5

Rudyard Kipling
Kim

In the previous three chapters of this thesis I have examined the manner in which four key nineteenth-century novels for boys — *Last of the Mohicans, Treasure Island, Tom Sawyer,* and *Huckleberry Finn* — position their male protagonists' adventures in 'frontier' locations, a set of liminal spaces, the better to fashion authentic images of masculine heroism and male bonding. I have shown that these novels are deeply intertextual insofar as they draw on a wide range of popular and literary representations of male adventurers that range from Defoe to Scott, and from the many nineteenth-century novels for boys that took inspiration from them. I have also indicated the manifold ways in which these novels can be seen as an intertextual series, at least insofar as they echo and rework elements from those earlier in the series. Although such novels allude to a wide range of literature, which include the Bible, Greco-Roman classical literature, and the European tradition, I have predominantly referenced English language texts in order to argue that they supply crucial images of 'empire boys' for my chosen texts.[1] These novels are shaped by, and help shape perceptions of, British and American frontier colonialism as Britain extended its global empire and America pursued its manifest destiny. Accordingly, I have argued that nineteenth-century British and Anglo-

[1] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: HarperCollins, 1991), *passim*. See also Patrick Dunae, 'Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914', *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1980), pp. 105-158.

American novels for boys exist in a special relationship fashioned by transatlantic intertextuality. This special intertextual relationship is part of what I have called the 'Anglosphere', which for the purpose of this thesis I have restricted to the English language, literature, and culture of the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

In this final chapter, I shall develop a close reading of Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901),[2] which is perhaps the *locus classicus* of the literary Raj. This work conforms to the series of novels I have previously examined, even though it would appear in some ways to challenge my argument. *Kim* locates its boy hero on the North-West Frontier of the Raj, and reiterates the trope of male bonding seen in the earlier novels, but the fact that it is written by an Anglo-Indian author, is set mainly in Punjab, and engages with a range of Asian languages and Englishes would appear to conflict with what I have argued is the essential whiteness of the Anglospheric boy's own adventure story. In what follows, however, I shall try to show that Kim correlates neatly with the series of male heroes — Hawkeye, Jim Hawkins, Tom Sawyer, and Huckleberry Finn — of the earlier novels, and that his relationship with Teshoo Lama is modelled on those between Hawkeye and Chingachgook, between Hawkins and Long John Silver, between Tom and Huck, and between Huck and Jim. In each case, the 'English' or white male hero is paired with a male character, who is in some way 'other', and who challenges and transforms the hero's character or outlook. These unlikely couples embark on a quest journey that contributes to the hero's personal development, consequently modifying his Anglospheric assumptions. These relationships influence each other intertextually — we will later see that Kim's relationship with Teshoo Lama alludes in various ways to Huck's with Jim — but they also have common intertextual sources, especially in Crusoe's relationship with Friday in *Robinson Crusoe*, which is the *Urtext* of the whole series, and also in several of Scott's novels. Now, though Kim is indeed a maroon of sorts, he does to some extent differ from Robinson

[2] Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (London: Penguin, 1987), *passim*.

Crusoe, for his sense of Self is predicated neither on the Protestant faith nor on the political theory of possessive individualism. Yet, the crucial question about *Kim* is whether it simply endorses and justifies the British Raj, thereby expanding the range of Anglospheric boy's fiction without challenging its boy hero's, or its British boy readers', Anglocentric belief system, or whether it presents an authentic Indian otherness that effectively challenges both the rationale of the Anglosphere, and the boy's fiction that assists in sustaining the legitimacy of the imperial project.[3]

George Moore, in an early review of *Kim*, opined that Kipling 'borrows from no man, and it is always a pleasure to read…unborrowed literature.'[4] However, as we will see, Moore's assertion does not bear examination. Kipling borrowed, or perhaps took inspiration, from a number of his literary forebears in the course of writing *Kim*. As has been evidenced in previous chapters, novels suitable for naïve *and* sophisticated readers are neither a new genre nor a limited one. However, Kipling was a past master in the elision of innocence and experience, which assisted him in attracting a wide readership.[5]

Kim is to some extent an extended prose version of Kipling's poem, 'The Native- Born' (1894), which is dedicated to a pukka sahib whose allegiance to dear old Blighty *and* Mother India engenders inner conflict.[6] Identity and allegiance are equivocated in *Kim*, though Kipling observes, and conserves, British identity in the midst of cultural confusion. The ambiguity in which *Kim* is couched is a reflection of its author's own ambiguous imperial role. He was an unabashed jingo most certainly, but a relatively enlightened one, though this is a judgement that would not sit well with some literary critics. As we will see once again, the boy's own

[3] V. G. Kiernan, 'India', in *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes to Other Cultures in the Imperial Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 33-78.
[4] George Moore, 'George Moore on Kipling and Loti', *Pall Mall Magazine*, 33 (1904), pp. 374-379 (p. 374).
[5] René Wellek, 'The New Criticism: Pro and Contra', *Critical Inquiry*, 4 (1978), pp. 611-624.
[6] Kipling, 'The Native-Born', in *The Complete Verse* (London: Kyle Cathie, 2006), p. 153.

story can be at once profound and superficial, depending on who is reading it, and how it is being read. Moreover, I shall show the markers in *Kim* that allow the sophisticated reader to understand it as a boy's own story, despite the fact that it contains many intertextual references to literature aimed at an adult readership.

Kim could be viewed as simply one of Kipling's Darwinian *Just So Stories* (1902); an explication of how Kim became who he is, living 'a life wild as that of the *Arabian Nights*'.[7] Indeed, perhaps Kim's life is stranger than any tale ever told by Harun al-Rashid himself. *Kim* provides a clear view of the British imperial ethos at work in the literary sphere. India occupies a unique place in the literary imagination of the Anglosphere. For example, in the first ten years of the Booker Prize no fewer than four of the winning novels, J. G. Farrell's *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), Ruth Prawer Jhabvala's *Heat and Dust* (1975), Paul Scott's *Staying On* (1977), and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), were set in India.

The history of the British Raj has provided the inspiration and setting for a significant number of Anglo-Indian novels. However, the nineteenth-century India presented in *Kim* is perhaps more akin to Prospero's magic island, an oneiric domain to be understood as much in psychoanalytic as in geographical terms, than the ethnic maelstrom that it actually was, and indeed still is.[8] The ethnic framework around which Kim is constructed is perforce explicit, for such explicitness is indispensable to the narrative's legitimacy.

Kim is the boy his creator, Rudyard Kipling, would have perhaps wanted to be — the man who would be Kim — for he appears to be part Oliver Twist and part Jack Dawkins. Innocence and experience, virtue and vice, are all bound together in a single entity.[9] Moreover,

[7] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[8] Lewis D. Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination: Magic and Myth in Kipling's India* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), *passim*.
[9] Andrew Hagiioannu, *The Man Who Would be Kipling: The Colonial Fiction and the Frontiers of Exile* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2003), p. 121.

consciousness of the intertextual element is key to an understanding of *Kim*. I shall show once again that the boy's own story is a guide to the nineteenth-century literary Anglosphere, and a school for a bookish boy. *Kim* is a picaresque novel, an adventure novel, a spy novel, but above all a popular novel. The reasons for its popularity will be explained in the following.

Playing the Game

According to Kipling, East and West are parallel worlds that never meet.[10] 'Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet'.[11] Nevertheless, Kimball O'Hara, better known by the diminutive form, Kim, was born to play the Great Game.[12] Indeed, no phrase more concisely characterised the ethos of the nineteenth-century British education system than play the game. Kimball is an unusual given name; it derives from an ancient British name for leader.[13] Kipling's choice of such a forename adumbrates the very nature of Kim, who adopts a leading role despite his youth. The amalgam of adventure and allegory makes it problematic to ascertain the readership at which Kipling aimed his story of a boy's spiritual education. However, the epithet of boy's own story is surely apposite, for his youthful hero, the nature of his perilous experiences, and his *equipoise* in the face of them, offer an evident accessibility to the boy's own story reader.[14] Kim is a special boy, possessed of special talents, who is able to confound adults. Yet, as we will see, Kim is much more than a boy's own story.

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[10] Alessandro Vescovi, 'Beyond East and West: The Meaning and Significance of Kim's Great Game', *Other Modernities*, 11 (2014), pp. 10-20.
[11] Kipling, 'The Ballad of East and West' (1889), in *The Complete Verse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189 (p. 187).
[12] Captain Arthur Conolly, who was, like Kim, of Irish origin, is thought to have coined this phrase in his *Narrative of an Overland Journey to the North of India* (1838). 'The Great Game' was the term used to describe a political and diplomatic confrontation that pertained for most of the nineteenth century between Great Britain and Russia over Afghanistan and contiguous territories. See Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 1990), pp. 1-2. John Masters, another Anglo-Indian author, revisited this theme of youthful Briton and faithful native companion engaged in derring-do on the North-West Frontier in his novel, *The Lotus and the Wind* (1953).
[13] John MacBratney, *Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space: Rudyard Kipling's Fiction of the Native Born* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002), p. 105.
[14] Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scout Movement, certainly believed *Kim* to be inspirational reading for British boys. *Kim* is a significant component of Baden-Powell's first camp fire yarn. See *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (1908) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 14-19.

Kipling was by no means the first to author a story about a British orphan nurtured by Indians. There was a burgeoning readership throughout the Anglosphere for literary works set on the Indian subcontinent. An Australian jurisprudent and orientalist, John Lang, wrote a short story on this theme, 'Who was the Child', that appeared in a collection titled *Wanderings in India* (1859). A Canadian author and journalist, Sara Jeannette Duncan, wrote a short novel aimed at a juvenile readership, *The Story of Sonny Sahib* (1894), which tells of the orphaned son of a British soldier being raised by Indians. In addition, a prolific Anglo-American writer, Francis Marion Crawford, wrote *Mr. Isaacs: A Tale of Modern India* (1882), which is based on the character of a jewel merchant in Simla. Isaacs was to serve as a model for Lurgan Sahib.[15] As we will see, Kipling placed himself in an Anglospheric imperialist literary tradition by borrowing extensively from his numerous precursors.

However, *Kim* may have been read differently in the United States than it was in the United Kingdom. Anglo-Indians were a vulnerable minority, but Anglo-Americans were a hegemonic majority, and such profound demographic differences could colour readers' perceptions. Kipling had lived in America, and was conscious of the differences, in addition to the similarities, to be found in Anglospheric literary culture. There was certainly a market for his brand of jingoism in the United States. Kipling stated in a poem he addressed to Anglo-Americans, 'The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands' (1899), that they should 'Take up the White Man's burden', and pursue an expansionist policy.[16] American readers of *Kim* could compare the British occupation of India with the American occupation of the Philippine Islands, and draw their own conclusions.

[15] Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Kipling and 'Orientalism'* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1986), pp. 24-26.
[16] Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands', in *The Complete Verse, op. cit.*, pp. 257-258.

Kim has come to be labelled by some as children's literature. However, this study will contend that *Kim* challenges the critical assumptions that operate around children's literature, though this is not to imply that it is all things to all readers. It is certainly a matter of much debate whether *Kim* is aimed at child or adult readers. F. J. Harvey Darton has claimed that *Kim* is a book 'for all ages', and has 'a more mature wisdom' than other books so classified.[17] However, one component that would appear to resist *Kim* being definitively classified as a children's book is the complexity of its language, though the historiographical element is another.[18] On the subject of the latter, Zohreh T. Sullivan has argued that:

> What appears to be a boy's adventure story is also a complex fantasy of idealised imperialism and colonialism, and the friendship between Kim and Teshoo Lama is Kipling's fable of the ideal relationship between the boyish Englishman and the Indian — eternally passive, unworldly, and childlike.[19]

Yet, the Indians who Kipling writes about in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888) are not passive, unworldly, or childlike. Moreover, this is not an accurate description of the Indian characters in *Kim*, some of whom seem to play the imperial system with aplomb. The sole unworldly character in *Kim* is Teshoo Lama, and he is Tibetan. Nevertheless, Kipling does present a rose-tinted view of the relationship between Anglo-Indians and those whom they ruled.[20]

Edward Saïd has suggested that 'If one were to read *Kim* as a boy's adventure story, or as a rich and lovingly detailed panorama of Indian life, one would not be reading the novel that Kipling in fact wrote.'[21] Saïd argues that the boy's adventure story should not stray into the realm of the political, for if it does it will be at the cost of its genre designation. There is an

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[17] F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1999), p. 306.
[18] Sue Walsh, 'On Children's Books and "Mature" Stories', in *Kipling's Children's Literature: Language, Identity, and Constructions of Childhood* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), pp.1-30.
[19] Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 150.
[20] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), *passim*.
[21] Edward Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 180.

assumption here that a boy's own story cannot legitimately contain any form of political analysis.[22] However, Kipling was not the only author Saïd misinterpreted in his critique of Orientalist literature.[23] Yet, Saïd was entirely correct when he remarked of *Kim* that 'although it can be read with enjoyment by adolescents it can also be read with respect and fascination both by the general reader and the critic alike.'[24] In common with the other novels examined in this thesis, it is the adult literature subsumed in the text of a so-called boy's adventure story that appends the crossover label. On reading *Kim* one cannot help but note this intermittent slippage between genres.

Language

It has been argued that the question of language is inextricably entwined with the attribution of genre to *Kim*. For example, M. Daphne Kutzer has argued that 'Despite its adolescent hero, the assignment of *Kim* to the category of children's literature is problematic, given its complexities of language'.[25] Despite these alleged linguistic difficulties, Judith A. Plotz views *Kim* as 'coded for children', even though it is seen to pose substantial difficulties 'for young readers (and those not so young)'.[26] Indeed, it is the complexity-*cum*-simplicity of Kipling's language in *Kim* that makes, but perhaps also masks, the subtext of boyishness. David H. Stewart has

[22] S. P. Mohanty reads *Kim* very differently, and suggests that 'the separate world of childhood registers and refracts crucial political anxieties of imperial Britain'. See 'Kipling's Children and the Colour Line', *Race and Class*, 31 (1989), pp. 21-40 (p. 21).
[23] Daniel Martin Varisco has trenchantly criticised Saïd's misinterpretation of Orientalist literature. See *Reading Orientalism: Saïd and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), *passim*. In a similar vein, see Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents* (Woodstock, New York: Overlook Press, 2006), *passim*. Irwin mounts a crushing refutation of Saïd. Ibn Warraq also takes issue with Saïd's prejudicial views in his masterful exegesis, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Saïd's Orientalism* (New York: Prometheus, 2007), *passim*. Nineteenth-century Orientalists were not blinkered apologists for European imperialism; they were motivated by a quest for, and love of, esoteric knowledge.
[24] Saïd, 'Introduction', in Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, (London: Penguin, 1987), pp. 7-46 (p. 15).
[25] M. Daphne Kutzer, 'Kipling's Rules of the Game', in *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (London: Garland, 2000), pp. 13-46 (p.17).
[26] Judith A. Plotz, 'The Empire of Youth: Crossing and Double-Crossing Cultural Barriers in Kipling's *Kim*', in *Children's Literature*, ed. by Judith A. Plotz, Francelia Butler, and Barbara Rosen (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), pp.111-131 (p.125).

remarked that the charm of these linguistic ambiguities 'speak to us from an oral/aural world not only of nineteenth-century Anglo-India, but of childhood.'[27] Lionel Trilling makes a connection of a similar nature, albeit in a dissimilar form: 'Kipling belongs to our past, he belongs there very firmly, fixed deep in childhood feeling.'[28] Perhaps the reason it is fixed so deeply is due to a mastery of language that enables Kipling to crisscross boundaries of every imaginable kind, including that between a sophisticated and a naïve readership, and *that* is the essence of the crossover novel. Indeed, on close reading we can see that for literature to appeal to a dual readership it must contain a veiled complexity, and that complexity must be veiled in simplicity.

In Kipling criticism, the Indian elements in the narrative discourse of *Kim* are often understood as both politically and aesthetically dubious. Bart Moore-Gilbert deplores Kipling's articulation of native voices, which he sees as designed to produce an impression of widespread support for imperialism among the ordinary people of India.[29] Correspondingly, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues that Kipling's use of the vernacular produces a demeaning kind of pidgin that violates and appropriates the subordinate culture.[30] However, the Indian characters should not be expected to speak Oxford English. Indeed, if they had, Spivak would doubtless have complained about that, too. The use of English as a *lingua franca* has never posed a threat to the indigenous languages of the Indian subcontinent.[31]

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[27] David H. Stewart, 'Orality in Kipling's Kim', *Journal of Narrative Technique*, 13 (1983), pp. 47-57 (p. 54).
[28] Lionel Trilling, 'Kipling' (1943), in *Kipling and the Critics*, ed. by Elliot L. Gilbert (London: Owen, 1966), pp. 89-98 (p. 89).
[29] Bart Moore-Gilbert, 'The Bhabhal of Tongues: Reading Kipling, Reading Bhabha', in *Writing India, 1757-1990: The Literature of British India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 111-138 (p. 131).
[30] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 66-111.
[31] Rumina Sethi, 'The Nativization of English', in *Myths of the Nation: National Identity and Literary Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-43. See also Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Definitive Glossary of British India* (1886) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), *passim*.

On the other hand, Kaori Nagai has perceptively noted that in Kipling's short story, 'The Three Musketeers' (1887), 'the reader is asked to distinguish one voice from another'.[32] Indeed, as Kipling put it, 'You must pick out the speakers as best you can.'[33] Nagai contends that this 'is Kipling's call to his fellow English speakers to join in the detective work of hearing different voices and accents'.[34] This exegesis of Kipling's linguistic diversity would seem to parallel Twain's 'Explanatory' preface to *Huckleberry Finn*:

> In this book a number of dialects are used, to wit: the Missouri negro dialect; the most extreme form of the backwoods South-Western dialect; the ordinary 'Pike County' dialect; and four modified varieties of this last. The shadings have not been done in a haphazard fashion, or by guess-work; but painstakingly, and with the trustworthy guidance and support of personal familiarity with these several forms of speech. I make this explanation for the reason that without it many readers would suppose that all these characters were trying to talk alike and not succeeding.[35]

This is a direction to Twain's readers that the language in *Huckleberry Finn* is a reasonably accurate reproduction in print of the speech patterns in use by the kind of people described, though commercial considerations dictated that the literary mode of expression be accessible to the wider Anglosphere. Although it has been conjectured that this preface is a practical joke, I suggest that it is a revealing account of Twain's use of heteroglossia that applies equally well to Kipling's *Kim*.[36] Twain and Kipling strove for an acceptable degree of verisimilitude in their various characters' discourse, while remaining accessible to a general readership. It is a difficult balancing act, and all the more so when the boundary lines between genres are being continually crossed. *Kim* and *Huckleberry Finn* successfully conflate so-called children's literature and adult literature by a use of language that seeks not so much to mimic as to differentiate. The use of dialogue in a novel is multifunctional, though it is the main used to

[32] Kaori Nagai, *Empire of Analogies: Kipling, India, and Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2006), p. 54.
[33] Rudyard Kipling, 'The Three Musketeers', in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 53-58 (p. 55).
[34] Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[35] Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. unnumbered.
[36] David Carkeet, 'The Dialects in *Huckleberry Finn*', *American Literature*, 51 (1959), pp. 315-332.

present and develop a character.[37] However, the characteristics of speech may be said to work in two directions, either identifying the character with a distinguishable social or regional or ethnic group, or perhaps distinguishing an individual from his or her peers. Hence, it can be seen that there is an obligatory element of linguistic dissonance in *Kim*.[38] However, Kim's knowledge of the English language matters only insofar as he is white.[39]

Karin Lesnik-Oberstein has observed that, 'Fantasy as a concept is, in the Western world, strongly linked to the idea of childhood, and to books classified as having been written for children'.[40] The teenaged Kim's role as a multilingual espionage agent on the borders of an empire upon which the sun never sets is most certainly a fantasy, but one based firmly on political reality. The British intelligence services have never recruited boys of school age and placed them in life-threatening situations, though the idea that such a scenario is realistic doubtless has an appeal to the readers of boy's own stories. However, the Great Game was based on reality, and it is this slippage between the realistic and the romantic that creates the conflation of genre that appeals to a wide readership.

Kim is a boy hero who never grows up, but who nevertheless exhibits manly traits.[41] He reaches adolescence, and then we learn no more of him. Indeed, Kipling may have conceived of him as a figure who exemplifies unending youth, though the publication of *Kim* antedates that of J. M. Barrie's play, *Peter Pan, or The Boy Who Wouldn't Grow Up* (1904).[42]

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[37] Peter Womack, *Dialogue* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p. 42.
[38] Jyotsna G. Singh, Shakespeare and the "civilising mission", in *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 120-152.
[39] Homi K. Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 121-132, (p. 128).
[40] Karin Lesnik-Oberstein, 'Fantasy, Childhood, and Literature: In Pursuit of Wonderlands', in *Writing and Fantasy*, ed. by Ceri Sullivan and Barbara White (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 197-206, (p. 197).
[41] Kelly Boyd, "Manhood Achieved', Imperialism, Racism, And Manliness', in *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 123-152.
[42] J. M. Barrie's play, *Peter Pan* (1904), contains echoes of many children's works. The famous tale of the boy who would not, or perhaps could not, grow up is the only major children's story to have been written originally for the theatre. Barrie later revised and expanded the play's storyline as a novel, which was published as *Peter and Wendy* (1911).

As we will see, *Kim* is a complex tale that is recounted in a deceptively simple style. It is a work of quest and jingoism, but it is also a *voyage imaginaire* after the fashion of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), and Voltaire's *Candide, ou l'Optimisme* (1759).

Kim as Proteus

The profundity of *Kim* emerges from the impish irreverence shown for the conventions of the genre, for it can be seen to challenge the reader to view the imperial project from the perspective of subject peoples, rather than that of the imperialist. For example, Kipling makes clear that Rissaldar Sahib, a loyal sepoy at the time of the Rebellion of 1857, is proud of his military service with the forces of the Raj: 'It was an old, withered man, who had served the Government in the days of the Mutiny as a native officer in a newly raised cavalry regiment. The Government had given him a good holding in the village.'[43] The elderly sepoy clearly identifies with the Raj, and believes that he has reason to be in its debt. Kipling provides no evidence that the other Punjabi characters are hostile toward the Raj, though absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Indeed, this is precisely Saïd's point, and why he criticises Kipling's political stance as expressed in *Kim*, for he represents India as willingly subservient, apart from a handful of inexplicable malcontents.

The reader can, through Kim, experience what it is like to go undergo radical cultural transformation. Kim's whiteness would allow contemporary readers to identify and empathise with him, only to discover their own selves aligned with an identity that is utterly alien to their own.[44] Kipling was without question an ethnic activist, and yet he can be seen in *Kim* to subtly

[43] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 94.
[44] Tim Christensen, 'The Unbearable Whiteness of Being: Misrecognition, Pleasure, and White Identity in Kipling's *Kim*', *College Literature*, 2 (2012), pp. 9-30 (p. 11).

deconstruct the assumed superiority of the Anglospheric identity by subjecting it to the social pressures experienced by the indigenes of the Indian subcontinent. *Kim* contains a sort of reverse colonial narrative, in which indigenous peoples assume the role of cultural imperialists, and Kim becomes their subject. Teshoo Lama and Mahbub Ali discuss the course that Kim should take in life. They both believe that Kim should follow their guidance. He spends a great part of the novel mirroring his two mentors, neither of whom are Punjabi.[45] Teshoo Lama and Mahbub Ali are outsiders, too, but that is no matter. They have no need to teach Kim Punjabi ways, for he is already expert in them. Instead, they have rather to teach him essential life skills. Kipling portrays two worlds existing alongside one another, but with neither really understanding the other, or indeed the Other.[46]

The Great Game may suggest the active life as opposed to the reflective life.[47] It is certainly the case that Kipling plays on the pun of game playing,[48] for Kim is a child and adolescent in the novel, and he plays the game, and *is* game. Men can behave like boys, and *vice versa*, of course. Sophisticated and naïve readers could equally identify with such a sentiment. Kim's dual loyalties and itinerant lifestyle prepare him for his role of intelligence agent.[49] He joins with Teshoo Lama on parallel quests: the holy man's search for the River of the Arrow, and his own search for the meaning of his foster-mother's prophecy, which is the clue to his lineage. Kim wears an amulet that hangs from his neck, a talisman of sahibness that contains documentation that is proof of his identity. The red bull in a green field is the object of his quest.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 333-336.
[46] Hugh Brogan, 'Rudyard Kipling on America', *Journal of American Studies*, 7 (1973), pp. 31-46 (p. 33).
[47] Ralph J. Crane, 'The Period of the Great Game', in *Inventing India: A History of India in English-Language Fiction* (London: MacMillan, 1992), pp. 55-74.
[48] Richard Cronin discusses the ludic aspects of *Kim* in 'The Indian English Novel: *Kim* and *Midnight's Children*', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 33 (1987), pp. 201-213.
[49] Martin J. Bayly, *Taming the Imperial Imagination: Colonial Knowledge, International Relations, and the Anglo-Afghan Encounter, 1808-1878* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 10.

Kipling would appear to imply that it is a peculiar Anglo-Saxon gift to be able to imitate convincingly every other ethnicity. (John Buchan and A. E. W. Mason were certainly of a similar mind.) Kim has been deracinated, and yet the bond with those of his own blood remains unbroken. Yet, he is unable to detach himself from the socio-cultural influences that formed him in his early years. Kim may look like one of the dark-skinned multitude, but he remains British to the backbone; a pukka sahib, albeit attired in Punjabi mufti. Kim, for all his tender years, is very much Kipling's white man, even though he is not 'a genuine imported sahib from England'.[50]

Kipling's verse frequently reflected contemporary colloquial speech, and the phrase 'a white man' did not perforce indicate a person of Northern European ethnicity, for it did have a secondary symbolic meaning of a man who exhibits the moral standards promulgated by influential persons in Western society.[51] In 'Gunga Din' (1892), Kipling reports a comment by a British soldier to the effect that a certain bhishti, or water-carrier, was 'the finest man I knew'. Tommy Atkins believed this particular individual to be a decent chap. 'An' for all 'is dirty 'ide/'E was white, clear white, inside.'[52] White here is presumably held to be synonymous with good character. In a similar manner, Huck speaks admiringly of Jim when he declares 'I knowed he was white inside'.[53] Presumably, Huck praises Jim in the highest terms of which he is capable. Twain perhaps highlights the irony of this pronouncement by reinforcing a prevalent supposition of the age, which is that whites are the only legitimate arbiters of rectitude. Kipling

[50] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 200. Sahib derives from the Arabic for friend or companion. It is not perforce coextensive with either European or British, though in Kim it is usually employed in this manner. However, sahib is also used in *Kim* when a native constable addresses a veteran sepoy, Rissaldar Sahib. See Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 170.
[51] Urbashi Barat, 'White Man's Burden: Whiteness in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* and Rabindranath Tagore's *Gora*', in *Transnational Whiteness Matters*, ed. by Aileen Moreton-Robinson, Maryrose Casey, and Fiona Nicoll (Plymouth, Devon: Lexington, 2008), p. 99-116 (p. 100). Tagore's novel, *Gora* (1910), written partly as a response to Kipling's *Kim*, has as its eponymous protagonist an Irish orphan boy, Gora, who is brought up by a Bengali family.
[52] Kipling, 'Gunga Din', in *The Complete Verse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-325 (p. 324).
[53] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 349.

and Twain pandered to the prejudices of their readers, albeit in markedly different ways. As we will see, Kipling writes of the blackness at the heart of India, and yet whiteness is demonstrably tacked to the nib of his pen.

Kim is a white child who is sufficiently dark to be mistaken for a native of Punjab, but *his* character is never brought into question.[54] He is nature described and nurture circumscribed; Anglo-Irish defined and Punjabi redefined. Indeed, like Heraclitus' river whose waters are never stepped into twice, Kim's essence remains unchanged even as it changes; the same even though not the same. Kim is a hybrid boy, a peripatetic proteus, who despite his alien identity has no need to pretend to be someone he is not.[55] He is no mere master of disguise, but rather a master of identity.[56]

Identity

The greater part of the story takes place in Punjab, and Kim, in his persona of Punjabi waif-*cum*-mendicant, would appear somewhat less alien than Teshoo Lama. Buddhists are, and were in the nineteenth century, an insignificant minority in Punjab. Kim's symbiotic friendship with his spiritual guide, Teshoo Lama, which translates into English as Learned One, would appear to mirror the essential nature of the Raj. Teshoo Lama is from a Tibetan red-hat monastery, Tso-chen, whereas yellow-hat Buddhists were much more common in India. Kim and Teshoo Lama are both outsiders.[57] Kim, as an agent of the British Raj, conceals himself in full view, unlike the adventurer, Richard Burton, for example, who posed as a wandering dervish to gain entrance to the Tomb of the Prophet at Medina in 1853. Kim infiltrates the Punjabi community

[54] Jonathan David Caverley, *The Development of Character: The Gentleman Spies of Erskine Childers and John Buchan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 3.
[55] Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 211.
[56] John MacBratney, *Imperial Subjects, Imperial Space: Rudyard Kipling's Fiction of the Native Born*, op. cit., p. 44.
[57] Peter Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim: In Search of Kipling's Great Game* (London: John Murray, 1996), pp. 35-42.

by actually becoming a member of it.[58] Kim does not travel incognito. Burton goes native, but Kim simply *is* native. In the manner of the *agents provocateurs* in G. K. Chesterton's *The Man Who Was Thursday* (1908), who concealed their anarchist conspiracies by plotting them openly in public places, Kim journeys with the Teshoo Lama, a Tibetan, one of those individuals whom Kipling describes as 'not inconspicuous persons'.[59] Kim is so firmly embedded in Punjabi society that he has no reason to fear being unmasked, for he wears none.[60]

The literary concept of a hero with a secret identity was perhaps established by *Kim*, though Emma Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1905) certainly reinforced it. Edmund Wilson, in his reading of *Kim* in *The Wound and the Bow* (1947), comments:

> What the reader tends to expect is that Kim will come eventually to realise that he is delivering into bondage to the British invaders those whom he has always considered his own people, and that a struggle between allegiances will result…We have been shown two entirely different worlds existing side by side, with neither really understanding the other, and we have watched the oscillations of Kim, as he passes to and fro between them. But the parallel lines never meet; the alternating attractions felt by Kim never give rise to a true struggle.[61]

However, Noel Annan has responded to this by arguing that Kipling perceived no conflict of interest. Kim's nascent career as an undercover officer of the colonial administration is not at variance with his indigenous lifestyle, for the Anglo-Indian security apparatus, far from posing

[58] Edward Rice, *Captain Sir Richard Francis Burton: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo, 2001), p. 191. Kim would appear to be a juvenile version of Sir Richard Francis Burton, who was the son of an Irish Colonel. He went native in India, and became fluent in a number of Indian languages. Burton, in addition to being an adventurer and an intelligence agent, was also a man of letters. In his *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (1855), a journey that was taken at the behest of the Royal Geographical Society, he writes a great deal about 'a Meccan boy, Mohammed al-Basyuni' whom he met and befriended. Burton's juvenile companion evinces attributes that are remarkably similar to that which we see in Kim. He is orphaned, streetwise, and a loyal companion. See *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856), p. 57.
[59] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
[60] Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), p. 2.
[61] Edmund Wilson, 'The Kipling That Nobody Read', in *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 94-161 (pp. 123-124).

a threat to traditional Punjabi ways, exists to preserve those ways, albeit to the benefit of the imperial power. Annan explains:

> No doubt the future life of a young agent would have entailed confounding Indian resistance to the British, but this is an *ex post facto* judgement, and in the novel such a career is depicted as the maintenance of that minimum of order such as is necessary to prevent foreign intrigue, frontier invasions, and injustices by native princes, and to permit the joyous, noisy, pullulating mess of Indian life on the Great Trunk Road to continue.[62]

Annan would doubtless be seen by some as an apologist for imperialism, arguing that the British Raj adopted the role of India's cultural custodian, just as the white-bearded Sahib preserved the cultural artefacts of India in the Lahore Museum. This is *Pax Britannica* as the guarantor, not the enemy, of India.[63] Kim leaves the Wonder House of Lahore in possession of a new acquaintance, Teshoo Lama, to add to his collection. He has learned his lesson well, and intends to fulfil his imperial responsibility to collect and preserve. 'The lama was his trove, and he purposed to take possession.'[64] The relationship between the two very different characters of Kim and Teshoo Lama could be compared to that of Mister Pickwick and Sam Weller, at least insofar as an innocent master is protected by the wiles of a worldly assistant. However, Sam squares up with his fists when all else has failed, whereas Kim wins hearts and minds with his tongue.

Teshoo Lama is an example of a stock figure employed by a storyteller. He is a kindly and sagacious elderly man who provides guidance when it is needed, and assists his charge in keeping to the narrow path. Teshoo Lama points the way, but Kim must prove himself worthy. Such a figure recurs throughout the history of literature. There is Merlin in the Arthurian legends, Teiresias in Homer's *The Odyssey*, and Anchises in Virgil's *The Aeneid*. Shakespeare

[62] Noel Annan, 'Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas', *Victorian Studies*, 3 (1960), pp. 323-348 (p. 326).
[63] Jed Esty, *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 8.
[64] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 56.

employed such a figure in the guise of Prospero in *The Tempest* (1611), and as Vincentio, Duke of Vienna, in *Measure for Measure* (1604). C. S. Lewis created an anthropomorphised form of this archetype in Aslan, who appears as a lion in his heptalogy, *The Chronicles of Narnia* (1950-1956).

Kim comes of age, and he has learned to embrace both the spiritual life *and* the practical life. He respects the Buddhist doctrine that everyday life is an illusion, but ends by affirming that such is the only reality of which there can be direct experience:

> He felt the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without…Roads were meant to be walked upon, houses to be lived in, cattle to be driven, fields to be tilled, and men and women to be talked to. They were all real and true — solidly planted upon the feet — perfectly comprehensible.[65]

Teshoo Lama has described how outwardly opposing forces may actually be complementary, interconnected, and interdependent in the everyday world. Duality is found in many belief systems, but the embrace of this apparent contradiction is fundamental to Confucianism. Indeed, Teshoo Lama often resorts to speaking in Mandarin when under stress. Perhaps Kim does learn to find a balance between the spiritual and the everyday, but in a Western way. There is a contrast between the private life of contemplation, and the public world of conflict and action. Jeffrey Meyers notes:

> Their relationship is purely familial and emotional, for despite his extensive discipleship with the Lama, Kim learns nothing from his teacher. What the Lama calls Illusion is for Kim the only Reality. It is not, as Kim suggests, that the Lama's lesson is too profound, but that it is, according to Kipling, *racially* impossible for Kim to understand the Lama.[66]

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[66] Jeffrey Meyers, *Fiction and the Colonial Experience* (Ipswich: Boydell, 1973), p. 24.

However, though Kipling may have had an imperfect understanding of Oriental thought, a significant number of Orientalists had a very good understanding of it.[67]

The *dénouement* of the novel lies not in the words of either Kim or the narrator, but in the exchange between Kim's avuncular guardians, Mahbub Ali, the Afghan secret agent, and Teshoo Lama, the Tibetan monk, neither of whom is of Indian origin, and perhaps as a consequence they have a more objective view of the British Raj. Mahbub Ali is somewhat distrustful of Teshoo Lama's intentions, and is concerned that he may take Kim away, but Teshoo Lama calms Mahbub Ali, telling him that Kim will become a teacher after bathing in the River of the Arrow. Mahbub Ali is perturbed by this revelation, and responds that Kim has been trained to be 'a scribe of the state'. Teshoo Lama replies:

> To that end he was prepared…He aided me in my Search. I aided him in his. Just is the Wheel, O horse-seller from the North. Let him be a teacher; let him be a scribe — what matter? He will have obtained Freedom at the end. The rest is illusion.[68]

The pragmatic horse trader, who is an adherent of the Islamic faith, patently does not share the Tibetan monk's belief system, and he comments resignedly: 'No matter at all; but now I understand that the boy, sure of Paradise, can yet enter Government service, my mind is easier. I must get to my horses. It grows dark. Do not wake him.'[69] Yet, Kim is not one of their own. Kipling takes pains to present Kim as a hybrid religious figure, or rather as a character who is not contained or understood by the adherents of any religion — including Christianity.[70] Indeed, it is Kim's hybridity, albeit cultural, that makes him such a useful tool in the service of the British Raj: a Punjabi scion grafted onto a British root stock. Kim's birth certificate, as

[67] Charles Allen, *The Buddha and the Sahibs: The men who discovered India's lost religion* (London: John Murray, 2003), *passim*.
[68] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.,* p. 334.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 334.
[70] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Imperial Power in India, 1818-1940* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 25.

Mister Bennett indicates, confirms that Kim 'is certainly white'.[71] Kipling signals the centrality of hybridity in *Kim* when he has the French spy describe Hurree Chunder Moorkerjee, the Babu, in the following terms: 'He represents *in petto* India in transition — the monstrous hybridism of East and West.'[72] Presumably, Kim's hybridity is not monstrous. The Babu is a Westernised agnostic who admires Herbert Spencer, and yet believes in the occult. He longs to be able to write post-nominal letters after his name:

> Honours of a sort he knew could be obtained by ingenuity and the help of friends, but to the best of his belief, nothing save work — papers representing a life of it — took a man into the society which he had bombarded for years with monographs on strange Asiatic cults and unknown customs.[73]

Hurree has submitted papers to *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, but had them rejected. He speaks to Kim of William Wordsworth's 'The Excursion: Being a portion of The Recluse' (1814), and also of William Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606) and *Julius Caesar* (1599), in addition to the art and science of mensuration. It is Kim, however, who is most emblematic of this interface between East and West. Kim's interactions with 'lesser breeds without the Law'[74] are indicative of Kipling's own. Kim never lapses into maudlin reflection upon the supposed inherent virtues of subject peoples, but treats those with whom he interacts as equitably as circumstance permits. However, the idea that Kim is simply a mouthpiece for Kipling's own opinions would be unwarranted.[75]

Kim is, however, at its very deepest level, a carnivalesque discourse on the nature of personal identity, and one that invites the perceptive reader to question what makes a person the same person across any given spatio-temporal path. It is in this task quite revelatory; the

[71] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 134.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 288.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[74] Kipling, 'Recessional' (1897), in The Complete Verse, op. cit., pp. 261-262 (262).
[75] The reader would do well to heed Evelyn Waugh's motto to *Brideshead Revisited, The Sacred and Profane Memories of Captain Charles Ryder* (1945): 'I am not I; thou art not he or she; they are not they.' (London: Penguin, 2000), p. unnumbered.

reader is left to infer that a person does not possess a wholly constant sense of identity over the passage of time, and that this has ramifications for received opinion in the overlapping fields of morality and rationality. Indeed, John Fowles conjectured that 'Every Victorian had two minds', and held this to be a profound and epoch-revealing truth.[76] This sense of the mysterious and unfathomable in human beings bespeaks the recognition that no one can be known in entirety, neither from within nor from without. Some aspects of the human spirit must forever be wreathed in darkness, while others still may be glimpsed but briefly. There can be no doubt that Kim, in a Childe Rolandish sort of way, at least insofar as he chooses to tread a perilous path of his own volition, places himself in life-threatening situations for no other reason than that it is his fate. Kim is an unmoored, and divided, Self.[77] 'What am I?' Kim asks both himself and Mahbub Ali. 'Musselman, Hindu, Jain, or Buddhist?'[78] As we have seen, Kim is, in some way, a parable of self-knowledge. He searches for his own Self, and discovers that this goal can only be achieved by involvement in everyday life, and since any meaningful involvement must be purposeful it is Teshoo Lama who proves to be the best guide in defining the concept of purpose. Teshoo Lama has renounced the world, but even at the very instant of his *nirvana* he is concerned with human relationships, as indeed is postulated by the creative images that Kipling employs to describe the holy man's release from the Wheel of Life: 'As the egg from the fish, as the fish from the water, as the water from the cloud, as the cloud from the thick air; so put forth, so leaped out, so drew away, so fumed up the Soul of the Teshoo Lama from the Great Soul.'[79] This passage is perhaps vital to understanding Kipling's attitude toward religion. He respected any religious belief when sincerely held, while being dismissive of a Tartuffe. Teshoo Lama has led a religious life, and his life draws to a close in a manner becoming a

[76] John Fowles, *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (London: Vintage, 2004), p. 355.
[77] Robert F. Moss, 'Between Two Worlds: The Divided Self in Kipling's Adolescents', in *Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence* (London: MacMillan, 1986), pp. 107-127 (p. 126).
[78] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 143.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 337.

sincere Buddhist.[80] The dignity with which Kipling treats Teshoo Lama's quest for the River of the Arrow would seem to attest to his respect for Buddhist teachings. It may be inferred that Kipling wished his readers, sophisticated and naïve, to show a similar degree of respect.

The two clergymen in Kim, one of whom adheres to the Church of England and the other the Church of Rome, are judged by their attitude toward the Indians. The vinegary Bennett, who loses the guardianship of Kim to the emollient Father Victor, states, 'My experience is that one can never fathom the Oriental Mind'.[81] This is close to what Kipling wrote in 'One Viceroy Resigns' (1886): 'You'll never plumb the Oriental mind/And if you did, it isn't worth the toil.'[82] However, in *Kim* Kipling can be seen to apply his Occidental mind to the task of understanding the Oriental mind, which is perhaps an intellectual exercise that is its own reward.

Mahbub Ali takes Kim to 'the Bird Cage', a house of ill repute, where Haneefa, the blind seer, induces in him a trance-like state, divests him of his European clothes, and eradicates his identity as a sahib by staining his skin dark, and all of this despite the resistance to Oriental occultism of his 'white blood'. Haneefa invokes the names of various devils and spirits, and gifts Kim 'the keys of the Secret Things', a phrase that Kipling likely borrowed from the Russian occultist, H. P. Blavatsky.[83] These bizarre events culminate in a crisis of personal identity that induces Kim's poignant question, 'Who is Kim — Kim — Kim?', which is redolent of Dromio's cry in Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*: 'Am I Dromio? Am I your man? Am I myself?'[84] This is also suggestive of Joseph Conrad's *The Heart of Darkness* (1899)

[80] Nirad C. Chaudhuri has found a Christian aspect in Teshoo Lama's practise of Buddhism. The strong salvific strain in him may indeed point to a Christian influence. See 'The Finest Story about India in English', *Encounter*, 8 (1957), pp. 47-53 (p. 53).
[81] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 136.
[82] Kipling, 'One Viceroy Resigns', in *The Complete Verse, op. cit.*, pp. 56-60 (p. 57).
[83] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 179. See H. P. Blavatsky, *The Key to Theosophy: Being a Clear Exposition, in the Form of Question and Answer, of the Ethics, Science, and Philosophy for the study of which the Theosophical Society has been founded* (New York: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1889), *passim*.
[84] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 185. See also William Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors* (1594), ed. by R. A. Foakes (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2017), III.2.72-73, p. 54.

— 'The horror! The horror!'[85] Indeed, it is this use of epimone that places that question of identity, which is central to *Kim*, firmly in the mind of the reader. An old man asks of Kim, 'Of what faith art though?' and he replies 'I too am a seeker, though Allah alone knoweth what I seek'. The old man does not indicate that Kim has conflated the Muslim and Buddhist faiths. Kim cannot reconcile individualism and pluralism, monotheism and polytheism. However, the test is whether it is the Western paradigm or the Eastern paradigm that has the greater explanatory power to provide a comprehensive understanding of Kim's character. As we have seen, although Kim is initially reluctant, he is prevailed upon to take up the white man's burden. Kipling uses Kim to symbolise the concept of duty espoused by the imperialist class. Whiteness as a form of *noblesse oblige*.

Kipling's entirely fictitious Ethnographical Department is a manifestation of his own ethnographic interests. Kim's affiliation with the Tibetan, Teshoo Lama, has an ethnological dimension, as indeed do his affiliations with Mahbub Ali and Hurree Chunder Mookerjee. Moreover, Colonel Creighton and Hurree Babu are both scholarly ethnographers.[86] Needless to say, the connection between espionage and scholarship is by no means coincidental. Kim learns from Lurgan Sahib that assiduous attention to ethnological data is essential to a successful career with the Anglo-Indian Intelligence Service. Kim's upbringing has enabled him to become a cultural chameleon.[87] The significance of this should not be underestimated, for the natives of the Indian sub-continent were a source of mystery even to old India hands. Indeed, the Governor of Bengal, George Campbell, remarked ruefully: 'I often stop and look

[85] Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness and Other Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 178.
[86] Speaking of the opportunities that India offered for scientific enquiry in the fields of physical and social anthropology, George Campbell, the Governor of Bengal, and a renowned colonial ethnologist, commented in 1866: 'In fact, it is now evident, that as this country, in a far greater degree than any other in the world, offers an unlimited field for ethnological observation and enquiry, and presents an infinity of varieties of almost every one of the great divisions of the human race, so also there is no lack of able and qualified men to reap this abundant harvest.' See *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January to December, 1866 (Calcutta, 1867), p. 46.
[87] Don Randall, '*Kim*: Ethnography and the Hybrid Boy', in *Kipling's Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 137-159.

at them, and I have tried to make something of them, but they don't understand me; I don't understand them; and they don't seem to realise the interest of ethnological inquiries.'[88] Therein one comprehends the value of Kim to the servants of the Raj. Kim feels as much at home with Tommy Atkins as he does with the native populace; he understands them both, but because he is white his loyalty lies with the Raj. India assays Kim's very being: 'Hard her service, poor her payment — she in ancient, tattered raiment — / India, the grim Stepmother of our kind'.[89] Kim has never known parental care of any kind, but India has been his stepmother. As we have seen, the nineteenth-century boy's own story can be polemical and didactic in equal measure.

Religion and Spirituality

There is indeed an undertow of religiosity in *Kim* that transforms it from being a mere entertainment into a didactic text. The device of having the central characters seek self-mastery in one form or another lends to the story a wondrous quality akin to a quest for the Grail; *Parzival* transitions into modernity.[90] Teshoo Lama has faith in his search for the River of the Arrow, and that faith is rewarded by the gift of self-knowledge. The River of the Arrow is merely a symbol that stands for Teshoo Lama's desire to grasp the reality that lies behind the illusion that is everyday life. Kim and the Tibetan pilgrim face trials and tribulations in the course of their quest when they go in search of the Divine, and eventually find it within their own Selves. Indeed, Farid ud-Din Attar's *The Conference of the Birds* (*circa* 1220) is perhaps closer still in spirit to Kipling's story. A number of birds abdicate personal responsibility, and

[88] George Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
[89] Kipling, 'Christmas in India' (1886), in *The Complete Verse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44 (p. 44).
[90] Parzival quests with his companions for the Holy Grail, but it is not the physical object for which they seek that provides them with spiritual enlightenment, but rather the journey itself. Women enjoyed an elevated status in mediaeval Germanic literature, and this is mirrored in 'that Kulu woman', the Sahiba. See Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival* (*circa* 1215-1225), trans. by A. T. Hatto (London: Penguin, 1980), *passim*.

look to someone else to solve their problems and provide leadership. They subsequently face trials and tribulations in the course of a quest, but eventually find everything they were looking for within their own Selves.[91] Similarly, Kim and Teshoo Lama come to realise that what they want is what they already have. In *The Conference of the Birds*, a profound story is wrapped within one of lesser substance, and this is the very essence of allegory. These stories show earthly journeys that proceed in tandem with spiritual fulfilment. However, while in *Kim* Christian faith is not quite in abeyance, the *Logos* is indeed inverted to serve the ends of a secular advocacy, namely imperialism. In the last resort, Teshoo Lama does not seek the River of the Arrow, but rather his own Self. Yet, this may prove harder still to find. The quest perhaps reveals to Kim and Teshoo Lama their *true* Selves. Grace is brought by revelation.[92] The quest story is often an analogy of salvation, and Kim's Afghan quest does indeed prove to be of a salvatory nature.[93] Religion is by no means a *Leitmotif* in Kipling's *oeuvre*, but he can nonetheless be seen to draw on religious themes in the composition of *Kim*.

Kipling was fascinated by Buddhism.[94] Indeed, it appears that in the course of creating the character of Teshoo Lama he borrowed much from Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia; Or, The Great Renunciation: Being the Life and Teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and Founder of Büddhism* (1879), an epic poem of book length that recounts the life of the Buddha. However, Kipling had also read the travelogues of the Scottish adventurer and diplomat, George Bogle, which doubtless influenced him.[95] Bogle visited the Tashilhunpo monastery of the Panchen Lama in 1774. (Teshoo Lama is an alternative title of Panchen Lama.) Bogle's

[91] Farid ud-Din Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, trans. by Afkham Darbandi and Richard Davis (London: Penguin, 1984), *passim*.
[92] *The*: *Authorised King James Version with Apocrypha*. The First Epistle of Peter 1:13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[93] J. H. Thrall, 'Immersing the Chela: Religion and Empire in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', *Religion & Literature*, 36 (2004), pp. 45-67.
[94] Franklin, 'Buddhism and the Empire of the Self in Kipling's *Kim*', in *The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-176.
[95] Laurie Hovell MacMillin, *English in Tibet, Tibet in English: Self-Presentation in Tibet and the Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 80.

Diary and travel notes were discovered in his Ayrshire family archives, and subsequently collated and published by Sir Clements Markham as *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (1876). This account may have established the myth of Shangri-La, which is a fictional Himalayan utopia described by James Hilton in his bestselling novel, *Lost Horizon* (1933). Shangri-La, though an Asiatic retreat, has been constructed by a European.

The Light of Asia, in addition to being accorded the status of bestseller, was a cultural phenomenon in Britain, America, and India, though it has received but scant critical attention since the nineteenth century. Arnold's work did to some extent instigate a cultural attitude shift in Western society regarding Buddhist teachings. The salient Buddhist concepts employed in *Kim* are the Law, the Wheel, and the Way. However, Kipling confuses, and subsequently conflates, these concepts.[96] Each one of these abstruse concepts has multiple connotations that are woven throughout a body of scripture in two major canons that are significantly more voluminous than the canons of Christianity. This complexity, and the resulting confusion arising therefrom, is to be found in *The Light of Asia*. Arnold was not as well versed in Buddhist theology as he apparently believed. He westernised and anthropomorphised the Dharma in a number of ways that cannot be supported by Buddhist doctrine as espoused in the canonical scripture. Indeed, given Kipling's literary debt to Arnold, it is hardly surprising that Teshoo Lama conflates the Wheel, the Way, and the Law, misinterpreting them in a similar fashion to that found in Arnold's poem. Kipling's Great Game is, on a narrative level, the epistemological equivalent of Buddhism, insofar as a journey leads to revelation. Perhaps one of the closest allusions in *Kim* to Arnold's *The Light of Asia* occurs when Teshoo Lama declares: 'As a drop draws to water, so my Soul drew near to the Great Soul which is beyond all things'.[97] Arnold's

[96] Sandra Kemp, *Kipling's Hidden Narratives* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), p. 26.
[97] Kipling, *Kim*, op. cit., p. 246.

line, which could possibly be derived from a Buddhist source, is similarly aqueous, 'the Dewdrop slips/Into the shining sea!'[98] Kipling's intertextual borrowings from *The Light of Asia* reflect Arnold's uncertain grasp of the Buddhist tradition, which is a system of thought that is utterly alien to the European mind.

On the Great Trunk Road, Kim lights upon a quarrelsome, albeit munificent, elderly woman called the Sahiba. Nora Crook has drawn attention to the significance of this woman's forefinger.[99] Kim makes her acquaintance as a voice behind an embroidered curtain on a bullock-cart, but he also notices a 'skinny brown finger heavy with rings' that seems to belong to the same person as the voice.[100] This incident is an example of Kipling's use of symbolic realism, for her representation possesses an inkling of the Cumaean Sibyl, and she has a penchant for prophecy. Kipling may also be alluding to Alfred, Lord Tennyson's 'The Princess' (1847): 'Jewels five-words-long/That on the stretch'd forefinger of all Time/Sparkle for ever'.[101] The Sahiba's finger reappears later: 'The jewelled forefinger shook itself at him reprovingly', and 'the thrust came back with the well-remembered snap of the jewelled forefinger'.[102] Kipling appears to use the three appearances of the jewelled forefinger as a form of mnemonic.[103] Time is divided into three components: past, present, and future. The Sahiba

[98] Sir Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia* (London: CreateSpace, 2013), p. 115.
[99] Nora Crook, *Kipling's Myths of Love and Death* (London: MacMillan, 1989), pp. 1-3.
[100] Kipling, *Kim*, op. cit., p. 115.
[101] Alfred, Lord Tennyson, 'The Princess', in *The Major Works*, ed. by Adam Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), II. 355-357, pp. 117-202 (p. 139).
[102] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
[103] It may be significant that Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895) share similar patterns of construction with *Kim*, for in each of these works one may observe a threesome of unlikely associates interacting with a child protagonist, and what is more, these characters are paralleled in a recognisable manner. The Christian doctrine of the Nicene Creed, the Holy Trinity, the three in one and the one in three, are conjoined and juxtaposed in a subliminal fashion in the portrayal of these characters. The number three has a mystical significance in literature. Kipling's number games would resonate with anyone who has a working knowledge of the Bible. Kipling's readers lived in a Christian society, and were made familiar with Biblical stories from an early age. Moreover, Dante Alighieri's *La Divina Commedia* has three parts each of which contains thirty-three cantos. It was written in *terza rima*, which is a combination of tercets. All of this is an allusion to the Holy Trinity. Alexander Dumas' *The Three Musketeers* is part of a trilogy. Kipling's *Soldiers Three* (1899), and Anton Chekov's play, *Three Sisters* (1901), each embrace the concept of a treble that is inherent in their storylines. Children's literature also has 'Three Blind Mice', 'Three Little Pigs', and 'Goldilocks and the Three Bears'. There is a tale from the Brothers Grimm collection titled 'The Three Languages'. The heroes of Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) are a threesome in the classic pattern.

influences how Kim perceives his past, and assists him in the present, and it is her assistance that saves his life and gifts him a future. In Tibetan Buddhism there are three refuge formulations, which are the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. The three appearances of the Sahiba's jewelled finger cannot be mere coincidence. However, the assumed relationship between Punjabi society and Buddhism is perhaps more metaphorical than metonymical. *Kim* is set squarely in the historical Buddhist holy land, though the practise of such had been extirpated therefrom over a thousand years since.[104]

Teshoo Lama perceives no conflict between a British school curriculum and the teachings of Gautama Buddha. There is in *Kim* no Manichean opposition between coloniser and colonised, though the political reality was of a more dyadic nature than that shown. Similarly, Mahbub Ali eventually sees that Kim can benefit from formal education, Buddhist spirituality, and the practical mercantile and social skills that he himself can impart. It is perhaps remarkable that Teshoo Lama should have primacy over Mahbub Ali, though Kipling was perhaps more sympathetic toward Buddhism than any other religious belief system.[105] As we have seen, the religious subtext in *Kim* elevates it into the realm of serious literature.

Kim appears to have influenced G. A. Henty's *At the Point of Bayonet: A Tale of the Mahratta War* (1902), the youthful protagonist of which, Harry Lindsay, bears some resemblance to Kim. The orphaned Harry is adopted by a kindly ayah, who nurtures him with the assistance of her cousin, a Mahratta sepoy. Harry Lindsay grows up bilingual in English and Mahratti. He dyes his skin a darker hue, and disguises himself in native clothing to spy for

Allan Quatermain, the narrator, is a veteran elephant-hunter of South African domicile; his associates are Sir Henry Curtis, a strong-willed individual who is a born leader of men, and Captain John Good, a monocled dandy whose behaviour is somewhat buffoonish. In the Dionysia festivals of Ancient Greece trilogies of plays were performed; Aeschylus' *Oresteia* is the only one of these trilogies extant in entirety.

[104] Lars Fogelin, 'The Consolidation and Collapse of Indian Buddhism', in *An Archaeological History of Indian Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 202-224.

[105] Franklin, 'Buddhism and the Empire of the Self in Kipling's Kim', in *The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire*, op. cit., pp. 128-176, (p. 132).

the British Raj. Henty's readers were never permitted to forget that Harry Lindsay 'belonged to the race that was masters of India, and had conquered and slain the Nabob of Bengal.' *Kim*, however, contains a more subtle examination of white identity, and the natives of the Indian sub-continent, than anything to be found in Henty's novels. Henty consciously wrote for boys, whereas Kipling wrote for readers of all ages. Henty's plot is based on a simple dichotomy between imperialists and their subjects, but *Kim* is multi-layered, and reveals something new with every reading. Kipling's novel guides boys toward a nuanced understanding of imperialism, while Henty simply works to celebrate and legitimise British rule in India.

Echoes of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley: or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814) reverberate in the plot of *Kim*.[106] Indeed, it also contains another source for the phrase 'the Great Game'. However, the expression is in French, and occurs at the end of Chapter XXIX: *'Ah, Beaujeu, mon cher ami'*, said he, as he returned to his usual place in the line of march, *'que mon métier de prince errant est ennuyant, par fois. Mais, courage! C'est le grand jeu, après tout.'*[107] Chris Ann Matteo identifies a number of parallels between *Waverley* and *Kim*, insofar as the character development of both protagonists runs along similar lines, establishing similar personal and cultural relationships within their respective environments. Martin Green argues that Kipling and Scott tell stories about conflicting loyalties in an alien environment as a form of fictional placebo: a justification of imperialism.[108] *Waverley* could be viewed as a colonial text, for it does discuss the problem of integrating Scottish Gaels into mainstream British society. Scott's aim was to present the indigenes of the Scottish Highlands and Islands 'to those of the sister kingdom in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto', so as 'to procure sympathy for their virtues, and indulgence for their foibles'. To this end, Scott 'attempted for

[106] Chris Ann Matteo, 'Le grand jeu and the great game: The politics of play in Walter Scott's *Waverley* and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 30 (2000), pp. 163-186.
[107] Walter Scott, *Waverley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 291.
[108] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 264-271.

my own country…that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland', which 'may truly be said to have done more towards completing the Union than perhaps all the legislative enactments by which it has been followed up'.[109] Similarly, Kipling presents the inhabitants of the Punjab sympathetically, and in presenting the positive and negative aspects of the society he describes he promotes the imperial project. Edward Waverley and Kimball O'Hara have much more in common than is immediately obvious. They both embrace alien cultures and go native, but neither completely rejects his own ethnic identity. Nevertheless, they both seem to feel more comfortable in societies in which others see them as outsiders. Waverley's wish to embrace Scottish Gaelic culture, and Kim's estrangement from Irish Gaelic culture, would seem to be a mirror reflection. However, Waverley and Kim have their respective feet in both camps. In *Waverley*, the protagonist's adherence to the Jacobite cause is presented as an aberration that he eventually regrets, and consequently abjures. Kim's case is very different. He really has gone native.

Language in *Kim*, though peppered with a recondite vocabulary unique to the Indian subcontinent, is couched in a colloquial Anglo-Indian simplicity, whereas the language employed by Scott is *faux* archaic. Kipling's language is as much about concealment as it is about revelation; concerned as much with what is not said by way of naming, as with what is communicated by it.[110] Hence, it can be seen that there is an element of linguistic dissonance in both *Waverley* and *Kim*.

Scott's literary language developed into a modified regional form, but he never completely lost his preference for local idioms. Similarly, Kipling wrestles with the problem

[109] Scott, 'General Preface to the First Edition of *Waverley*', in *Waverley*, *op. cit.*, pp. 519-533 (p. 523). Maria Edgeworth was an overtly didactic author who believed that fiction for children should be 'the history of realities written in an entertaining manner'. See Clíona Ó Gallchoir, *Maria Edgeworth: Women, Enlightenment, and Nation* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005), p. 30.
[110] Peter Womack, *Dialogue, op. cit.*, p. 42.

of producing a variant of English that can convey the translation of alien tongues without appearing affected. Samuel Johnson, in his 'Preface to Shakespeare' (1765), stated:

> There is in every nation a style which never becomes obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so constant to the analogy and principles of its respective language as to remain settled and unaltered. This style is to be sought only to be understood, without ambition of elegance. The polite are always catching modish innovations, and the learned forsake the vulgar, when the vulgar is right; but there is a conversation above grossness and below refinement, where propriety resides.[111]

The Great Cham's argument in favour of a linguistic Golden Mean has patently resonated with a good many authors, not least Kipling. The similarity of approach to language places Kipling in the school of Scott, and like Scott he wrestles with the problem of writing a story in English about characters that may have a limited command of the language. As we have earlier seen, Fenimore Cooper faced a similar problem. These authors write of rough people, who nevertheless speak politely. The linguistic balance is naked artifice, but certain proprieties as regard profanity had to be observed. There were commercial factors to be considered, and such a constrained mode of exposition was perforce common coin in nineteenth-century literature. However, this was no bad thing. Indeed, this is what gives strength to the crossover novel. The language used neither patronises the juvenile reader nor offends the adult one. As we have seen, this is an approach that all of the crossover novels examined in this thesis have in common.

It can be seen that *Kim* contains echoes that emanate from Scott, at least insofar as its characterisation, its plot, and perhaps also its action scenes are conjoined with cultural and ethnological observation. The Great Game, at least as described in *Kim*, existed solely in Kipling's literary imagination. Nevertheless, the story does contain more than a kernel of truth. There never was an Anglo-Indian Intelligence Service, or an Ethnographical Department, as described by Kipling, but there was a governmental task force called Survey of India that

[111] Samuel Johnson, 'Preface to Shakespeare', in *The Major Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 419-456 (p. 426).

sometimes performed similar duties to those ascribed to such fictional bodies.[112] Kipling invented a British Raj that existed for the greater part in his own literary imagination only, and confronted it with Buddhism. *Kim* is not an imperialist tract in the style of G. A. Henty's tales of military glory on the Indian subcontinent, though it is an illustration of the iron law of oligarchy. Kipling is not exploiting a formula. However, he is writing within a tradition, and it is one that he shares with Scott.

Kim follows *Waverley* in the investigation of the Self, and also the merging of genres. The *Bildungsroman*, and the romantic adventure, and the spy novel are sewn seamlessly together. Kipling, to some extent, did for India what Scott did for the Scottish Highlands and Islands. They both made the alien more familiar to the Anglosphere. Kipling was clearly fascinated by the contrast, and the relationship, between the ruling British caste and the indigenes of the Indian sub-continent who embodied another mode of being entirely. He famously explored these differences in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888). Kim's friend, the shifty Pathan horse-trader, Mahbub Ali, remarks portentously on the Great Game:

> Lurgan Sahib has a shop among the European shops. All Simla knows it…and Friend of all the World, he is one to be obeyed to the last wink of his eyelashes. Men say he does magic, but that shall not touch thee. Go up the hill and ask. Here begins the Great Game.[113]

Indeed, and here begins Kim's *rite de passage*. The plots of *Kim* and *Waverley* see the eponymous protagonists transported through boundaries of social and political areas that are not their own. Kimball O'Hara and Edward Waverley start from the known, and are projected into foreign territory that makes them question their sense of identity. The protagonists' educations, formal and informal, are central to their respective storylines, in addition to being motivational pretexts for the stories. The aristocratic Waverley, who is a Romantic, lacks self-

[112] Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (London: Abacus, 2003), p. 145.
[113] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

discipline, and does not apply himself to his studies, whereas the beggarly Kim excels academically at Saint Xavier's School. However, both begin their educations proper when they embrace adventure, and this is a trope of the boy's own story.[114] *Waverley* and *Kim* are novels that contrast formal education with experience gained, and hard lessons learned, in everyday life. These eponymous protagonists also engage in espionage, and it could be argued commit treasonable acts. Indeed, their respective unsentimental educations are fraught with mortal danger. Kim displays his lack of maturity when he foolishly tells Lurgan Sahib in the midst of his Afghan adventure that he would like to have a 'price on his head'.[115] Kim's desire for notoriety betrays his immaturity. Waverley and Kim are both in some sense runaways 'beyond protection'.[116]

Kipling plays on the pun of the game. Kim is portrayed as a child and an adolescent, and he does play games of one kind or another with those whom he encounters in the story. Kim's games, however, have serious consequences. This is yet another trope of the boy's own adventure story. In Mikhail Bakhtin's essay, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel', he presents the generic Chronotope of the Road as common for movement within a narrative.[117] Kim's journey, and experiences, along the Great Trunk Road is an example of a multiple chronotope, which is a way to perceive both literature and games through the scopes of time and space. Matteo posits the chronotope of the game. She defines this Bakhtinian concept as 'a *topos* — a "theme", a diachronically shared narrative pattern — inflected by time,

[114] J. A. Mangan, 'Noble specimens of manhood: schoolboy literature and the creation of a colonial chivalric code', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 173-194.
[115] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 272-273.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[117] Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes toward a Historical Poetics', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), pp. 84-258.

chronos'.[118] However, she does not believe that chronotope is a term that can be legitimately employed in general.

Kim plays the Great Game, but there is a great deal of play-activity that does not constitute game-playing. Kim's playing is part of an educative process at different places and at different times. Similarly, Waverley finds himself in a time and place that forever changes him. He finds himself a player in the game of rebellion in the Scottish Highlands. Matteo's chronotope of the game also defines Kim's adept play-acting and protean presentation of Self, and his ability, like Waverley, to adopt a convincing persona both at home and abroad. However, as Johan Huizinga perceptively observed, play is not the direct opposite of seriousness.[119] The boy's own adventure story is form of play in which readers can experience a vicarious sense of danger. The Great Game is deadly serious in both novels.

Kim is outraged by the behaviour of his friend-*cum*-guardian, Mahbub Ali, who haggles with Colonel Creighton over the decision to enrol him at Saint Xavier's School. He believes that his trust has been betrayed by the Afghan horse dealer. Kim bewails his plight: 'Trust a Brahmin before a snake, and a snake before a harlot, and a harlot before a Pathan, Mahbub Ali.'[120] Kim is compelled to question his personal loyalties. He is as yet too young to assume responsibility in leading his own life. It is a position with which a juvenile reader could readily identify. The line between play and reality becomes blurred, if not indeed erased. Consequently, Kim is unable to separate the Great Game from the narrative of his own life story. In a literary sense, Kim is the Great Game himself, and not merely an adjunct of it.

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[118] Matteo, '*Le grand jeu* and the great game: The politics of play in Walter Scott's *Waverley* and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', op. cit., p. 166-167.
[119] Johan Huizinga examined this concept of play as the basis of culture in his seminal study *Home Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (1938) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), *passim.* Josef Peiper examines the question of constructive activity as a form of leisure, albeit from a Christian perspective, in *Leisure: The Basis of Culture* (1952) (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009), *passim*.
[120] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 158.

Waverley's sense of ethnic identity, indeed tribal loyalty, is tested when he participates in skirmishing against his former regiment at Preston. In whom does he trust? To whom does he owe loyalty? He realises that he has betrayed his erstwhile comrades-in-arms. Waverley is compelled to question his past and present. An enhanced sense of reality, born of a life-threatening situation, leads him to view the rules of the game in a very different light:

> They approached so near that Waverley could plainly recognise the standard of the troop he had formerly commanded, and hear the trumpets and kettle-drums sound the signal of advance, which he had so often obeyed. He could hear, too, the well-known word given in the English dialect by the equally well-distinguished voice of the commanding officer, for whom he had once felt such respect. It was at that instant, that, looking around him, he saw the wild dress and appearance of his Highland associates, heard their whispers in an uncouth and unknown language, looked upon his own dress, so unlike that which he had worn from his infancy, and wished to awake from what seemed at the moment a dream, strange, horrible, and unnatural. 'Good God!' he muttered, 'am I then a traitor to my country, a renegade to my standard, and a foe…to my native England?'[121]

The Jacobite rebellion is a civil war, not a war between states. Waverley appears to be a singularly confused individual. His sudden awareness of his own ethnocentric proclivities trumps his loyalty to the House of Stuart. In *Waverley* and *Kim*, the protagonists' questing after maturity and identity is heightened by their adoption of assumed identities. Mahbub Ali describes Kim's ability to change identity: 'He was born in the land…He is a *chabuk sawai*. He needs only to change his clothing, and in a twinkling he would be a low-caste Hindu boy.'[122] Kim's mastery of vernacular Hindustani and *baboo* English, an imbrication of linguistic identity, enables him to melt effortlessly into Punjabi society:[123]

> Though he was burned black as any native; though he spoke the vernacular by preference, and his mother-tongue in a clipped, uncertain sing-song; though he consorted in terms of perfect equality with small boys of the bazaar; Kim was white.[124]

[121] Scott, *Waverley*, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[122] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 156. This hybrid identity is similar to that described by Twain in *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881).
[123] Gyan Prakesh, 'Science "Gone Native" in Colonial India', *Representations*, 40 (1992), pp. 153-178 (p. 154).
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Kim is possessed of many fine qualities, the most salient of which is his whiteness. In comparison, Waverley can only change his clothes. He has no understanding of the culture or language of the Scottish Highlands. Kim is an insider; Waverley is an outsider. Kim and Waverley play hide-and-seek in the environments in which they move, but Kim is better equipped to play that game than Waverley. For Kim, the Hindu Kush is every bit as threatening and dangerous as the Scottish Highlands are to Waverley. Indeed, Kim almost meets his end in the Hindu Kush, though not as a direct result of enemy action, but more due to the harshness of the climate and terrain.[125]

Waverley and *Kim* both employ heraldic iconography with the aim of placing their respective protagonists within a historical family lineage, and it is these heraldic devices, each bearing a talismanic significance, that guide Waverley and Kim toward their personal destinies. Waverley is recognised and legitimised by his family's armorial bearings, whereas Kim is drawn to a regimental colour, a red bull on a green field, in this case that of a fictitious Irish infantry regiment that bears the nickname, the Mavericks.[126] Kim's long-deceased father was a colour-sergeant with this regiment. ('Kim's mother had been Irish, too.' Her name was Annie Shott, and she was a nursemaid in a Colonel's family, but died of cholera when Kim was three years old.)[127] These renowned blazons each awaken the protagonists to a heroic interpretation of a familial symbol, the totemic significance of which should not be underestimated, for they have the effect of imbuing the child with the status and identity of the ingroup.

[125] In *A Passage to India* (1924), E. M. Forster has the Marabar Caves serve a similar function to the Hindu Kush, which is a hostile environment that can affect the balance of one's mind. Kim, similar to Adela Quested, is an Anglo-Indian voice on the edge of aphasia. See Sara Suleri, The Adolescence of Kim', in *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 111-131 (pp. 116-117).
[126] Kipling explained in his posthumously published autobiography that 'I had a vague notion of an Irish boy, born in India and mixed up with native life. I went as far as to make him the son of a private in an Irish battalion, and christened him "Kim of the 'Rishti" — short, that is, for Irish.' See *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings* (1937) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 81. Indeed, *Kim of the 'Rishti* is the title at the head of his original manuscript, which is now archived in the British Library.
[127] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

In Waverley, this familial-*cum*-tribal identity is portentously related when the narrator ponders:

> I know not whether the boy's nurse had been a Welsh or a Scotch woman, or in what manner he associated a shield emblazoned with three ermines with the idea of personal property, but he no sooner beheld this family emblem than he stoutly determined on vindicating his right to the splendid vehicle on which it was displayed.[128]

This episode illuminates not only Waverley's aristocratic bloodline, but his instinctive identification with the familial coat-of-arms. The emblem is endowed with a sibylline and signal valance. Indeed, the coat-of arms has a prescient quality, at least insofar as it indicates where his adventures may end. Waverley's coat-of-arms poses a number of questions. Can Waverley embrace the warrior code of his ancestor, Sir Nigel, and do credit to his family name? Will Waverley support the Whig faction, or resort to his familial Tory proclivities? Will he persist in his allegiance to the Jacobite cause? Waverley's adventure in the Scottish Highlands, through espionage and intrigue, assays the oracular power of his family's heraldic device with its triple *ermines passant*.

Waverley also contains a sub-plot regarding hereditary icons in the figure of the Baron of Bradwardine, whose minatory motto proclaims 'Bewar the Bar'. Waverley interprets the weathered, rampant stone bears he sees at the Scottish Lowland Tully-Veolan estate as an errant symbol.[129] Waverley enjoys Bradwardine's hospitality, and he blames the inebriating contents of the Blessed Bear cup for his light-headedness during a meeting with local Jacobite sympathisers. There is a comedic element in Bradwardine's braggadocio that is of a distinctly Spenserian nature.[130] His conceit and buffoonery place him in the realm of the irredeemable.

[128] Scott, *Waverley*, *op. cit.,* p. 43.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[130] John M. Hill, 'Braggadocchio and Spenser's Golden World Concept: The Function of Unregenerative Comedy', *English Literary History*, 37 (1970), pp. 315-324.

Bradwardine bristles at the suggestion that the etymology of his family's name could lie in the appellation 'Bear-warden'. The Bradwardine family's motto 'Bewar the Bar' comes to have a political dimension, for in the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion Bradwardine seeks refuge in the bear's cave.[131] The ursine nature of Bradwardine himself is a reflection of his family's crest. Indeed, compared to the Waverley crest, which would seem to exemplify the dread of moral, familial, and political stain, Bradwardine's heraldic history would seem to embody the call to arms that Waverley needs to restore his fortunes.

However, heraldic status in *Kim* would appear to indicate a fundamentally different moral emphasis. Kim wears an heirloom around his neck. It is an emblematic amulet that contains his birth certificate and his deceased father's Masonic and military documentation. He understands neither the *Angrezi* printed word nor the cursive script. Nevertheless, Kim, in a manner similar to the five-year-old Waverley, can infer the meaning of its bovine icon, as his happenstance encounter at the Mavericks' encampment evidences:

> He pointed to the flag that was snap-snapping in the evening breeze not ten feet away. It was not more than an ordinary camp marking-flag; but the regiment, always punctilious in matters of millinery, had charged it with the regimental device, the Red Bull, which is the crest of the Mavericks — the great Red Bull on a background of Irish green…'True. It is true.' The lama stared fixedly at the device that flamed like a ruby in the dusk.[132]

Kim immediately recognises the significance of the flag, a red bull on a field of green, which accords with the prophecy of the mixed-race woman who was his guardian. It is the regimental colour of his deceased father's former regiment. *Kim*, similar to *Waverley*, plays with bestial iconography and a concomitant attraction to spiritual values, which are in opposition to a more prosaic response to matters of personal identity. Colonel Creighton's response to such iconography is perhaps one to be expected from an old India hand: 'You see, as an ethnologist,

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 443.
[132] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

the thing's very interesting to me…The transformation of a regimental badge like your Red Bull into a sort of fetish that the boy follows is very interesting.'[133] As we have earlier seen, Edward Waverley and the Baron of Bradwardine follow a not dissimilar fetish. Scott tells a story of a young man's search for a sense of belonging, and a desire to prove himself, but it is a story of limited horizons. However, Kipling's story, and the character of Kim, more effectively present the ways of the world to the common reader. Waverley and Kim scout the frontiers of Self, and not all of what they discover is to their liking.

Cairns Craig has identified a pattern in Scott's work that serves to amplify historical turning points, for his 'heroes can stand on both sides of a *historical* divide precisely because they can travel across a *geographical* boundary, and in so doing experience the changes in history at a *psychological* level.'[134] Scott's storytelling can be seen to facilitate historicist insight into the temporality and heterogeneity of cultures, though much the same could be said for Kipling.

Issues of identity, and the nature of the boundaries between cultural differences, also appear in Scott's story, 'The Surgeon's Daughter' (1827), which is partly set in India, and tells of three characters attempting to make their fortunes there.[135] The protagonist is Richard Middlemas, who bears a surname that would seem to imply a character destined to follow a path of cultural reconciliation, mediation, finding the middle ground. One may infer the eightfold path of Buddhism, the middle way as it were. Indeed, strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.[136] Middlemas is an assumed surname, however, and the one who bears it abjectly fails to find the way. Similar to Kim,

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[133] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[134] Cairns Craig, *Out of History: Narrative Patterns in Scottish and English Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1996), p. 71.
[135] Sir Walter Scott, *Chronicles of the Canongate* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 158-285.
[136] *The Bible*: *Authorised King James Version with Apocrypha*. The Gospel According to Matthew 7:14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). See also James Whitlark, 'Kipling's Scriptural Paradoxes for Imperial Children', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 24 (1999), pp. 24-33.

Middlemas finds himself out of place and questioning his own identity, and it is only by journeying to India that he can obtain some sense of purpose in life. Middlemas has played his own great game: 'The game has been played and lost — I must hedge my bets; India must be my back-play,' he declares, and it is the cultural disjunctions, and concomitant clashes of identity, that relate the story to *Kim*.[137]

Waverley and *Kim* are brash imperial bookends flanking the reign of Victoria Regina, which marked the *floruit* of the *Pax Britannica*, but 'The Surgeon's Daughter' is set in an earlier India from that of *Kim*. Scott describes an India governed by the East India Company.[138] Richard Middlemas fails to find a path through the alternative cultural frameworks that he encounters in India. Middlemas is an outsider, but Kim is an insider. A much more pragmatic character in 'The Surgeon's Daughter', Adam Hartley, uses his knowledge of Indian languages and cultures to further his own ends. Hartley is guided by a sagacious master, Gideon Gray, in his native Scotland, perhaps in a similar manner to the way that Teshoo Lama guides Kim. Hartley marries what he has learned in Scotland with experience he has gained in India, thereby enabling him to reconcile one culture with another.[139] He becomes proficient in a number of native languages, and engages with the cultural life of the local people. However, Scott informs us that he 'fell a victim to his professional courage, in withstanding the progress of a contagious distemper, which he at length caught, and under which he sunk.'[140] Kim is faced with a similar fate, but is saved by the care and attention given to him by the Sahiba. Kipling, with a no less serious underlying intent, redeems Kim from mendicancy, life-threatening illness, and perhaps indeed his own bravado. The boy's own hero is by his very nature a survivor. It can be seen that, in common with so many of his predecessors, the key to Kipling's literary success lay in

[137] Scott, *Chronicles of the Canongate, op. cit.*, p. 243.
[138] K. V. Visvanatham, 'Scott: The Surgeon's Daughter', in *India in English Fiction* (Waltair: Andhra University Press, 1971), pp. 18-30.
[139] Michael Fry, '"The Key to their Hearts": Scottish Orientalism', in *Scotland and the Nineteenth-Century World*, ed. by Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie, and Alastair Renfrew (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 137-158.
[140] Scott, *Chronicles of the Canongate, op. cit.*, p. 285.

his ability to employ, and to adapt, the devices common to any number of older stories and rework them into a new story. *Kim* is Kipling's variation on the classic theme of journey and return.[141] Scott's *Waverley* is an influential forerunner here, but there is a difference. Edward Waverley joins a Jacobite rebellion, a revolutionary movement, whereas Kim joins what is in essence a secret society. The Anglo-Indian Intelligence Service promotes Kim's personal growth, for the double life he leads, both in public and private, forces Kim to ask questions of himself. Kim's secret life is a surrogate for forms of human contact, a sense of belonging that he cannot find elsewhere. For Kim, the Intelligence Service is an intermediate stage on the way to assuming personal responsibility in leading his own life. Waverley similarly finds secrecy and role-playing a route to self-discovery. Carl Gustav Jung looked at membership of a secret society as a form of entrapment, though one not necessarily with negative consequences attendant. He viewed such societies as 'crutches for the lame, shields for the timid, beds for the lazy, nurseries for the irresponsible,' but noted that they are also 'a home port for the shipwrecked, the bosom of a family for orphans, a land of promise for disillusioned vagrants and weary pilgrims.'[142] The Survey of India, which is a front organisation for the Anglo-Indian Intelligence Service, certainly does provide a surrogate family for Kim.

Scott and Kipling both showed that it is possible to write adventure stories that appeal to readers of all ages. They also showed a willingness to rework other authors' plots, thereby placing themselves firmly in the literary tradition. Once again, one text begets another, which is the very nature of literature. The storyteller retells and conflates old stories, albeit in his or

[141] 'The essence of the Voyage and Return story is that its hero or heroine (or the central group of characters) travel out of their familiar, everyday 'normal' surroundings into another world completely cut off from the first, where everything seems disconcertingly abnormal. At first the strangeness of this new world, with its freaks and marvels, may seem diverting, even exhilarating, if also highly perplexing…The hero or heroine feels increasingly threatened, even trapped: until eventually (usually by way of a 'thrilling escape') they are released from the abnormal world, and can return to the safety of the familiar world where they began.' See Christopher Booker, *The Seven Basic Plots: Why We Tell Stories*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[142] Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1961) (New York: Vintage, 1989), pp. 342-343.

her own way. The boy's own story, as it is read in the Anglosphere, has an inherent eclecticism that lends it legitimacy in every age.

Kipling is an evident source for a study of the theme of British imperialism in literature, but he certainly borrowed from that archetypal Yankee Doodle Dandy, Mark Twain. Indeed, no one can ever forget that Kim is an irrefrangible component of British India, just as Huck Finn is quintessentially American, though what they have in common is that they are both as independent as any boy of that age can be.[143]

One of the peculiarities of *Kim* is that so many of its allusions and quotations are from Kipling's own writings. However, *Kim* is commonly discussed in relation to Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884). Kipling was patently in debt to *Huckleberry Finn*, indeed he appears to have consciously emulated it in his construction of *Kim*. For example, Kim's father was a drunkard, as was the father of Huck. The parallels between these two novels are extensive. Indeed, Judith A. Plotz has actually described Kipling as 'an American writer'.[144]

In Kipling's poem, 'An American' (1894), he looks upon the Anglo-American male as an embodiment of his own philosophy, whom he describes as 'My Avatar'.[145] Twain and Kipling present picaresque quest narratives in which orphaned, marginal boys of a superordinate ethnie befriend an avuncular figure of a subordinate ethnie, and in so doing embody a hegemonic masculinity that is a trope of the boy's own story.[146] Indeed, the salient

[143] The promotion of self-sufficiency and self-improvement was a constant in the nineteenth-century Anglosphere. Samuel Smiles' book of practical guidance, *Self-Help* (1859), and Ralph Waldo Emerson's essay, 'Self-Reliance' (1841), both emphasise individual responsibility, while opposing external interference upon one's own legitimate actions and beliefs by society or its institutions. William Ellery Channing's lecture, 'Self-Culture' (1838), though undoubtedly an influence on Emerson's essay, is much more a precursor of the Smilesian school of self-improvement.

[144] Judith A. Plotz, 'Kipling's very special relationship: Kipling in America, America in Kipling', in *The Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, ed. by Howard J. Booth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 37-51 (p. 37).

[145] Kipling, 'An American', in *The Complete Verse*, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-148 (p. 146).

[146] Kipling also wrote two short stories, 'A Sahib's War' (1904), and 'A Deal in Cotton' (1907) in which young white men are shown affection, and offered guidance, by older brown men.

feature of both texts is their hybridisation, both linguistic and moral. Kim could be viewed as an Irish-Punjabi Huck Finn. Kim, in the manner of his fictional cousin, the Irish-American Huck, takes pains to avoid coming into contact with respectable members of society — 'missionaries and white men of serious aspect'.[147] Kim 'lives a life as wild as that of the *Arabian Nights*, but missionaries and secretaries of charitable societies could not see the beauty of it', which is another echo of Huck.[148] Twain was above all impressed by Kipling's skill in adapting materials drawn from everyday life and personal experience. He indirectly welcomed Kipling as a peer in that art.[149] They both skilfully borrowed from the literary work of others.

Kipling and Twain seemed to regard themselves as literary spokesman for their respective white societies. Kipling had begun his writing career by imitating Bret Harte, but he was well aware that Twain was the better writer. Many literary critics of the time, and of the sort most favourable to Kipling, compared him to Twain.[150] They assisted one another in their literary endeavours during a period in which the major Anglospheric polities were pursuing a policy of rampant imperialism. Indeed, the marked empathy of Kipling and Twain with one another, despite their very different character traits, is evident in their works. Kim and Huck Finn have much more in common with one another than perhaps most readers are aware.

Perhaps Kipling's short story, 'The Man Who Would Be King' (1888) most clearly evidences Twain's frontier influence on Kipling. Kipling's protagonists, Daniel Dravot and

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[147] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 51. Kipling's views on missionaries are expressed in a letter written to Reverend J. Gillespie, on 16 October, 1895: 'It is my fortune to have been born, and to a large extent brought up, among those whom white men call "heathen", and while I recognise the paramount duty of every white man to follow the teachings of his creed and conscience as "a debtor to the whole law", it seems to be cruel that white men, whose governments are armed with the most murderous weapons known to science, should amaze and confound their fellow creatures with a doctrine of salvation imperfectly understood by themselves, and a code of ethics foreign to the climate and instincts of those races whose most cherished customs they outrage and whose gods they insult.' See Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1955), p. 361.
[149] Howard G. Baetzhold, *Mark Twain and John Bull: The British Connection* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), p. 189.
[150]Kipling, *Kipling's America: Travel Letters, 1889-1895*, ed. by D. H. Stewart (Greensboro: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p. 4.

Peachey Carnehan, are bumptious adventurers of a type familiar to readers of Twain, and the tone of their comedic dialogue is indeed redolent of the King and the Duke in *Huckleberry Finn*. All four of these confidence tricksters lay claim to aristocratic lineage. In *Huckleberry Finn*, the younger of the two fraudsters reveals that 'I am the rightful Duke of Bridgewater', while his elderly companion claims to be 'the pore disappeared Dauphin, Looy the Seventeen, son of Looy the Sixteen and Marry Antoinette'.[151] In 'The Man Who Would Be King', Carnehan removes the dried, withered head of Dravot from a bag, and declares, 'You behold now…the King of Kafiristan…Poor old Daniel that was a monarch once!' A kafir is one who rejects the teachings of the Islamic prophet, Mohammed. The suffix 'stan' means land or country in a number of Asiatic languages. Apparently, Dravot was once king in the land of the unbelievers. Similarly, Carnehan declares that 'I was a King once'.[152] The laughable pretensions of Carnehan would seem to bear the stamp of Twain, whom Kipling once called 'the master of us all'.[153]

The *Leitmotiv* of *Kim* and *Huckleberry Finn*, which is each that of giving White Anglo-Saxon Protestant readers an Irish orphan hero with whom to identify, is significant in a number of ways, not least in the way that it subtly subverts the traditional boy's own adventure story by having a protagonist who constantly questions his own identity.[154] Kipling uses Kim's Irishness to show his readers that race trumps national origin. Tellingly, he makes Kim a Roman Catholic. The Oxford Movement, as it influenced the theory and practise of Anglicanism throughout the course of the nineteenth century, had gone a long way to making

[151] Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.
[152] Kipling, 'The Man who would be King', in *The Man who would be King and Other Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 244-279 (p. 278).
[153] Howard C. Rice, *Rudyard Kipling in New England* (Brattleboro, Vermont: Book Cellar Press, 1951), p. 9.
[154] David Arnold, 'European orphans and vagrants in India in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7 (1979), pp. 104-127. See also Teresa Hubel, 'In Search of the British Indian in British India: White Orphans, Kipling's *Kim*, and Class in Colonial India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 38 (2004), pp. 227-251.

English Catholicism acceptable to a substantial section of the book-buying public.[155] Kipling identifies his protagonist as an outsider, a rebel, an orphan gone native, but one who in the last resort remains steadfastly British, despite being of Irish descent.[156] Whiteness is the common denominator.

Tom Sawyer, and Huck, and Kim have complex relationships with people who are not of their own ethnie. Tom and Huck make blanket judgements of Jim's *ethnie*, not all of which are positive by any means, but they nevertheless develop a close bond with him. In comparison, Kim's relationship with the Asiatic characters that surround him is rather more problematic. He finds that blood takes precedence over birthplace.[157] Yet, he is the same, and not the same, as those who are indigenous to the Indian sub-continent, and indeed beyond. Tom and Kim are shown kindness, and given what is perhaps life-saving care, by people with whom they have no ethnic bond. Kim's health is restored by the selfless exertions of the Sahiba and her household:

> 'Thine is a sickness uncommon in youth these days…The remedy is sleep, and certain drugs'…She brewed drinks, [and] stood over Kim till they went down. She cut out from the mass of poor relations…a cousin's widow, skilled in what Europeans, who know nothing about it, call massage, and the two of them…took him to pieces all one long afternoon — bone by bone, muscle by muscle, ligament by ligament, and lastly, nerve by nerve…Then she fed him.[158]

The Sahiba's solicitous nursing of Kim restores him to good health. Similarly, when Tom suffers a gunshot wound he is nursed by Jim, who is subsequently provided with an unsolicited character reference by the local general practitioner:

> 'I never see a nigger that was a better nuss or faithfuller, and yet he was resking his freedom to do it, and was all tired out, too, and I see plain enough he'd been worked

[155] Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), *passim*.
[156] Bharati Mukherjee, 'The Relevance of the Irish Aspect in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*', *Literary Criterion*, 22 (1987), pp. 41-45.
[157] Homi Bhabha, 'The White Stuff', *Art Forum International*, 9 (1998), pp. 21-23 (p. 21).
[158] Kipling, *Kim*, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

> main hard, lately. I liked the nigger for that…He ain't no bad nigger, gentlemen; that's what I think about him.'[159]

Kipling and Twain were not blind to virtuous behaviour exhibited by members of ethnic groups other than their own. A heightened awareness of the Otherness of those around them did not preclude some measure of respect. In this regard, they could be seen as heirs of Fenimore Cooper. Yet, there most certainly is, despite such prolonged physical and emotional closeness, a measured distance in the relationships that Kim and Huck establish with their dark-skinned associates.

As suggested earlier, the relationship between Huck and Jim resembles that shared between Kim and Teshoo Lama. The drifting on the Mississippi River is similar to the picaresque tramping of the Great Trunk Road, though Kipling's account of this episode does have a Chaucerian charm all of its own. The elderly, and retired, Indian Army Rissaldar describes the traffic upon the Great Trunk Road, and comments upon the riverine aspect thereof: 'All castes and kinds of men move here. Look! Brahmins and chumars, bankers and tinkers, barbers and bunnias, pilgrims and potters — all the world going and coming. It is to me as a river from which I am withdrawn like a log after a flood.'[160] The Rissaldar has led an adventurous life, and Huck and Kim are similarly prone to leading adventurous lives as they journey on, or in search of, a river. Teshoo Lama's quest for the River of the Arrow is comparable to how Huck matures and finds himself during the course of his adventures on the Mississippi. Jim and Teshoo Lama originate from radically different backgrounds to their boy companions, but both teach, and learn, valuable lessons during the course of their respective peregrinations. Teshoo Lama breaks from *samsara* and achieves *nirvana*, saying: 'So thus the search is ended. For the merit that I have acquired, the River of the Arrow is here.'[161] Teshoo

[159] Twain, *Huckleberry Finn, op. cit.*, p. 361.
[160] Kipling, *Kim, op. cit.*, p. 235.
[161] *Ibid*., p. 338.

Lama's journey can be seen to have an element of inevitability about it. The manumission of Jim has a similarly redemptive quality. Tom declares that Aunt Sally set Jim free in her will. 'Turn him loose! He ain't no slave; he's as free as any cretur that walks this earth!'[162] Kim and Huck are forever changed by their adventures in the company of men who are of different ethnicities and cultures to their own. The boy's own story promotes the getting of wisdom.

Conclusion

As we have seen, a novel that is ostensibly about India, has its roots in the literature of the wider Anglosphere. Indeed, the association between Kipling and Twain is a thought-provoking example of nineteenth-century Anglospheric literary relations, though the influence of Scott is of no less significance. *Kim* evinces the robust and straightforward presentation of Twain, while Scott's portrayal of heraldry, chivalry, and duty can be seen to have been a seminal influence. *Kim* is an accolade to Kipling's literary precursors. However, such admiration was reciprocated in full measure. Twain had Kipling's literary works on his library shelves, and declared, 'I know them better that I know anybody else's books'. *Kim* was a particular favourite with Twain, perhaps because of its similarities to *Huckleberry Finn*.[163]

Kim is a cornucopia of recondite intertextuality, in addition to being a celebration of whiteness that is explicit and conscious. Moreover, Kipling's use of intertextuality is not only a means to an end, but also an end in itself, for he clearly wished to show that he respected people of integrity and ability, no matter their ethnicity.[164] *Kim* is a literary work that is a solemn hymn to the British Raj, but that has its roots in stories of the *antebellum* Southern States of America and the Jacobite community of the Scottish Highlands. Once again, we have

[162] Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, op. cit.,* p. 365.
[163] *Baetzhold*, op. cit., p. 188.
[164] Abdul Jan Mohamed, 'The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1978), pp. 59-87 (p. 78).

seen that a boy's own adventure story can be read at the level of serious adult fiction. So-called children's literature can be profound. The immense literary reserve accumulated by many more years of wide-ranging reading than any child could hope to realise in the finite period of childhood enables a sophisticated reader to form a more holistic interpretation of *Kim*, but naïve readers can simply embrace the ambience of the story. Indeed, these dual approaches to reading are not perforce mutually exclusive.

It is the conventional view that naïve readers grasp a story simply at surface level, whereas sophisticated readers understand the complexities. However, naïve readers must grasp *some* of the complexities in order to understand *some* of the simplicities. So-called children's literature is a portal through which the naïve reader is enabled to enter the wider literary realm. It is in effect an education in the guise of an entertainment. To be sure, *Kim* is a celebration of an inextinguishable white identity. Whiteness can be seen to be much more than the sum of phenotypical attributes. As has been amply evidenced, *Kim* is a boy's own novel, and a literary novel, but it is above all a white novel.