the poor in their long black robes: [100]

> They are attired from head to foot in deepest black; even their heads are carefully hooded. The only relief to this sombre attire is the double string of beads hanging from their girdles ... I went down about midnight to pay [a patient] a visit. On opening the door, I beheld by the light of a wretched little lamp just such a phantom as Bulwer has drawn in *Lucretia:* darkness in every corner of the room, and a tall figure draped and hooded – darker than the night, gliding from bed to bed.[101]

If the Irish Famine constantly needs to be remembered and commemorated even to this day, the Crimean War gave the Irish the first occasions to publicly mourn over the death of their countrymen. While death was an everyday reality and soldiers were buried in the least venerable way, [102] the two Sisters of Mercy who died during their service were given memorable funerals where we see the 'soldiers, doctors, officers, and officials' – almost everybody attend. The first nurse to be buried was Sister M. Winifred of Liverpool, on October 20, 1855, who died from cholera. We see Nightingale at the funeral, since she happened to be at Balaclava and 'even joined in the prayers':[103]

> Our dear sister was conveyed to her last resting place about 4 O'clock p.m. The coffin was borne by four soldiers who had previously begged the favour from Fr. Unsworth. Three priests preceded the coffin according to custom. Miss Nightingale who has asked Rev. Mother's permission to attend followed immediately after us – motley crowed of sailors, soldiers, officers and hospital officials – Fr. Unworth officiated. The Litany for a happy death was read just as the dear remains were lowered into the grave.... We never thought a sister's funeral in Turkey or Russia would have been so imposing.[104]

Sister Winifred's death could have been an occasion for the English and the Irish to unite in common grief, for Winifred was English by birth,[105] and was from Liverpool, the city in England densely populated by the Irish. Since she temporarily worked at Scutari, Nightingale personally knew her. She visited Sister Winifred at her deathbed and helped Mother Bridgeman to arrange the funeral.[106] However, this rare chance of co-operation merely resulted in a bitter fight over the nationality of the dead body. While Nightingale wished to treat Sister Winifred's death as that of an English nurse, Mother Bridgeman had to bury her as Irish. Nightingale offered to erect a white marble Cross over Sr. Winifrid's grave, but Mother Bridgeman refused it, while accepting a similar offer from the 89th Royal Irish Regiment. Sister Croke writes in her diary that Nightingale wishes to 'let it appear she has

control over us in life and death'.[107] The second funeral, that for Sister Elizabeth Butler who died on Feb. 23, 1856, was conducted without the presence of Nightingale. Sister Mary Aloysius Doyle in her memoir remembers 'a thrilling sight to see the multitude of various nations, ranks, and employments, amid holy silence unbroken save by the voice of tearful supplication'.[108] Everybody, whether Protestant or Catholic, gathered all together around this little *Irish* death. Sister Croke writes:

> 24th –Sunday – Our dear Sister is to be buried today. The 89th got permission from the Colonel to come to the funeral – there are more than 300 Catholics in that Regiment alone, and an immense number from the other different Regiments, also the Medical Staff Corps. The procession was formed at our 'hut on the hill', but broke off when we came to the Chapel where the dear remains were placed while the Office for the Dead was being said. Eight priests assisted, two of whom were Jesuits, five or six Fathers of Charity from the Sardinian Hospitals joined the procession and assisted at Office. The whole way from the Chapel to the grave on the hill was lined with double files of Soldiers who kept their heads uncovered till the last Sister passed and till their return from the graveyard.[109]

It is interesting to see that the contest as to who had the right to erect the cross for Sister Winifred manifests itself as the competition to be an authentic woman. We see both Nightingale and the Irish nuns deny each other femininity when talking of who should erect the Cross. Nightingale writes to Herbert, 'Mother Brickbat's conduct has been neither that of a Christian, a gentlewoman, or even a woman ... I have even offered to put a cross to poor Winifred to which she has deigned no reply',[110] while Sister Joseph Croke writes in her diary, 'Miss Nightingale most anxious to erect a white marble Cross over Sr. Winefride's grave. Rev. Mother does not wish it. Miss Nightingale is sweet, amiable, gentle, most insinuating whenever she is doing merely the lady or even the friend, but when she wants to domineer, she has a way of putting completely aside all her womanish qualities'.[111] Here, to be a Mother meant the ability of the nation to commemorate the death of its subjects, thereby creating its own home space, national myth and identity.

'I consider two superiors disadvantageous',[112] Nightingale wrote to Herbert. She fought against what she called 'Mrs. Bridgeman's Insurrection'[113] until March 16, 1856, when her position as 'general superintendent of the Female Nursing Establishment of the Military Hospitals of the Army' was finally confirmed in general orders: in the letter to Herbert dated 3 April 1856 she writes 'Mrs. Bridgeman & her 11 Irish nuns have been instructed to resign & go home & make themselves martyrs, which they will do, I am afraid'.[114] Nightingale's prophesy might be said to have proved true, for Irish national history, having failed to make the Empire recognise her equal authority as a nation, produced

many martyrs whose individual deaths are refused to be interpreted as anything but Irish.

The Irish voice which was silenced by Nightingale was a female voice, which, assuming the figure of Mother, embodied the authority of Ireland as an independent nation. It was also the voice of the healing agent within Ireland who was determined to relieve the famine-devastated Ireland. We may say that it is the Irish Lady with the Lamp in the Great Famine re-staged in the Crimean War which Nightingale swept under the imperial carpet. The image of the smothered domesticity of Ireland can be unwittingly found within Nightingale's own text. In *The Notes on Nursing*, she points out that any home is likely to hide within itself the uninhabited, unhomely space, completely sealed up and hidden from sight, which makes a hotbed of diseases:

> a thing I have often seen both in private houses and institutions. A room remains uninhabited; the fireplace is carefully fastened up with a board; the windows are never opened; probably the shutters are kept always shut; perhaps some kind of stores are kept in the room; no breath of fresh air can by possibility enter into that room, nor any ray of sun. The air is as stagnant, musty, and corrupt as it can by possibility be made. It is quite ripe to breed small-pox, scarlet-fever, diphtheria, or anything else you please.[115]

Note that in this uninhabited room the fireplace is carefully fastened up and does not serve as a domestic hearth. There was more than one hearth in the house, in fact there were two potential national hearths within the Union, one of the two naturally had to be fastened up in order to maintain the integrity of Home.

6

By denying the motherliness in the Irish, Nightingale succeeded in establishing nursing as genuinely English. In *The Notes on Nursing*, Nightingale implies that the English woman has the potentiality to be a 'ready and sound' observer, while the 'French or Irish woman is too quick of perception to be so sound an observer – the Teuton is too slow to be so ready an observer as the English woman might be'.[116] Later, when she launched the reform of the Indian Hospitals, the Irish nuns were erased from the nursing history: Nightingale writes in 'Suggestions on a System of Nursing for Hospitals in India' (1865), 'The study and practice of nursing itself, dates only a few years back in England. It exists neither in Scotland nor in Ireland at the present time'.[117] These comments are in striking contrast to her earlier

admiration of Catholicism and the nursing which it provided. The Irish Catholic tradition of nursing by nuns was absent from her nursing history, leaving the sisters as ghosts in the English house exactly as they looked during their nightly visitation. The figure of the Englishwoman offering help to the Irish in need is also absent from Florence Nightingale's career after the Crimean War. Nightingale devoted the rest of her life to improving the sanitary condition of the Indian Army and relieving Indian famines. However, she did not embark upon any particular reform for Ireland suffering from the aftermath of the Famine.

In fact, Nightingale was not the only Englishwoman who was eager to improve the conditions of India: there were many other English women with the same aspiration, such as Mary Carpenter who emerged as one of Nightingale's competitors for India in mid-1860, or Josephine Butler who embarked on her crusade against the Contagious Diseases Acts in India after securing the repeal of the Acts at home in 1886.[118] Interestingly, however, these ladies often did not aspire to relieve the Irish distress. The uncanniness of this negligence is already noted by one of Nightingale's biographers, F. B. Smith:

> at first sight, it is strange that they did not try Ireland which was closer and obviously in need of improvement, but both ladies [Nightingale and Carpenter], like most of their colleagues, avoided Ireland. There, government was already in the field, the proud Anglo-Irish gentry appeared hostile and the common Irish were uncouth, resistant to advice and ultimately hardly worth preserving. As Miss Nightingale once remarked, Hindus were gentlemen, compared with the Irish.[119]

Rosemary Marangoly George, in her *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction*, argues that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the colonies served as a sphere through which the white woman could establish herself as the authoritative self by defining herself against racial Others: the formation of modern female subjectivity has its root in the Empire. By referring to Anna Davin's essay which argues that 'motherhood' was the only way for women to attain a recognisable female national subject position in the nineteenth century, George argues that women achieved their authoritative selves as mother figures who were capable of managing the Home in the colonial space.[120] The assumption that 'the successful running of the empire required the womanly skills of household management'[121] allowed women to participate in making the English home in colonies – an arena 'paradoxically domestic as well as public'[122]– as a memsahib in charge. The formation of the modern female subject through racial privileges was nothing but the formation of the national self called 'the *English*woman': '[d]espite

differences of class and/or regional origin in Britain, differences in marital status and age, all British women were invited by these and other imperial texts to recognise themselves as English'.[123]

Though George does not mention Florence Nightingale in her work, it is certain that Nightingale set a national example of the authoritative English female self – paradoxically at once public and domestic – through nursing the East and managing the Home abroad. In fact, Nightingale, through working with the Indian sanitary reforms, seems to have finally found a public voice which she as Cassandra craved to have. At the very beginning of her essay 'The People of India', she urges the English to speak on behalf of the Indian people: 'We do not care for the people of India... Have we no voice for these voiceless millions?'[124] The preference of India to Ireland as a place for Englishwomen to achieve an authoritative self is worth paying attention to. Englishwomen were willing to speak for the Indian but somehow not for the Irish. Though the 'subaltern' voices of both India and Ireland are sometimes discussed, the voicelessness in the two colonies seems to have been different in nature. Ireland was not sublime – public and masculine sphere of work through which women could identify themselves with the expansion of the British Empire – unlike India: it was too near and too familiar, *thus* too uncanny. Moreover, unlike India where Englishwomen could complacently think the inhabitants to be 'voiceless' and therefore feel obliged to speak on their behalf, they found in Ireland plenty of voices which renounced any attempt for the English to speak for them. If the Irish voice during the Famine has not been heard enough, it was not so much because of the loss of the voice, but rather because of the absence of an ear on the English side, and possibly because the Irish chose to voice the silencing of its own voice by the English: 'the hungry voice' was, no matter how painful it sounds to be, after all a voice, a powerful self-representation which Ireland attained.

7

In this chapter, I have argued that 'the Lady with the Lamp', the national self-representation of England as a mother figure who comes to alleviate the suffering of her imperial subjects, was formed in response to, but told separately from, the story of the Great

Hunger in which England deliberately starved her Irish subjects to death. Then, it is very significant that Maud Gonne, during the Boer War, named Queen Victoria as 'the Famine Queen', through which she scandalously combined the two separate stories. To concur with the Queen's visit to Ireland, the image of Victoria 'the Famine Queen' appeared in *The United Irishman* on 7th of April 1900.[125] Gonne interprets the visit as a recruitment trip to encourage more Irishmen –'the victims of the criminal policy of her reign, the survivors of sixty years of organised famine'[126] – to enlist and die at the front. The all-pervading body of the Englishwoman who, with her Lamp in hand, relieves every corner of her imperial home, is now made into the personification of famines and plague spreading all over the Empire. As Gonne puts it, '[f]amine follows English rule as the vulture follows the battle cloud'.[127]

The 'Famine Queen' seems to me to be an apposite image to end this chapter, not only because it critically exposes the unbridgeable gap of the two national myths, the Great Hunger and the Lady with the Lamp by inscribing it on the very political body of the Queen itself, but also because it echoes, though rarely emphasised, the *Indian* Famine. Gonne, after holding the Queen's 'policy of extermination' [128] responsible for the famine stricken condition of Ireland, turns to Indian famines to illustrate her point that '[n]o Government has ever systematised the art of draining the life blood of a people as the English Government has done'.[129] Like Nightingale the Englishwoman, Gonne speaks for voiceless Indians, saying that 'India is far off, and only faint echoes of the groans of her awful agony reach us'.[130] Her article in *The United Irishman*, 12 May 1900 is titled 'India', in which she calls the imperial policy 'a famine policy', with which the government watches over the death agony of her subjects without taking any measures to rescue them:

> If the Indian people or the Irish people once realised the true meaning of "famine policy" they would say "It is better to die fighting than starving; by fighting perchance we may save the lives of our children, and future generations, delivered from English rule, will bless us." The people of Ireland and India should realise that if alone they may not attain to ideal freedom, they would be better under the rule of any other power than that of England, for no other power adopted a "famine policy." [131]

It may be noted here that Gonne's India as another victim of the famine policy makes a striking contrast with the English representation of the famines in India as at once the background and the object of the imperial mission. Nightingale embarked on a campaign to relieve the famine by declaring a war against the Indian climate itself which she never in her life physically experienced.[132] Kipling, in his 'William the Conqueror' (1895), narrates the

Englishman's heroic struggle to fight the Indian famine. The heroine of the story is a girl nicknamed William, who helps her brother Martyn and his colleague Scott carry out the relief-work with determination and womanly care, showing that an Englishwoman assumes a man-like identity in the Indian space while maintaining her domesticity.[133] Gonne, by blatantly equating India with Ireland, contaminates the Indian sublime space with the Irish uncanny and annihilates the splendour of the British Empire, whose power, according to Gonne, rests on 'the millions and millions of famine corpses'.[134]

Although the famine was usually considered to be a natural disaster in India and that Gonne's use of the Indian famine was partly to illustrate the vast scale of the suffering of Ireland under the British rule, the visitation of the 'Famine Queen' in India was hardly a fiction in 1900, when India was suffering from the 'Great Famine' of 1899-1900 which was the worst famine on record, breaking out only two years after the catastrophic famine of 1896-7.[135] That is to say, India was *not* the colourful playground represented in *Kim* when the novel was being written. If Kipling's Boer War stories written during the same period were haunted with the inexplicable 'floating Indian memories', they could have been the ghosts of the famine which Kipling could not include in his stories. Though the famine in India was overshadowed by a flood of news and articles on South Africa, we still can see certain opinions expressed as to the relationship between imperial policy and the Indian famine. According to Vaughan Nash, *The Manchester Guardian*'s India correspondent and the author of *The Great Famine* (1900), the policy of the government is much to blame for the recurrent famines which 'gnaw the country to the bone' and for allowing India to be 'cut loose and set adrift'.[136] Nash writes, 'India is still drifting. The intelligent natives know it perfectly well'.[137] For Charles James O'Donnell (1850-1934), the brother of Frank Hugh O'Donnell, it is the 'Empire-Builder' Lord Curzon who is the author of the terrible calamity in India. O'Donnell, under the pseudonym of 'Twenty-Eight Years in India', likens Curzon's *imperial* policy to the spreading of famines and plague: '[w]ith famine following famine in nearly every province of India, and desolating plague everywhere, who will deny that we have at last found a truly "imperialist" Viceroy?'.[138] In fact, the famines in India directly meant the weakening of the imperial bond, for the wealth of India had been profusely used to maintain the imperial ties: Romesh Chunder Dutt (1848-1909), president of the Indian National Congress, was appalled by the 'Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure' (1900), which revealed that a large part of the cost of the imperial expedition had been paid

and was expected to be paid by India, which was still in the middle of the harshest famine of the century:[139]:

> Under the head of 'Indian Troops out of India' we are told that a part of the cost of employing Indian troops out of India should be borne by India, if she has a district and special interest at stake. And then we are told that India has a 'direct and substantial interest' in keeping open the Suez Canal and in the maintainence [sic] of order in Egypt; a 'modified interest' in Zanzibar and the African islands in the Indian Ocean; a 'direct and substantial interest' in Persia, the Persian Gulf, and the coast and island of Arabia; a 'direct and substantial interest' in Siam, and a 'modified interest' in China and the Malay peninsula. Does this mean that the resources of India, which are scarcely enough for her civil and military administration, will continue to be drawn upon by England in her various complications in different parts of Asia and Africa? Does this mean that the richest country in the world will continue to tax the poorest and most miserable peasantry on earth, not only for their own warfare, but also the maintenance of England's influence and empire in portions of two continents?[140]

These accounts of the Indian famine in the imperial context reveal that by the turn of the century the discourses which figuratively constructed the Empire had been haunted by the image of famine. Gonne's 'the Famine Queen', typically a nationalist/ 'metaphoric' analogy between India and Ireland, for example, found the way to encroach the imperial/ 'metonymic' integrity through the famine figure. The sweeping generalisation and identification which nationalist analogies tend to fall into can be seen as typically famine-like, for the famine shatters any individual into a corpse and dust, in uncannily the same fashion. The famine sneaks into the bond of the Empire even when the most 'metonymic' rhetoric which is supposed to wedge the Empire together is deferentially repeated: Mahatma Gandhi, in his appeal for funds for the Indian Famine, in his letter to the editor of *The Natal Advertiser*, dated the 30th of July, 1900, writes:

> The Lord Bishop of Natal has dwelt on the good that the [Boer] War, bad as it is, has done, in that it has brought closer together the various parts of the mighty Empire to which it is our pride to belong. It may be that the threefold scourge in India – viz. Famine, plague and cholera – black as it is, will be the means of forging another link in the chain that ties all together.[141]

Gonne might have written that Gandhi here should have added to his list of scourges in India the British rule, which, 'black as it is', is 'the means of forging another link in the chain that ties all together' – India and Ireland – in order to more forcefully throw their common yoke away.

[1] Rudyard Kipling, 'On the Strength of a Likeness' (1887), *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 254-9.
[2] Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 17, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1955), 233.
[3] Freud, 234.
[4] Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imagining: James Mill's The History of British India and Orientalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17.
[5] Homi. K. Bhabha, 'Introduction', *Nation and Narration,* ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 2.
[6] *Hansard, Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 87, House of Commons, 8 June 1846, 131.
[7] W. E. Gladstone, *Special Aspects of the Irish Question* (London: John Murray, 1892), 3.
[8] Gladstone, 15.
[9] Gladstone, 351.
[10] Gladstone, 352.
[11] Charles William McMinn, 'The Home Rule Movement in India and in Ireland: A Contrast', *Contemporary Review* 57 (January 1890), 97.
[12] John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, 3 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 2:284.
[13] John Morley, 'The Government of Ireland: A Reply', *Nineteenth Century*, 21:2 (February 1887), 319.
[14] John Black Atkins, *The Life of Sir William Howard Russell: The First Special Correspondent,* 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1911), 1:60-1.
[15] Atkins, 62.
[16] Atkins, 62.
[17] James S. Donnelly, Jr., 'The Construction of the Memory of the Famine in Ireland and the Irish Diaspora, 1850-1900', *Eire-Ireland: A Journal of Irish Studies* 31 (Spring-Summer 1996),1-2, 26-61.
[18] Alexander Martin Sullivan, *New Ireland* (London: Samson Low, 1877), 121-2.
[19] T. Wemyss Reid, *Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster*, 2 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), 2:559.
[20] Niall O Ciosáin, 'Was there "silence" about the Famine?', *Irish Studies Review* 13 (Winter 1995/6), 7-10.
[21] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., c1950); *The Great Hunger, Ireland 1845-9* (London: New English Library, 1977).
[22] Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: the Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Virago, 1989), 190.
[23] Poovey, 185.
[24] Poovey, 191.
[25] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990).
[26] For example, Frances Ferguson suggests that Burke's sublime follows 'the dictates of the work ethic' in *Solitude and the Sublime: Romanticism and the Aesthetics of Individuation* (New York & London: Routledge, 1992), 76. Also, Tom Furniss, in *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender, and Political Economy in Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), argues, more directly, that Burke's sublime is 'an aesthetic means through which bourgeois thought establishes itself, in the face of the charges of luxury brought against it by traditional writers, as the locus of individual effort and virtue' (34).
[27] For a connection between Burke's aesthetic theory and the representation of India as both sublime and picturesque, see Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[28] Sake Dean Mahomet, *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey through India,* edited with an introduction and biographical essay by Michael H. Fisher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 34. As for Dean Mahomet's unique presence in eighteenth-century Ireland and his complex interactions with the discourses of the day, see C. L. Innes, 'Black Writers in Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Bullán: An Irish Studies Journal*, 5:1 (summer/fall 2000), 81-95.
[29] According to Ray Strachey, 'Cassandra' was originally written in 1852, and was 'revised and finally put together in 1859, after her return from the Crimea'. In 1859, Nightingale 'had it privately printed, but on the advice of J. S. Mill, Jowett, and other friends it was not published' [Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (London: Virago, 1978), 395]. 'Cassandra' was published for the first time in Ray Strachey's *The Cause* (1928).
[30] Florence Nightingale, 'Cassandra', *Cassandra and other Selections from Suggestions for Thought*, ed. Mary Poovey (New York: New York UP, 1992), 206.
[31] Nightingale, 'Cassandra', 206.

[32] Nightingale, 'Cassandra', 206.
[33] Nightingale, 'Cassandra', 229.
[34] Nightingale, 'Cassandra', 217.
[35] Anthony Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), 52.
[36] As for the representation of Mrs. Gamp, see, for example, Leslie A. Fiedler, 'Images of the Nurse in Fiction and Popular Culture', *Literature and Medicine* 2 (1985), 83-5.
[37] It may be interesting to point out here that Sidney Herbert proposed to solve the overpopulation of women by the Female Emigration scheme. In his letter to *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 December 1849, he writes, 'the number of women in Great Britain greatly exceeds the number of men. In 1821 the females outnumbered the males, in round numbers, by 117,000; in 1831, by 213,000; in 1841, by 320,000; and at this moment, so great has been the male emigration in the last nine years, that there cannot be less than half a million more females than males in Great Britain' [Arthur Hamilton-Gordon Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea, A Memoir*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1906), 1:111-2]. He was especially concerned with the condition of the needle-women, 'young women of all classes who have been driven to live on that occupation exclusively as a last resort' (114), who suffered from 'the most intense poverty' and fell easy prey to 'the most fearful degradation' (111): 'Leave this crowd of women here, and they will destroy one another – more and more poverty, more and more infamy – body and soul both destroyed. Why not give them the means of escape?' (112). Later, Herbert gave these women the means of escape by supporting Nightingale's nursing reforms.
[38] Edward Cook, *The Life of Florence Nightingale*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1913), 1:168.
[39] Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing: What is and What is not* (New York: Dover Publications, INC., 1969), 24.
[40] On Nightingale's belief in zymotic theory, see, for example, Charles E. Rosenberg, 'Florence Nightingale on Contagion: The Hospital as Moral Universe', *Healing and History: Essay for George Rosen* (Dawson: Science History Publications, 1979), 116-36.
[41] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 12.
[42] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 16.
[43] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 19.
[44] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 20.
[45] Freud, 225.
[46] I. B. O'Malley, *Florence Nightingale 1820-1856; A Study Of Her Life Down To The End Of The Crimean War* (London: Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1931), 149-50.
[47] *The Times*, 16 July 1849, 3d.
[48] *The Times,* 8 August 1849, 5f.
[49] Nancy Netzer, 'Picturing an Exhibition: James Mahony's Watercolors of the Irish Industrial Exhibitions of 1853', in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993), 89-90
[50] *The Times,* 31 August 1853, 7a.
[51] Mary Seacole, *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands*, ed. Ziggi Alexander & Audrey Dewjee (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1984)
[52] Sr. M. T. Austin Carroll, *Life of Catherine McAuley, with an introduction of the venerable Richard Baptist O'Brien* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier & CO., 1874), 416.
[53] M. Bertrand Degnan, R.S.M., *Mercy unto Thousands: The Life of Mother Catherine McAuley* (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1957), 88.
[54] Sr. M. T. Austin Carroll, *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy* (New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1881), vol. 1, 386-7.
[55] Carroll, *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy,* 387.
[56] Evelyn Bolster, *The Sisters of Mercy in the Crimean War* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1964), 91.
[57] See also, Sister Mary AcAuley Gillgannon, RSM, *The Sisters of Mercy as Crimean War Nurses*, Ph.D. dissertation (Indiana: University of Notre Dame, Ph.D., 1962). As to the nursing by the Irish Sisters of Mercy in the Crimean War, see, Mary Ellen Doona, 'Sister Mary Joseph Croke: Another Voice from the Crimean War, 1854 –1856', *Nursing History Review* (1995), 3-41; 'Much to be said: Mother Francis Bridgeman and Female Military Nursing during the Crimean War (1854-1856)', *New England Regional Conference American Conference of Irish Studies*, Massasoit, MA: Massasoit Community College, Oct 2, 1998; '"Careful Nursing": Ireland's Legacy to Nursing', *Third Annual Lecture for Nursing*, University College Dublin, February 10, 2000.
[58] *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856,* ed. Sue M. Goldie (Manchester: Mandolin, 1997).
[59] Doona, 'Much to be said', 1.

[60] Sidney Herbert to Nightingale, dated 5 March 1855, Arthur Hamilton-Gordon Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea, A Memoir, by Lord Stanmore*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1906), 1:412, quoted in Boster, xv; Doona, 'Sister Mary Joseph Croke', 18.
[61] Stanmore, 99.
[62] *Hansard,* 8 June 1846, 184.
[63] *Hansard*, 8 June 1846, 184.
[64] *Hansard*, 8 June 1846, 185.
[65] *Hansard*, 8 June 1846, 185-6.
[66] T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monkton Milnes, first Lord Houghton*, 2 vols (London: Cassell & Company, 1890), 1:112-3.
[67] Richard Monkton Milnes's letter to C. J. MacCarthy, dated May 30, 1845, quoted in Reid, 1:354.
[68] Richard Monkton Milnes, *The Real Union of England and Ireland* (London: John Ollivier, 1845), 20.
[69] Milnes, *The Real Union of England and Ireland,* 40-1.
[70] James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise, 1809-1851* (London: Constable, 1949), 239.
[71] James Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Flight of Youth, 1852-1885* (London: Constable, 1951), 68.
[72] Reid, 1:438. In fact, Milnes's view on Ireland itself had to be edited and modified to be accepted by the Victorian official history: as James Pope-Hennessy points out, Milnes's 'Victorian official biographer' T. Wemyss Reid chooses not to mention Milnes's visit to Ireland in 1846, calling his visit to Ireland in 1853 the 'third' in the index, which should have been correctly counted as fourth (Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: the Years of Promise,* 237; Reid, 2:518). Pope-Hennessy also notes a few changes which Reid made to Milnes's descriptions of the Queen's visit to Dublin in 1853: Milnes records his impression that the Queen was 'rather cross' and 'sullen' during her inspection of the Dublin Exhibition, which Reid changes to 'rather tired' and 'sombre' (Pope-Hennessy, *The Flight of Youth,* 68; Reid, 1:485).
[73] I. B. O'Malley, 192. According to O'Malley, this incident was narrated in a letter from Nightingale to Manning, dated 28 June 1852 (191).
[74] Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale,* 97.
[75] *Ever yours, Florence Nightingale: Selected Letters*, eds. Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard (London: Virago Press, 1989), 59.
[76] C. L. Innes, *Woman and Nation in Irish Literature and Society, 1880-1935* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 39.
[77] Innes, 39.
[78] Innes, 40.
[79] *Florence Nightingale in Rome: Letters written by Florence Nightingale in Rome in the Winter of 1847-1848*, ed. Mary Keele (Philadelphia Pennsylvania: American Philosophical Society, 1981), 155.
[80] Milnes, *The Real Union of England and Ireland*, 38.
[81] Milnes, *The Real Union of England and Ireland*, 42-3.
[82] Woodham-Smith, *Florence Nightingale,* 103.
[83] Gillgannon, 60-1.
[84] Nancy Boyd, *Josephine Butler, Octavia Hill, Florence Nightingale : Three Victorian Women who Changed Their World* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982), 185.
[85] *The Times*, 9 October 1854, 8b. Nightingale immediately volunteered her services and on October 21, 1854, less than two weeks after Russell's article's appearance, sailed for Scutari with her thirty-eight nurses, arriving there on November 4.
[86] *The Times*, 14 October 1854, 7f.
[87] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 'Santa Filomena', *The Poetical Works of Longfellow* (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1887), 327.
[88] Sidney Herbert to Florence Nightingale, dated 5 March 1855, Goldie,104.
[89] Nightingale to Herbert, dated 18 March, 1855, Goldie, 106.
[90] Goldie, 54.
[91] Nightingale to Mother Bridgeman, dated 22 December 1854, in Bolster, 96.
[92] Nightingale to Sidney Herbert, dated 4 January 1855, Goldie, 62-3.
[93] Sister Mary Aloysius Doyle, *Memories of the Crimea* (London: Burns & Oates, 1897), 95.
[94] Sullivan, 60.
[95] Goldie, 165.
[96] Goldie, 159.
[97] Goldie, 301.

[98] For example, *The Times*, 29 September 1855, 7e, published a letter from Nightingale to a wife informing her of the death of her husband in the hospital at Scutari, in which Nightingale gives some personal episodes of the deceased and assures her that he was attended by doctors and Nightingale herself on his deathbed. Also, a letter of Sister Mary Gonzaga, one of the five Bermondsey nuns who worked under Nightingale, to a wife of a Scottish sergeant telling her of his death was read publicly by Rev. Dr Cumming, from his pulpit in the Scottish National Church. *The Times* procured both the letter and the sermon, and published the former under the heading 'A Precedent for Protestants' (*The Times*, 19 December 1854, 5f).
[99] Bolster, 97.
[100] The illustration of Nightingale as the Lady with the Lamp appeared in *The Illustrated London News*, 24 February 1855, 176.
[101] Doyle, 72-3.
[102] 'The funerals of all officers and soldiers dying at Scutari or on board any ship in the Bosphorus take place each day at about four o'clock. The Burial Ground as shown in the engraving is close to the general Hospital, lying between its walls and the edge of the cliff which rises with some boldness from the shore'. Sydney Godolphine Osborne, *Scutari and its Hospitals* (London: Dickens Brothers,1855), 42.
[103] Doyle, 67.
[104] Sister M. Joseph Croke, *Diary of Sister M. Joseph Croke*, Original in the Convent of Mercy, Charleville, Mercy International Centre, Dublin, Ireland, 18-9.
[105] Doyle, 80.
[106] Gillgannon, 274.
[107] Doona, 'Sister Mary Joseph Croke: Another Voice from the Crimean War, 1854 –1856', 28.
[108] Doyle, 77.
[109] Croke, 38.
[110] Bolster, 214.
[111] Croke, 21.
[112] Nightingale to Sidney Herbert, dated 25 December 1854, Goldie, 56.
[113] Nightingale to Uncle Sam Smith, dated 6 March 1856, Goldie, 226.
[114] Nightingale to Sidney Herbert, dated 3 April 1856, in Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard, eds., *Ever yours,* 152.
[115] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 13.
[116] Nightingale, *Notes on Nursing*, 113.
[117] Florence Nightingale, 'Suggestions on a System of Nursing for Hospitals in India' (1865), in *Selected Writings of Florence Nightingale*, ed. Lucy Ridgely Seymer (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), 234.
[118] As to the Englishwomen's mission to improve the condition of the Indian women, see Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
[119] F. B. Smith, *Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power* (London: Croom Helm, 1982), 136-7.
[120] Rosemary Marangoly George, *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 36. Anna Davin's work referred here is, Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978), 9-65.
[121] George, 36.
[122] George, 36.
[123] George, 37.
[124] Florence Nightingale, 'The People of India', *Nineteenth Century* 18 (August 1878), 193.
[125] This issue was confiscated by the police before it reached widespread circulation. Gonne's celebrated article 'the Famine Queen' first appeared in her Paris-based paper, *L'Irelande Libre*, the issue of March/April 1900.
[126] Maud Gonne, 'The Famine Queen', *The United Irishman*, 7 April 1900, 5.
[127] Maud Gonne, 'Her Subjects', *The United Irishman*, 28 April 1900, 5.
[128] Maud Gonne, 'Her Subjects', *The United Irishman*, 21 April 1900, 5.
[129] Gonne, 'Her Subjects', 28 April 1900, 5.
[130] Gonne, 'Her Subjects', 21 April 1900, 5.
[131] Maud Gonne, 'India', *The United Irishman* , 12 May 1900, 5.
[132] Nightingale writes, 'people are surprised that British soldiers die in India; and they lay the whole blame on the climate. It is natural to us to seek a scapegoat for every neglect, and climate has been made to play this part ever since we set foot in India. Sir Charles Napier says, "That every evil from which British troops have suffered has been laid at its door." "The effects of man's imprudence are attributed to climate ; if a man gets drunk, the sun has given him a headache, and so on." ... One most important result of the inquiry of the Royal

Commission has been to destroy this bugbear. They have reduced "climate" to its proper dimensions and influence, and they have shown that, just as hot moist weather at home calls people to account for sanitary neglects and acts of intemperance, so does the climate of India call to account the same people there. There is not a shadow of proof that all that the climate requires is that men shall adapt their social habits and customs to it; as, indeed, they must do to the requirements of every other climate under heaven' [Florence Nightingale, *How People May Live and Not Die in India*: read at the meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Edinburgh, October,1863 (London: Emily Faithfull, 1863), 7].

[133] Rudyard Kipling, 'William the Conqueror', *The Day's Work* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988), 157-89.

[134] Gonne, 'Her Subjects', 28 April 1900, 5.

[135] As for the accounts of the famines of 1896-1997 and of 1899-1900, see, for example, B. M. Bhatia, *Famines in India: A Study in Some Aspects of the Economic History of India (1860-1965)* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1967), especially chapter 9, 'Famines in India, 1896-1914', 238-270.

[136] Vaughan Nash, 'An Empire Adrift', *Contemporary Review* 78 (November 1900), 688. His *The Great Famine and its Causes* (London: Longmans & Co.,1900) addresses the Indian famine of 1899-1900.

[137] Nash, 684.

[138] "Twenty-Eight Years in India" [i.e. Charles J. O'Donnell], *The Failure of Lord Curzon: A Study in "Imperialism", An Open Letter to the Earl of Rosebery* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), vii-viii.

[139] The copy of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was presented in the House of Commons on 9 April 1900. *The Times*, 10 April 1900, 13c, gives the summary of the Report.

[140] Romesh C. Dutt, *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900), 301.

[141] Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 3 (1898-1903) (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1960), 152.

Conclusion

Going through the pages of Ian Colvin's *The Life of General Dyer* makes us realise that the stories of Kim and Terence Mulvaney were not mere wishful representations of Irish loyalty to the British Empire but could pass as illustrative biographies of the Irish who served in India.[1] Born in India in 1864, Reginald Edward Dyer could speak Hindustani like a native throughout his life and later mastered other Oriental languages such as Urdu and Persian. Following the custom of the Anglo-Indian, he was sent Home – in his case to County Cork in Ireland – to be educated at the age of eleven, then entered the Royal Military College in Sandhurst and joined the British Army in 1885. His first service was in Ireland: he helped subdue the 'fractions' which were carrying on the discussion of Home Rule 'with rivets, brickbats, and guns',[2] which reminds us of the row in the Silver Street between the English and the Irish in which Mulvaney became involved.[3] He first served in Burma, as Mulvaney did, and then transferred to the army in India. He fought the Black Mountain Expedition, the war described by Mulvaney in 'With The Main Guard'. He converted himself into a Sikh, following the example of John Nicholson, the Irish hero of the Mutiny. Dyer was, just like Kim, the friend of all the world, easily making friends and allies with various different people in India, due to 'his knowledge of their language and their customs, and a certain turn of humour which they found irresistible' and above all there was, according to one of his Indian officers, something 'between the eyes', 'which makes [them] all love him'.[4]

The Amritsar Massacre is a significant moment in Indian history in which the Irish in India showed a firm determination to save the British Raj. On April 13th, 1919, Dyer gave an order to fire at an unarmed crowd of Indians at Jalluanwala Bagh in Amritsar, killing, according to the official record, 379 people and injuring about 1,200. It was intended to put a stop to the unrest which had been lately happening near Amritsar, during which several Europeans were killed and a female English doctor was beaten up by the Indians, and which was, to the eyes of Europeans, potentially the beginning of another Indian Mutiny. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, an Irishman with a Catholic background, who was governor of Punjab at that time, immediately approved the action of General Dyer. Edward Carson, the Unionist leader, defended Dyer in the House of Commons, arguing that General Dyer tried to prevent

'the conspiracy to drive the British out of India ... developing into revolution'.[5] Carson also stated that 'I am very proud of him as an Irishman'.[6] To these Irishmen, saving the Raj was equal to maintaining Ireland under the Union.

Would Kim and Mulvaney have made the same decision as General Dyer, if placed under the same circumstance? Probably yes, for their creator, Kipling, had a strong sympathy towards General Dyer's action. Kiping was one of those who sent a wreath when Dyer died in 1927, 'with a card which read "He did his duty as he saw it"'.[7] His friend Rider Haggard recorded in his diary on December 4, 1919 that 'Kipling believes ... that the worst thing that is happening to us as an Empire is what he calls "the handing over of India"'. [8] In January, 1922, Haggard also wrote that '[Kipling] takes a most despondent view of the position in Ireland, Egypt and India, and even went so far as to say that it looks as though the Empire were going to fall to pieces'.[9] In this respect, Kipling's *The Irish Guards in the Great War* (1923) was his homage to the Irish military tradition which had fought for the solidarity of the Empire, as well as in honour of the memory of his only son John, who served in the Irish Guards and was killed in his first action at the battle of Loos in 1915: Kipling was to the end the historian of those now forgotten Irish who were loyal to the Empire.[10] Ironically, though, it was Kipling's Indian connection which eventually brought John's death in the Irish regiment. John was first rejected as a soldier due to his poor sight, but his father nevertheless secured a position in the Irish Guards through his old friend and hero Lord Roberts whom he first met in India.

In this thesis, I examined the implication of Kipling's representation of the Irish in India. The representation of the 'real' Irish was at stake in Kiping's work. Within the imperial context, being Irish *must* go together with being a loyal member of the Empire. The reality, however, only allowed one place in which Kipling could represent his characters both as loyal and Irish: India. It was a place where the Irish could be represented safely, without mirroring the fact that many Irish people were forced to emigrate due to England's 'misgovernment'. It was also a place where the Irish people could fully enjoy the fruits of British imperialism as white Sahibs. Only from India can Kipling let Mulvaney's loyal Irish voice be heard, refuting the subversive Fenian voices which claimed to be authentically Irish. The combination of the Irish and the Indian setting itself functioned as a powerful discourse which, just like the Great Exhibition in 1851, showed far-away colonies side by side and knitted them into one imperial context. The representation of the imperial unity is

consummated in *Kim* in which various elements of the Empire are seen together and freely traverse without being constricted by the subversive colonial ground.

In this thesis, I contrasted these representations of the Empire with the Irish and Indian nationalist discourses which challenged them. By drawing analogies with each other, Irish and Indian nationalists represented themselves as the oppressed who were suffering from the common fate of being ruled and exploited by England. If the imperial discourses were best described by the image of the exhibition, the anti-imperial analogies can be likened to dynamite. The Indo-Irish association, originally the most valuable asset of the Empire, was now employed to undermine the imperial unity, just as dynamite, which facilitated the expansion of British rule, was used to blow up the imperial network. The Indo-Irish association can be also likened to famines, and was in fact made through the famines, which illustrated England's incapability of saving her imperial subjects. The representation of England as a prosperous Home was possible only through suppressing the awareness of recurrent famines and dynamite outrages in India and Ireland.

What struck me most while examining these two types of Indo-Irish associations was the way in which imperial and nationalist discourses, despite drawing on the same images and figures, always came up with very different stories. The service of the Irish soldiers in the British army was subject to opposite interpretations by imperialists and by Irish nationalists. While Nightingale embodied the myth of 'the Lady with the Lamp' by suppressing the presence of the Irish nuns in the Crimean War, 'the Great Hunger', established during the same period, excluded the image of benign Englishmen offering help for Irish distress. It was as though they did not want to see each other's logic, for it may have undermined their national identities formed against each other. What is more, these competing images often took the form of a contest between Ireland and England. The Irish voice was regarded as a threat to English supremacy, while the voice of India was easily dismissed and was seen as needing to be represented, despite India being used as an imperial stage by imperialists and reached out to as a suffering comrade by Irish nationalists. The Indian voice became threatening only after it bore resemblance to the English or Irish voice through westernisation and its identification with Ireland.

Throughout this thesis, I paid special attention to Kipling's characters' names. It is not only because focusing on the names helped me to recognise the Irish motifs hidden in his texts: in the British Empire where everybody proudly called himself English and was a Sahib,

the Irish names are one of the few clues which allow us to discern Irish characters. Kipling is a very economical writer – economical in the sense that he omits to explain the social and cultural contexts at length. Instead, he uses the proper names to indicate the outside discourses with which his stories resonate. The names are often coded and their significance in the stories can be understood only by those who are aware of the contexts which they represent. We may say that the names in his condensed texts are the locus in which what Freud would call the 'dream-work' is performed. If the conflicts and desires repressed in the unconscious have to be translated into the more palatable form of a dream to become manifest in the conscious, Kipling's texts are – just as any other literary texts are – dreams, where conflicting ideologies of the day converge and are changed into a form which his mind can accept. Kipling's use of Irish names in the Indian setting is a materialisation of his imperial dream in which both India and Ireland unite together to sustain the Empire. As the hegemony of the British Empire waned and the distance between his dream and the reality widened, his use of names had to perform the more difficult task of justifying and perpetuating his dream, forging connections where there were none, and using the logic of language, such as metaphor and metonymy. Kipling's stories became more and more fragmented and enigmatic as time went by. The narrator is more at the mercy of the hidden names which hold the keys to the hopelessly tangled contexts, and conversely the misquotes and misspellings in the stories are looking in vain for a master who can correct them and put them back into their proper contexts– But that is another story.

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[1] Ian Colvin, *The Life of General Dyer* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1929).
[2] Colvin, 12.
[3] As for Mulvaney's involvement in a row in the 'Silver Street', see Chapter 3.
[4] Colvin, 126.
[5] Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 131, House of Commons, 8 July 1920, 1718.
[6] Hansard, 8 July 1920, 1716.
[7] Arthur Swinson, *Six Minutes to Sunset: The Story of General Dyer and the Amritsar Affair* (London: Peter Davies, 1964), 209.
[8] Morton Cohen, ed. *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship* (London: Hutchinson & CO, 1965), 111.
[9] Cohen, 117-8.
[10] Rudyard Kipling, *The Irish Guards in the Great War*, edited and complied from their diaries and papers by Rudyard Kipling with a foreword by George Webb, 2 vols (Staplehurst, Kent : Spellmount, 1997).

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