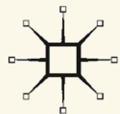
READING THE ANIMAL IN THE LITERATURE OF THE BRITISH RAJ

SHEFALI RAJAMANNAR

FOREWORD BY JAMES R. KINCAID



"This is a must read for scholars of nineteenth-century studies, postcolonial theory, history, and animal studies. *Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj* is a fascinating, nuanced study that puts animals back into empire and empire studies. Provocatively arguing that the animal is the ultimate subaltern, Rajamannar demonstrates the imagined, physical, and political power of the hunt and the hunted through the lens of guns and cameras. At the same time, within a rich landscape of theory and history, animals themselves are treated as subjects who deserve attention."

—Teresa Mangum, associate professor of English,
University of Iowa, director, Obermann Center
for Advanced Studies, president (2009–11),
Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies

"Postcolonial studies have been vitally concerned with the constitution of human hierarchies of race and domination. Few, however, have paused to ask how those hierarchies extend to the hierarchization of species. What is the role of the animals so ubiquitous in imperial representations of the colony? Shefali Rajamannar answers this question with subtlety and telling archival detail, capturing in sharp and illuminating readings the ambiguity as well as the orientalist function of animals in the representation of the Raj. For anyone who has ever experienced the ambivalent effect, at once oppressive and playful, of reading Kipling's *Jungle Book,* Rajamannar's study will be a revelation."

—David Lloyd, professor of English and Comparative
Literature, University of Southern California

"Energizes posthumanist literary and cultural criticism in a truly original and important way. It reminds us that the British Empire was a powerful—and often violent—attempt to shape the environment after its own vision. It was a vision, Rajamannar argues convincingly, where the respective ideologies of social and ecological domination crucially nourished each other with symbolic and material legitimacy."

—Saikat Majumdar, assistant professor of English,
Stanford University, author of *Prose of the World*
(forthcoming) and *Silverfish*

"Maybe it's the times we live in, but who wouldn't want to read about tigers and elephants, howdahs and hookahs, princes and *pukka*-sahibs? I don't know of other books in any academic field—or jungle—that so persuasively invite us to look again at the increasingly exotic British men and women of this period.

Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj is a fascinating and beautifully written description of the *work* that representations of animals

did for the British in the time of the Raj . . . The author makes excellent use of an impressive array of source materials to support her arguments. Her close readings of these narratives, photographs, and illustrations are exciting and original, and she provides just the right amount of historical and cultural context."

—Richard Tithecott, author of *Of Men and Monsters: Jeffrey Dahmer and the Construction of the Serial Killer*

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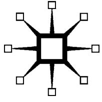

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For my mother, with love

I is for India,
Our Land in the East
Where everyone goes
To shoot tigers, and feast.
—Mary Frances Ames,
An ABC For Baby Patriots

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Foreword

The field of animal studies has fast been gaining momentum in recent decades, and the time to consider its centrality and deep resonance with literary studies is long overdue. Despite some brilliant studies in the field, in Victorian studies especially, the academic perception of such scholarship is often not much different from that of the average idiot (say, me) whose idea of our relation to animals comes from pets, zoos, and watching heartwarming videos on YouTube. Such things are designed to elicit pat responses to "the cute," a perception of the "almost human," offering a flattering but awkward obeisance in the form of imitation.

That view of animals is not unlike the strenuous othering routinely performed on ethnicity, class, and gender. One thinks of Dr. Johnson's centuries-old, now-plainly-vicious observations on women preachers: "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." Updated a little and disguised even less, such assurances of superiority and distinction still abound: we are not dogs; we are not—whatever it is. Our cultural, essential identity is produced by a series of "we are nots," animals filling that need most routinely, automatically.

While such obtuse condescension is understandably annoying to the particularly gifted scholars in the field, it's a very good thing, really, that each book, facing something worse than ignorance in its readers, must start right there at the beginning, unable to skip past familiar assumptions and theoretical issues. Anyone taking up animal studies, that is, must not only justify but patiently explain. The field carries within it, at least for now, a mandate to encounter the still-fresh strangeness of its form and approach: we can see how cultures operate in sharp and often uncomfortable ways by looking as closely as we can at what they thought about and did to animals. Once we grasp this, we're off to a very unusual and rocketing party, but to get us there, the author must lay out the theory, think foundationally. What are animals, how do they function inside cultural formations, how do they serve fear and attraction, the devices of othering, how do they situate us, tell us what we are?

No book I know handles this task with more acuity and lucidity than Shefali Rajamannar's *Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj.* Dr. Rajamannar keeps her focus keenly on her subject, the way the British Raj imagined and imposed itself by way of distinguishing itself from nature and the animal, and how that othering worked in parallel ways in matters of gender, age, class, and finally, in the outwardly confident (though not-so-secretly anxious) manufacturing of a dominant race. Too rich to summarize here, the argument builds patiently and with a beautifully unintrusive feel for the telling example, always presented quietly and serenely, even when the implications are disturbing, heartbreaking. Rajamannar knows how to use understatement, keep herself out of the way of her sophisticated and original argument. The book exists, as it were, on two levels. One offers a shattering and new view of the construction on power and oppression by way of the othering performed on class, race, gender, nationhood, and species—in the Raj—and the other is a deeply suggestive meditation on our humanness, how we locate it in a spectrum of relations and not as an isolated given, much less as a stable pinnacle of a pyramid: how can we see ourselves fluidly and relationally in ways that do not induce panic and slaughter and may, some day, allow even some play, some love.

Several points deserve brief mention, or at least signposts. One is the remarkable way in which new historical ideas of childhood and the essence of the child were developed and used to see and form the colonial subject as the weak and dependent animal inside a mammoth structure that was Empire. The animal or subject, exactly parallel to "the child," was made passive and empty, thus necessitating and naturalizing that ghastly formation, "the modern family" (the Empire), and giving to oppression the sweet guise of protecting, nurturing, caring.

It is through close analyses of these details that the book explores its main questions: how did the British Empire make itself and how did it appear to itself and to the others it was formulating? How does it appear to us? In order to make this mirror work, cultural energies built on a fundamental Western Humanistic tradition—"Man is the measure of all things"—fueled, of course, by Judeo-Christian notions of the rightful dominance of man over beasts, birds, and the like. Empire, in this sense, is a way to secure the notion of "the human" and stabilize it in frighteningly changing times.

The work of the Raj spread everywhere, even to such things as indoctrination of children. Dr. Rajamannar does wonderful work with a chilling child-reader from 1899, *An ABC for Baby Patriots*. This unsubtle bit of cutesiness contains things such as "I is for India, / Our land in the East / Where everyone goes / To shoot tigers, and feast." Rajamannar also works

brilliantly and with characteristic persuasive economy on the paradigmatic practice of hunting, both ceremonial and otherwise. On the one hand, both cultures hunted; but with some important differences. The British regarded hunting, centrally, as a way of asserting dominance over an alien other, establishing inner and outward mastering: controlling, wiping out, penetrating nature. The Indian, on the other hand, had less of an adversarial approach to nature, viewing it not so much as an adversary to be vanquished than as part of a complex web of being. I am simplifying here, but the rush of Brits, eager to gain an easy pass to manly oomph and class status by riding an elephant to shoot a tiger makes us think—or should—of our own practices. Perhaps not "everyone," as in the *ABC*, went to "shoot tigers, and feast," but thinking about animals solely in hierarchical ways became integral to the cultural imagination.

And, in a way, still is. This book subtly forces on us a dark and humbling view of our own stupid egoism, our desperate allegiance to absurd structures of dominance, achieved at the expense of animals. Most of us can admit "we're sort of animal," without really seeing that, if so, animals are "sort of human." Running through the book, in other words, is a meditation, carried out, as it were, through the reader, on our humanness, how we secure it at such great expense, damaging the world around us and ourselves, just as deeply.

But the book is not satisfied with such a grim effect. It never gloats at its own superior virtue but, instead, quietly opens to us the possibility of a different humanness, how we might locate it fluidly and relationally, not as a secure pinnacle of a pyramid, but as a dynamic set of mobile relations, working interdependently. We need not, this book whispers to us, see ourselves in such anxious ways, need not panic, oppress, and slaughter. We might, indeed, see our unstable kinships as subject to wonder, to play, and to love. We can get there, to a much finer party than awaits us at the end of a tiger hunt, if we can only, as Dr. Rajamannar tickles us into doing, "let the subaltern roar."

JAMES R. KINCAID

James R. Kincaid, Aerol Arnold Professor of English at the University of Southern California, is one of the foremost authorities in Victorian Literature and Culture and in the field of Cultural Studies. He is the author of several books, including *Annoying the Victorians, Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture,* and *Dickens and the Rhetoric of Laughter*.

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Glossary

Ankus A stick with a sharp spike and hook used for goading elephants.

Bandar Monkey.

Bazaar Market.

Beaters People employed to scare and drive animals out of areas of cover and towards the hunters by using sticks to hit bushes, tall grasses, and trees while shouting or making loud noises such as banging drums.

Bibi Wife.

Bungalow (in India) a one-storey house, usually surrounded by a veranda. From the Hindi word *bangla*.

Company-wallah *See* Wallah.

Dharma One's personal obligations, calling, and duty; that which upholds or supports divine or natural law (the natural order of things). The term has a variety of meanings in Hinduism, as well as in later religions such as Buddhism and Jainism which adopted it.

Durbar A term in India for a court or levee. A durbar may be either a council for administering affairs of state, or a purely ceremonial gathering. In the former sense the native rulers of India in the past, like the amir of Afghanistan today, received visitors and conducted business in durbar. A durbar is the executive council of a native state. In the latter sense the word has come to be applied to great ceremonial gatherings like Lord Lytton's durbar for the proclamation of the queen empress in India in 1877, or the Delhi durbar of 1903. (Source: Classic Encyclopedia, based on the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica*).

Hindostan India (*also* Hindustan).

Howdah A carriage which is positioned on the back of an elephant, or occasionally some other animal, used most

	often in the past to carry wealthy people or for use in hunting or warfare.
Hunquah	Large-scale driving of animals into nets or spaces before killing them.
Keddah	An enclosure constructed to entrap wild elephants.
Lathi	Long, stout wooden stick.
Machan	Platform used to shoot from. Frequently constructed in trees.
Maharaj	Great king (*also* Maharaja or Maharajah).
Mahout	Elephant trainer, driver and/or keeper.
Memsahib	A woman sahib ("madam"+"sahib").
Nautch-girls	Dancing girls (from the Hindi word *naach*).
Nawab	*Frequently* Nawaub or Nabob in British writings. A provincial governor, or person of great wealth or prominence.
Nazar	Gold coins ritually presented to a suzerain in return for khillat (literally, a robe) that symbolically rendered the givers of nazar and peshkash not just "servants of the king, but part of him" (Cohn 168).
Peshkash	Valuables, such as elephants, horses, or jewels ritually presented to a suzerain in return for khillat. *See Nazar.*
Pukka	Authentic, genuine, or first-rate. From the Hindi word *pakka*, meaning cooked or ripe.
Rajah	King (*also* Raja).
Ranah	King, royal title (mainly Rajput).
Ranee	Queen (*also* Rani).
Sahib	A term of address equivalent to "sir," used as a mark of respect to a man of social status.
Sepoy	A native soldier, usually an infantryman in the service of the British. From the Urdu/Hindi word *sipahi* (soldier).
Shekarrie	*See* Shikari.
Shikar	*Literally,* a hunt, especially the hunting of game for sport. Often used for a ceremonial hunt
Shikari	Hunter. Often, a professional hunter or guide.
Subaltern	A chiefly British military term for a junior officer, literally meaning subordinate or lower-ranked. In postcolonialism (and related fields), subaltern refers to persons socially, politically, and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure.
Syce	Groom (for horses).

Tamasha	Show, spectacle (*depending upon context*, commotion).
Tush	Tusk, long pointed tooth (*from Middle English*).
Vizier	A high executive officer.
Wallah	A person who is associated with a particular occupation or who performs a specific duty or service. Usually used in combination with the service performed, such as Company-wallah (or companywallah) for employees of the East India Company, or chai-wallah for a person who makes or delivers tea. *Feminine*: wali.
Wau! Wau!	Exclamation of approbation. Phonetic spelling by Williamson.

Chapter 1

Introduction: Why the Animal? Or, Can the Subaltern Roar, and Other Risky Questions

Some Theoretical Frameworks

"[W]hat did the British Empire *look like?*" This is the question historian David Cannadine poses in his preface to *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire.* From here, he proceeds to a fascinating study of the manner in which the Raj presented and visualized itself. However, despite the strong presence of the animal in some of the photographs and examples that Cannadine uses to make his arguments, his focus—that of the historiographer of men—remains human-centered. He thereby elides some of the strongest markers of the Raj: the tigers, elephants, boars, furs, and feathers that sometimes all but obscure the human beneath and behind them, and that were so important a part of creating and maintaining the hierarchies that were the cornerstones of colonialism.

But it is not just *Ornamentalism* that bypasses the conspicuous animal presence in the stories and visuals of British India. While there has been a range of perceptive studies analyzing colonial policy in India from Marxist, feminist, deconstructive, and postcolonial perspectives, surprisingly few of these have concentrated on the virtually inescapable figure of the Indian animal rendered invisible in plain sight. A recent interest in environmental and animal studies has begun to remedy this lack, notably with the publication of works written or edited by Richard Grove, Dhriti Lahiri-Choudhury, J. A. Mangan, Jopi Nyman, M. S. S. Pandian, Mahesh Rangarajan, Harriet

Ritvo, Heather Schnell, and Keith Thomas. Despite these excellent works, analyses of the animal in colonial writings remains a relatively undeveloped field, particularly with respect to textual critique. Given how insistent the presence of the nonhuman other is, however, we must ask: What purpose does the dominance of other species—whole or reduced to their constituent parts—serve in narratives and visuals of the Raj? What purpose did this proliferation of animal images, and especially hunting narratives, serve? If highlighting the animal presence was an important detail used to capture the realities of India, then why are ubiquitous animals such as the cow and the dog rendered virtually absent in imperial texts? Which animals get foregrounded, and what purpose does such a foregrounding serve?

Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj endeavors to answer these questions—including Cannadine's—by taking into consideration the animal presence in those discourses and texts that were so successfully deployed in the creation of the spectacle that supported the British Raj, and that controlled its ideological base. In the process, I hope to uncover the ways in which the animal not only reflects various colonial manipulations, but is often in fact foundational to such political and rhetorical manoeuvres. I will discuss the production and circulation of animal narratives in imperial England and colonial India as a means of attending to the practices of knowing how constructs of animals play into, and are in turn influenced by, a variety of forms of othering taking place in England during its imperial venture. I read some of the different ways in which a variety of colonial animals were imagined during the period of the Raj in an attempt to understand both the reasons for, as well as the results of, such constructs.

Drawing on a range of literary and other textual forms—hunting narratives, short stories, novels, poetry, photographs, journals, paintings, and cartoons—this book examines imperialism as manifested during the Raj through a posthumanist critique. Using postcolonial deconstruction in conjunction with animal studies and an ecocritical perspective, I argue that categories such as race, class, gender, age, and species do not exist in isolation, but emerge in intimate relation to one another, as part of an intricate pattern of power dictating the way the world is formulated. In other words, the triumvirate of race, class, and gender should no longer be read in isolation from the categories of species and age if we are to have a fuller understanding of the writing and believing of colonial narratives. The basic premise that underlies my argument and choice of theoretical frameworks is that a systematic—and systemic—acceptance of the hierarchization of living beings undergirds the mind-set and worldview that work in a symbiotic relationship with a phenomenon such as imperialism. An investigation of hierarchies centered on constructs such as human/animal,

childhood/adulthood, and masculinity/femininity is therefore essential in the exploration not only of imperialism (the particular focus of my book) but, by extension, of the various forms of othering and colonization practiced by humans. Given that the human/animal distinction is arguably the most fundamental to human thought, and especially to Western philosophies, investigating the animal in the writings of the Raj allows for a fascinating and unexpectedly naked access to the writing and believing of colonial narratives.

Theoretical Frameworks

The theoretical trajectories that I employ are either directly or indirectly useful to the exploration of classic Western nature/culture dichotomies, specifically as these relate to the human/animal divide with its resultant constructs of human-ness and animal-ness. Let me begin, as so much postcolonial literary theory does, with Frantz Fanon who, in his analysis of the Manichean binaries of colonization[1] points out that the "logical conclusion" to the various mechanisms by which the native is dehumanized is to "[turn] him into an animal. In fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms" (42). In an attempt to "rehumanize" the colonized, postcolonial critics such as Edward Said and Homi Bhabha have used structuralist, post-structuralist, and deconstructive tools to break away from the limitations of Western humanism and decolonize the West's discursive constructs of the non-West by systematically dismantling the strategies through which European culture had managed and produced the Orient. As Leela Gandhi writes, if Western humanisms such as the literary movement of the sixteenth century and the scientific developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had celebrated the human being as "the measure of all things," they had almost always been accompanied by the "barely discernible corollary which suggest[ed] that some human beings are more human than others" (*PT* 29). If the essence of humanity was defined as a constellation of particular and specific qualities, it followed that any human who did not display these was subhuman.[2] Postcolonialism tries to dismantle this asymmetry by addressing questions of epistemology and agency through a culturally inclusive and global lens. Such an approach allows for greater insights into how the symbolic power of imperialism functions—and fails—in addition to examining the strategies that have been used to resist it. Bhabha's formulations of mimicry and ambivalence, for instance, complicate binaries of civilization/barbarian, progressive/primitive, and mature/immature to demonstrate the "continual

slippage of categories, like sexuality, class affiliation, territorial paranoia, or 'cultural difference' " in colonialist discourse.[3]

Postcolonial theories were quickly tapped into by feminist critics who articulated additional revisions of colonial writing by foregrounding gender issues. Feminist postcolonial writers evaluated primary notions of masculinity and femininity and investigated both the resistance and complicity of women in the colonial zone. Gayatri Spivak, for example, drew attention to the gendering of imperial subjects, in addition to discussing the making of the white feminist woman.[4] Using Jacques Derrida's notion of difference, she argues that that no one binary of race, class, or gender can adequately capture the multiple constructions of difference between human beings because of how closely intertwined these categories are in the production of colonial "knowledge." Nancy Stepan points out that the scientific theorizing which was so strategic to hierarchisizing human variation, "depended heavily on an analogy linking race to gender: women became a racialized category, and non-white peoples were feminized" (cited in Hall, *CS* 17). Echoing this theme, Anne McClintock writes:

> Imperialism cannot be understood without a theory of gender power. Gender power was not the superficial patina of empire, an ephemeral gloss over the more decisive mechanics of class or race. Rather, gender dynamics were, from the outset, fundamental to the securing and maintenance of the imperial enterprise. (6–7)

While attention to gender is invaluable in understanding the workings of empire, theories about the inferiority of women have existed long before the relatively recent phenomenon of modern imperialism. Such conceptualizations have been a staple of philosophies across human history and cultures; what is more, almost without exception, such thinking uses comparisons of women and animals to make its point. Aristotle, for instance, expounded at length on the animality of women, drawing parallels between women, slaves, and animals in his treatise *On the Generation of Animals* (59). But it is not just women and slaves who have historically been compared to animals. Cary Wolfe discusses the manner in which humans have evoked comparisons with animals as a universally recognized and particularly efficient shorthand for othering individuals or peoples different from themselves virtually across cultures. He notes that the "discourse of animality" has been used to construct not only women but other oppressed groups; because this discourse has "historically served as a crucial strategy in the oppression of humans by other humans" (xx), he reasons that it is not surprising that postcolonial and feminist postcolonial critics have frequently concentrated on "the systematic 'bestialization' of

individuals and racialized human groups" (Etienne Balibar, qtd. in Wolfe, *Zoontologies* xx).[5]

Such a systematic bestialization can only be effective in the context of deeply rooted, systemic hierarchies of humans and animals. Given that Aristotle was the father of Western scientific and religious tradition, it is not surprising that the various articulations of these traditions—the divine chain of being and even Darwinian evolution as it was popularized in the late nineteenth century—all assigned a definitive (and "primitive") status to the animal in their formulations of human-animal relationships. Harriet Ritvo calls our attention to the fact that the very phrase "the animal kingdom" was a metaphor for a commonwealth that paralleled the human one, held in an equally delicate balance of hierarchy always threatened with chaos "if its members, especially its subordinate members, failed to recognize their places and do their jobs" (*AE* 17). "[E]xcept in the western scientific tradition," writes the anthropologist Descola, "representations of non-humans are usually not based on a coherent and systematic corpus of ideas. They are expressed contextually in daily actions and interactions, in lived-in knowledge and body techniques, in practical choices and hasty rituals."[6] The relegation of the animal to a subordinate position in relation to human beings had deadly consequences for both the animals, and the humans perceived as less human than others under humanism.

In his fascinating work *Human Rights, Animal Rights: Entanglements of Oppression and Liberation*, David Nibert explores how systemic prejudices against "humans and other animals" work, arguing that they serve an important strategic function for those who employ them (17). Explicating his thesis that "prejudice is a *tool* of oppression and not its cause," he examines the writings of early twentieth-century sociologist Oliver Cromwell Cox, who emphasized that racism benefited groups who had power by legitimizing the oppression of other groups:

> Racial antagonism reached full maturity during the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the sun no longer set on British soil and the great nationalistic powers of Europe began to justify their economic design.... [W]ork had to be done, and if not voluntarily, then some ideology had to be found to justify involuntary servitude. The Indians were represented as lazy, filthy pagans, of bestial morals, no better than dogs, and fit only for slavery, in which state alone there might be some hope of converting them to Christianity. (17)

The last sentence of this passage brings together a familiar constellation of hierarchies in imperial writing. The nonhuman animal must be constructed as particularly base (literally at the bottom of the divinely ordained chain

of being) in order for the metaphors describing the human native to work. The native must be established as incapable of dragging himself out of his animal state without the saving interventions of capitalistic labor, which will at least raise him into the realm of the (lowest) humans…in which state he will doubtless need to stay for a while, producing away, before he can ascend to the next quasi-evolutionary religious rung.

Dismantling animal constructs helps make evident the manner in which prejudices toward human and nonhuman work in conjunction with one another. Irrespective of the issue of how animals are treated, the human-animal distinction is the most foundational hierarchy of human thinking and practice, providing the most basic "ism" that underlies all other forms of discrimination. Since investigating hierarchies is an important part of academic endeavor, it follows that the critical tools employed by fields such as postcolonial studies can fruitfully be used in conjunction with animal studies and ecocriticism to better understand human practices of "knowing" both animal and human. Just about every postcolonial concept can be pushed a *little* further to become even more inclusive, and so allow us to investigate the liminal nonhuman lurking at the margins of human-ness.

Can the Subaltern Roar? And Other Risky Questions

I extend a risky proposition: that the animal is the ultimate subaltern. Following Spivak's seminal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" the subaltern is that which has been denied a voice or a "subject-position" in history since it does not have a consciousness comprehensible within traditional patriarchy (25). Spivak specifies that she is not implying that the subaltern does not cry out in various ways, but defines the act of having a voice as a transaction between speaker and listener, a "dialogic utterance" that must be decoded appropriately in order for it to qualify as speech. Without speech, the subaltern is doomed to inhabit "the space of difference" (Spivak, "Interview" 30) with all the attendant dangers of such a position, including the risk of being "spoken for." Thus the cries of the hog that Robert Baden-Powell hunts (see chapter 4) are heard, interpreted, and appropriated by him as signifying "pleasurable excitement," even a sense of equal participation in the chase, in order to read legitimacy into his manly sport.

Spivak's formulation of the subaltern, like that of the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG), takes as its starting point Gramsci's original definition of the

subaltern as that which is structurally written out of the capitalist bourgeois narrative; in postcolonial terms, everything which has limited or no access to the cultural imperialism is subaltern. This is particularly relevant to nonhuman others who are rendered even more completely invisible in capitalist systems where the invisibility of the means of production ensures that they are often only seen as twice-removed commodities, particularly in the form of food or clothing (the primary form in which they appear in literature for adults). Thus, rendered structurally invisible and unable to "speak," the animal, like Bhabha's native, is both the ultimate "'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."[7]

When this formulation is carried to its conclusion, one might say, with Peter Steeves, "When a cow is just a cow, [that is the moment when] McDonald's becomes possible" (2). The notion that a cow may indeed not be "just a cow" but a being-in-itself, a constellation of ideas in its own right, uses an animal studies perspective to reveal the othering of species. Central to this perspective is the concept of "speciesism," a term first formulated by Richard Ryder and subsequently popularized by Peter Singer in his influential work *Animal Liberation*, (1975) as "[a] prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interests of one's species and against those of members of another species" (7). In fact, an accelerating critical interest in animals and a new look at their roles within and outside of human cultures has led a variety of theorists in the social sciences to use the concept of speciesism to better understand how other forms of discrimination (racism, sexism, ageism) function in human societies.

But it is not just in the social sciences that the animal has radically changed place. As a response to a crisis in humanism itself, leading theorists within the humanities—Kristeva, Derrida, Deleuze, Lacan, Zizek, and Bataille, to name just a few—have devoted considerable attention to the question of the animal in the last three decades. Interestingly, as Cary Wolfe notes, investigating the ways in which the human has imagined the animal has increasingly resulted in the articulation of the human *as subject*.[8] While this may at first sound suspiciously like the old "humanism," there is a crucial difference. Humanism privileged *a* type of human identity and what he (and always he) knew. The more recent investigations of human-as-subject, on the other hand, consider what Peter Steeves calls "affinities rather than identities, fractured identities rather than stable identities, and . . . *situated* knowledges rather than mythical, pure objectivity" (Steeves 68, emphasis mine). Given its emphasis on the myriad ways that the human is intertwined in complex relationships with animals, the environment, and technology for which the theoretical and ethical formulations of humanism no longer remain adequate, this discipline has been described (and not described) by its practitioners as posthumanism.

Posthumanism and the Animal

> *Species is about the dance linking kin and kind. . . . The discursive tie among the colonized, the enslaved, the noncitizen, and the animal—all reduced to type, all others to rational man, and all essential to his bright constitution—is at the heart of racism and, lethally, flourishes in the entrails of humanism.*
>
> —*Donna Haraway, "Encounters with Companion Species: Entangling Dogs, Baboons, Philosophers, and Biologists"*[9]

Unlike the certainties that inscribe the "knowledge" that hunting narratives claim about animals with their confident use of the "is" (that "simple copula" described by Said as being so effective in its implications of the "timeless eternal"[10]; the tiger is cowardly, the hog is cunning, and so on), posthumanism calls for a questioning of borderlines. The "post" in posthumanist thinking indicates a philosophical rethinking of tidy categorizations of humanity and animality. So muses Derrida in *The Animal That Therefore I Am*:

> Yes, the wholly other, more other than any other, which *they* call an animal. . . . As with every bottomless gaze, as with the eyes of the other, the gaze called "animal" offers to my sight the abyssal limit of the human . . . that is to say, the bordercrossing from which vantage man dares to announce himself to himself. . . . It institutes what is proper to man, the relation to itself of a humanity that is above all anxious about, and jealous of, what is proper to it. . . . Yes, animal, what a word! *Animal* is a word that men have given themselves the right to give. (11–14; 32)

Naked under the gaze of his cat and being "seen seen" by it, he plays with the idea of "a taxonomy of the *point of view of animals*." Engaged in the mutuality of gazes he and his cat are sharing, Derrida considers the taken-for-grantedness of human taxonomies as he becomes conscious of rapidly blurring borders between human and animal. Judith Grant's reading of Darwin echoes a similar collapse of boundaries:

> If Darwin's idea that humans are *a kind of* animal seems obvious to nearly everyone at this point, the corollary, that animals must then be *kind of* human, does not. . . . Remarkably, the one aspect of Darwin's theory that is utterly rejected by most of the scientific community is the one Darwin took the most pains to press; the idea that animals and humans are essentially the same. . . . For Darwin, differences between humans and animals were merely ones of degree. Not even those most salient of markers, reason, moral sentiments, or language, were thought by him to be unique to humankind. (6)

Grant's perspective on Darwin is in contrast to nineteenth-century humanist readings of his work that, despite the initial shock of his postulation of human as animal, primarily saw in his writings a legitimation of exclusionism and racial hierarchies. Her more inclusionary reading refuses to see animals as a mere subset of the human, but stresses that each is a "kind" of the other. This acceptance of difference along a horizontal rather than vertical axis delegitimizes hierarchies and thus points toward more equitable ways of thinking.

Similarly, in contrast to the deceptive simplicity of the constructs of "cowhood" within a McDonald's culture, Donna Haraway discusses the language used in primatology as a complex taxonomic order imbricated with political and economic contexts. Like Simone de Beauvoir's observation that a woman is not born a woman but becomes one, she argues that human constructs of primates have highly "situated knowledges," tropes, and agendas that often have little to do with science (*SCW 2*). Drawing upon the work of Said, she claims that "simian 'orientalist' discourse" mirrors the work of Orientalism by constructing terms such as "animal, nature, body, primitive, female" (*PV* 11) in order to other the nonhuman.

For Haraway, as for other posthumanist theorists, neither the animal nor the human is a given, both being part of an ongoing process of scientific and anthropological evolution. If, as a matter of shifting perspectives and changing ideological foci, both "human" and "animal" are constructs, it follows that "human" and "animal" can not only be remade differently, but more justly—both for those who have historically fallen outside the ruling paradigms of "the human" because of their lack of the "constellation of qualities" that defined what it is to be human, and for those who, because of a similar (but greater) lack have been denied any "equality of consideration" whatsoever.[11] Such an endeavour might conceivably lead us toward a serious contemplation of a differential system that is not hierarchical. Spivak's "le pratique sauvage" ("wild practice"), for example, moves in such a direction with its implication that people must actively participate in radically inclusive politics that recognize the interests of the immense diversity of both humans and nonhumans.[12]

It is the focus on ethical dimensions such as the above that lead me to locate this book within the contested, inclusive, constantly shifting, variously defined concept of posthumanism. Described by Simon Bart as an "interdisciplinary perspective informed by academic poststructuralism, postmodernism, feminist and postcolonial studies, and science and technology studies" (1), the broad label of posthumanism is the most appropriate descriptor for an analysis of the rhetorical, political, and social devices used by humans to construct the colonial animal according to the scientific and popular taxonomies of their nation and time.

I am only too aware of the limitations of such an endeavour—of both the inescapable anthropocentricism of posthumanism, as well as the virtually unavoidable "writing back to the metropolitan center" built into the edifices of the privileged, even romanticized, postcolonial text. I accordingly end this section with a slight misquote from Samuel Beckett: There is . . . nothing with which to express, nothing from which to express, no power to express . . . which makes more inescapable the ethical obligation to express (139).

Theories of Imperialism

Over the last century and a half, colonial and imperial historiography have undergone several revisions.[13] Broadly speaking, earlier interpretations of British history stressed the motivations for imperialism as originating almost entirely from the metropolitan center. For historians following Lenin and Hobson, the impulses behind empire had economic roots in a specific phase of capitalism that powered the drive to protect overseas markets for British trade and investment, as well as to provide Britain with the raw materials for its recent industrialization. For others, the primary imperial imperative was military and strategic, "the rush to conquest as a by-product of the Napoleonic wars, and the need to protect the route to India by annexing ports and coaling stations along the way" (Cannadine xiv). Still other historians view the British as fundamentally spurred by Evangelicalism and a belief in their divinely appointed civilizational mission.

Inspired by exciting new writing on race, gender, and culture, a range of fresh approaches to the history of empire appeared from the 1970s onward. Influenced by cultural modernism, these theories aimed to stress the importance not just of the metropole but of the "periphery," by laying a greater emphasis on the stories of native peoples in the former colonies, including their struggles for independence. Further, instead of merely concentrating on official records and writings of "elites," whether British or Indian, social scientists such as the SSG of Ranajit Guha, Gyan Prakash, and Partha Chatterjee began to insist on the inclusion of broader categories of colonial and imperial texts for purposes of historical and cultural readings. The SSG's work was further incorporated into postmodern and postcolonial analysis often originating from literary scholarship, and used by theorists such as Spivak and Bhabha to examine the role of women and other groups without a "voice," including the various forms of resistance these groups displayed in response to foreign rule. Even though postcolonial theory was (and remains) primarily

related to the field of literature, as a critical mode of thinking that is highly interdisciplinary it quickly became indispensable in other parts of the academy.

During the last decade, scholars examining imperialism have paid attention not just to the "othering" of native peoples and antagonistic relationships between colonizer and colonized, but also to the "continuities and intimacies" (Boehmer, *ENP* 2) that existed between different groups. In gesturing toward the collaborative strains through which some native peoples negotiated their relationships with their rulers to varying degrees, historians such as Ian Copland have highlighted the role of hitherto neglected groups such as the Indian princes, who performed an important part in maintaining the Raj while protecting their own concerns.

In a related yet distinct move that emphasizes other kinds of "continuities" as well as postcolonial readings, cultural historians such as Catherine Hall, Ronald Hyam, David Cannadine, and David Armitage have pointed to omissions by both British social historians (who failed to take the colonies into account in any serious way) and social historians of colonialism (who rarely considered what was going on in Britain during the periods they were analyzing). As these more recent cultural historiographers point out, even in recent decades the history of the British Empire tended to be written as if it were disconnected from and independent of the history of the British nation. Stressing the "imperative of placing colony and metropole in one analytic frame" (*CS* 9) with a view to enhancing the understanding of both British and Indian history, Hall calls for work that analyzes the interconnections *between* social visions of the metropolis and the periphery, in addition to an investigation of the structures and systems that unified and undergirded these. Moreover, as Cannadine notes, while the British Empire was a geopolitical entity, it was also a "culturally created, imaginatively constructed artifact" (3). Arguing that "[t]here can be no satisfactory history of Britain without empire, and no satisfactory history of empire without Britain," he calls for the recognition that "Britain was very much a part of the empire, just as the rest of the empire was very much a part of Britain" (xvii):

> [The empire was a] vehicle for the extension of British social structures, and the setting for the projection of British social perceptions, to the end of the world—and back again. . . . To the extent there was a unified, coherent imperial enterprise, there is a case for saying that it was the effort to fashion and to tie together the empire abroad in the vernacular image of the domestic, ranked social hierarchy. Thus understood it was at least as much (perhaps more?) about the replication of sameness and similarities originating from home as it was about the insistence on difference and dissimilarities originating from overseas. (xix–xxi)

In my analysis of the multiplicity of ways by which the Indian animal was (re)fashioned according to a variety of images exported from Britain, I primarily employ the theory of empire postulated by this last group of cultural historians who hypothesize that metropole and colony cannot be discussed without each other. The next chapter of this book therefore briefly examines how ideas surrounding animals in metropolitan England, and constructs of childhood, adulthood, gender, and class reinforced and played off one another, specifically with reference to the defining of the "Englishness" that was so important a part of the colonial enterprise.

What Lies Ahead

Chapter 2 traces the rhetorical battlefield of the child as it emerged in England during the period of European expansionism, examining how the notion of childhood—together with its corollary of adulthood—fed into constructs of class and gender that impacted imaginings of animals and colonial peoples. The chapter goes on to investigate notions surrounding the "adult" upper-class Victorian gentleman and what he represented, exploring the growth of public school ideals and notions of "rational recreation" that served to articulate differences between classes and allowed for differential evaluations of their treatment of animals. The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the insistent presence of the animal in imperial writing for children.

In contrast to the invisible animal in canonical British fiction is the highly visible, indeed often spectacularly foregrounded, animal in many of the visuals and narratives of the Raj. Given that so many of these writings center around hunting, chapters 3 and 4 investigate colonial hunting narratives to understand the multiple roles of the Indian animal in the imperial venture. The practice of hunting game for sport, or shikar, is a particularly rich site for an analysis of the workings of the Raj, and encapsulates the gamut of activities and images—conquest, recreation, hierarchy—associated with it. I examine the complex layers of othering that the colonial animal is subjected to as native and imperial hunters negotiate hunting landscapes in India. The two chapters explore the manner in which strategic and economic needs created ever-changing constructions of Indian animals and fauna, which in turn allowed for the creation of different kinds of "imagined communities," for example, communities that brought together the colonizer and the colonized, men and women, Hindu and Muslim, and the high and the low from assorted social hierarchies.

For purposes of analysis, chapters 3 and 4 divide colonial hunting into the periods before and after the historical landmark of 1857, this being the year of the Sepoy Rebellion that led to the end of the rule of the East India Company, and the beginning of the formal takeover by the British Crown. Each of the two chapters is further subdivided into two periods of time. The first era in chapter 3 covers the early presence of the British in India under the East India Company, roughly the years between 1757 and 1800. This was a period of relative tolerance, even affection and respect for Indian culture; a time known for both its absence of British middle-class racial prejudice and evangelical missionaries, and even for the many "White Mughals" who had embraced native culture. I read Daniel Johnson's *Sketches of Field Sports as Followed by the Natives of India with Observations on the Animals* as a representative hunting narrative of this period. True to its time, *Sketches of Field Sports* does not shy away from dubbing native hunting practices with the hallowed title of "sport," or, for that matter, from describing them in (often approving) detail. This is in contrast to the second period (1800–1857), during which time an increasing sense of British cultural superiority led to markedly hierarchical thinking about both native people and animals. During this period, British hunters saw themselves and their practices as masculine, progressive, brave, and adult in contrast to Indian hunters (of whatever class) who had begun to be constructed as effeminate, backward, cowardly, and childish. In a parallel metonymic move, the Indian animal was increasingly described in terms loaded with the language of morality. The chapter ends with a reading of Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports* and its vivid descriptions of the degenerate qualities of Indian animals being hunted as representative of this time.

Chapter 4 is similarly split into two periods. The first of these covers the era of high empire from 1858 to 1920. The anxieties created by the Rebellion of 1857 led to an increasingly gothic sensibility that impacted representations of the Indian animal in hunting narratives. At the same time, given that getting enough consent from at least some sections of colonized men was essential to establishing a moment of colonial hegemony, this was an age that witnessed a renewed attempt to strategically create bonds with certain sections of Indian society. Since so many of these affiliations were based upon perceived commonalities and shared interests in hunting, the Indian princes now found themselves accorded a particularly privileged status in the Raj. In a parallel but contrasting move, new game laws exported into India now attempted to exclude large groups of native shikaris from traditional hunting spaces by criminalizing their practices. Such a move also shored up the sense of British supremacy by figuring as sportsmanlike and honorable those hunting techniques that virtually

only sahibs had access to. However, this was also a period during which imperial hunters had highly nuanced and complex relationships with several of the native shikaris who worked with them as guides and trackers. I examine the hunting narratives of Baden-Powell as representative of the post-1857 era; given that imperial hog-hunting clubs were seen as the equivalent of the fox-hunting fraternities in England, his focus on pig-sticking presents an opportunity to study the complex rhetorical structures that surround this sport. I next review the writings of the sportswoman Isabel Savoury, considering the role of the woman hunter in the context of imperial shikar, before turning to a reading of the "Tiger Hunting" album (1872), an unpublished sequence of hunting photographs from the George Eastman House.

The last period I investigate in chapter 4 spans the beginnings of the decline of empire from about 1920 until India's independence in 1947. It is surely no coincidence that the period during which imperialism began to be widely critiqued coincided with the historical moment when hunting began to lose some of its glamor, and the protection of (at least some) animals became the new mark of civilization. With the growing perception that expeditions to kill animals were perhaps not the ultimate proof of an evolved society and of masculinity, the ability to find ways to approach big cats and other wild beasts and photograph them at close range now began to be viewed as the new measure of civilized behavior. In this context, I briefly gesture toward the writings of Jim Corbett, India's most famous Anglo-Indian hunter-turned-conservationist from the period of the Raj.

Chapter 5 goes on to ask the question: How is the animal constructed in the fiction of British authors such as Rudyard Kipling and E. M. Forster as, from their very different backgrounds and perspectives, they attempt to capture their experiences during the Raj? What does the use of the animal allow them to do in their writings about India? Discussing Kipling's representations of different beasts, often based upon the degree to which these respect or disregard the hierarchies codified in various "Laws," this chapter explores the manner in which the animal frequently functions as a useful tool to naturalize the public school values implicit in much of Kipling's writing. On occasion, however, the use of the nonhuman allows the culturally torn Kipling to indulge in a playfulness and subversion that undercut the jingoistic imperial rhetoric he is known for. In contrast to the highly visible animal in Kipling's works is Forster's *A Passage to India*. The last section of the chapter briefly examines the role of the animal in Forster's Indian fiction, asking what purpose its near invisibility serves, that wasp, or bird, or generic "animal" always lurking at the margin, often only a mere fragment of a character's thought or memory, all too often unidentified or unseen except for the mark it leaves on a car.

The final chapter examines other (nonhunting, nonfiction related) proliferations of the animal presence in the British Raj, returning to the question with which the book began, of what the Raj looked like. I investigate the use of the beast—especially the elephant in its post-1857 emblematic role—in the creation of the pageantry that marked the period of high empire, and touch upon the use of animals, whole or reduced to their parts, in various ceremonial occasions, imperial exhibitions, and zoos. Given the extent to which constructs of animals in India and Britain reinforced one another, and the degree to which political cartoons reflect dominant ideologies, chapter 6 includes a brief examination of the iconography of lions and tigers in British cartoons of the day. Lastly, the chapter turns to what is virtually the only form of imperial writing that includes the beasts of daily life in India, those cows, dogs, domestic pigs, and buffaloes ubiquitous to the urban and rural landscapes of the country, in order to glance toward the final question this book poses, about which animals get included in narratives of the Raj—and which ones are all but invisible?

I end this introductory chapter with a passage from Cary Wolfe that guided me in formulating the philosophical framework for this book, helping to solidify and give a specific name—*posthumanism*—to the ideas about imperialism, othering, and the animal that I had been playing with for some years:

> Because the discourse of speciesism . . . can be used to mark *any* social other, we need to understand that the ethical and philosophical urgency of confronting the institution of speciesism and crafting a posthumanist theory of the subject *has nothing to do with whether you like animals.* We all, human and nonhuman alike, have a stake in the discourse and institution of speciesism; it is by no means limited to its overwhelmingly direct and disproportionate effects on animals. Indeed, as Gayatri Spivak puts it, "the great doctrines of identity of the ethical universal, in terms of which liberalism thought out its ethical programmes, played history false, because the identity was disengaged in terms of who was and who was not human. That's why all of these projects, the justification of slavery, as well as the justification of Christianization, seemed to be alright; because, after all, these people had not graduated into humanhood, as it were." (*AR* 7)

Chapter 2

Animals, Children, and Street Urchins

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captive's need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.
. . . . .
Take up the White Man's burden!
Have done with childish days . . .

—*Rudyard Kipling "The White Man's Burden" (1899)*

This chapter briefly examines the manner in which constructs of age, class, and gender intertwine to define the Englishness that was central to the discourses surrounding both the animal in England, and the colonial animal. Following the imperative of placing metropole and colony in a single analytic frame to enable a clearer understanding of the ideological structures that unified and undergirded empire,[1] I consider resonant forms of othering taking place in England during the period leading up to, and extending into, her imperial venture between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] Given the importance of age constructs in the imperial enterprise, it is useful to consider the rhetorical battlefield of the child as it emerged in England during the period of European expansionism and examine how the notion of

childhood—together with its corollary of adulthood—fed into ideas about class and gender that impacted imaginings of animals and colonial peoples. Categories such as animal, child, woman, the lower class, and the colonized were predicated upon similar structures of power, hierarchy, and control, and frequently invoked to shore each other up. Thus children were like "brute beasts," women near the animal state, the poor beastlike in their living conditions and manners, and the colonized like "wild beasts" (Thomas 43).

Jenny Sharpe has argued that imperial races created biological explanations of racial degeneration; the binding of human types to racially marked bodies precluded the possibility of social transformation (5). These so-called biological explanations frequently sought to describe the inherent inferiority of the colonized in terms of immaturity and childishness. However, I would tentatively suggest that one could equally examine the relationship between childhood and imperialism from a chicken and egg perspective. In other words, perhaps it was not simply a matter of imperialism using the trope of the child to justify itself but, conceivably, the very concept of childhood as we know it today first needed to exist in order to articulate the particular state of dependency that provided the vocabulary and mind-set with which imperialism could articulate itself.

In his seminal study on childhood, Philippe Ariès argues that the notion of the "child" only really began to emerge as a conceptual category in the West at the beginning of the seventeenth century; he theorizes that in medieval Europe the child was simply regarded as a miniature adult. Although Ariès's work from the early sixties has been critiqued by later scholars, many of his theories on age and gender remain particularly tantalizing in the context of imperialism. His ideas are particularly significant in their recognition of childhood as a social construct and not simply a biological given.[3] Ariès lists the high incidence of child mortality, and the assumption of early responsibilities, including marriage, as being among the reasons why childhood was not seen as a separate category in earlier ages. Conceivably, the much shorter life expectancy for adults could also have prevented thinking of human life in terms of age-categories.[4] Inasmuch as previous centuries had thought of early human years in terms of a transition from infanthood to a sort of miniature adulthood, the notion of age as power only began to take shape once childhood began to be seen as a preparation for adulthood; to view the child not as a miniature adult, but as a *potential* adult irresistibly brings to mind the notion of molding him. By the late seventeenth century, John Locke's idea of the mind as a tabula rasa, or blank slate, had paved the way for being able to think about an entire category of beings who needed to be guided, and over whom adults had power.[5] Arguably, once such a notion had been set in place, it became easy enough to replace one category of undeveloped beings to be so guided, with another.

Thinking of the child in this manner further enabled the articulation of the family unit as having at its head a patriarch who monitored the *libertas* of all.[6] It is surely no coincidence that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe—when the idea of childhood began to emerge—were also the period of a renewed interest in the concept of Universal Monarchy derived from the *imperium* of the Romans. In combination with Christian images of the shepherd and his flock, such imagery underlined the idea of a benevolent father-ruler who knew what was best for his children, and could legitimately adopt aggressive means to protect them from enemies, even from themselves, if necessary.[7] Thus, in a pioneering lecture delivered in 1537, the Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitoria, Prime Professor of Theology at the University of Salamanca drew upon the recently established status of children as being entirely dependent upon adults to support the dispossession of the American Indians by the Spanish. Since childlike natives, "cannot make contracts," he argued, "they own goods only as their inheritance."[8]

Ariès notes that childhood was not only constructed as a state of dependency, but as one of inferiority, with connections between "the idea of childhood and the idea of class" (61) increasingly manifesting themselves. He points out that all sorts of distinguishing markers arose between children and adults of the middle and upper classes of society during the seventeenth century. A clear pattern emerged "with repetitious monotony" (99). The clothing and games of children, for example, not only recalled a lower class, but a previous age as well, thereby establishing childhood as not merely an inferior state, but a backward one as well. The children of the lowest classes, however, remained without such distinctions of dress; presumably, poor adults were less invested in the maintaining of social structures.

In addition to class, childhood—in particular, that of the male child—was also constructed with reference to gender. Thus the seventeenth century would witness the "effeminization of the little boy,"[9] who would now be given the lace collar of the little girl, which, interestingly, was exactly the same as that worn by the women:

> The attempt to distinguish children was generally confined to the boys . . . as if childhood separated girls from adult life less than it did boys. . . . The evidence provided by dress bears out the other indications furnished by the history of manners: boys were the first specialized children. (58)

In a parallel move to that of the little boy undergoing a process of feminization, the feminine was increasingly associated with the attributes of childhood. Ariès notes that the process of industrialization was an important factor in changing conceptions of childhood because it created a division

between the home and the workplace, a marked increase in the sexual division of labor, and the economic marginalization of women. As women began to be forced out of the new labor markets, their removal was justified by the idea of their "natural" closeness to children, a perspective which led to their being increasingly confined to the socially valuable but unpaid role of child rearer. The extent to which the female sphere now began to be defined in terms of childhood ensured that the feminine and the child became closely intertwined categories. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, not only do childhood and class emerge as inferior, dependent states, but so does a third category: that of women. Backward and inferior as all these three categories were, they were viewed as being closer to nature than to culture and prone to disorderliness unless meticulously controlled through adult supervision.

Since the child was constructed in opposition to the adult, issues of what defined the state of adulthood now became equally significant. If childhood was associated with lower classes, earlier ages, and femininity, what marked the adult, by extension, was upper-class deportment, progressiveness, and manliness. While childhood and adulthood were, at one level, categories of age, it is significant that both states were equally defined by markers that had little or nothing to do with years. It was this aspect of the manner in which the states of childhood and adulthood (often synonymous with manhood) were constructed that allowed for their portability into a range of other discourses, including imperialism.

Issues surrounding questions of what it meant to be a man, in particular an Englishman—and even more specifically an English Gentleman—became almost obsessive in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, particularly in the context of an increasingly aspirational middle class and Britain's rapidly growing empire. In their writings, social commentators and men of letters such as Richardson, Addison, and Steele sought to remind the British public that "the moral basis of the privilege of being a gentleman lay in meeting the social obligations of rank" (Cain and Hopkins 44). Instead of an emphasis on birth, the idea of the gentleman was now primarily framed in terms of social form. Cain and Hopkins write:

> The nineteenth century gentleman was therefore a compromise between the needs of the landed interest whose power was in decline and the aspirations of the expanding service sector. In return for social recognition, the middle-class urban gentleman [often fashioned by the public schools] was co-opted into the struggle against radicalism and its looming consequence, democracy, and assigned a leading role in introducing an alternative programme of improvement... to serve the nation as a whole. By exercising authority in a manner that exemplified selfless dedication to duty, the gentleman was

> able to justify his continued right to rule, while also defending property and privilege. (47)

As a result of the relative flexibility introduced into discourses of gentlemanliness, the Victorian era produced more gentlemen than had any other period of British history. The public schools were crucial agents in this process, endowing rank upon those who lacked property via the teaching of manners. The English gentleman thus came to be defined in terms of the fairly specific attitudes propagated by these schools. Educational institutions served the vital function of fulfilling the need for the large governing class that England required for its increasing control over other lands and peoples.

By the early nineteenth century, the English middle class had enormously increased in both numbers and wealth. With the more fluid articulations of what constituted a gentleman, many in this class now regarded themselves as such, or aspired to a gentleman's education for their sons. As headmaster of Rugby from 1828 to 1842, Thomas Arnold imbued the education of his boys with the strong religious and moral feeling suited to the traditions of the middle classes. The emphasis on religion was to produce two significant—and highly masculinist—ideologies that developed on the athletic fields of public schools: the movement of "Muscular Christianity," and the "cult of athleticism" (MacKenzie, *EN* 45). Central to both creeds was the idea of sportsmanship, articulated in terms of courage, character, fair play, and self-control. Complete with their own rituals, symbols, and heroic stereotypes, these ideologies stressed an ethic of obedience through "a hierarchy of dominance and subordination," and were seen as essential to the molding of a ruling race.[10]

Joanna de Groot describes how such new forms of male socialization served the function of controlling various social others:

> Whether through the working-class discipline of the labor process, or the middle-class discipline of schooling, [these new forms of male socialization] sought to get young males to restrain or control emotion, weakness, and self-indulgence in order to earn a living, rule the empire, or gain authority in home, business or state. Hard work . . . and self-discipline involved a control of the self, which in turn allowed men to control others [their women and children, their subjects, their employees].[11]

Many of these attributes were defined in opposition to—or at least in reference to—groups that were viewed as dependent and potentially unruly. As such, they sought to offer concrete, reassuring definitions that were particularly useful in nineteenth-century England, given the many anxieties

that surrounded questions of what it meant to be an Englishman. Thus, to an unprecedented extent, the nineteenth century was fraught with tensions revolving around ideas of masculinity, "foreignness," class . . . and, perhaps most fundamentally of all, what it meant to be human. Thinking about this question, of course, yet again raised one of the most basic issues of human philosophy: how one was to think about that other being so often imagined in oppositional terms to the human, the animal.

In many ways, the animal constituted a central element in the defining of what it meant to be human, or, more relevantly for our purposes, an English man. In early modern England the animal was thought of in largely negative terms, helping to define, by contrast, what was supposedly distinctive about the human species. As Keith Thomas points out, the idea of the brute served as an "essential prop" in ratifying the notion that the human represented all that was valued and esteemed (123). Humans in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century England were thus greatly invested in guarding human-animal boundaries that scientific discoveries both threatened and validated. Thinking of the animal as inferior justified the domination of other species as well as other groups (children, women, the poor, the colonized) that could be imagined as subhuman.

Just as the human had been subdivided into various hierarchical tiers, the period between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries had worked toward fashioning (and refashioning) the animal into a variety of species, many of which corresponded to human categorizations. Such schematizing also represented, explained, and justified the human hierarchical order, often drawing distinctions between different types of beasts. For instance, one of the most popular classifications, between animals as "domesticated" and "wild," was frequently used to invoke resonant thinking about savage and civilized human societies. Harriet Ritvo argues that works of popular zoology such as Bewick's *General History of Quadrupeds* (1790) described the taxonomic structure of these species in a manner that "confirmed the hegemonic relation of people to the rest of animate nature . . . [while] metaphor[s] powerfully embedded in the language and content of individual entries made a parallel point about the relations between human groups" (*AE* 15). For instance, it was argued that domestication was good for beasts as it "civilized" them and increased their numbers; it took no great rhetorical or imaginative leap for a parallel notion to be applied to "untamed" (and thus beastlike) human groups in order to justify attempts by other human groups to "civilize" them.

Dividing animal species into the broad categories of wild and domesticated suggested that each of these categories needed to be treated in appropriate ways: the former to be subdued, and the latter to be treated with compassion. At the extreme of this latter category was the domestic

pet, accorded a special place that, Ivan Kreilkamp suggests, tried to make up for the cruelties inflicted on animals raised for food and work "by protecting a symbolic subcategory of animals not to be eaten or mistreated" (87). The movement for animal rights, the first stirrings of which had emerged in late sixteenth-century England, ultimately led to the forming of the RSPCA in 1824; the fact that the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was formed years later (in 1889) points to the importance of animals in constructs of Englishness.[12] Ritvo notes that the Victorians sought to figure kindness to animals as a native trait, with the added benefit that the need to be kind to (certain) animals provided yet another occasion to exercise self-control. She points out that in defining compassion as virtue, the "Victorian critique of inhumanity confounded two missions: to rescue animal victims and to suppress the dangerous elements in human society" (*AE* 131). Thus the animal rights movement also provided the opportunity to control disorderly groups such as children and the lower classes, whose spare time activities frequently created opportunities for cruelty. Bull baiting and animal fights, for instance, were common pastimes of the lower classes, while children often tormented small birds and animals. Questions surrounding the treatment of animals thus played an important role in social movements aimed at the control of leisure. Parental figures and reform groups threw their energies into structuring, monitoring, and controlling the leisure of children and the lower classes—in particular the children *of* the lower classes—through schemes of "rational recreation" (Bailey 60).

Issues concerning cruelty to animals, however, were not consistent signifiers, but tended to emerge at strategic social moments. By a rhetorical sleight of hand that invoked constructs of age, nationhood, class, and gender, the tormenting of animals by the upper classes was distinguished from similar activities by the lower classes, and by children. The difference in discourses surrounding the treatment of domestic and wild animals ensured that attempts by the RSPCA to control so-called gentlemanly hunting remained woefully unsuccessful. For one thing, unlike other forms of animal cruelty, gentlemanly hunting was figured as an *adult* activity: sporting narratives frequently reminded the reader that the activities they described and celebrated were not "child's play." Moreover, upper-class hunting was legitimized as the control of low, sly, mean, and cunning creatures, figured as exhibiting the opposite of public school virtues, which (also) enabled their pursuit to be imagined as "sportsmanlike." The chase and killing of such "fair" game was essential to the showcasing and development of valuable qualities associated with masculinity and national character.

The very notion of "game," in fact, implied not only an aristocratic excess of time, but laid down which animals could legitimately be taken,

and by whom; thus the very *definition* of a certain kind of animal was synonymous with its being hunted, often for leisure. Unlike the free time of children and the lower classes, looked upon with suspicion, gentlemanly leisure, after all, was a virtue to be flaunted. Given the abundance of gentlemen, easy access to leisure and travel, and cheap forms of printing, nineteenth-century England witnessed the appearance of a remarkably large number of sporting narratives, in particular hunting accounts emanating from these so-called "gentlemen of empire." Such publications provided an important form of rational recreation for youthful gentlemen-in-the-making who avidly consumed them, many later recalling that reading about the exciting feats of their countrymen in distant wild lands filled them with patriotic pride and inspired them to prepare for similar "career[s] of exotic service" (Ritvo, *AE* 256).

While hunting narratives were not specifically written for young readers, the construct of childhood almost immediately led to the appearance of a vast body of children's texts intended to mold the "soft wax" (Kincaid, *CL* 90) that was the child. The desire to sculpt the child, combined with the fact that "empire was everywhere in British culture of the period" (Kutzer xiv), led to the inevitable ubiquitousness of empire in Victorian and Edwardian writing for children. Children's books reflected imperialism as a given, often encouraging their young audiences to accept the ethos and values of empire, or what Kutzer refers to as the "culture of imperialism" (xv). In addition, children's books often incorporated animals, frequently using the animal presence as a "bait" to "delight and entertain" (Locke, *Works* 147), in contrast to fiction for adults in which animals primarily functioned either as an invisible presence represented by food or clothing, or as props to indicate the moral character of humans.[13] Given the fact that narratives and visuals of the Raj *also* foregrounded the animal, it was inevitable that the animal would be particularly prominent in children's writing that overtly emphasized empire. Mary Frances Ames's *An ABC for Baby Patriots* is a wonderful example of the harnessing of animals in the service of instructing the future leaders of empire.

As books such as *An ABC for Baby Patriots* (1899) (figure 2.1) attest, the grooming of British children to become "baby patriots" began very young.[14] This remarkable work demonstrates the convergence of ideas surrounding children, animals, education, nationhood, militarism, masculinity, imperialism, and hunting. Thus we see a range of animals and colonial people subjugated by, and submitting themselves to, the domination of the imperial human, including the imperial human child. Tiny details in the accompanying illustrations bolster the unashamedly jingoistic and speciesist text. The intrepid hunter-imperialists are often accompanied by dark-skinned servants protecting them from the sun as they either accept

the obeisance of animals or take aim at birds and beasts smilingly participating as prey in the hunt ("I is for India," "G is the Game"); the very prow of the ship ("O is the Ocean / Where none but a fool / Would ever dare question / Our title to rule") is a helmeted figure holding a gun; the British lion looks worried as he passes a "foreigner" (the same foreigner—wishing "he were dead"—appears in the rhyme for "N is for Navy"), the Magnate sits on gold chairs and "eats turtle for food."

Despite the female authorship of the work, the almost complete absence of female figures (especially older women) underlines the masculinist—and ageist—nature of the imperial enterprise. While "Q is our Queen" gives us a token female presence, it is telling that we are only shown the queen's carriage with its male horseman, unlike the prominent figures of the kings in "K." The only other females depicted are an English maid (about to be "comically" gored by a unicorn), a native servant, and a little girl (and little boy) with head bowed in prayer before enormous plates of roast beef. Aside from the cheerers-on of empire from the sidelines (see "Z"), the only other possible female presence might conceivably be the singularly androgynous child in the illustration for "E." All others, animal or human—lion, unicorn, judges, parliamentarians, hunters, policemen, magnate, military volunteers, marching soldiers, Victorian patriarch in armchair—are male.

Like the illustrations for "B" and "I," "W" sets up hierarchies of both race and species as the native, his feet on a leopard skin, feather decorating his hat, necklace of animal teeth around his neck, is educated by an Englishman dressed in classic safari/hunting gear, a cane under his arm as his finger points sternly at the book in the native's hand. In presenting the imperialist-native relationship as a parent-child (or less than [British] child) one, this children's book illustration reflects and propagates ideas found in other types of imperial discourses, such as Viceroy Lord Curzon's speech justifying British rule in India:

> We have got... to go on ruling them, and we can only do it with success by being both kindly and virtuous. I dare say I am talking rather like a schoolmaster, but after all, the millions I have to manage are less than schoolchildren. (qtd. in Castle 25)

Furthermore, just as the rather overgrown "child" native in Ames' *ABC* smiles as he is being educated, it was not enough for men of empire to simply posit the people of their colonies as children. They also needed to hear these children cheerily reflect their own internalization of the parent-child role, as well as verify the great deeds of their parents. No wonder, then, that a wonderful image from 1921 captures the Prince

of Wales being greeted at Aden by rows of natives assembled under an enormous banner that reads "TELL DADDY WE ARE ALL HAPPY UNDER BRITISH RULE."[15]

The very basis of empire thus rested upon notions of child and parent, or follower and leader. The perceived need for leadership went hand in hand with an age when the youth of England were exhorted to take the "great ones of the earth" as models for imitation, and given books with titles such as *Heroes and Hero Worship, Lectures on Great Men, A Book of Golden Deeds.* The Victorian cult of hero worship is perhaps best exemplified by Thomas Carlyle, who took the idea of "leadership" to an extreme, identifying the whole of man's history with the great deeds of great men: "Hero Worship," he exclaimed, "heartfelt prostrate admiration, submission, burning, boundless, for a noblest godlike form of man. . . . " (13). The need of the hour, then, was not only to turn out heroes, but large numbers of people who would look up to them. If one function of the category of childhood was to work with parallel constructs of gender, class, race and species, and another was to supply the adult with a larger than life image of himself, then a culture wishing to define itself as heroic would always look beyond itself for a constant supply of such flattering mirrors. What better than the colonized, who, by a remarkable form of circular logic, would always remain children who would supply that need?

An ABC For Baby Patriots
by Mary Frances Ames, 1899
(*excerpts*)

A is the Army
That dies for the Queen;
It's the very best army
That ever was seen.

B stands for Battles
By which England's name
Has for ever been covered
With glory and fame.

C is for Colonies
Rightly we boast,
That of all the great nations
Great Britain has most.

E is our Empire
Where sun never sets;
The larger we make it
The bigger it gets.

Figure 2.1 From *An ABC for Baby Patriots,* by Mary Frances Ames, 1899.

G is the Game
We preserve with such care
To shoot, as it gracefully
Flies through the air.

H is for Hunting, For this you've a box,
A thoro bred Hunter,
Some Hounds and a fox.

I is for India,
Our land in the East
Where everyone goes
To shoot tigers, and feast.

K is for Kings;
Once warlike and haughty,
Great Britain subdued them
Because they'd been naughty.

L is the Lion
Who fights for the Crown
His smile when he's worried
Is changed to a frown.

M is for Magnates
So great and so good,
They sit on gold chairs
And eat Turtle for food.

O is the Ocean
Where none but a fool
Would ever dare question
Our title to rule.

R's the Roast Beef
That has made England great;
You see it here pictured
Each piece on a plate.

Z is the Zeal
Which is everywhere seen
When a family practices
"God save the Queen."

Poem reproduced courtesy of The Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

Chapter 3

Herein the British Nimrod May View a New and Arduous Species of the Chase

Hunting Narratives and the British Raj, 1757–1857

The creation of hierarchies and strategic alliances forms the very bedrock of imperialism. What better lens, then, to study the workings of imperialism than an activity that is arguably the most fundamentally hierarchical of all, and one that, when used in the human context, usually refers to the pursuit and killing of one set of living beings by another not just for food, but often for a variety of reasons that include pleasure or "sport"? Although both the ceremonial hunt of shikar, as well as more plebian hunting (for food, for example) had been a part of native Indian cultures for centuries, hunting narratives written by Englishmen during the Raj provide one of the richest windows through which to glimpse the fascinating workings of colonialism. To begin with, the tensions between colonizer and colonized may be understood in terms of the different ways in which they approached the activity of hunting, and brought very different perspectives to bear on questions of how to hunt, what to hunt, and with whom to go hunting. Simultaneously, hunting operated as a site for the formation of alliances between disparate groups of people—and species.[1]

Chapter Three examines some of the complex ways in which hunting narratives allow access to a deeper understanding of the early years of the East India Company from about 1757 until 1858, when Company rule

ended and colonialism proper could be said to have begun. The chapter is further divided into two periods. The first, "Of White Mughals, Princely Dharma and the Great Indian Deer Park: Hunting and the Early Presence of the British in India," uses hunting to analyze relevant commonalities between British and Indian cultures during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the early Company-wallahs were relatively accepting of Indian culture. I conclude this section with an examination of Daniel Johnson's *Sketches of Field Sports as followed by The Natives of India as Followed by the Natives of India with Observations on the Animals*. The second period, "1800–1857: Hunting and the Civilizing Mission," investigates the role of the hunt in pre- and early-Victorian India, and concludes with a reading of Captain Thomas Williamson's influential two-volume work, *Oriental Field Sports*.

Of White Mughals, Princely Dharma, and the Great Indian Deer Park: Hunting and the Early Presence of the British in India

Elucidating his "surplus energy" theory of imperialism in India and the Caribbean, historian Ronald Hyam writes: "the enjoyment and exploitation of black flesh was as powerful an attraction as any desire to develop economic resources" (135). One could just as cogently assert that, particularly in India, the enjoyment and exploitation of *flesh,* specifically nonhuman flesh—the chase of it, the taste of it, the gaze at it—was one of the most powerful attractions for the British right from the earliest days of the East India Company, when "White Mughals" and other officials of the East India Company reveled in the "tawny sybils," nautch girls (and boys), multiple bibis—and the glorious shikar—that their adopted country had to offer (Baron 125).

But then, those early white mughals of varying degrees had loved most things about indigenous Indian culture. Many, for instance, had lived like Indians at home and in their offices. The first two governor-generals of India had been committed to Indian culture, with the traditional native lifestyle marking the culture of the British Indian political arena during their governance. James Morris describes the early Company-wallahs thus:

> [They were] a swashbuckling, showy, amoral [sort] . . . often with Indian mistresses, generally with Indian friends, and cherishing little sense of racial or religious superiority. They did not wish to change the sub-continent—it would have seemed a preposterous ambition. They . . . did their plundering,

> fighting and trading in a spirit of uncensorious give-and-take.... Often they were men of aesthetic sensibilities too, and responded sensually to all the gaudy seductions of the land.... They drank tremendously and lived luxuriously. (73)

In reading later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century narratives of British life in India, however, one begins to notice a change in attitude. Especially in the writings of those of the British who did not enthusiastically "go native," one cannot but help notice two parallel—and surely not unrelated—themes that increasingly begin to dominate. The first of these is the monotony, hardship, and ennui experienced by the majority of British men and women living in India. Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General from 1786 to 1793, for example, described in great detail the repetitive nature of his life in a letter to his son Charles: "I... ride on the same road and the same distance... pass the whole forenoon... in doing business, and [spend] almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table.... I don't think that the greatest *sap* at Eton can lead a duller life than this" (401). The trope of the dull life of the British administrator in India was so entrenched that, writing in 1924, E. M. Forster would recreate the monotonous existence of the English in *A Passage to India*, highlighting the utterly bland, sullenly duty-driven lives of the members of the club at Chandrapore.

In stark contrast to the frequent mention of the stultifying and difficult nature of British existence in India is a second theme that haunts so many British narratives: the excitement and immense pleasure derived from preparations for, sallying forth on, indulging in the activity of, recuperating from, and dwelling upon hunting. For the majority of Englishmen in India, it would seem as if one of the very few actual pleasures in their otherwise duty-ridden, monotonous existence was shikar, or the pursuit, killing, display, and/or ingestion of animal flesh with all the physical, emotional, and "moral" accoutrement that surrounded these activities. As the author of an 1829 article in the *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc.* recounted about a conversation with one of the Company-wallahs:

> We soon found that this officer's character was that of a complete Nimrod. In answer to our inquiries for information respecting the productions of his district, he said he had no information to give... but when... tigers were mentioned, he entered with rapture on that part of the subject, and gave us a glowing account of the Indian manner of hunting, modestly premising that "he knew a little about that" and concluded by expressing his surprise, almost regret, that "tigers" were becoming scarce in his neighbourhood—(he had told us of the destruction of ten!). (452)

Or, as Colonel Ramsay Gordon would rhapsodize in a letter to his peers, "India offers attractions in the way of game and sport which cannot be beaten anywhere . . . for the keen sportsman, of moderate means [it is] a paradise."[2]

Arguably, the reason that the British were able to throw themselves into the "paradise" of the hunt right from the earliest days of the East India Company was that hunting activities were already familiar to various groups of people in India, thus serving as an important bond between the two peoples. After all, hunting had been practiced to varying degrees thoughout Indian history: for example, early Sanskrit texts by the mendicant Charaka (200 B.C.) discuss the land itself in terms of the meats available from it. As Mahesh Rangarajan points out in a discussion about early Indian social structures:

> In an increasingly divided society, where the warrior caste of kshatriya was setting itself apart from the rest on hereditary lines, they asserted the right to eat certain animals. For instance, the meat of the lion and the tiger were to be eaten only on rare occasions by the king himself. (*IWH* 3)

In other words, in traditional Indian society, not only was hunting associated at a very basic level with masculinity (with the "warrior caste"), but thinking of both people as well as animals hierarchically was part of the fabric of the most ancient Indian societies. Moreover, this sense of a ranking of living beings often dictated that only those high in the human order could hunt or partake of the flesh of animals perceived to be correspondingly high in the animal order: the ritual killing and eating of certain animals had an important nongustatory symbolic value. Thinking hierarchically about both men and animals was therefore one of the most basic ways in which human society in India organized itself, despite the fact that several indigenous branches of religion and philosophy posited the idea that not just the human form, but the nonhuman—and indeed even the inanimate—could be a vehicle for the divine (hence the revered elephant-headed deity Ganesh, the much-loved monkey god Hanuman, and so on).

Thus, while various historians and postcolonial thinkers—and so many of the architects of the British Raj themselves—stressed the differences between colonizer and colonized in India, the lens of animal studies allows us to consider some of the most basic commonalities that existed between the two peoples. For instance, the collaboration by several groups of Indians in allowing the Raj to flourish was made possible by a shared speciesism. The failure to consider such basic parallels in the ways in which both Indian and British societies organized themselves can lead to the sort

of trap in which Lord Macaulay's "reason was confounded" as he marveled at the "strangest of all political anomalies" of the East India Company managing to entrench itself so deeply in a country so "different" from its own, in a speech delivered to the House of Commons on July 10, 1833:

> A handful of adventurers from an island in the Atlantic [creating]...our Indian Empire...a territory, inhabited by men differing from us in race, colour, language, manners, morals, religion; these are prodigies to which the world has seen nothing similar. Reason is confounded. We interrogate the past in vain. General rules are useless where the whole is one vast exception. The Company is an anomaly but it is the part of a system where every thing is an anomaly. (101)

Such thinking bestowed British rule in India with a sort of mystique and "divine sanction," premised as it was on the ineluctable—and therefore incomprehensible—differences between the two peoples in question.

The reality of the British-Indian "system," however, was that the two peoples interacting with each other participated in some very basic cultural assumptions and practices, several of which related to the human-animal (or, for that matter, the human-human) relationship. Both cultures shared—if to significantly varying degrees—a predominantly hierarchical view of living beings; one that allowed for the assumption that it was permissible—and even desirable—to kill nonhuman animals for meat, but that it was taboo to eat human flesh. While many of us might dismiss such a cultural parallel as redundant, recent work by cultural anthropologists such as Peggy Sanday reveals that the practice of ritual (and even "institutionalized") cannibalism has been a more common cultural practice among human societies than is often assumed. Studies such as Sanday's conceptualize cannibalism as part of "the broader cultural logic of life, death, and reproduction" by which several cultures organized themselves (3). Apropos of this, one of the Victorian age's greatest women explorers, Mary Kingsley (Charles Kingsley's niece and Rudyard Kipling's friend), affectionately recounted her stay with the cannibalistic Fang tribe in her memoir *Travels in West Africa,* concluding that, despite their un-English disregard of the human/animal divide in gustatory matters, and the numerous basketfuls of human fingers, toes, and "other things," the Fang people were "an uncommonly fine sort of human being" (Weeks and James 223).

Both British and Indian cultures, however, held the flesh of their own species to be above consumption, and shared a foundational belief in the human/animal divide in matters of food and ceremonial hunting. The manner in which these beliefs were implemented differed according to lines of region, religion, and caste. Although Hindu priestly castes such as the Brahmins overwhelmingly abjured the eating of any kind of flesh

as a result of their belief in ahimsa (nonviolence), "warrior" castes such as the Hindu Kshatriyas and Mughal nobles not only ate meat but had old and established traditions of hunting. Most Indian princes and aristocracy, whether Hindu or Muslim, belonged to one of the warrior castes. This becomes significant as it was these groups who, with their emphasis on masculinity, virility, and physical strength, most closely shared the values of British culture from the start and who, as a spate of recent studies has demonstrated, played an important collaborationist role in the building and sustaining of the Raj. Some of the most important political—and indeed nonpolitical—bonding rituals that took place between these two groups would center on their common interests in hunting.

Like so many of their Hindu or Mughal predecessors, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indian nobility viewed hunting not only as a way of life but as a significant rite of initiation into manhood. Hunting trips were an important part of the training of the young, and a traditional means of teaching appropriate masculine skills in the use of weapons. Barbara Ramusack discusses hunting as a prominent emblem of "princely dharma" in *Indian Princes and their States,* arguing that "[h]unting was a form of preparation for battle, a display of physical courage, and occasionally an effort to protect one's subjects from destructive animals, particularly tigers" (157–58). Hunting excursions were moreover an opportunity to both indulge in and display an abundance of material, human, and animal resources: as we shall see, the ability to summon such resources, as well as the need to do so, would become progressively important for the Indian elite classes as they negotiated complicated relationships with their British rulers.

Except perhaps for the necessity of protecting one's subjects from tigers (more about that later), the traditions of princely dharma closely parallel the hunting traditions of the British upper classes in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. In Andrew Fletcher's description of the Tudor ideal of the time, "Sport, courage and manliness were seen as having important connections to the gentry's honour . . . hunting was in a very practical way physical training, preparing men for the hardships of war" (133). Since most British rulers during those early days of British rule came from feudal backgrounds, it was not surprising that they found significant common ground with at least some of the Indian nobility, and probably recognized more than a few aspects of the hunting rituals of the latter as comfortingly familiar. After all, so many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British men of the feudal classes had undergone initiation into manhood via traditions of the ritual killing of animals. As eighteenth-century naturalist Gilbert White would nostalgically reminisce about his deer-hunting youth in Hampshire, "Unless he was a hunter . . . no young person [had been]

allowed to be possessed of manhood and gallantry" (qtd. in Fletcher 133). However, as the power of the landed interests in England began to decline by the end of the eighteenth century, the "heroic" rituals that had characterized the hunting practices of the Tudor nobility were slowly becoming part of a bygone age. The most sought-after game of the time had been deer, but few country gentlemen could afford deer parks any longer and had to turn to "lesser" sports such as hare coursing or fox-hunting. Conceivably, India with its vast hunting spaces would, in effect, operate as one large deer park that could satisfy the nostalgic longings of members of the colonizing British feudal class. This was just one of many ways by which the hunt in India would begin to function as nobility-by-proxy for so many of the individuals who ventured there.

For the British middle classes who were beginning to come to India in increasing numbers, activities such as hunting worked as shortcuts to attaining a higher class status. Since ceremonial hunting was very much an upper-class activity both in Britain and India, such individuals found themselves able to access a social position they could never have enjoyed in England: not surprisingly, this would become one of the biggest incentives for mid- to lower-class British people to come to India. Importantly, it was not just the lure of hunting, but both the manner in which the hunting took place, as well as the access to animals considered "high" in English hunting hierarchies—or their Indian equivalents—that drew them. This is evidenced by letters such as Colonel Ramsay Gordon's that stressed the relatively democratic possibilities offered by the hunt in India:

> Big and small game shooting such as, in Europe, is open only to the very rich, in India is within reach of all.... Pigsticking, of which India has practically a monopoly, is the King of sports, but not the sport of Kings, as the most impecunious subaltern can join in. (Elliott 170)

Like Kipling's Daniel Dravot and Peachey Carnehan in "The Man who would be King," journeying across the oceans to distant lands could tantalizingly open up the possibilities of evading stultifying lockdowns of social class back home and perhaps allow one to be "King," or at any rate, to join in the king of sports.

Apart from the pleasures of sport, hunting activities in India allowed for an enhancement of status by providing individuals with manifold opportunities to augment their monetary resources in a variety of other ways. As just one example, W.W. Hunter recounts how novelist Thackeray's grandfather William Makepeace Thackeray handsomely increased his "meager" official income as the first British Collector of Sylhet in Bengal from 1772 to 1774 by means of private enterprise of various sorts, including

the hunting and capture of wild elephants (Hunter 5). Thackeray would hire contractors to capture the large herds of elephants that roamed the forests of the district of Sylhet, and then sell the animals at a high price to the East India Company for use by its troops. The elephants would then be marched hundreds of miles across India despite the huge losses of life that sometimes occurred; in one instance, only sixteen out of sixty-six survived a thousand mile march to Belgram. To the early Company-wallahs, however, elephants were "just another form of merchandise out of which one made money" (Lahiri-Choudhury xiv). Like so many employees of the East India Company who originally came to India to work at drab administrative jobs but quickly took to more exciting activities, Thackeray arrived in 1766 as a Writer and Book-keeper for the Company. By the time he left, however, he was known as a "mighty hunter of elephants," even though it is highly probable that most of the elephants he "hunted" were in fact caught by professional contractors in his employ (Hunter 7).

The story about Thackeray's view of elephants as merchandise illustrates an important difference between the British and Indian cultures. For all their love of hunting and essentially hierarchical view of the human-animal relationship, the Indians did not see Nature (with a capital N) as an opponent to be dominated and conquered, or assume that Man (also with a capital M) could freely use it as he pleased, "for his profit or for his pleasure."[3] To them, nature was something to be venerated and even feared, a part of life itself that, on occasion, came into conflict with their own interests, but equally often provided opportunities for sustenance. This would never quite translate into the all-out war against the forces of nature that Europe had been engaged in for some centuries, and that Keith Thomas describes so eloquently in his book *Man and the Natural World*.

The British desire to dominate (or at its best, to understand) nature would take many forms. One such form was the imperative to order and classify information about India, its peoples, and its animals down to the minutest detail, in accordance with scientific systems of knowing. Since the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones and other European scholars in 1784 there had been, in Cohn's words, a "steady development in the accumulation of knowledge about the history of India, its systems of thought, its religious beliefs and practices and its society and institutions" (182). Even during this early period of official acceptance of Indian culture, the English products of the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason who were in India sought comprehensible ways of ordering everything they saw around them into catalogues and hierarchies. Inevitably, these categories were heavily influenced by the constructs of people and animals they had brought over from England, in particular ideas surrounding age, class, and gender. As Harriet Ritvo reminds us,

"The classification of animals, like that of any group of significant objects, is apt to tell as much about the classifiers as about the classified. . . . Each of the ways that people imagined, discussed, and treated animals inevitably implied some taxonomic structure" (*PM* xii). It is therefore not surprising that the English began to construct Indian animals as analogous to their constructs of English animals, who in turn had been constructed by analogy to English concepts of what constituted (human) virtues and vices. The manner in which a particular species of animal had been ordered also depended heavily upon its symbolic value and perceived practical usefulness or "destructiveness" from a political and economic point of view. Every characteristic of an animal not perceived as "useful" was read as insidious—thus, the shyness of the fox proved its cunning, and the tendency of moles to live underground pointed to their deviousness. An instructive instance of these strange transpositions was the tiger.

For some centuries now, the British had held few categories of animals in as much abhorrence as "carnivores," or "beasts of prey." Unlike domestic animals who, in "serving" mankind, or at the very least showing an appropriate fear of men affirmed the divinely ordained chain of being, carnivores dared to challenge man's dominance. Ritvo notes that popular zoology books of the time tended to present them as "dangerous and depraved, like alien or socially excluded human groups who would not acknowledge the authority of their superiors" (*AE* 25). She notes that even small British carnivores such as weasels, foxes, and wolves were routinely described as embodiments of every possible human "vice." They were dangerous, corrupt, depraved, and cruel which made it acceptable, and indeed desirable, to kill them.

How much more evil, then, was a large carnivore such as the tiger who with its not-entirely-unfounded reputation as a hunter of men represented the very epitome of disorder. In being an actual or potential man-eater, the tiger represented the ultimate insubordination of lower forms of creation over higher forms, and therefore embodied unacceptable possibilities of a similar insurgency from those lower in the social or racial human scale over those higher up in the scale. The fact that tigers had historically been associated with Mughal and other Indian rulers only highlighted their symbolic importance as foes to be destroyed. As an extreme example, Tipu Sultan, British India's most troublesome nineteenth-century adversary, had not only called himself a tiger, but had used the animal as a potent symbol in his palace decorations, on the uniforms of his soldiers, and on his coins, arms, and flag. The discovery of the famous "Tipu's Tiger," a complex life-size mechanical "toy"-cum-organ designed by French craftsmen for the Sultan did nothing to allay the suspiciousness with which the English viewed tigers, or mitigated their desire to exterminate them. Tipu's Tiger

depicted a European soldier being mauled by a tiger to the accompaniment of a range of sounds, including screams from the soldier and growls from the tiger.[4] Discovered in Tipu's palace following his defeat by the British in 1799, Tipu's Tiger was shipped to the headquarters of the Company's museum in England, quickly becoming one of the nineteenth century's most potent symbols of native savagery and monstrosity. Equally symbolic were its emasculation and display in a cabinet, reaffirming British ability to control the forces of disorder.[5]

Over the past few centuries, England had experienced what Mahesh Rangarajan describes as the "state-sponsored slaughter" of several animals that had been classified as "vermin" for one reason or another.[6] As he notes, this policy of extermination of "errant species" (*IWH* 23) was now exported to India with remarkable expediency: by 1780, within just two decades of Company rule being established, the British had imported the concept of "bounties" for the elimination of "dangerous beasts."[7] Practices of extermination and bounties were a whole new concept for India, where most animals were venerated as embodiments of the divine. The lure of the money that the bounties offered was too much to resist, however, and the village-based shikari soon became, in Rangarajan's words, the "lynchpin" of the British effort to "impose on South Asia's jungles its own vision of nature" (*IWH* 22). The common goal of eliminating tigers thus became one of the many important strategic alliances that developed between two most unlikely groups, the predominantly low-caste village shikaris, and British administrators.

At the top of the list of species now to be eliminated as "vermin" was this tiger, a strangely anomalous and deliberately reductionist choice of term for an animal hitherto venerated in India as godlike, regal, and awe inspiring.[8] The choice of which animals were classified as vermin was (predictably) based on a combination of economic, political, and cultural factors. Not only was the tiger already damned for its "disorderly" ways in British eyes, but it was now a nuisance to the East India Company which needed to have large tracts of forest land cleared in order to grow plantation crops. Although Company officials had tried to minimize social disruptions caused by their expanding political role, their reliance on Indian agriculture as a source of revenue now led them to freely interfere in the country's agrarian and economic affairs with a view to improving India's "productivity" (Parsons 40). The resulting deforestation of hundreds of acres of forest land led to large losses of tiger habitat, which resulted in more and more tigers being pushed out of the diminishing forests, and into agricultural areas. Villagers of India had always suffered occasional losses of human and cattle life because of tigers, but now the increasing encroachment into forest lands was leading tigers to become desperate and

attack both people working in the fields as well as draught cattle needed for the plantation crops.

As we saw earlier, the centuries-old principles of "princely dharma" had required the Indian nobility to protect their people from threats including tigers; in their attempt to replace the Mughal rulers of India, the employees of the East India Company—who had exacerbated the tiger problem in the first place—were now only too happy to enact the role of savior by going on dramatic tiger hunts in the grand Mughal style. Furthermore, just as the "protection" of farmers from foxes had become the excuse that the landed gentry in England used to justify foxhunts, protective hunts against "dangerous beasts" increasingly became "deeply symbolic of the logic and rhetoric [of British rule in India], of brave white men defending hapless mothers whose children fell prey to wild beasts" (Rangarajan, *IWH* 25). Hunting activities in India thus operated as highly visible symbols that justified the British presence in India, both to themselves and, or so they hoped, to the natives.

Small wonder, then, that the passion for hunting combined with the quest to accumulate knowledge to produce a fascinating body of writings on India by British sportsmen from the late eighteenth century onward. These writings also incorporated, in painstaking detail, observations on Indian animals and people; the discourse surrounding hunting in these texts evolved over time to reflect changes in the prevailing ethos and political circumstances. Investigating the varied ways in which these forms of knowledge were articulated by different writers and during different periods of time makes for a rich study.

Daniel Johnson: *Sketches of Field Sports as Followed by the Natives of India with Observations on the Animals*

Daniel Johnson's *Sketches of Field Sports* explicitly sets out to document hunting "[a]s followed by the Natives of India" in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In so titling his book, Johnson deliberately contrasts it with Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports*, published in the early nineteenth century.[9] While simply titled *Oriental Field Sports*, Williamson's work had tellingly assumed that despite long traditions of hunting in India, the only types of hunting that could be dignified as "sports" were practiced by Britishers. To Williamson, the hunting practices of "Orientals," even on their own home turf, did not really merit notice, much less commentary. In contrast, while Johnson mentions that "few natives in India . . . sport often for amusement," he obviously considers the

hunting practices of Indians—for food, livelihood, or defense—as genuinely interesting forms of field sports. In choosing to focus his book on the sporting traditions of Indians—and not simply with a view to damning all such practices as irremediably backward and unworthy of the holy title of "sport"—Johnson, a physician who closely interacted with Indians in the course of his duties, reflects the relatively accepting spirit of the early Company-wallahs, and is thus representative of the period during which he was in India.

As we saw in chapter 2, ideas about what constituted—or should constitute—recreation and sport were an important battleground in the redefining of class and masculinity in England. "Sport" was increasingly marked by a purity of intent that combined leisure, "amateurism," and a certain flexing of moral, aesthetic, and physical muscle, unsullied by the implications of utility or professionalism that many lower class activities connoted. One could speculate that the very term "field sport," with its connotation of games and nonseriousness implied the opposite of a word like "hunt" which, conceivably, could suggest necessity, even the indignity of a lack of choice. In its Indian export, this narrowing of the boundaries of what defined field sport would increasingly lead to the dismissal of the pursuit and killing of animals as practiced by most Indians as utilitarian and therefore "mere" hunting. During the period when Johnson was in India, however, these distinctions had not yet surfaced, as witnessed by the wide range of native hunting activities he includes under the rubric of field sports. His decision to choose one term over the other in the title was in all likelihood prompted by his acute consciousness of following in the wake of Williamson's highly successful work, in addition to an awareness of the term "field sports" as being the more glamorous to his readers. For Johnson, despite differences in technique or attitude, "field sports," whether practiced by low-caste village shikaris for food and livelihood, or by the Nawab Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah for entertainment, constituted a mutual bond and a lively shared interest between him and the natives of India. His appreciation is amply borne out by the frequent use of expressions such as "wonderful to see" and "quite marvelous" that pepper his accounts of the techniques used by native hunters during the hunting excursions that he frequently accompanied them on (39).

The spirit of openness that characterizes *Sketches of Field Sports* is apparent from several little touches right from the start. For example, the dedication to the directors of the East India Company (Williams's work is more grandly dedicated to the king) does not shy away from the use of Hindi/Urdu expressions, as opposed to simply using Indian terminology out of necessity, or to add a touch of local color.[10] Moreover, in the preface,

Johnson's democratic impulses lead him to express the desire to have his book available at a "moderate price" as opposed to the expensive volumes "printed on hot press'd paper" that had hitherto been published on "(India) and its Inhabitants, with their manners, customs and habits."

The title page of *Sketches,* with its interesting advertisement-cum-summary of contents, bears scrutiny as it negotiates that grey area between an acceptance of native ways and the appraisal that the very recording of these could imply. I have tried to replicate the spirit of the title page without the use of the various fancy typefaces and varying sizes of the original:

> **SKETCHES OF FIELD SPORTS** as Followed by **THE NATIVES OF INDIA** with Observations on the Animals.... Also an account of some of the customs of the Inhabitants, and natural productions, Interspersed with various Anecdotes.... Likewise the Late Nawab Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah's Grand Style of Sporting and Character.... A Description of the Art of Catching Serpents, as practiced by people in India, known by the appellation of Cunjoors, and their method of curing themselves when bitten.... With remarks on **HYDROPHOBIA, & RABID ANIMALS**.... Utilissimum saepe quod contemnitur. Phaed.

Despite the ostensible title "Field Sports," the long list of topics positions *Sketches* as part of a genre that would have been familiar to early nineteenth-century British readers—the ethnographic work, complete with "scientific and philosophical observations" and "entertaining anecdotes." The appended Latin phrase from the Phaedrus animal fable demonstrates the erudition and culture of the author and points to the moral of the poem from which it has been taken ("Full often what you now despise / Proves better than the things you prize"), conceivably a reference to the usefulness of this moderately priced book over other expensive ones.[11] It is noteworthy that the most dramatic and ornamental typefaces are reserved not only for the title (as one might expect), but for the phenomenon of hydrophobia "and rabid animals."

While the inclusion of hydrophobia is understandable (animals afflicted with this dreaded disease had to be hunted down and killed), the emphasis given to this subject on the title page as well as on the frontispiece can only be understood in the context of a fascination with the overturning of accepted hierarchies of the natural order that animals afflicted with this disease would indulge in. The very description that accompanies the frontispiece (figure 3.1) begins thus: "In the front, is represented a mad Jackal, attacking a Tiger: the Tiger appears alarmed, and is in the act of rising." If an animal like the tiger was reviled for representing disorder, how much more horrifying was a condition that could lead any creature, even the most timid, to go "mad" and subvert all those

Figure 3.1 Daniel Johnson, *Sketches of Field Sports as Followed by the Natives of India with Observations on the Animals,* 1822. Frontispiece.

neat hierarchies by which the world had been ordered? Notwithstanding the emphasis of hydrophobia on the title page, the chapter on this subject occurs late in the book and is a low-key, balanced-sounding analysis of the disease as manifested in India from the point of view of a physician. The dramatic highlighting of "rabid animals" at the beginning of the book only points to the extent to which both author and publisher felt that they could rely upon classic tropes about India (animals, disease, disorder) to help their book sell.

The entire frontispiece, in fact, is a neat snapshot that encapsulates prevailing stereotypes of the day. The foreground—the "Indian" half of the painting—depicts a forest scene with vegetation-gone-wild and various "Indian" aspects of nature caught at moments of seemingly ceaseless conflict with one another: jackal confronting tiger, native aiming gun at (undetermined) target, cobra hypnotizing "quivering" bird. In the background, separated by a river, is a scene of singularly action-free order and harmony with neat gardens and bungalows wherein the British "Officers and other Gentlemen" reside, and the terrace on which, we are told, they "sit evenings to smoke their hookahs."

Broadly speaking, *Sketches* is divided into two sections. Chapters I–VI are detailed accounts of a remarkable range of Indian animals and the various techniques used by shikaris and wealthy Indians to hunt them. Chapters VI–XII focus more on people, culture, and traditions, specifically with regard to animals and hunting. Despite Johnson's insistence in the preface that "The Inhabitants [of India], their customs and the whole character of the country differ . . . widely from every thing that is seen in Europe," it is evident that he found much of common interest with the various hunters he encountered, and greatly enjoyed accompanying them on hunting expeditions. His book covers a wide gamut of the hunting activities he participated in and/or witnessed, ranging from detailed descriptions of the manner in which village hunters catch birds and hares, to the use of pits and nets to trap wolves, hyenas, and badgers, to royal hunts for tigers, leopards, and panthers.

For a hunting enthusiast like Johnson, being in India offered a host of opportunities that he gladly seized. His interests in hunting led him to bond with fellow hunting enthusiasts, whether Indian or British, and especially to seek out local people who could help him. Any time he or his fellow Company employees wished to "amuse [themselves] with shooting," they would request the village headman or other local authority to gather together substantial animal and human resources in the form of beaters, carriers, elephants, horses, and dogs to accompany them so that they could venture out in style (138). In this, albeit at a smaller scale, they followed the grand traditions of shikar as practiced by the nawabs and rajahs of

the time. Johnson describes the hunting expeditions of "Prince" Nawab Asoph-ul-Dowlah thus:

> Early in the morning his Highness left his Palace at Lucknow, with a number of noisy instruments playing before him; as soon as he was clear of the city and suburbs, a line was formed with the Nawaub Vizier in the centre, generally on an elephant elegantly caparisoned, with two spare elephants, one on each side of him. The one on his left bore his state howdah empty; the other on his right, carried his spare guns and ammunition also in a howdah, in which two men were placed to load the guns, and give them to his Highness when required, and to take back others that had been discharged. Several guns were kept ready loaded with ball and shot, on each of the two elephants. I believe that I am within bounds, when I say that he took with him from forty to fifty double barrel guns, besides a number of single barrel long guns, rifles, and pistols. Behind him were several beautiful led horses handsomely caparisoned.... The line of elephants on the march, amounted to four or five hundred; at each extremity of them were the cavalry. (172–74)

Had it not been for his passion for hunting, it is unlikely that Johnson would have had a chance to participate in such an experience. I have quoted the above passage at length because, as we shall see in chapter 6, it would be scenes of this nature that would provide the inspiration for the dramatic pomp and ceremony by means of which the Raj would present and seek to legitimize itself during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

What most distinguishes Johnson's writing is its tone: with the single exception of his comments on some of the eccentricities of Nawab Asoph-ul-Dowlah, he is rarely condescending or judgmental in his meticulous accounts, and is singularly open to new experiences. Although he is startled by the noise and confusion during the Rajah of Bundbissunpore's sport of a *hunquah* (large-scale driving of wild animals into nets or spaces before killing them), for example, he is also fascinated by the number of people and animals involved, and by the huge fires set off during the process, "the whole producing one of the grandest sights imaginable" (14). In Chapter IV, after describing the methods used by shikaris to kill tigers, he notes that these men would take advantage of loopholes in government practices to extract double payments of bounties and use this extra income to drink heavily. British writing of a later period would almost inevitably have accompanied a description of this sort with the conclusion that such behavior was indicative of degeneracy or vice. Johnson however, steers clear of high moral conclusions and simply describes what he has witnessed: "I believe it frequently happens that [shikaris] are paid twice by government for killing the same animal, by producing the head of a tiger to a collector

of one district, and the skin to the collector of another" (81). Similarly, his descriptions of native hunting techniques are painstaking and detailed, but never immediately translate into value judgments, or the categorizing of certain forms of hunting—the use of nets or pits, for example—as "cowardly" or "unmanly" in the manner of the later writers of the Raj.

Sketches is representative of the late eighteenth-century period in several other ways. At various points of his book, Johnson sets out to correct what he sees as Williamson's erroneous statements on native hunting practices. For instance, he points out that although Williamson had dismissed the bows Indian shikaris use as being a "simple... mechanism," these were actually

> a complicated and ingenious apparatus; the different uses of the number of strings attached to a bow would puzzle any one; although I have seen them often set, I am certain that I could not set them myself... and I am confident that it would require a considerable time for any person to understand its principle sufficiently to be able to set them without instruction. (78)

Unlike later writers, he sees native shikaris as skilled hunting companions who "possess patience, and a considerable degree of coolness, and... [have to be] perfectly silent [while waiting for animals]" (84). Since the period during which Johnson was in India was not one which focused on stressing racial differences, he is free to devote a full chapter to the hunting excesses of the Nawab Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah, and to point out that the latter's close friendship with Colonel John Mordant of the East India Company was based not only on their both being "[very similar and]... passionately fond of all kinds of sport" but also "rather illiterate."

Nowhere is Johnson's empathetic outlook and refusal to assume a position of cultural superiority more evident than in his discussions on (some) British attitudes toward local customs:

> We should not hastily condemn the customs of the Hindoos because they are not agreeable to our own way of thinking. It would ill become a man who is fond of hunting and shooting to condemn as a foolish prejudice, their not liking to take away the life of any animal. Let us but place ourselves for a moment in the situation of the Hindoos, how many customs have we which must appear to them ridiculous.... Zealous Christians may blame me for disapproving with our interfering with their religion, with a view to converting them to Christianity, but I believe there are very few who have been long in India who do not on that point agree with me. (140)

It is of interest that an individual like Johnson, unaccustomed—and reluctant—as he was to thinking about human beings in hierarchical ways,

did not escape thinking about animals according to the constructs of his day. Even so, a search through his entire book reveals relatively few gratuitous pronouncements about the moral nature of a particular animal. The most noteworthy of these occurs in his chapter on that favorite scapegoat of the English, the tiger. Johnson recounts two hunting incidents in which tigers confronted by beaters hid in dense undergrowth and then came charging out only to "[turn] growling into the cover" when the hunters got closer. Johnson's conclusion upon witnessing this behavior was: "These two cases, I think, shew clearly that tigers are naturally cowardly. They generally take their prey by surprise, and whenever they attack openly, it is reasonable to conclude that they must be extremely hungry. . . . " (101). This labeling of the tigers' attempts to protect themselves as "cowardly" is particularly ironic in light of Johnson's repeatedly stressing the need to guard oneself while hunting large animals; he goes to great lengths to point out "how imprudent it is, ever to attack such animals on foot" (130). Clearly, "placing oneself for a moment in the place of the Hindoo" did not translate into placing oneself for a moment in the place of the tiger: empathetic as Johnson is toward other human beings, he stops short of extending a like generosity of spirit toward other species.

1800–1857: Hunting and the Civilizing Mission

Although British rule under the East India Company had been established since the 1757 Battle of Plassey, British culture was not yet dominant in India at the turn of the century. Ashis Nandy points out that, at the time, "race-based evolutionism" was not a part of the ruling culture, and the British had not yet begun to see as axiomatic the notion that everything British was inherently superior to everything Indian (5). Moreover, despite growing pressure from missionary groups, the East India Company had discouraged missionary activity as it feared that too much interference in cultural matters would complicate matters and interfere with profits.

All this was to change with the coming of the new century, which unleashed a wave of British superiority and censoriousness toward other cultures. These cultures began to be viewed through an increasingly hierarchical world view—with the British positioned on top of the hierarchy—which irresistibly led to the desire to improve and civilize the peoples perceived as being below them. Moreover, from the 1800s onward, missionaries had begun filtering into the country under various guises. With reformers such as William Wilberforce declaring the Christian mission in India to be the greatest of all causes, the vocabulary of moralists and evangelicals began to

find its way into writings about India, including hunting narratives. Such narratives now invoked the language of morality while describing most things Indian, be it the native hunter or the animal being hunted—and even the animal being used to hunt with. By this time the Indian animal had already been subjected to multiple levels of othering: condemned as the lowest across hierarchies of human/nonhuman, as well as English animal/Indian animal, it now took on all the vices of the worst English beasts in addition to being heaped with those of the worst Indian people.

With the evangelicals leading the way in "insisting that the commercial operations of . . . the East India Company . . . should acquire a moral character" (Carey 63), early nineteenth-century writings about India increasingly began to dwell upon the "degraded," "hideous," and "barbaric" nature of its societies (Metcalf 30). For example, Charles Grant, the new evangelical chairman of the Company's Court of Directors expounded at length upon India and its inhabitants as, "long sunk in darkness, vice and misery . . . [deprived of] light and benign influence of the truth" (J. Morris 74). Not surprisingly, in a parallel metonymic move, Indian animals such as the tiger, cheetah, and wolf were now routinely cast as depraved, cunning, vile, and savage. In a telling phrase, and with no sense of irony whatsoever, the ruthless sportsman Williamson would describe the civet cat as "perhaps the most obnoxious of all the wild tribes known in India . . . sparing nothing which it can overcome . . . and frequently killing, as it were, merely for sport" (*Vol. II* 109). Even noncarnivorous animals such as stags and boars were castigated for their vicious and vengeful tendencies. The mere word "vermin," devoid of moral implications, was apparently no longer a sufficient term of description for such creatures, ridding the earth of which was to be among the blessings of imperium.

And so continued "the war against errant species" that had had its beginnings in the late eighteenth century (Rangarajan, *IWH* 23). However, the large-scale interference in human-wildlife relations occasioned by the increased numbers of hunts began to bring about its own problems. While the giving out of bounties had initially decreased the loss of human lives by killing "target species" in vast numbers, conflicts between people and wild animals rose to new levels:

> Many animals classed as vermin were probably concentrated in greater numbers along the edge of grasslands and mature tree forests. The growth of plantation crops such as tea in the hills of Assam reduced the available habitat and, for a time, increased the intensity of conflict. As the agrarian frontier extended, the concomitant growth in human numbers multiplied the chance of deadly encounters on the ground. Conversely, the slaughter of deer and boar by sahibs or villagers out to get extra meat reduced the base of prey for wild carnivores. The rhino and the wild buffalo, major prey items,

> vanished from the north Bengal plains by the 1850s; in the drier regions, nilgai became scarce. (Rangarajan, *IWH* 26)

In addition to the bounties providing major incentives to poor village shikaris to hunt down vermin, the large-scale killing of animals was the direct result of the practices of two of the most enthusiastic hunting groups in India's history: the princes and the British. The Indian princes had always been passionate hunters, but now that they were treaty-bound to accept the British as their sovereigns and prohibited from spending their energies on protecting their kingdoms or waging wars, they had a lot of spare time on their hands.[12] In the absence of any real responsibilities, they began to devote themselves wholeheartedly to opulent hunting expeditions. Besides, the ability to wield a gun and conspicuously demonstrate power (at least over other species) allowed the princes to preserve their own authority and masculinity. These former "equals" of the old East India Company were only too aware that they had been reduced to ornamental figureheads with no real authority, never quite knowing when ever-changing and capricious British laws might further erode their power.

The Indian princes were also aware, however, that they had one prime resource that the English coveted, and that they could use to bargain for privileges. They ruled a third of India, and the vast hunting grounds and resources at their command now became an important strategic asset. When the numbers of some large game animals began to rapidly dwindle in territories ruled by the British, "officials from the Viceroy down to the district officer vied with each other for an invitation to the sportsman's paradise that lay in princely India" (Rangarajan, *IWH* 36). Of course, these desperate measures to go hunting for pleasure give the lie to all those myths that Company officials had tried to propagate about hunting expeditions as being selfless dedication to duty and protection of the people. Be that as it may, at this crucial stage of history, this joint interest in hunting activities would prove an important and lasting bond between the princes and the British. This bond was a complex one, sometimes based on genuine friendship. Ultimately, it would survive the lenses of age, race, and gender through which Indians, and in particular the princes who constituted even a nominal threat to British power, were increasingly viewed.

With ideas of racial hierarchy being introduced into British India in the early nineteenth century, however, the princes were also viewed by many of the British as epitomizing the degenerate society that they were a part of. Since they were indeed the potential alternate leaders of India, thinking about the Indian royalty in disparaging ways was an important political and strategic move. But it was not just ideologies of race that were now being employed in the service of (re)constructing the princes. In response

to differences between the ways in which masculinity was sometimes articulated in India and Europe, as far back as the late eighteenth century East India officials such as Robert Orme had commented on the "effeminacy" of Indian men (qtd. in Metcalf 105).[13] Critics such as Thomas Metcalf have pointed out that in the early nineteenth century, ideologies of gender intertwined with ideologies of race in order to create notions of India's "difference" and shore up the contrast between ruler and ruled.

While ideas surrounding race and gender had been significant in defining Indians between 1800 and 1857, such markers now began to be further imbricated with age-categories. The resultant triumvirate of constructs differentiated the manly, advanced British culture from the feminine and childish (or childlike, depending upon the level of threat they posed) Indians, including the princes who, ironically, had been divested of their responsibilities and powers by the very people who now accused them of being irresponsible and immature. Even a relatively sympathetic observer such as Daniel Johnson had described Nawab Asop-ul-Dowlah as "frivolous and childish" (182). At best, notions of race-based evolution were leading the British to view the Indian princely states as belonging to an "older" period of history, analogous in some ways to the feudal order of medieval Europe. In a case of ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny Indians, like their civilization, were now seen as representing an early stage of development, which further justified the right of the adult British to control and keep their latent tendencies toward disorder in check.

The fact that skill in hunting was one of the primary signifiers of British adulthood resulted in some interesting contradictions. Since many of the princes belonged to the "warrior castes" of India and were often accomplished hunters themselves, constructs that equated masculinity, adulthood, and hunting with Englishness posed a slew of rhetorical problems and called for a variety of discursive strategies that attempted to iron out the contradictions resulting from such formulations by distinguishing different sorts of hunters and hunting practices. Hunting narratives such as those by Thomas Williamson, Baden-Powell, and John Lockwood Kipling are therefore riddled with the sorts of slippages and ambivalences that theorists such as Bhabha point to in their analyses of nations as narrative strategies (*LC* 201). Hunting narratives, after all, endeavor to function as prime texts of nation and empire building, encompassing as they do all the requisite virtues of the English gentleman as defined by the nineteenth century: manliness, bravery, self control, coolness of head, sportsmanship, and benevolence.

By mid-century, English public schools were teaching gentlemanly virtues, with the implication that people of middle-class origin could indeed join the elite classes. Given the increasing numbers of middle-class English

people who were venturing to India, Anthony Fletcher's analysis of the significance of "[m]anners as a sign of superior rank and person [given their] distinct advantage of an inalienable connection to the person, of portability and of usefulness in one way or another" (326) is particularly relevant. Middle-class British folk imported with them the public school manners, aesthetics, and virtues that would mark them as "civilized" in India, with the implied corollary that Indians not exhibiting the same visible traits were not civilized. Furthermore, these manners and virtues became an important part of the discourse not just about what constituted a gentleman but also, importantly, on how a gentleman hunted.

"How" a gentleman hunted was becoming codified as a combination of traditional British upper-class hunting practices and ceremonial Indian shikar. The emphasis was on the display of the gentlemanly virtues, with the taking of risks upheld as particularly valuable, doubtless because it encompassed the traits most significant within an imperialistic context. Just as discourses about hunting and "rational recreation" were used to create hierarchies of class and age in England, constructs that invoked morality were employed in the service of racial and national categories in India. The writings of Williamson and other British hunters reveal that hunting techniques used by the British were hailed as "noble," in contrast to traditional hunting techniques of native shikaris. The hunting methods used by these shikaris, including shooting from *machans* (platforms) and the use of nets and pits to trap animals, were now dismissed as "cowardly" and "utilitarian." M. S. S. Pandian discusses hunting as an "ideological marker which affirmed the colonizing white male as super-masculine" (276):

> Not only was hunting by the native inferiorized as utilitarian, but their modes of hunting were also carefully scrutinized and declared as effeminate... [since natives] did not discriminate between trophy-yielding and non-trophy-yielding animals [and] went about shooting whatever yielded meat. (281)

The emphasis on trophies underlines the increasing importance of hunting as a potent symbol for the enactment of power for the British, with the trophies providing glorious and lasting visual proofs of power. This was in contrast to "lower" utilitarian and temporary benefits such as meat or livelihood that, it was implied, formed the only motivation for village shikaris who would stoop to any means to achieve their base ends.

As the nineteenth century progressed, increasingly narrow and artificial criteria began to be used to define virtues such as bravery and the taking of risks. Possible cultural or other factors that might explain differences in behavior were overlooked or ignored. As just one example, an

article in the *South of India Observer* reporting a leopard that had been killed by the "well-known tiger slayer" Thomas Kay offered the following commentary:

> There must be several of these destructive creatures prowling about in the neighbourhood of Billicul, and as the burghers are either too timid or too lazy to go after them, they are likely to continue their depredation until Mr Kay, or some other European gentleman, takes in hand to hunt them up and destroy them. (qtd. in Pandian 281)

Quite apart from the questionable comment on the leopard's "destructiveness" (the shy leopard being yet another animal now subject to gratuitous constructs such as its "cunning" nature), this passage interprets the behavior of the Indian burghers according to familiar tropes of laziness and cowardliness, in contrast to Mr. Kay's displays of action and bravery. The writer does not consider for a moment the possibility that questions about bravery might be irrelevant, and that the local population might refrain from throwing itself into the large-scale elimination of creatures like leopards for any number of reasons. For instance, they might view leopards as a part of the natural world and so partake of its divinity; they might not be inflamed by the desire to prove their dominance of the natural world at every possible chance; or, quite simply, they might just not be interested in gratuitous killing. Even Johnson had commented on the "apathy" of the families of shikaris carried off by tigers: the fact that the villages might see the tiger as a natural or divine force, or as part of a retributory cycle of birth and rebirth, for example, did not occur to him (40).

The growing insularity and cultural dominance of Englishmen in India only led to a greater inability to understand the different ways of thinking about animals that governed native behavior. With their progressively strengthening power and increasingly ruthless trade practices (many of which dealt in products derived from animals), the British thought of their relationship with India as primarily an economic one at this point. Cultural theorists such as Ashis Nandy and James Morris have speculated that the idea of empire was "still suspect" when the Victorian age dawned in England in 1837 (5). Morris describes the ethos as follows:

> All in all the British were not thinking in imperial terms. They were rich. They were victorious. They were admired. They were not yet short of markets for their industries. They were strategically invulnerable, and they were preoccupied with domestic issues. . . . In London, though the offices of empire hardly showed, the monuments of imperial trade were evident enough. Beyond the Tower the East India and West India docks [loomed, and] . . . in the warehouses of the Hudson's Bay Company, the

> beaver pelts and fox skins were piled in their lucrative thousands.... No, in 1837 England seemed to need no empire, and the British people as a whole were not much interested in the colonies. How can one be expected to show an interest in a country like Canada, demanded Lord Melbourne the Prime Minister, where a salmon would not rise to a fly? (25–30)

In other words, the many products derived from large-scale hunting activities in India were making their way into British markets long before the period of colonialism proper had begun in 1858. As an interesting side-note, the quotation from Lord Melbourne highlights the fact, albeit flippantly, that an important part of the attraction of colonies centered around whether the creatures in them were worthy of pursuit... in addition to blaming the salmon for being unable, or unwilling, to do what humans required of it!

But it was not just British males for whom the hunting of animals and products derived from animals held an attraction. Although the number of British women who were in India at this time was still exponentially smaller than the numbers of men, more and more women were either coming out in search of adventure or to join their men. Like the men, many of the women in the latter category were thoroughly bored by their day-to-day activities; unlike the men, they did not even have official work to keep them occupied. In a letter home, Florence Marryat bemoaned the monotony of her days: "Each sun set as it rose, and left a feeling behind it of an utterly wasted day" (MacMillan 88). Because of the time and money required for trips back to England, women would often spend years on end in India. While many women occupied themselves solely with traditional feminine amusements such as lavish dinner parties, amateur theatricals, and sports such as badminton, a miniscule fraction of the more adventurous among them joined men in shikar.

Hunting was thus the one traditionally masculine activity in which a tiny number of British women in India participated, even during this early period of the Raj. Much has been written about the particularly aloof manner with which imperial women comported themselves with respect to Indian men. Perhaps this can be understood in the context of hunting; conceivably, the disdain that memsahibs displayed toward the Indian male might have stemmed not so much from racial antipathy, as much as from an unconscious sense of rivalry occasioned by the homoerotic bonds that British and Indian men formed during shikar.[14] After all, hunting activities were not merely a common pastime for these two groups of men; the hunt was the one real pleasure they shared.

And this was a pleasure under threat in England. The inclusion of traits such as benevolence and compassion in the construct of gentlemanliness

had created all sorts of internal contradictions when paired with the love of the upper classes for sports such as hunting. Tensions were now arising in what Fletcher described as "the straightforward medieval relationship of sport, courage and aristocratic privilege" (328) in England at the turn of the century. While it is clear that a large part of the "pleasure" of India was precisely that this "straightforward medieval relationship" could continue to be indulged with fewer obstacles, increasing tensions surrounding these and other issues, as well as the strategies employed to deal with them become evident in hunting narratives such as the meticulously produced *Oriental Field Sports*.

Thomas Williamson: *Oriental Field Sports*

Captain Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports* (1808) was one of the earliest books to appear on the subject of big game hunting in India. Like other such early works, this expensive two-volume publication was beautifully illustrated. *Oriental Field Sports* boasted two engraved frontispieces and forty plates by Samuel Howett, based on Williamson's own original sketches. The lavishly produced volumes were an immediate success, and were reprinted in 1808 and thereafter with the following dedication:

> To His Most Gracious Majesty, George the Third . . . under whose auspicious reign the fine arts have received unprecedented patronage, and have attained a degree of unequalled perfection in these His Majesty's united and happy dominions, this work, illustrating a noble species of amusement, and an interesting branch of Natural History, in one of the chief appendages to the British Empire. (iii)

There is much of interest in this dedication. First, the invocation of the "fine arts" attempts to situate *Oriental Field Sports* firmly within a tradition—a tradition that both recalls Aristotelian notions of harmony and rhythm, and that privileges aesthetics over utility. This both justifies the expensive production values of the double-volume, and highlights the fact that despite the repeatedly stressed utilitarian promise of the book as providing a "complete, detailed and accurate description of the wild sports of the east [as well as] . . . natural history," these are first and foremost a set of volumes that appeal to pleasure: the pleasure of the "Orient," the pleasure of the flesh, the pleasure of a ceremonial vindication of hierarchy. Moreover, the appeal to romance and the emphasis on aesthetics helps deter possible misgivings about the *real* nobility of the

"amusements" the book depicts. Furthermore, in true Lockean fashion, the dedication promises the reader that this book will both entertain and instruct, and in so doing opens itself up to a wider audience, including young readers, many of whom (as we have seen) would later recall the sporting narratives that inspired them to prepare for careers of exotic service in distant lands.

The preface goes on to stress that it is not "merely to the Sportsman" that such a work would be of interest. With a clear understanding of the increasing political and social importance of "a territory, now intimately blended with the British Empire" (v), Williamson implies that a task of the kind he has undertaken is—or should be—of national interest, as part of a grander project to know "whatever may hitherto have been concealed, or that remains unfolded to our view." Therefore, he claims, it is not just the "British Nimrod" who may view "a new and arduous species of the Chase," (v) but the observer of Nature, the Artist, the Philosopher, and the Historian who will find his work both enlightening and edifying. Williamson's half-humorous, half-affectionate use of the word "Nimrod" inescapably underlines the nascent imperialistic tendencies that this name, with its Biblical connotations of kingship, skilled hunting, and empire building carried for the many British hunters who enthusiastically adopted variations (such as "Nimrod in the East") as pseudonyms. Surely the hints of tantalizing independence of spirit—even rebelliousness—that such a word connoted only further added to its appeal for Company-wallahs reveling in the freedom of breaking the bounds of class and reinventing themselves as romantic slayers of dragons in a new land.

Having established the British gentleman-hunter as a veritable Nimrod, Williamson anticipates the question his readers will pose (or, conceivably, that he would like them to pose, so as to allow him to provide the answer), viz. "why all the characters introduced as sportsmen, are European?" (xii) He answers this with the classic simplicity of the discourse of his age. For the "natives of India," he explains, "what we call sporting... is quite a drudgery, and derogatory from the consequence and dignity of such as are classed among the superior orders." In other words, the "Moors" (as he calls them) are unwilling to put in the effort, with the rich among them filled with an undue sense of their own importance that apparently prevents them from being sportsmen. But then how does one account for the fact that the nawabs and princes were in fact passionate hunters? Williamson remedies this slippage with an answer rife with internal contradictions. The rhetorical strategy in this case is to concede that the princes and nawabs do in fact go on hunting expeditions (it would be futile to claim otherwise), but to simultaneously declare these hunting

expeditions to be overly ornate, and therefore so impractical, ridiculous and effete as to be unworthy of comment. This is ironic given the elaborate and ritualistic nature of his own hunting expeditions, and doubly so in view of the fact that the Raj would soon go on to embrace precisely such a form of spectacle in its new "ornamental" enactment of power in the years that followed 1857.

All too conscious of the problems with his constructs, Williamson proceeds to anticipate the next problem they cause and justify his decision not to include in his book even the Indians who practiced exactly the same techniques of hunting that the British (following Indian hunting traditions) now used. In a classic sleight of hand, he categorizes all such hunting techniques as English in origin, thereby rendering such Indians who choose to "emulate" them as ludicrous. He thus describes these natives as having (further) descended in the hierarchy to the level of an animal, that too one out of its natural habitat:

> As to all energy and personal exertion, except in the case of a few individuals, who, either from vanity, or a partiality to British customs and diversions, partake of our conviviality and recreations, more will never be seen: and even such demi-anglified personages cannot be expected to do much. In truth, they generally become objects of ridicule to both parties: their countrymen detest their apostacy, while we smile at their aukward attempts, like the bear in the boat, to conduct themselves with propriety in their new element! (xiii)

Having exorcised all upper-class (and therefore potentially rival) Indian claims to sport, *Oriental Field Sports* begins with a description of a hunting party getting ready to leave in the morning. In keeping with the practices of the ceremonial hunt that the British had inherited from both Indians and their own countrymen in England, the gathering is portrayed as being a group activity involving several British hunters and a platoon of Indian "menials," even if the object of the hunt is but a hog (1). The accompanying plate (figure 3.2(a); all plates are reproduced here in black and white) depicts an idyllic village setting, in which over a dozen Indians of various occupations and ranks (horse grooms, elephant mahouts, dog handlers, an assortment of villagers who are presumably beaters, provisioners, and so on) are depicted as assisting a party of six British men as they mount their animals in preparation for a day of hog-hunting. The foreground of the painting is full of activity and anticipation, and the very horses and dogs seem eager to get off to a start. Bracketing the painting are lush green trees that recede into the beautiful and mysterious background into which the intrepid group will doubtless be heading. The entire scene is one of harmony and goodwill between the various races, classes, and species

Figure 3.2 (a) "Hunters going out in the Morning." (b) "Beating Sugar-Canes for a Hog." (c) "The Chase after a Hog." From Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports*, 1808. Plates by Samuel Howett based upon Williamson's sketches.

involved, with Indians of different castes and religions (as evidenced by their clothing) participating.

The sole exceptions to this harmony, as the accompanying text explains, are two of the horses who "exclusive of the vice predominant in the horse throughout India," are rearing up in recalcitrant fashion (13). Given that speciesism is the most basic form of hierarchy, it is not surprising that hunting narratives classify even nonhuman species along lines of "race." Indian horses and dogs are thus frequently described in such narratives as being inferior to their counterparts in England. Worse, European breeds crossed with Indian breeds are alleged to undergo a terrible "degeneration," with those icons of British hunting, hounds, "the most rapid in their decline" (43). In invoking the degeneration of species through inter-breeding with native animals, passages of this sort hint at the obsessive fears of racial degeneration and contamination that were beginning to haunt England in the nineteenth century and that were expressed in wildly popular novels such as *Dracula*.

The harmony in the first plate is a central motif of each of the forty paintings in the two volumes. Howett's paintings are rendered with painstaking attention to detail and aesthetics, and allow us to admire his skills in representation and the beauty of his works. Most of all, the conventionally graceful quality of the watercolors with their lovely depictions of trees, vegetation, and picturesque huts works to synecdocally frame the beauty of the pursuit. In so doing, the art attempts to gloss over the bloodthirsty nature of the activity to a far greater extent than the bare words of the text are able to do. As is inevitable in hunting narratives that originate from a culture that endeavors to construct itself as "civilized," there is a constant tension between the violence and brutality involved, and the need to draw attention away from or justify it.

These tensions are evident in the very first series of narratives describing the hog-hunt.[15] Williamson begins by making it clear that the "jungle hog" is a far cry from being the "tame swine" (15) of England. He accordingly devotes several paragraphs to a highly colorful and moralistic condemnation of this creature, reading its natural bulk and reluctance to seek out conflict as damning evidence of its "voluptuous" ways (the parallel with his earlier allegations of the native hunters being reluctant to put in an effort is irresistible here):

> A moderate sized hog... rendered tardy by too long voluptuousness among corn or canes... is by no means uncommon to see.... Exclusive of the habits of ease in which he has so long indulged, it is probable the hog feels diffident as to his want of exercise, and ability to travel under such a mass

> of flesh. Besides, he is extremely tenacious of the spot which has so long pampered him. (15–20)

Similar tensions are manifested in the construct of the female of the species—when this is a species to be hunted. The protection of (human) females and their young—and the protection of their young by human females—were some of the most commonly invoked criteria differentiating gentleman (and gentlewoman) from barbarian and guaranteed to reduce strong men to misty-eyed sentimentality. Hunting narratives, however, make it evident that not all species are allowed to partake of the rhetoric surrounding the protection of the young or the "gentler sex": in the case of a depraved species like the hog, a sow protecting her young is damned even further for both refusing to leave the refuge she has chosen for her litter or, when forced out, for defending them. "Sometimes, indeed, nothing can force them to run" (21), intones Williamson, implying that in refusing to leave her young and provide "sport" for the hunters, the sow is being singularly derelict in her higher duties toward mankind. The entire litany of human vices is invoked in describing every attempt by hogs, and particularly sows, to escape their tormentors or protect themselves: they are vindictive, vengeful, cruel. Any intelligence the hog displays is simply further proof of its "great share of cunning" (71).

Having established the hog as a creature so degraded that the worst cruelties perpetuated on it are justifiable (and I will not here quote the long passages on the number of times each hog is speared and how), Williamson needs to prove that it is an opponent worthy of hunters such as he. He now dwells on the animal's "pace and powers," pointing out that "it requires a good horse to keep near a moderate sized hog," with an eye as "quick as a hawk[s]" (37–45). His desire to portray the hog as a suitable adversary even leads him at one point to refer to it as a "quiet seeming gentry"—with a "formidable character" beneath that quiet exterior, as he quickly adds. Several pages of description are devoted to colorful phrases such as how "pregnant this manly diversion is with danger" (69), accompanied by detailed descriptions of the many narrow escapes of the hunters.

In contrast to the savage hogs are the British hunters, repeatedly apostrophized for their willingness to undertake what is "certainly a very manly and somewhat dangerous species of the chase" (223) for "no diversion requires more coolness and judgment than hog hunting" (30). This theme of the manliness, bravery, and nobility of these "Gentlemen in India" runs right through the narrative and is enhanced, in the accompanying plates, by the appropriately "English" hunting costumes of the sahibs.[16] Augmenting the theme at various strategic moments is the claim that in getting rid of these "pests" the hunters are performing a service to local

farmers whose crops would otherwise suffer from the depredations of the hogs. Williamson also frequently assures his readers of the "pleasure of the chase," claiming both that this is a sport so difficult that it requires great experience, and simultaneously insisting that in just one season, "a perfect novice" becomes "a complete adept."

The third group of participants in this endeavour are the many natives employed by the sahibs. This group is presented in slightly more complex ways. On the one hand, the beaters and other helpers hired by Williamson follow the trope of the cowardly native whose incompetence justifies British rule: "Were [a hunter] to depend on the exertions of the natives," Williamson tells us, "he would stand but a bad chance: as they, in general, secure themselves by flight, whenever a hog shews the least inclination to pursue" (35). On the other hand, it is clear that these men are an indispensable part of the hunt and it is evident that Williamson feels a genuine fondness for at least some. He remarks that they are hard working but ill paid, and is compelled to admit that many do indeed live up to the criteria by which he judges most humans, upstart upper-class Indians excepted. "Let it not however be concluded," he writes, "that the natives altogether want courage: on the contrary many evince not only much delight and spirit, but often perform feats which none but persons possessing the most manly qualification would attempt" (35–36). Since a central premise of his writings is that what Indians do does not qualify as sport, it is not surprising that he fails to recount specific examples of such feats. Such a failure discloses yet another gap in the assumptions that underline Williamson's narratives. In highlighting the "brave" hunting techniques of the British sahibs, Williamson deliberately downplays the fact that the many beaters and attendants-on-foot who accompanied British hunters on their hunting expeditions were often at the front lines of danger and frequently the ones to be wounded by startled or escaping animals.

Like the men hired by Williamson and his companions, the villagers from surrounding communities who spontaneously run up to join in the chase are described in terms that oscillate between approval and criticism. We are told that many often join the chase only after ascertaining that the hog is dead, and are primarily interested in any "rewards" they might get for small services. Nonetheless, Williamson approvingly notes that several individuals from the local population enthusiastically participate in the chase, and rush to join in with their stout wooden *lathis*. He describes how, once the killing is over, all the participants in this ritual gather together in a ceremonial ending:

> A pleasant scene arises as the several syces and other attendants arrive at the place where the hog lies dead, and where the seated sportsmen

> commence their details and remarks. The interjectory wau !! wau !! signifying the highest degree of surprise and approbation, is ever pronounced more emphatically by each servant or villager as he arrives panting, among the groupe. (82)

Here Williamson's text points to a genuine moment of camaraderie between these various groups of human beings, including the village chiefs whose collaboration was essential in providing all the labor. However, while the harmonious coming together of these disparate groups is a cause for celebration, a speciesist reading of the text cannot but note that all this goodwill between men centers around the destruction of a putative enemy so labeled because of a difference in its species, along with the arbitrary meanings attached to such a difference.

But, like so many male hunting narratives, it is not just species that are subjected to differences that dictate inclusions or exclusions. Despite hunting being a traditionally masculine activity, the almost complete absence of human females is noteworthy both in Williamson's text as well as in the accompanying plates that make a point of depicting large numbers of men. Even taking into account the fact that there were relatively few English women in India during the period when Williamson was writing, there was certainly no lack of Indian women, many of whom participated as beaters and the like during shikar. It is surely no coincidence that Williamson's only mention of native women is in the form of a stereotypical male (and sahib) bonding joke about how the "scolds of India . . . may justly claim the palm even of those desperate rivals the dames of Billinsgate."[17] What renders these scoldings particularly effective is the native tongue itself, with the "grossness of abuse and violence of declamation . . . of the language of Hindostan," which, as Williamson had taken pains to point out earlier, is "burthened with consonants" (vii). Thus, like the horse and the dog, native women represent an inferior version of their English counterparts. Williamson's decision to write them out of his hunting narratives underlines the manner in which his work maintains all the hierarchies of traditional sporting accounts, with the additional layer of the more recently articulated classifications of race that his books would help disseminate.

And so, barely a couple of plates include token figures of women, including one in which two village women are strategically placed in the background with a view to portraying the picturesque disarray they are thrown into at the sight of the hog-hunt (figure 3.2(c): you will need to look closely to see the tiny figures in white saris, center right). Figure 3.4(a), a rare nonhunting scene depicting the driving of trapped elephants in a *keddah*, does include a well-dressed British woman with a British gentleman atop an elephant, an accompanying native holding a parasol above their heads

as they look upon a surreally beautiful elephant-dotted scene. On the hill before them, judging by his Napoleon-like hat, stands an English officer of some stature (accompanied by another umbrella-toting native), proprietarily surveying the landscape. The entire scene presents a synecdoche of the quasi-imperial conquest of man and nature in India, and as such appropriately includes that cornerstone of British domesticity, the woman. Of course, while human females are almost completely excluded from Williamson's narrative, a far worse fate befalls the female nonhuman animals who do get included, particularly when these belong to native species deemed reprobate and therefore unworthy of having the most basic virtues (such as compassion) extended to them.

Despite the violent nature of their subject matter, the plates that accompany Williamson's narrative are almost poetic in their beauty. The plates in figures 3.2 to 3.3, for example, constitute a highly aestheticized series of visuals capturing a hog-hunt. As we have seen, figure 3.2(a) captures a scene of harmony with different races and species engaged in various occupations as they prepare for a common endeavor. Each following plate epitomizes the same spirit, with the difference that every painting now trains the viewer's gaze, like the gazes of all the other human and animal participants in the hunt, toward the focal point, the animal being hunted. Figure 3.2(b), for example, shows three spear-wielding, horse-riding British hunters chasing after a hog that is fleeing from tall grasslands, with the dozens of native beaters (and elephants) who had presumably chased it out brandishing their sticks in the background. Like the next image (figure 3.2(c)), which continues this chase but includes yet another sow trying to hide with her young in tall grasses, in sharp contrast to all the activity in the foreground, the background depicts delicately colored landscapes dotted by swaying trees, charming farmlands, and quaint wells. In contrast to the single-minded pursuit by the hunters are various native farmers running about in a state of confusion, as denoted by their uplifted arms and the scattered directions in which they are fleeing. Like other sporting accounts, Williamson's narrative elides the extent to which the hunt, involving as it did elephants, horses, and hordes of people and animals rushing across the fields, often resulted in havoc to the crops and farm lands upon which entire families depended for their livelihood.

Figure 3.3(b) depicts the dead hog, with the sahib still in the act of sticking his spear into it. Various hunters, natives, dogs, and horses surround the lifeless prey with an air of shared exhaustion and fulfillment. While the artist's rendition of the hog further confirms it as being a brutish and ugly creature (which its being dead does nothing to mitigate), it is careful not to alienate spectators with details of blood and gore. Moreover, the poetic loveliness of the next scene (figure 3.3(c)) dispels any possible questions

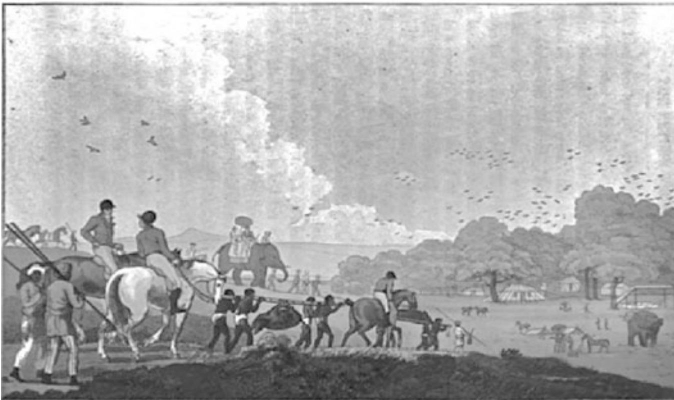

Figure 3.3 (a) "The Hog at Bay." (b) "The Dead Hog." (c) "The Return from Hog Hunting." From *Oriental Field Sports*.

about the nobility of such pursuits. Under a beautiful evening sky filled with flocks of birds is the triumphant procession heading back to the picturesque village. Hunters and attendants are engaged in conversation, as four natives carry the dead hog slung from poles. While the hog will almost certainly be cooked for dinner, neither visuals nor text reference eating. To do so might possibly legitimate the animal's death and transmute the hunt into a "merely" utilitarian pursuit in the manner of native shikaris. Instead, following traditional depictions of hunts, Howett's paintings represent Williamson's hog hunts as being, in art historian Richard Leppert's words, "arbitrary (literally unnecessary), in every respect a sport" (73).

Despite a similar degree of "arbitrariness" in the large-scale tiger hunts the British practiced, Williamson spends large portions of text justifying their usefulness. In doing so, he follows established traditions of British rulers in India, for whom the killing of tigers both justified their presence as protectors of the people, as well as symbolized their control of Indian politics and nature. Large claims are made for the British tiger-hunter whom Williamson extols as "labouring . . . for the safety and benefit of mankind" (277). "As soon as the alarm is given, [he] must sally forth, regardless of the sun's influence, his feelings or his constitution" (278), Williamson tells us, although it soon becomes apparent that the hunter's motivation is more pleasure than "labour," when he confesses that he has himself been the "victim of his own infatuation" to a degree that led him to neglect his health (278).

In order to underline the importance of tiger-hunting sahibs, Williamson first needs to prove that Indians are incapable of looking after themselves, and are wholly dependent upon the sahibs to protect and set an example for them. Accordingly, he first dismisses the tiger traps that native shikaris have used for centuries as "rarely" successful. He then stresses "how very indifferently" the villagers are equipped to deal with such an animal as the tiger, "having for the most part swords and bucklers, or bows and arrows . . . with occasionally an ill conditioned matchlock, and bad ammunition, huddled up in rags, and nearly inaccessible" (190). And in any case, the natives are so cowardly and "ineffectual" that "even where practicable . . . they never think of destroying [tigers] except under European influence" (198).

Since Williamson can hardly ignore the fact that tiger hunting had been an occupation of the Indian nobility for several centuries, he adopts the strategy of ridicule to minimize indigenous hunting skills. He contemptuously claims that the reason "native gentlemen" choose to hunt tigers but not hogs is their love of "pageantry" and "that otium cum dignitate so particularly characteristic of Asiatics in general" (234).[18] Besides, he alleges that when native gentlemen go hunting they are accompanied by such

large numbers of helpers and elephants that it is only rarely that they do any real work themselves, certainly not the actual shooting. He seems to be unaware of the contradictions that occur just a few pages later, when, in an attempt to forestall criticisms leveled at the pageantry evident in his own illustrations (and doubtless with a view to underlining the grand nature of the sport in question), he insists that "it would be utterly impossible to define any limit as to the number, either of sportsmen, or of elephants, necessary to kill a tiger" (234). Given the importance of aesthetics and ritual in British hunting practices, including the dependence on large numbers of natives who orchestrate the hunt in various ways including carrying the sahibs' weapons on the ready, the internal contradictions in the rhetorical strategies Williamson employs are strikingly obvious.

If the Indian nobility is one of Williamson's favorite bête noires, "Mussulman mahouts" (Muslim elephant handlers) are another, which forms the basis for various passages devoted to their "dissipated character[s]." Among their alleged vices, Williamson lists excessive drinking habits and fondness for smoking a range of noxious and "stupefying" substances such as "subjy" and "ganjah" (234). As the previous rulers of India that the British had supplanted, Muslims tended to get singled out for particular condemnation in the writings of this period. This was especially true of hunting narratives in which the tensions between a desire to emulate the opulent hunting practices of the Mughals, and the need to denigrate them in order to justify British supremacy becomes apparent.

As for the tiger itself, Williamson's description of it leads one to suspect that, for him, there is a certain interchangeability in his view of different Indian animals. In a description reminiscent of his writings on the hog, a (satiated) tiger is repeatedly castigated for being "perfectly lethargic," "dull," "unwilling to quit the spot which [it] has selected for [its] repose" (48), and having a "passionate [fondness] for comfortable warmth" (225). Like the sow, the female tiger's desire to protect her young (dubbed "the miscreants") is simply further proof of her degenerate tendencies and refusal to bend her will to that of humans. Again, like the hog, the tiger's natural traits are characterized as vices: its hunting instincts are "destructive" and "savage," and its shy temperament and attempts to escape the hunters proof of its being "sneaking," "subtile," and "artful." Unlike the hog, however, the tiger comes with a reputation for awfulness, with much symbolism attached to its image. In this instance, therefore, the discourse tends toward devaluing the tiger in passages so remarkable for their gratuitous hatred that I shall take the liberty of quoting one at length:

> Nothing can appear more truly contemptible than a tiger when skulking before a line of elephants; such eagerness to hide behind every bush; such

> a cringing, sly, jealous and cowardly demeanour; one really cannot, without some difficulty, believe him to possess such fire, and energy as he displays when driven to extremities! A few, however, die, as it were, quite resigned; and absolutely disgust the hunters by a passive, tame, and imbecile demeanour, not only contrary to the nature of the animal in general, but rendering the chase quite insipid and disinteresting [*sic*]. (234)

As noted earlier in this chapter, for the British, the tiger's biggest sin lay in its epitomizing disorder. Here, the tiger is reviled for acting in a manner "contrary" to its nature and, even worse, for letting the humans down by not affording them entertainment in its terror at being surrounded by men on elephants. But of course, in a sense the tiger has not really let the humans down. In behaving as it did, it gave Williamson exactly what he hoped for—the "proof" of its being a contemptible creature. Needless to say, not all descriptions of tiger hunts in *Oriental Field Sports* are like this. Several recount dramatic tiger hunts of a more conventional kind, with detailed (and predictably gory) descriptions of the chase, the closing in, and the killing.

The degree to which the tiger is singled out for opprobrium is evident in the manner by which even individual parts of its body are analyzed as offering further proof of its viciousness. For instance, Williamson spends a long passage discussing the "noxious" quality of the tiger's claws, with a view to stressing the "very great danger…inseparable from [the] manly diversion" (276) of hunting tigers. Perhaps most tellingly of all, we are told that even when dead, "men as well as animals feel much affected in [the tiger's] presence." Lest this be taken to imply that the tiger fills one with awe, Williamson makes it clear that he means to invoke not the sublime but the loathsome: "a certain creeping, shuddering sensation pervades all" (289).

The plates accompanying the descriptions of tiger hunts depict the same sense of men and domesticated beasts harmoniously pitted against a putative enemy as the hog-hunting illustrations had done, but with one important difference. Given the anxieties about hierarchy that the tiger evokes, these plates "zoom in" much more closely to allow us to better appreciate the preservation of order. For example, figure 3.4(b), depicting the recently killed tiger, visually arranges its subjects in hierarchical order, thus allowing the spectator to imagine his or her place in the natural world, especially now that a prime symbol of disorder has been vanquished. At the very top, practically floating in the sky, is the principal sahib calmly seated atop his elephant, still holding the gun with which he had killed the tiger. Surrounding him are various (lesser) sahibs, each atop his own elephant with gun prominently displayed. In the central portion of the painting are assorted natives and horse grooms. At the center and near the bottom of

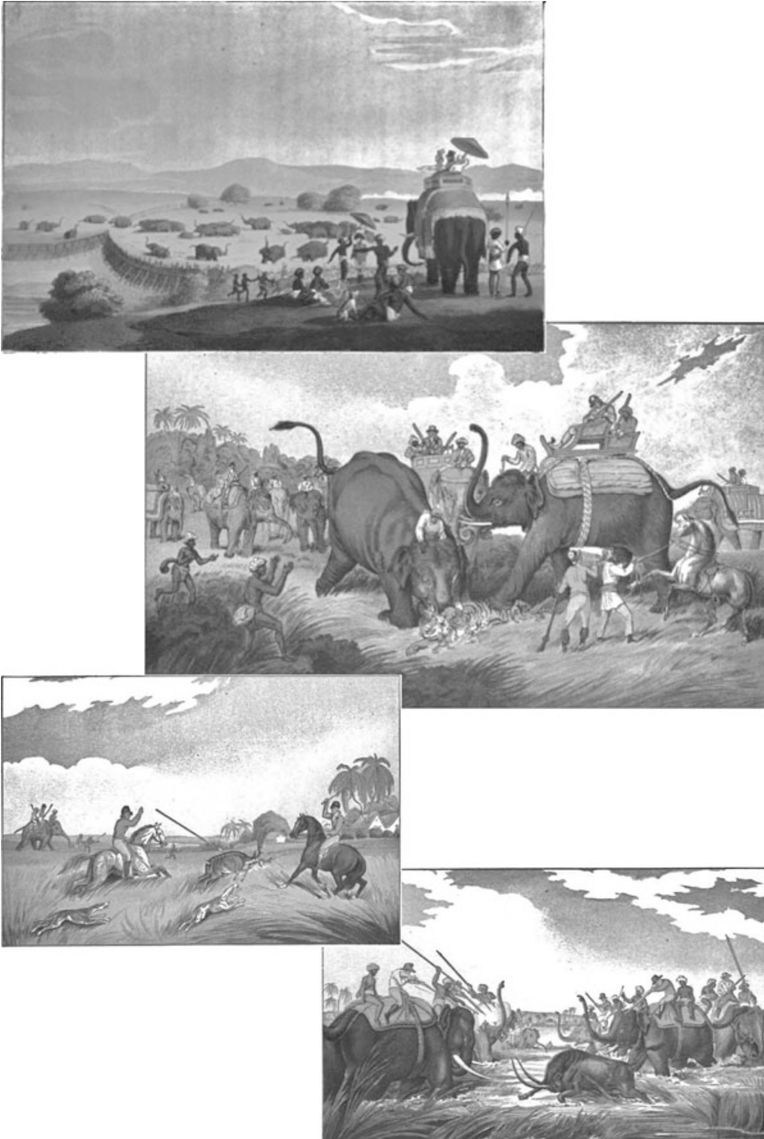

Figure 3.4 (a) "Driving Elephants into a Keddah." (b) "The Dead Tiger." (c) "The Hog Deer at Bay." (d) "The Buffalo at Bay." From *Oriental Field Sports*.

the frame is the dead tiger . . . and one of two loincloth clad natives who are rushing up, hands clapping, to congratulate the sahibs. The accompanying text tells us how to think about this scene: "the news of the tiger's death gladdens every heart . . . the shecarrie is half smothered with embraces, and is treated in every respect as [the villagers'] preserver."

For each animal hunted Williamson includes a section, with an accompanying plate, on how it is brought "to bay" (figures 3.3(a), 3.4(c), and 3.4(d)). It is fascinating to consider that the moment when an animal is finally cornered by groups of humans and other animals all working together to destroy it has traditionally been seen as a moment worthy of being repeatedly captured, dwelt upon, and endlessly portrayed through language and visuals. Williamson provides a telling instance of a "boar at bay": "It is very common to see a boar being brought to bay in such an easy, passive manner, as would indicate the most perfect resignation to the will of his pursuers" (70). The quasi-religious language he uses betrays rather than hides why the moment of bringing to bay is so significant in hunting narratives across time and place. Arguably, the significance of the moment of "bringing to bay" lies in the fact that it represents that brief moment of domination when the anxiety of the human about his place in the natural hierarchy is laid to rest for a few fleeting seconds. This is the moment when the human can play god, when that which is now vibrantly alive will—in a second—be dead . . . should He so choose.

Seen in this light, it is not surprising that one of the moments most captured in the genre of nature painting is that of bringing to bay. If the ultimate moment of conquest over other species most captured in photographs of the same genre is the hunter traditionally posed with foot or gun resting on the dead animal, this is conceivably because the moment of the animal being at bay is so fleeting, chaotic, and full of motion that it can rarely be captured by photographs. But painting is not encumbered in these ways, and the painter, like the writer, has the luxury of time to freeze—and embellish with appropriate little touches—this transient moment depicting man's victory over nature and life itself. It is surely no coincidence, then, that the multiplicity of chapters and images on bringing animals to bay in Williamson's book serve a function vital to narratives of the Raj, highlighting as they do the creation of hierarchies and strategic alliances that form the very bedrock of imperialism.

Chapter 4

Our Rightful Claim to Superiority as a Dominant Race

Hunting Narratives and the British Raj, 1857–1947

With these suggestive records I conclude this my account of the "premier sport of India" a sport at once proving and preserving our rightful claim to superiority as a dominant race, and also providing us with our best cavalry school.

—*Baden-Powell, last lines of* Pig-Sticking or Hog-Hunting

The Sepoy Rebellion of May 1857,[1] universally acknowledged as the single most traumatic event for the British Raj, began as a revolt by sepoys of the British East India Company's army in Meerut, and soon spread to include civilian populations in cities and villages across India. During the fourteen months that this "First War of Independence"[2] lasted, peasants, local rulers, and Indian troops fought to overthrow Company rule, killing British men, women, and children in the process. Among other things, the Revolt made it evident that the initial pre-nineteenth-century policy of the East India Company to interfere as little as possible in Indian cultural affairs had been a wise one.[3] However, carried away by an increasing sense of technological and cultural superiority, and under pressure by evangelical groups to "improve" other peoples "long sunk in darkness, vice and misery,"[4] the British government had begun to pressure the Company to push for various cultural interventions in India during the early nineteenth century. In asserting this newfound civilizational mission, the metropole

had underestimated, among other things, both the symbolic importance of animals and the power of religion in the lives of Indians.

While the causes of the 1857 Rebellion were many, the most significant revealed Indian anxieties surrounding a loss of caste due to encroaching Western and Christian influences. It is no coincidence that the flashpoint centred on something as basic as the different ways in which the animals intimately connected with group identities, in this case the cow and the pig, had been constructed by the various groups of humans involved. All of the constructs invoked hierarchies of species in one way or another, each reflecting the manner in which a particular group of humans imagined an animal other in order to define its own self. For the British, for whom roast beef was practically a national symbol,[5] and the pig "eminently eatable," animals were simply commodities to use, in this case for the fat that their flesh provided to grease the cartridges of the new Lee-Enfield rifles supplied to their Indian army.[6] For the Muslims, pigs were unclean and would defile those who came into physical contact with them. For the Hindus, the cow was a sacred mother-figure of whose flesh it was taboo to partake. And so, when the new rifles required the sepoys to heavily grease their cartridges with a mix of pig and cow fat before biting off the tops to release the powder, this was interpreted by Indians as the final proof of the "insidious missionary plot to defile them and force their conversion to Christianity" (Wolpert 233), since the act of biting into pig or cow flesh would cause them to become outcastes in their own religions. Simply exporting constructs of animals from England to India with a blithe disregard for differences that in fact constituted an "abomination…for which there is no parallel in western ways of thinking" (Hyam 135) led to the sparking of the most dramatic experience of the Raj.[7]

The Revolt of 1857 had several far-reaching consequences that impacted both human and nonhuman inhabitants of the empire. In terms of policy, the most significant change was that the British Government stepped in and took over the rule of India from the East India Company. British social attitudes both in England and in India also underwent a dramatic transformation. Historians such as Hyam describe the change as follows:

> The most important result of the Mutiny-Rebellion of 1857 was the addition of hatred to indifference in the British attitude toward Indians. The "mild Hindu" stereotype was replaced by a belief in his deceptiveness and cruelty. Conversely, the Mutiny was used to exemplify the virtues of the British race. Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help* found in British behaviour at the time the highest standards of manliness and resource. (141)

The savagery and scale of the punishments meted out by the British "Army of Retribution" were widely viewed as fitting, and even commendable, in

a Britain where the uprising was often portrayed as a clash between civilization and barbarity demanding, as one writer puts it, "exemplary vengeance" (Herbert 101). Describing Victorian writing about the Mutiny as expressing a particularly blatant form of racist ideology, Peter Brantlinger points out that no other event of the Raj elicited quite the same level of national hysteria in Britain, and no other event of the nineteenth century captured its imagination to the same degree (199). The period between 1857 and 1862 alone would see the appearance of over 500 books filled with wild exaggerations and lurid, superlative-filled poetry and prose.[8] Editors of the fiercely competitive world of children's adventure stories and juvenile papers too encouraged writers to enthrall and horrify their readers with details of the indescribable horrors of the Mutiny; reading these works, young imperialists felt honor bound to avenge these gory deeds.

In pointing out that a feature of "Mutiny writing" is that "every sepoy is black, wild-eyed and bloodstained; every English mother is young, timid, spotless, terrified, and clutch[ing] to her breast a baby still immaculately pantalooned" (232), historians like James Morris gesture toward the fact that narratives and visuals of the post-1857 Raj often take recourse to the Gothic. Arguing that such a framing serves to unify cultures under stress by the creation of a common enemy, James Kincaid describes the primary marker of such a story as its "over-the-top extremism":

> Gothic stories are stories of monsters, on a moral level, a battle between the normal and the monstrous or, almost always, the good and the unspeakably evil. Even when the monsters are ostensibly human, they are really of another species in our minds.
>
> Within Gothic, there is really no psychology and a very simple plot line: the monster threatens and goes on a rampage; the monster is killed or . . . pushed away for a while. This monster has no real motivation, and that is vital: we want to know nothing about the monster except that he hates us and wants us dead. Like Satan, the Gothic monster simply hates good and is out to destroy it. (Thus Gothic stories are very flattering, positioning us always as virtuous victims or potential victims). ("Cultural Studies" 4)

True to the Gothic, British narratives written after the Rebellion were filled with motiveless and monstrous natives out to defile and kill virtuous English people. Demonstrably, a similar pattern became evident in animal narratives as well, particularly in hunting accounts that tended to adopt a gothic lens in their depictions of the animal to be hunted. After all, in some ways this was an easier leap to make: this particular monster was *already* of another species; all that now needed to be stressed was that it hated the putative heroes (the hunters) with an implacable hate and was out to destroy them and/or the native humans the heroes had come together

to protect. All of which only served to feed into the larger narrative of the colony being a space filled with all sorts of monsters that constantly needed to be policed, vanquished, and subdued, a task that only the adult imperial human could adequately handle.

Constantly highlighting the animal thus served several important functions in the Raj. Particularly in the context of increasing notions about human equality, supplying imperial humans with virtually unlimited numbers of nonhuman enemies to battle ensured that an empire based so much upon assertions of what the highest form of human was could conceivably be sustained. This would also explain why certain species tended to be highlighted during the Raj; these were often carnivores such as tigers and leopards who could most easily be seen, as Baden-Powell so often does, as the "enemy." In the case of noncarnivorous animals (like the boar, who was not naturally inclined to attack humans), the animal would be cornered and goaded to the point where it would eventually display very satisfactory enemy-like behavior. In fact, the further the British made inroads into dense forest lands,[9] the more varieties of animal became available to hunt; the more technology and weapons became sophisticated, the more they could hone and perfect skills used to track the animals they already viewed as game. Seen in this light, the oft-encountered imperial paranoia about local shikaris depleting animals becomes understandable; not only were the shikaris threatening to erode the greatest pleasure of the Raj, but they were competing with one of the most visible means through which empire enacted itself.

Despite all the rhetoric about the sun never setting on their empire, the British were painfully aware of the increasing threats to their supremacy. Predictably enough, the more the empire realized its vulnerability, the more pressure it put on the binaries it created. The more the boundaries between the human and the animal were under stress in Victorian England, the more essential it became to the Raj to insist that the colonial powers represented the acme of the human. And what better way to highlight the human-ness of the human than by relentlessly focusing on what at least some Victorians were determined to see as its opposite, the animal; as Sartre noted in his preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*, "The European has become a man only through creating slaves and monsters" (26). It would not be too much of a stretch to claim that particularly in the context of empire, the British *needed* animals to assure both themselves and others of their humanity. Not surprisingly, the more this quality of being human needed to be asserted, the more monstrous the animal became, which further resulted in sliding the native (who inhabited a space somewhere between uber-human imperial figure and beast) even lower down in the scale. Furthermore, British hunters found themselves under pressure

from the growing animal rights movement that condemned the brutal nature of their activities. Anxious to defend their narratives as documenting a superior culture, British hunters writing after 1857 began to lay an even greater emphasis on the evil nature of the animal being hunted, implying that it deserved any cruelties inflicted on it.

Predictably enough, the post-1857 "second Indian empire" was based upon a particularly racist form of ideology that would henceforth govern every aspect of imperial policy and practice, including hunting. Ideas surrounding racial hierarchies were, of course, by no means new to colonial relations; what was new was the additional gloss of scientific language that was now applied to legitimize these ideas. Following Stuart Hall's emphasis on how specific political and social circumstances make racial characteristics socially pertinent, Jenny Sharpe suggests that the Revolt of 1857 acted as a catalyst that "activated" scientific theories of race. "Racial explanations" she notes, "occur when historical conditions make it difficult to presume the transparency of race—which is to say, 'race' is all the more necessary for sanctioning relations of domination and subordination that are no longer regarded as 'natural' " (5). Not surprisingly, many Victorians would view Darwin's 1859 doctrine of the survival of the fittest as lending scientific proof to the notion of evolutionary hierarchies in both humans and animals, in addition to further legitimating the superiority of the human "kingdom" over the animal. Various theorists of the time incorporated this sort of pseudo-Darwinian thinking in their social models. Writing in 1861, for instance, ex-officer of the East India Company John Stuart Mill expounded on his notion of "the ladder of civilization," theorizing that "[t]he state of different communities, in point of culture and development, ranges downward to a condition very little above the highest of the beasts" (36).

Hierarchical thinking of this type provides yet another explanation for the prominent animal presence in the narratives and visuals of the Raj. The inclusion of the animal in these materials served to foreground evolutionary hierarchies so vital to the colonial enterprise. Emphasizing the animal kept alive important distinctions such as those between human and nonhuman, or, for that matter, human and subhuman. Further, the ability to see "subhuman" native communities as inhabiting essentially the same evolutionary space as the "highest of the beasts" impacted the manner in which imperial hunters somewhat interchangeably constructed the human and nonhuman occupants of the territories they ruled. Needless to say, neither of these groups benefited from being categorized with the other, since prejudices against both fed off and reinforced each other. Reading colonized humans in terms of their beast-like qualities further legitimized imperial rule by adding animality and primitivism to the traits of native

childishness and effeminacy that had dominated narratives of the pre-1857 Raj.[10] At the same time, viewing animals, and especially game animals, as sharing the less savory characteristics of natives only caused them to be further despised, thereby encouraging the most egregious cruelties to be visited on them. The tiger, for instance, often viewed as symbolizing native cunning and disorder, would sometimes be shot at during a hunting session but deliberately not be killed outright in order to let its "injuries 'stiffen' " for several hours before it was tracked down for the final shooting (Schnell 233).

The desire to see race—and, for that matter, species—as an inherent marker of superiority stemmed in part from the uncertainties surrounding the breakdown of traditional social structures in Britain during the latter half of the nineteenth century. At a time when democratic vulgarity seemed to be sweeping through England, India held out the prospect of maintaining or achieving an aristocratic lifestyle not only for upper-class Britishers, but for the increasing numbers of middle-class servants of the Raj who were flocking to the colonies. As cultural analysts such as Fanon, Nandy, and Morris have remarked, it was the newly enfranchised middle classes who would eventually become "the most passionate imperialists" of Victorian England (J. Morris 38). After all, imperialism offered the middle classes an unprecedented means by which to pole-vault over class barriers and attain a status they would never have otherwise been able to attain. Since an important marker of this bastion of exclusivity had traditionally been such English sports as fox-hunting, it is not surprising that one of the most important ways in which less affluent Britishers were able to adopt the class credentials of their social superiors was through the freely available privileges that India, "a haven for sport,"[11] offered. As Colonel John Hainsworth would say in an interview, "I liked the life; the shooting of course [was] a very big thing because I could never have afforded to shoot at home in those days."[12]

But it was not just the privations of class that middle—or lower—class Britons were able to escape in the colonies. Given how closely race, class, and age were imbricated, the journey across the seas to India magically transformed groups often viewed as childish and in need of policing in their own country into "adults" fit for mature responsibilities in the colony, complete with access to the pleasures of "real men." Race, in other words, trumped class as the primary marker of age-constructs in India. This becomes abundantly clear from a set of taped interviews conducted by Professors Frank de Caro and Rosan Augusta Jordan of the Louisiana State University Center for Oral History. The interviewees, British people who lived and worked in India before its independence in 1947, mention that young newcomers to colonial service were often almost immediately assigned surprisingly important

positions, implying that in Britain such work would only have been assigned to older, more experienced people. Several recall with some wonder that it was not unusual for twenty-five-year-olds to be appointed district officers, where they would "preside" over several villages, "hold[ing] court and dispens[ing] justice."[13] "One of the great joys of India," says Douglas Fairbairn, "was that responsibility was thrust upon you at a relatively early age. Looking back sometimes it's almost ludicrous."[14] "The moment you went to India, you [had a] real man's job," echoes Major-General Sir Charles Dalton, "... it was a wonderful place for the impecunious subaltern to enjoy sport very much more cheaply than he could at home—shooting, fishing, pigsticking."[15]

The numerous references to young men suddenly leading an adult life in India, including "real men's" pursuits such as shooting, fishing, and pig-sticking lead me to speculate that colonial hunting in fact fulfilled an important developmental phase for at least some British youth. Even if adolescence had not yet been articulated as a separate developmental category, the hunt essentially functioned as what Roger Manning describes as an "adolescent rite of passage" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.[16] Given the declining power of the landed gentry in mid-nineteenth century England, as well as the increasing level of encroachment by animal rights movements in hunting activities, few British "adolescents" would have been able to partake of this rite in their own native land. India, however, could—and indeed would—continue to operate as a space where these youth could use hunting rituals to shake off the restrictions of childhood.

But it was not just the young to whom colonial hunting spaces bequeathed the indulgences of a newly minted adolescence. The British adult, too, was able to transcend the restrictions that older age categories could bring. In a discussion of field sports in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, Fletcher implies that hunting had allowed upper-class men to avoid the responsibilities of adulthood altogether: "Many gentlemen remained perpetual adolescents.... [it is] sometimes difficult to distinguish between their [hunting] rites and children's games" (133). Conceivably, the seemingly unlimited hunting opportunities that India had to offer could allow a similar—if more compartmentalized—indefinite adolescence to adults of all ages. As novels such as *A Passage to India* indicate, the men (and women) of empire were overweeningly self-conscious about living up to their "adult" roles in the workplace and even at home, where the presence of numerous native servants prevented them from letting down their guard. It might not be too much of a stretch to guess that one of the great pleasures of hunting might have been the fact that it allowed these individuals to shake off the stultifying adult roles that they were forced to inhabit for so much of their time in India. If the offices of the imperial

bureaucrat and soldier were places for the enactment of self-controlled and disciplined adulthood, the fields and forests of the Raj were where British child and adult could inhabit the autonomous spaces of adolescence with abandonment, thus retaining the Peter-Pan-like eternal-boy quality that Baden-Powell so idealized.

Moreover, in implying that a poor Briton could enjoy the hunting luxuries of an adult *man* simply by virtue of being in India, Dalton's words reinforce the fact that not only were race, class, and age tied to each other in colonial hunting narratives, but these categories were closely linked to issues of gender and masculinity. Constructing the imperial persona as both adult and masculine—qualities viewed as embodying the human ideal—became especially significant after 1857, when the British were anxious to legitimize their rule. During those sensitive political times, it was their display of hunting skills that played an important role in helping to restore the martial—and imperial—image of the British (Mangan, *MSE* 103). Ultimately, it was the hyper-masculine hunter-officer who emerged as both the backbone of the Raj, and its ideal.

After all, even British field sports, that last bastion of manhood, had gradually been tainted by artificiality and love of ease. As Fletcher demonstrates, from Elizabethan times onward, informal sports in England had increasingly become organized events with "coursing matches before crowds of spectators," and the cutting of predetermined paths through the woods "in order to spare sportsmen the trouble of having to hack their way through undergrowth" (327). Needless to say, by reducing the element of danger and spontaneity, and obviating any real engagement with nature, such practices had rendered British sport somewhat effete. Hunting in the colonies, on the other hand, still retained a sense of primal vitality, risk, and adventure, and was represented as an integral part of the pioneering instinct so prized by the Victorians. As J. A. Mangan argues:

> Subscribers to the iconography of hunting considered that the officer-hunter represented a "British" identity which had a proper and legitimate claim to imperial dominance. The warrior and the hunter, in their view, were synonymous in virtue. The daring spirit shown by the officer-hunters in their encounter with wild animals, it was argued, not only proclaimed the prestige of the race, but also their acknowledged leadership as men. (*MSE* 102)

The very fact of the activity taking place in what Conrad might have called one of the dark places of the earth—primitive regions with correspondingly wild animals—was enough to label it a particularly dangerous adventure. The truth of the matter remained, however, that the

sheer number of beaters and assistants at the front lines of shikar reduced the level of "risk" posed by colonial hunting to not much higher than it would have been in England.

For many of the British in India, moreover, the chase and killing of wild animals was not only a form of sport, but a scientific pursuit. As James Ryan has demonstrated, the enthusiasm for collecting "zoological 'specimens' for private and national collections" was in part encouraged by the dramatically increased popularity of natural history in the first half of Queen Victoria's reign. He argues that as a result of this, "many major figures of Victorian science were initiated into adulthood and the scientific community through hunting" (108). For both professional and amateur colonial scientists studying animals, stalking and hunting them was a way of understanding both the natural world and their empire.

Not surprisingly, then, discourses surrounding animals increasingly became one of the mechanisms of control as the period of formal colonialism began to play itself out in India. For instance, if the pre-1857 Raj had witnessed the creation of ideological markers surrounding hunting techniques, the post-1857 era additionally saw policy being harnessed in the service of highlighting symbolic gender roles by the passing of laws that acted to enhance imperial masculinity, while simultaneously highlighting native effeminacy.[17] Imperial authorities began to import versions of game laws that had been remarkably successful in maintaining class privileges in England. Anthony Fletcher has pointed out that the first laws protecting the sporting interests of the upper classes had appeared in England in the seventeenth century, with progressively stringent rules that resulted in increased accusations of lower-class people poaching animals (327). However, while game laws in England had mainly safeguarded class, in India they additionally operated along lines of race and gender by virtually disarming native populations. It is noteworthy that although sportsmanship and masculinity were seen as being virtually synonymous in both countries, the lack of such qualities as defined sportsmanlike behavior did not automatically emasculate the British male in the way it did the Indian. While the (typically lower class) British male could be—and indeed often was—accused of behaving in an "unmanly" fashion, as in lacking the markers of adulthood or class, his very gender was rarely in question. The majority of local shikaris, however, already feminized simply by virtue of being Indian males, found themselves further emasculated by increasing numbers of restrictions on the techniques they—and often their families—had used for centuries.

Curbing the activities of native hunters was an important strategic move for several reasons. In reminding the British of the similarities they needed to disavow, the superior knowledge of animals and the hunting expertise of

shikaris posed a challenge to the legitimacy of the Raj. In a fascinating essay on the manner in which the Raj used "game laws" to contain the masculinity of shikaris within the stereotype of native effeminacy, Pandian analyzes the manner in which these (and other) new regulations were aimed at ensuring a steady supply of game for British hunters who could thus continue to both indulge their pleasures as well as demonstrate their virility. He describes the series of written and unwritten rules that now coded the practices of local shikaris: at best, these rules dismissed their techniques as "utilitarian and effeminate"; at worst they labeled the shikaris as poachers, butchers, and criminals.[18] The new game laws ranged from requiring the licensing of guns, to restrictions on the weapons shikaris could possess, taxing ownership of dogs (used by shikaris while hunting), and forbidding the sale of game-meat. They also drew distinctions between trophy and non-trophy-yielding animals, and laid down who could hunt what. In effect, such regulations either disallowed impoverished shikaris from hunting except as employees of imperial hunters, or else forced them to adopt what were now illegal means in order to pursue their profession of selling meat or obtaining it for their families. Ritvo's description of the effect of game laws in England is equally applicable to the manner in which the new laws redefined social categories in the Raj:

> As legitimate access to game categorized people on a scale of social prestige, illegitimate access categorized them on a reverse scale of criminality . . . redefin[ing] more or less law-abiding populations as habitual transgressors. (*PM* 190)

The only shikaris who escaped the stigma of criminality and effeminacy were those employed by the British sahibs, with whom they shared a complex relationship. Committed to producing the "best possible sport" for their sahibs by way of tribute to the latter's "vigorous masculinity" (Mangan, *MSE* 103), these shikaris enjoyed privileges that enabled them to stay on the right side of the game laws. Joseph Sramek notes that the British used the expertise of hired shikaris in a variety of ways, the most basic of which was as gun carriers required to constantly reload guns. Moreover, shikaris who worked as trackers often amazed the sahibs at being such supremely "knowledgeable experts" (Sramek 674), so well acquainted with the landscape and animals that they seldom failed to locate a tiger within a few hours; some of the more racist sahibs would represent these skills as only providing further proof that natives belonged "to nature rather than culture" (Pandian 283). In turn, aware of the degree to which imperial hunters were dependent on their skills, some shikaris would take advantage of their masters in various little ways, such as deliberately prolonging the

hunt in order to increase their wages. On the whole, however, the common interests that sahibs and shikaris shared led to a certain mutual respect and sense of bond between them. For instance, avid sportsman George-Cumming would remark on the extent to which his hunting partners and he trusted their shikari Bheeka, frequently consulting and strategizing with him during the course of a hunt (Sramek 674). The common goal of hunting animals thus served as the occasion for the creation of at least some viable "imagined communities" between those most unlikely bedfellows, the (frequently) low-caste native, and the imperial sahib.

Shikaris not employed by the sahibs, however, were often represented as using animals to fulfill their base utilitarian needs, as scoundrels singularly lacking any larger moral purpose in their activities (Pandian 281). In contrast, the hunting practices followed by imperial hunters were deliberately coded as aspiring to higher principles. Most mid- to late nineteenth-century hunting narratives would have the reader believe that the actual act of killing was merely incidental to the cultivation and pursuit of great virtues. Although, game-meat had pride of place on the Raj dining table, the discourse surrounding hunting rarely emphasized this (287), instead going to great lengths to describe the activities that led up to the procuring of that meat in terms of masculinity, skill, culture, and even "compassion." As the following lines from the sportsman "Killdeer" demonstrate, imperial hunters were at pains to distinguish their particular modes of killing from those of savages:

> When I say sport I do not mean butchery; sport is humane, an instinct worthy of the cultivated man, but butchery is the reverse, the revolting outcome of the wild nature of the savage (qtd. in Pandian 278).

Aside from the predictable binaries of sport/butchery, cultivated/wild, man/savage, and humane/"revolting," what is noteworthy about this sentence is the manner in which it allies sport, along with its supposedly related quality of humane-ness to instinct, thereby implying that such qualities are innate to the cultivated man, just as "wildness"—with its inevitably revolting outcomes—is deeply ingrained in the savage.

As heightened notions of racial superiority inserted themselves into the imperial imaginary, pre-1857 perceptions of native subjects as merely being backward and less evolved now began to be replaced by the belief that colonized peoples were in fact intrinsically different, and thus irremediably uneducable. The social and religious reforms that had driven the early evangelists almost completely came to a halt. In addition, fears of a second revolt prompted the British to prudently adopt a position of tolerance toward Indian cultures. Realizing that it was important to have

strong Indian allies, imperial policy now began to make an effort to single out and cultivate special relationships with specific sections of the native population. As Ashis Nandy and others have noted, the groups that the Raj began to pick as worthy of special regard were ones that possessed qualities that it could relate to and—more importantly—harness in order to create cadres of Indians who could be counted on to be loyal to the empire. The traits that most appealed to the British were the ones that most closely approximated their own understanding of manliness, best exemplified in the groups that the Raj would now extol as the "martial races" (Nandy 7); the most obvious manifestation of this martial nature was the passion for hunting that many such groups already shared.

For their part, several sections of Indians, having internalized the martial/effeminate dichotomy, increasingly became complicit in attempting to foreground the hunter-warrior aspects of their cultures in an attempt either to affiliate themselves with the Raj, or alternately, to fight it. Nandy argues that many were convinced that it was the superior masculinity of the British—so flamboyantly expressed through battle and hunting skills—that enabled them to crush the Revolt of 1857. Several Indians, he notes, responded by positing "Kshatriyahood [the warrior caste] as the 'true' interface between the rulers and the ruled as a new, nearly exclusive indicator of authentic Indianness":

> They may not have fully shared the British idea of the martial races—the hyper-masculine, manifestly courageous, superbly loyal Indian castes and subcultures mirroring the British middle-class sexual stereotypes...[but nonetheless] the search for martial Indianness underwrote one of the most powerful collaborationist strands within the Indian society, represented by a majority of the feudal princelings in India and some of the most impotent forms of protest against colonialism. (7)

Apart from loyal shikaris and ethnic groups such as the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the Pathans, now hailed as earthy sons of the soil, the Raj now began to endow its longtime hunting allies—the feudal princes—with special honors. The steady takeover of princely territories that had begun in the early nineteenth century now came to an end, replaced by a slew of favorable policies and titles intended to propitiate the princes and ensure their loyalty to the Crown. The princes, in turn, often enamored of Western masculine ideals, regarded the British as their peers and were happy at the opportunity to form what were often real bonds of friendship with them. More aware than ever that the vast hunting grounds they controlled—and now were in little danger of losing—were valuable assets that allowed them to provide the white sahibs with the one pleasure the latter most coveted in India, the princes were happy to provide the most prestigious animals in the

hunting hierarchy, together with opulent hunting expeditions. As Barbara Ramusack notes, British suzerains from the princes of Wales to viceroys to officers lower down on the political hierarchy "expected to participate in extravagant shikars, to bag spectacular trophies, and to be surrounded by luxury while they were living in the 'wild' " (158–59). Hunting thus played a significant role in British-Indian relationships during the period of high colonialism, providing grounds for strategic negotiations as well as friendships and representing, as MacKenzie argues, "A historic cultural interaction which the British were able to use to build social bridges with Indians, particularly the Indian aristocracy" (*EN* 169). Equally importantly, the hunting-based relationship between the Raj and the Indian princes helped in establishing colonial hegemony by securing the consent of a class of colonized men.

Despite all this goodwill, however, and even as the Raj instituted constitutional innovations such as the Chamber of Princes, British officials continued to be ambivalent about the image of the Indian princes. Thus, a classic photograph beautifully capturing hierarchies of race and species shows Viceroy Lord Curzon and the Maharajah of Baroda after a shoot in 1901, each with a foot proudly placed on the tiger he has killed. The two dead tigers' paws cross over each other as if bound in submission; it is surely no coincidence that Lord Curzon's tiger is very much larger, its size—and his—slightly enhanced by the angle of the photograph; size and scale, as Leppert reminds us,[19] are rhetorical devices in works of art (75). Noteworthy, too, is the manner in which both men adopt what Ryan terms "the conventional stance of the victorious huntsman and landowner" (102). In particular, Curzon's confident pose and outward-looking gaze represent British authority over India, subtly asserting his social status over the Maharajah. However, the image acknowledges the Maharajah's masculinity and status as the Viceroy's hunting companion, even as it underscores the traditional iconography of human and imperial power as ritually enacted through the colonial hunt.

While hunting activities allowed some native groups to assert at least a degree of manliness, the carving out of exceptions to the stereotype of male effeminacy only served to throw the lack of markers denoting traditional British masculinity even more sharply into relief when it came to other native men. Significantly, many of these assertions of masculinity were posited upon a hierarchical view of animals: the very premise of hunting, for instance, assumed that some species (like some genders, or some manifestations of gender) were less worthy of consideration than others. In this context, it is interesting to consider the tactics used by Gandhi, who repudiated attempts by various native groups who repeatedly tried to counter the British by beating them at their own game of physical

prowess and demonstrations of masculinity. By refusing to recognize the binaries through which imperialism justified itself (humanity/animality, civilization/primitivism, masculinity/femininity, childhood/adulthood, power/weakness), and steadfastly adhering to the principle of nonviolence, Gandhi was essentially able to shame the colonial powers into recognizing that imperialism simply could not sustain its own high moral ground. It is surely no coincidence that while imperialists such as Baden-Powell looked upon their ability to hunt and conquer animals as establishing the superiority of the British race and therefore imperialism, Gandhi's sense of the equality of all living things and his commitment to a nonviolent ethic encompassed the animal world; within such an ethic, where difference was nonhierarchical, colonialism and power structures became meaningless.

The following sections analyze the manner in which animals and hunting narratives play into the discourses of the British Raj after 1857, by way of continuing to investigate how the animal reflects, and is foundational to, various colonial manipulations. I begin with a discussion of Baden-Powell's very male-centered hunting narratives, including a reading of four of his works. I then examine one of the rare hunting works penned by a woman, briefly exploring the masculine imperial ethos—particularly with regard to hunting—from the perspective of British women during the Raj. Since Victorian and Edwardian hunters increasingly began to rely upon the medium of photography to document and display their hunting prowess in the context of empire, I move on to a reading of an unpublished series of nine "Tiger-Hunting" photographs.

By the last decades of the Raj, the animal rights movement had reached a momentum that could not be ignored. For this and other reasons, animal narratives written during the twilight of empire began to lose their gothic quality, increasingly positing the protection of the animal as a fresh measure of humanity. By way of examining the manner in which conservation became the new hallmark of civilization in the Raj from the 1920s onward, I end this chapter with a very brief glimpse into the writings of India's most famous Anglo-Indian hunter-turned-conservationist, Jim Corbett.

Robert Baden-Powell: *Sports in War, Memories of India, Scouting for Boys,* and *Lessons from the Varsity of Life*

Robert Baden-Powell's prolific writings constitute a body of texts unprecedented in the manner in which constructs of animals coalesce with the

rhetorical battlefields of Englishness, masculinity, and age-categories to form a monolithic but fractured ideology of empire centered on constructs of race, civilization, and primitivism. Each of his thirty-five published works fall into one of two sometimes overlapping types of narrative: stories about his adventures in different countries, generally the colonies of India and Africa, or manuals for scouting that soon began to be written specifically for boys and adolescents.[20] Given how closely Baden-Powell's philosophy of scouting was imbricated with his belief in the right of "the Anglo-Saxon race" to rule over their colonies, one would expect that these two categories of writing would be informed by identical imperial discourses. However, upon close inspection, telling contradictions and differences between these groups of texts soon become apparent, particularly with respect to their treatment of animals and hunting. Such variations are mainly attributable to Baden-Powell's view of what would be appropriate for particular audiences, including specific age categories. Furthermore, the articulation of an evolving environmental ethic, perhaps even a greater sense of cultural sensitivity born of the knowledge that his works were being consumed by wider and wider audiences, increasingly becomes evident in his writings. In my analysis of the role of hunting in his writings I use three of Baden-Powell's "adventure" books, *Sports in War* (1900), *Memories of India* (1914–15), and *Lessons From the Varsity of Life* (1933), in addition to his classic (and very Edwardian) blueprint for the Boy Scout Movement, *Scouting for Boys* (1908). While Baden-Powell's views on hunting and imperialism for the most part remain unchanged during the thirty-three year period that spans the writing and publishing of these four works, subtle differences in tone and rhetoric creep into his writings in response to the equally subtly changing zeitgeist. Faced with the inevitable repetitiveness of the activities described in the hunting sections of these texts, I begin with a detailed analysis of *Sports in War* and *Scouting for Boys*, before moving on to a combined reading of the remaining two books, specifically with a view to contrasting earlier writings with the later ones.

While *Sports in War, Memories of India,* and *Lessons from the Varsity of Life* ostensibly recount Baden-Powell's military experiences in the British colonies of India and Africa, large portions of these texts are devoted to hunting exploits. Given the sheer number of pages devoted to the pursuit, spearing, and shooting of animals in these works, mainly meant for an adult readership, it is useful to examine both the role of the hunt itself, as well as to ask what purpose giving these activities such a prominent place in imperial narratives serves, particularly in the years following 1857. For "B-P" (it was not by coincidence that these famous initials also stood for British Pluck and his scout motto "Be Prepared"), as for so many other colonial hunters, hunting served multiple functions, offering important

training and a means for men to shake off the enervating and emasculating effects of modern civilization, and return to nature in order to recapture lost glories of power, primal excitement, and feelings of community. Of course, such results could conceivably have been reaped from domestic British field sports as well—and in fact Baden-Powell often applauded fox hunting as a valuable "school" for "training men" (*Lessons* 3:2). However, the benefits of hunting were magnified tenfold out in the colonies, far from civilization, where fewer troublesome rules applied, and nature was that much more primitive, the excitement of the chase that much more primal. It is in an examination of these various functions of hunting that the slippages in B-P's binaries of "civilization" and "primitivism" become most apparent, and the contradictions in his narratives most glaring. On the one hand, "the civilized world" with its values of manliness, fair play, self-control, and protection of the weak is understood to be superior and desirable. On the other, the participation in particularly brute-al (as in, below the level of the human) hunting activities, preferably carried out in the most primitive regions, was viewed as essential to the nurturing of these very virtues. Simultaneously—and ironically—these primitive regions were to be rendered more advanced through contact with the same superior world that badly needed exposure to them in their raw state in order to preserve its own civilized state.

The increasing desire to construct "civilization" in opposition to the "primitive" as part of the obsessive image-building that was taking place during the period of high empire led to all sorts of ambivalences and rhetorical manipulations in both hunting activities and the subsequent narratives that followed. To an even greater degree than the relatively unapologetic brutality of pre-1857 hunting narratives, the post-1857 hunter had to contend not only with an awareness of an increasingly strong antihunting sensibility back in England, but with the problems implicit in the progressively naked rhetoric about the English as having the right to rule because of their belonging to an advanced civilization that had evolved far beyond the barbarism of primitive cultures. Baden-Powell attempts to overcome these difficulties in various ways. Like Williamson, he constructs the animal being hunted as both deserving what it gets, as well as being a worthy opponent. Under greater pressure than Williamson to justify the hunt, though, he takes the rhetoric surrounding hunting to a new level by endowing the animal with a gothicized monstrousness. Moreover, Baden-Powell both projects and reads additional meanings into the hunted animal's responses, going so far as to claim it as a quasi-willing participant in the activity and insisting that it *equally* enjoys the hunt. Further, he stresses the value of "The School of the Jungle" as an unbeatable builder of "character," relentlessly pointing out the many (imperial)

virtues that hunting teaches (*Lessons* 3:4). Most of all, he is careful to position the hunt as a proud *British* tradition, keeping his focus on the virtues that it teaches, as well as on its "glint of… glamour," "excitement," and "adventure" (*SW* 124).

Sports in War

The beautifully produced *Sports in War*[21] (1900), each page of which is framed by a thick ornamental border that invokes the chivalric traditions of medieval manuscripts, is one of Baden-Powell's earliest books to incorporate hunting as part of an account of the "gallant" military campaigns in Africa and India that, according to him, "the eyes of the civilized world" had been focused upon.[22] The title of the work, with its interpolation of "sports" in "war" hints at the conflation of the two categories of beings that this civilized world was engaged in subduing, namely wild beasts (through "sports") and natives (through "war"). The opening chapters, set in Africa, make this merging of categories explicit:

> "What sort of sport did you have out there?" is the question with which men have, as a rule, greeted one on return from the campaign in Rhodesia; and one could truthfully say, "We had excellent sport."… In the first place, scouting played a very prominent part in the preliminaries to major operations, and gave opportunities for the exercise of all the arts and resources of woodcraft, coupled with the excitement incidental to contending against wild beasts of the human kind, men of special cunning, pluck and cruelty… [who were] ruthless, bloodthirsty foe.… [U]ntil their surrender was obtained, this man-hunting afforded us plenty of excitement and novel experience. (17)

This passage points to one of the most important functions of the hunt for the imperial male. The synecdochal transposition of beast and native renders the acquisition of well-honed scouting and hunting skills vitally important, as such skills would be needed to control both these disorderly groups.[23]

Additionally, if the Manichean world constructed by the hunter-imperialist grouped animals into the two categories of the domestic (useful) and the wild (only "useful" to subdue), it soon becomes apparent that a parallel process of hierarchisization works for the many natives who are willing or unwilling participants in various hunts, depending on which side of the gun they happen to be on. For example, accompanying Baden-Powell at all times in his quest for wild beasts of the animal or human kind, are assorted generic and "domesticated 'boys,'" alternately referred to as

"our nigger[s]" (39). Quite apart from the sense of power and ownership implicit in the use of the possessive adjective "our," the word 'boy,' always in single quotation marks, calls attention to the boy who may or may not really be a *boy* as per age categories of the time, yet has been condemned to remain in a state of perpetual boyhood by the adult imperial gaze. The relegation of the native to a condition of static childhood is underlined by the use of the subtly different language Baden-Powell employs in describing yet another group of humans he meets in Rhodesia: the Boer farmers, also enthusiastic hunters. While not "English,' the European Boers are described in a tone of affection and amusement as being "rouse[d] up like schoolboys" when they hear game is afoot (49). Not only are the Boers only metaphorically compared to schoolboys—and only in a specific context—but the appending of "school" to "boy" implies the potential for learning and growth, an evolutionary curve that the eternal "boy" native is denied. Having admitted the Boers into the ranks of "adult" manhood, Baden-Powell counts upon "the true freemasonry of sport" to "do the rest" (46) and bring together Boer and Britisher in pleasurable hunting expeditions that would allow both groups to pick up such skills as would be useful to control the various wild creatures they would encounter in colonial spaces. As Mangan notes, the male bonding that had begun on the games fields of public schools was simply reinforced in the hunting grounds of the colonies (*MSE* 111).

For Baden-Powell, as for so many other British hunters in India, the unfortunately named sport of pig-sticking (the hunting down of a pig by mounted riders before impaling it with a spear) provided the best training ground for the acquisition of imperial abilities. Assuming that the very crudeness of the terms "pig-sticking" or "hog-hunting" were a part of their primal charm—the former with its coarse sexual, and the latter with its raw alliterative appeal—it is noteworthy that pig-hunting narratives reveled in the "primitive fun" of sticking spears into a pig until it "looked like a porcupine," while simultaneously going to some trouble to cast this sport as glamorous by bestowing royal titles such as "The Sport of Rajahs" upon it (126). Since it was the British, and not Indian royalty who were enamored of pig-sticking, this reframing betrays a conscious strategy by imperial hunters to transfer an air of "kingship" to themselves via their hunting practices. Moreover, given the aura surrounding the competing sport of tiger-hunting (the real favorite of rajahs, as well as several Englishmen), hog-hunting narratives use a range of rhetorical strategies to invest their chosen sport with manifold attributes "essential to a successful leader of men" (*Memories* 31).

As Baden-Powell indicates in his chapter titled "The Sport of Rajahs," not only was pig-sticking guaranteed to fill those participating in it with "elation," but it was the "king of Eastern sports" (126) for a variety of other reasons. First of all, it was a sport that required the use of the horse, which

fact alone, he claimed, "commends it more particularly to the Anglo-Saxon race" (126). While the use of the term "Anglo-Saxon" underlines the combination of civilized Englishness with the tribal vitality that Baden-Powell nostalgically aspired toward, the emphasis on the horse invokes traditional British self-images of royalty and conquest, including the ability to take a potentially wild animal and bend it to the human will. To an even greater extent than polo (the favorite non-hunting sport of the British in India), pig-sticking required horses to be carefully broken in and trained to face the defensive attacks of the goaded boar: after all, the successful leader of men must first become the successful leader of the various beings ranged below men. It is therefore no coincidence that Baden-Powell spends large portions of text discussing how one of the most pleasurable parts of hunting is feeling the horse respond to every command of the man astride it, and even (he insists) rushing into the hunt "mad keen for the fray" (140). This touching narrative of oneness between man and animal loses some of its romance, however, when it quickly becomes clear that it is the horse who almost always takes the worst brunt of the boar's tusks, frequently leading to its either being killed or left to die.

One of the greatest advantages of pig-sticking as an imperial sport was that it provided efficient training for the fighting practices of the day, specifically the killing on horseback essential to cavalry officers.[24] Recognizing this, Baden-Powell extols the virtues of hunting boars in a passage that emphasizes the triad of masculinity, militarism, and service that he implies had always been, and would continue to be, integral to the "schooling" appropriate to British youth:

> Pig-sticking is nevertheless par excellence a soldier's sport; it tests, develops, and sustains his best service qualities, and stands without rival as a training-school for officers; nor is it ever likely to languish for want of votaries so long as boars and Britons continue to exist. (163)

But it was not only military officers who were seen as benefiting from field sports; colonial administrators, it was widely acknowledged, profited from the training and aura that hunting bestowed upon its practitioners. Coming from a male-dominated, hierarchically minded society themselves, the British endeavored to insinuate themselves into the stratifications of Indian society by using hunting practices to trump caste and gender. Mangan discusses how British officials were convinced that hunting provided natives with a superior image of the colonial presence:

> [The hunt] stressed privilege, the advantages of wealth . . . and the possession of a superior "caste" position. Particularly in post-1857 India, the

> "unapproachable Sahib" on horseback, it was thought, added to the "natural and unassumed hauteur" essential to "hold a huge Continent with a handful of men."[25]

Their own preoccupation with constructs of British masculinity and femininity led hunters to project similar obsessions on to the people they ruled, and claim that the "athletic virility" of good pig-sticking skills made for successful district officers and good administration because "the Indian native was well disposed to masculine rather than 'feminine' officials" (*MSE* 102). This was somewhat ironic, given that the British frequently labeled as effeminate the original rulers of these very natives, the various rajahs and nawabs who commanded the respect of the same populations who were now supposedly so impressed by masculinity. What this points to, of course, is that it was not so much the natives who needed displays of these particular types of masculinity, but the British themselves who held their particular version of manliness in high esteem, or more accurately, used the pursuit of this ideal as a reason to indulge in many of the pleasures they might otherwise not have had an excuse to pursue.

Continuing in his quest to legitimate pig-sticking as an honorable and worthy sport in the best traditions of British manhood, Baden-Powell next goes on to point out that it has much in common with fox-hunting: "[t]hat pig-sticking has an affinity to the sport of all true British sportsmen, viz. fox-hunting, cannot be denied.... [both target] an enemy you want to kill" (137). He describes the valuable military training that fox-hunting imparts, lauding it as

> a school for training men in riding fearlessly across country of all descriptions...which appeals to their enthusiasm and gives them at once health and enjoyment....The Nation really owes much to fox-hunting... [for] what it has done to help our cavalry to compensate for its small quantity by its excellence in quality, and this without any extra call upon the taxpayer. (*Lessons* 3:2)

According to Baden-Powell, pig-sticking in fact improves upon all that fox-hunting offers, since each human has an equal chance of spearing the pig, or, as he puts it, "[i]n pig-sticking every man *rides to hunt*, whereas in fox-hunting, the majority... *hunt to ride*" (131). This enhances what is for him one of the greatest of virtues, the sense of "esprit de corps"[26] wherein "the hunters live, and move and hunt in parties" (129).

While notions of equality and team spirit might sound laudable, these seemingly democratic values were based upon exclusions of one sort or another. Just as ideals about "fair play" really extended only to those within certain privileged groups, the post-1857 Raj increasingly witnessed

the "equal opportunities" that Baden-Powell described pig-sticking as offering "every *man*" (emphasis mine) as excluding both animals and humans understood to not quite have attained the full status of the adult "manhood" that we had earlier seen the Boers granted. The sense of esprit de corps was thus based upon a clear understanding of the "corps" only comprising a select few bonded together by the pleasure of killing a creature arbitrarily designated as their "enemy." The other hundred or so human and animal participants in these elaborate hunting rituals were denied access to the noble ideals of equality and fairness to a greater or lesser degree, depending upon how far from the apex of manhood they were. This was particularly ironic since it was these living beings, far more than the hunters themselves, who were at risk of losing their lives or being grievously injured. When Baden-Powell rhapsodized about that glorious moment when "with your good spear in your hand, you rush for blood with all the ecstasy of a fight to the death," that death was almost never the hunters' (132).

Among the human players not quite included in the fraternity of equality described above were the huge numbers of native shikaris, animal trainers, assorted helpers, and beaters without whom an activity of such a scale would not have been possible. Unlike the hunters who were on horseback, and therefore relatively safe from the tusks of the goaded boar, most of these people had no such protection. Acknowledging at least the possibility of their bravery, but ignoring the desperate poverty that forced villages to seek the potentially dangerous work of beaters, Baden-Powell comments: "[W]hether it is some innate pluck or a stoical submission to fate that guides them, one cannot but admire the way in which they proceed, unarmed and on foot, to tackle a brute who has ten to one the best of them in the jungle" (150).

And indeed, several hunting episodes include descriptions of the terrible injuries sustained by the highly expendable natives assisting in the hunt. The following passage about a beater "killed" by the speared boar (or so his mates began to shout during the hunt) is so remarkable that it deserves to be quoted in full. "Of course he is not killed, nor anything like it" says Baden-Powell crisply:

> [He] has, however, a horrid circular gash inside the thigh, which has lifted a Hap [sic] of flesh from a sufficient depth to show the bone. Such a wound on a white man would make a ghastly show, but not so on the darker Hindu skin, nor indeed is there much flow of blood. Such as there is we soon stop, and, using the needles and silk, carbolic, and compress from the handy little St. John's Ambulance wallet in our belt, we soon have him well patched up and homeward bound, comfortably installed upon a native bedstead from a neighbouring melon-gardener's hut. (149)

One assumes that the author goes to the trouble of giving such a detailed description not only in the interests of verisimilitude, but in order to convey a sense of the very real dangers of pig-sticking via the proxy of the various beings who are wounded or worse, since the "rules of engagement," so to speak, ensure that the hunters themselves are rarely at serious risk. Simultaneously, and even as the narrative downplays the fact that it is the hunters who have precipitated this situation in the first place, such an episode serves many useful functions. The "viciousness" of the boar and the quasi-scientific theorizing that highlights the differences between white and dark bodies anticipates the shocked responses that an incident of this sort might well elicit in the reader, while glossing over the suffering of both the speared animal and the human whose gaping wound has just been sutured without the hint of an anesthetic, and who is unlikely to receive anything but the most rudimentary medical care his village may have to offer. Furthermore, the narrative uses the opportunity to contrast the brutishness of the animal and the emotionalism of the natives to the sahibs' calm, boy-scout-like preparedness and ability to take control. Having "patched up" the wounded beater with their handy St. John's Ambulance wallet (the very name of which invokes an efficient and compassionate evangelicalism), they order the remaining—if reluctant—beaters right back into the bushes to continue to chase out the pig, promptly resuming their hunting activities armed with the fresh spears their shikaris have provided.

Like the singularly vulnerable and highly disposable beaters (a steady supply of whom were always available), the nonhuman participants of the hunt had an equally easily replaceable status. Like the beaters, they were at ground level and at the forefront of the attacks by the maddened boar. Unlike the beaters, however, they had even less of a choice in the role they were required to play in the hunt. For all Baden-Powell's reading of how much horses enjoyed chasing after boars, horse after horse is described as suffering large "ugly slits" while hunting. "[The boar] has a wonderful power of quick and effective use of his tusks and many a good horse has been fatally gashed by the animal he was hunting" (*Lessons* 3:1), says Baden-Powell in another remarkable passage that renders invisible the role of the hunter in all this mayhem, so that the narrative becomes a sort of decontextualized cosmic battle between good and evil, or horse and boar. Given the never-ending supply of fresh horses (and spears, and natives, and dogs, and elephants) provided by either local British authorities or native rulers eager to reinforce their political alliances with the British, it is no wonder that Baden-Powell includes learning "when to let the horse 'go' " in his passage on breaking in, training, and "mak[ing] . . . handy" horses for sport (*Memories* 33). While he and his fellow hunters often express regret

at the various horses, dogs, and elephants maimed and killed during their hunting activities, their unquestioning belief in the rightness of subordinating all living beings—with the exception of their peers—to the hunt, makes them ignore the fact that even if the English taxpayer does not pay for the "training" that hunting affords (something B-P mentions as a prime virtue in *Lessons* 3:2), a multitude of other lives do.

Last among unequals was the actual object of the hunt, the pig. Once it was acceptable to sacrifice some living beings in the pursuit of a higher cause, howsoever regretfully, it was but a small step to dispense with even token regret while killing those who served no "purpose" other than providing a means through which that higher cause could be attained. Even so, since pig-sticking could hardly be glorified as "saving natives" in the manner of tiger-hunting, both the act itself and the description that followed posed real problems for a narrative of civilization. It was a little difficult to accuse natives of being "barbarous and obscene" (J. Morris 74) when your criteria for being able to rhapsodize about "how good it is to be alive" was a scene such as this:

> Then he turns and faces us, his little eyes sparkling red with rage, blood welling and glistening down his shoulder . . . blood and slime dropping from his panting jaws . . . one more spear-thrust into his heart finishes off as game a boar as ever ran. Well! This is not fox-hunting, but it is something that is very good. (156)

Baden-Powell attempts to get around these difficulties by a variety of rhetorical maneuvers. For instance, unlike Williamson's portrayal of the hog as being singularly disinclined to enter into conflict with hunters, and under greater pressure to defend his narrative as a document of superior values, he goes out of his way to cast the hog as a willing participant in the hunt. In his inimitably breezy style, he recounts how the "gallant beast" is "as game a boar as ever ran," and "enters fully into the spirit of the chase." In contrast to Williamson's boars that had to be prodded into participating, Baden-Powell's apparently throws himself into the spirit of the game: "Then he turned with a knowing shake of his head, and trotted gaily back to the cover." Lest the deck sometimes seems too obviously stacked against the animal, he frequently imputes all manner of complex strategizing to his victim, often highlighting its "unsportsmanlike" behavior the second it senses an advantage: "For a moment the pig marks the man's discomfiture, and then turns to profit from it. . . . "

Discussing warrior codes dating back to the Middle Ages, in *The Song of Roland*, for example, Leppert has noted that "no personal prestige attaches to defeating an enemy lesser than oneself" (76). For the battle to

be an honorable one, one's opponent must have a "parallel stature." In a similar set of strategies to those employed by Thomas Williamson, Baden-Powell therefore describes the boar in terms that carefully balance its evil nature with its being a worthy opponent for the hunters ("the quarry is not only fast and crafty, but he is also plucky, powerful and cruel" [130]). Yet another set of verbal gymnastics establishes the boar's physical and temperamental strength ("He is a grand specimen of sturdy savage pluck as he bristles up large toward me" [154]), the better to highlight the power and "prowess" of the hunters when, at the end of the hunt, the animal is reduced to a state of helpless impotence by the multiple spears embedded in its body. "Disabled, he sinks on his haunches, his jaws, champing in anger, drop foam and blood" (114), Baden-Powell tells us, mindfully choosing words that convey the defeat of the animal without conferring too great a degree of victimhood upon it. He meticulously steers away from language that conveys the pain or terror of the hunted animal, instead choosing to read everything that it does in terms of its "anger" or desire for "revenge." Any impulses toward pity that a reader might feel are held in abeyance by the constant reminders that this is a beast that inhabits the space of monstrous savagery at the opposite end of the acme of civilization, represented by the hunters themselves: "There he stands . . . a grand grey boar . . . his cunning savage little eye glistening. . . . He is listening to the distant sounds of the beaters and does not see us." In the same manner as colonial discourse "produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible,"[27] Baden-Powell uses Said's "timeless eternal [of] the simple copula *is*"[28] to "fix" the pig as monstrous, savage, cunning.

Once the hunters have cornered and driven their spears into "the strong and angered foe," he is described as a "snorting monster" (143). Unlike the various injured humans, horses, and dogs who at least receive a token word of sympathy (usually the appending of the word "poor"), Baden-Powell feels not the slightest obligation to even gesture toward language connoting the most basic empathy when it comes to a tormented and badly wounded boar. Like other wild animals, the boar is outside the purview of human morality; in his analysis of the humane movement in Victorian England, Ryder notes that continuing notions about the "unending war" between man and wild beast had caused nondomestic animals to remain largely untouched by Victorian reforms advocating the humane treatment of laboratory and farm animals (119).

But it was not just the "participants" in the hunt who often paid dearly. Unlike tiger-hunting which cloaked itself in rhetoric about saving natives, most other hunts could only appeal to intangibles such as the building of character since, far from protecting the native, they wreaked havoc on his

person and property. Villagers working in the fields routinely sustained grievous injuries caused by the desperate animals whose paths they happened to be in; since these were the poorest of the poor and the least likely to have a voice, they rarely received compensation of any sort from the sahibs. The following passage is just one example of an odd process of transference of brutality, whereby the narrative seems to boast about the wounds inflicted on the first victim, while seeming to take a perverse pleasure in dwelling upon the resulting attacks by this first victim on the next two victims, even as it offers these up as (further) proof of the inherent savagery and viciousness of the first:

> [The boar had] twice been speared, when he saw two natives at work. He charged one and inflicted several severe wounds. The other, coming to the assistance of his comrade, was also laid out flat on his back, and the boar lay on him and proceeded to dig at his chest with his tushes . . . he was more or less badly gashed in fifteen places. (53)

There is a circularity to the logic at work here, one that absolves the hunters from any blame whatsoever: the boar is hunted since it is a savage creature, as proved by its savage behavior when hunted.

Further, the hunts, whether organized by native Rajahs or the British, were an ecological disaster. As massive hunts swept through fields with beaters, elephants, and horses, an entire season's crops belonging to a village farmer could be destroyed. The natives, however, were not protected by law against such trespassers, although when it was a local rajah who conducted the hunt, he would more often than not aim to keep the goodwill of his subjects by offering them at least some compensation. Mangan describes a rare English voice, that of William Scaven Blunt in Egypt, who tried to act on behalf of Egyptian cultivators by publicizing the scant regard that imperial sportsmen had for farmers while in pursuit of game:

> The eventual involvement of administrators such as the Marquess of Lansdowne and Lord Cromer . . . provides the clearest evidence of the considerable steps taken to safeguard . . . hunting—the "backbone" of imperial masculinity. . . . In the end, it was Blunt who was humiliated and forced to back down. The hunter, in the interests of imperial defence, triumphed. The imperial establishment was cock-a-hoop. Hunting as a "man's sport" was not to be denied by whingeing natives and English "cranks." Effeminate subversives, who spoke out against hunting and shooting, were always to be put in their place as criticism of hunting was viewed as a form of treason with the intention of transforming robust, decent gentlemen into a "race of petits-maitres deeply imbued with the vices of foreign countries."[29]

William Blunt was in fact one of the very few voices who dared to denounce the brutality and unfair practices of sportsmen (104). Almost all other imperial discourse of the time went out of its way to depict hunters as both brave and merciful. *Sports in War*, for example, goes so far as to contrast the savagery of the boar with the "mercy" displayed by hunters in giving the boar "his coup de grace" (136). Any fear or pain the speared animal might be in is thus only acknowledged through a process of inference, the unavoidable consequence of displaying both the sportsmanship of the hunters, and their utter control at the end of the hunt, when they stab a "merciful spear through the heart [to] . . . drop the gallant beast dead" (117). The end of the hunt, with its ritualistic and public killing of the animal, serves to enhance the sense of bond between the gathered humans, Indian and British, the differences between them forgotten for some brief moments in the passion of conquering the sahibs' "ruthless, bloodthirsty foe" (19).

Unlike Williamson's pre-1857 narratives that display the camaraderie between disparate cultures and classes, however, the "bonding" one witnesses in Baden-Powell's accounts tends to be restricted to a much smaller class-based group. Although overwhelmingly male and British, this cohort could include Indian men and British women—sometimes even the rare Indian woman from a princely family. Despite the women who participated in (and internalized the male paradigms of the hunt), the rituals that cemented this bonding tended to be stereotypically masculinist, complete with detailed phallic descriptions of shooting and spearing ("in turn we managed to get up to him and plant our spears in his body").

Descriptions of animals and hunting thus contribute to what Anne McClintock has described as the paradigm of colonial landscapes as "porno-tropics for the European imagination—a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears" (22); she argues that the colonies were often figured in explicitly sexual terms, represented for example, as virgin landscapes eager for penetration. As a related point, Richard Ryder points out that "the language of love and that of hunting had for centuries been partly interchangeable" (129), as in Shakespeare's lines, "[s]ome Cupid kills with arrows, some with traps."[30] He notes that bloodsports were particularly popular in Victorian England, where they often served as releases of libidinous tension in a society famous for its sexual repression. And in fact, the dominance of animals could in part be read as a sort of violent sexual sublimation. Ryder analyses the sexual parallels of the hunt in terms of the Victorian culture of power and machismo:

> Captain J. T. Newall in his *Hog-Hunting in the East* (1867) revealed, in unguarded and pre-Freudian innocence: "that was the first pig I ever dipped

> steel into, and I felt elated at flashing my maiden spear, though I had yet to learn the triumphant delight and rapture of taking a first one." (129)

Newall's reference to the all-important ritual of "first blood" (the greatest "honor" going to the first hunter to draw blood) calls attention to yet another important aspect of pig-sticking activities during the Raj, as well as their narratives. This was the invention—or as in this case, the perpetuation—of invented tradition. Like the other "traditions" through which the Raj sought to legitimate itself, devoted practitioners of pig-sticking surrounded their chosen craft with the mystique of rituals and taboos: the "imposing show of elephants" (14) and other participants lined up at the start of the hunt, the supreme honor of taking the first blood, the taboos against the killing of a sow, even an "old and barren" one, the ceremonial spear through the heart at the end. With his belief in the centrality of British manhood, and increasingly invested as he was in reinvigorating this manhood through a deliberately informal theorizing of empire, it is not surprising that Baden-Powell would not only be a passionate adherent of existing conventions of the Raj, but would in fact go on to become the inventor of a whole new "tradition" that would play a vital role in the sustaining of the imperialist mindset.

Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship

This new tradition, the Boy Scout Movement, would incorporate the animal in a variety of telling ways, freely borrowing from the socialist American Ernest Thompson Seton's nature-based Woodcraft Indian's organization, but with the addition of an entirely new quasi-imperialistic framework.[31] In this section, I examine how Baden-Powell's utilitarian doctrine of bourgeois self-improvement sees animals and hunting as providing important opportunities for an ordinary (British) boy to learn a variety of skills that would allow him to become the lynchpin of the imperial world. I also investigate how the discourse surrounding hunting changes in Baden-Powell's writings on scouting, and speculate about the reasons for such differences in rhetoric.

In response to fears surrounding the degeneration of British youth, the Boy Scout Movement was initially developed as a program for the training and recreation of young boys.[32] Its original manifesto, *Scouting for Boys* (1908) turned out to be a phenomenally successful book which by many estimates became the fourth bestselling book of the twentieth century.[33] Interestingly, many of the ideas in the book were not original to

Baden-Powell, who unabashedly took ideas from Seton's program of outdoor activities for youth, the Woodcraft Indians, with its accompanying handbook *The Birch-Bark Roll* (1906). Brian Morris analyzes the "fundamental" changes introduced by Baden-Powell while appropriating Seton's woodcraft organization:

> First, Seton's aims—the promotion of interest in nature, conservation and wildlife and good fellowship became . . . a "means" to an end, and that end was the effective maintenance of the British Empire. . . . B-P infused into the programme a militarist and authoritarian ethos entirely foreign to Seton's scheme . . . [stressing] that "we ought not to think so much of any boy unless he can shoot and drill and scout." Seton's camp laws were then re-drafted . . . [to reflect] B-P's conservative outlook, stressing such virtues as honour, loyalty, duty, courtesy and obedience. Duty to God and the State, accepted through a solemn oath, became a prerequisite for membership—something quite alien to Seton's socialist outlook. The authoritarian "patrol system" replaced Seton's democracy: scoutmasters replaced "medicine men"—to be addressed as "Sir" rather than by a woodcraft name. ("The truth about Baden-Powell and the Boy Scouts")

Significantly, the process of converting Seton's more democratic tract into the hypercolonial *Scouting for Boys* required that the straightforward nature-study based model morph into a highly speciesist text in which the animals were not merely to be "studied," but were viewed as fitting into one of the two binaries (to be hunted or protected) that in fact replicated constructs of colonized peoples.

Both the erratically scattered references to animals in the quintessentially Edwardian yet "presciently 'postmodern' " (Boehmer, *SB* xxxv) pastiche that is *Scouting for Boys*, as well as the one section devoted to "Woodcraft, or Knowledge of Animals and Nature," visualize the animal as a part of the boy scout's world in mainly four ways. On the one hand, learning to deal with "savage wild beasts" helped to endow the new movement with the legitimacy of a glorious past, specifically the medieval chivalric tradition that Baden-Powell viewed as uniquely British (Baxter 131). Moreover, animals provided a valuable "aid to Observation" by which to "study" nature. This in turn afforded the means to hone the skills of woodcraft, thereby allowing a present-day scout to perfect the art of stalking and/or hunting animals "or enemies," either to protect his group and himself, or to feed himself and "his natives." And finally, animals provided the opportunity for a scout to demonstrate the benevolent side of the chivalric ideal, the public school virtues of protecting the weak, and exhibiting compassion and self-control.

Citing the Scout movement as an example of a "tradition" that was deliberately invented and constructed by a single initiator, Eric Hobsbawm

defines the process of inventing a tradition as "a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (4). Pivotal reasons for the phenomenal success of Baden-Powell's writings included an appeal to nostalgia and national anxieties surrounding degeneration (Boehmer, *SB* xii), as well as the deliberate invocation of Britain's chivalric past as the common tradition from which present practices such as pig-sticking and scouting drew their roots. Cecil Eby analyses Baden-Powell's attempt in *Pig-Sticking or Hog-Hunting* to root both the practice of pig-sticking and the Boy Scout movement in heroic medieval ideals:

> BP traces the origin of pig-sticking back to St. George—the "the patron saint of cavalry, of chivalry, of courts, of England"—and defined its rules to fit the tradition. St. George might have destroyed the dragon with a piece of poisoned meat, but he chose to meet the monster head-on, with his lance. Subsequently, Boy Scouts would carry six-foot staves, blunted versions of the dragon-killing lance. (63)

In its role as "A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship," *Scouting for Boys* minutely outlines the rituals and processes through which the age category of (male) childhood could be taught to be a "good citizen." While Baden-Powell does not specify which citizenship he is alluding to, the very fact that the word "citizen" implies adulthood ensures that his handbook implicitly targets boys who have the potential to reach this adulthood. This category would include the proto-imperialist English child, but not the eternal colonial "boy" condemned never to reach the state of adulthood, and therefore *any* citizenship, good or otherwise. Despite his dismissal of formal education and university learning—and conceivably motivated in part by his own failure to achieve it (in *Memories* he would cheerfully narrate how he was denied admission to Oxford after Charles Dodgson, his examiner in mathematics, discovered that B-P knew "little or nothing" of the subject)—Baden-Powell is nonetheless obsessed with a highly ritualistic "practical" education. His writings frequently outline the importance of training just about every human or nonhuman creature he comes into contact with (children, natives, soldiers, horses, dogs); he sees just about every space or practice as a potential "school" ("School of the Jungle," "school" of foxhunting, "school of nature"), every animal, bird, or insect as an opportunity for furthering a hands-on education.

Thus "Camp Fire Yarn No. 9" spends several pages outlining how a scout should "study the habits" of each nonhuman (and human) species he comes into contact with, particularly to glean information on the techniques different creatures use to camouflage or protect themselves. Given Baden-Powell's

frequent critique of "primitive" cultures, it is interesting to note how the one form of native knowledge he admires concerns tracking and stalking methods used to hunt animals. Accordingly, he describes the techniques by which Zulu, Indian, Aboriginal, and Native American "scouts" stalk the animals they wish to kill. Describing *Scouting for Boys* as an "extravagantly colonial, if not *hyper-colonial* text" that hybridizes cultural discourses and sources, Elleke Boehmer notes that it "not only recommends, but revels" in the fact that "Britain is, Dracula-like, to draw life force from subordinated cultures whose own vitality, arguably, has been forcibly repressed" (xxxvii). It is not too much of a stretch to suggest that for Baden-Powell, the most important aspect of the vitality of these cultures is the means by which native humans have dominated other species. To master these skills would allow the colonizer to, Renfield-like, ingest the "vitality" not only of the humans from other cultures, but their animals as well.

A comparison of Baden-Powell's "adventure" and "scouting" books reveals several commonalities. For example, an important aspect of the Boy Scout movement was to affirm a quasi-militaristic masculinity trained to "stalk" any "savage wild beasts" (dragons, wild animals, colonized peoples) that might threaten the traditions of England. In a manner reminiscent of *Sports in War*, therefore, *Scouting* equates "wild beasts" and (human) "enemies," as in the following injunctions: "A hunter when he is stalking wild animals keeps himself entirely hidden, so does the war scout when watching or looking for the enemy," and "War scouts and hunters stalking . . . an enemy or a deer . . . [must] remain perfectly still" (98). However, while the two categories of Baden-Powell's books display the same basic philosophies, subtle—and not so subtle—differences in the discourses surrounding animals soon become evident. For instance, had the descriptions of stalking quoted above appeared in a book such as *Sports in War,* they would in all likelihood have been followed by vivid accounts of chases, complete with the spearing or shooting of the hunted animals. In *Scouting for Boys* however the discourse takes a somewhat different turn when raising the possibility of "shooting or killing":

> I have said the "hunting" or "going after big game is one of the best things in scouting." I did not say shooting or killing the game was the best part; for as you get to study animals you get to like them more and more, and you will soon find that you don't want to kill them for the mere sake of killing, and that the more you see of them the more you see the wonderful work of God in them. (104)

The differences between the discourse surrounding animals in Baden-Powell's adventure and scouting books seems to center largely on his

perceptions of what was appropriate for both specific age-categories as well as national spaces. The adventure books, written for adults and set in colonial spaces display an abandoned brutality in their almost celebratory and unambiguously utilitarian view of animals as existing simply to be used by humans. This is particularly true of his earlier (pre-Boy Scout movement) works; a greater ambivalence of tone enters Baden-Powell's later adventure books. His boy-scout books, on the other hand, addressed as they are to the young—and to the instructors of the young—are set in England and, along with advocating a quasi-military preparedness, are inspired by the genteel rules that are apparently appropriate for an English audience and location. As self-conscious documents of civilization, these books are far more circumspect, combining chivalric and public school values to advocate the virtues of compassion, restraint, and kindness in the treatment of all animals. These works even go so far as to invoke god in a manner uncharacteristic of the Baden-Powell of the adventure books. While the usefulness of animals for hunting and other purposes is clear in his writings for adults, it is not inconceivable that, in his writings on scouting, Baden-Powell's essentially utilitarian philosophy leads to his viewing animals as useful *tools* for the developing and displaying of the virtues of civilization.

Certainly, and in stark contrast to *Sports in War, Scouting for Boys* passionately argues for compassion toward animals, devoting (for instance) two whole pages—complete with illustrations—to the cruelty of the practice of putting "bearing reins" on horses. The book repeatedly makes the point that, unlike an "ordinary boy," who torments birds and steals their eggs, a good scout is an "ornithologer" who simply observes and studies them; such a scout, moreover, uses the virtues of "great patience and kindness, and sympathy" in training his dogs and other animals.

"A SCOUT IS A FRIEND TO ANIMALS. He should save them as far as possible from pain, and should not kill any animal unnecessarily, even if it is only a fly—for it is one of God's creatures" reads one of the nine rules of "The Scout Law" (45). "I only shot for the pot," Baden-Powell claims, going on to repeat the injunction that "no scout should ever kill an animal unless there is some real reason for doing so, and in that case he should kill it quickly and effectively, so as to give it as little pain as possible" (104). Shoot with a camera instead of a gun, he exhorts, "except when you, or your natives are hungry" (105). And, in his section on birds, he recounts an episode from his childhood when he had thoughtlessly fired his gun at a songbird:

> I ran and picked him up—and he was dead: his body was warm in my hand, and his head rolled about this way and that…and one drop of red

> blood sparkled on the side of his head—and—laws! I couldn't see nothing for the tears. I haven't ever murdered no creature since then that warn't doing me no harm—and I ain' agoing to neither. (111)

All of which is very well, if one overlooks the blatant contradictions between such passages and Baden-Powell's treatment of animals in his other writings. Given the variety of beasts he describes—and indeed boasts—about killing in his previous works (these include bear, lion, koodoo, sable, roan antelope, wildebeest, hartebeest, reit-buck, stein-buck, duyke, hares, wild-pig, quagga, paauw, korhan, so-called pheasants, partridges, guinea-fowl, duck, and plover)[34]—not all of which were "for the pot," and none of which were "doing him [any] harm," one is somewhat mystified by his claims at this point. Quite apart from outright killings, the sadism inherent in repeatedly spearing a boar can hardly be described as killing it "quickly and effectively, so as to give it as little pain as possible."

Baden-Powell's emotional account of his childhood shooting of the songbird gives us a key to this mystery. While the country dialect he suddenly slips into could simply be a way of using humor to deflect his embarrassment at the sentimentality of his words, one only has to remember his love of "make-believe," "play acting," and disguises—Kipling's Kim being his hero—to arrive at another kind of explanation, that of a "persona" appropriate to the task at hand. Reading his use of the animal as at least in part a tool for teaching the virtues appropriate to civilization helps to explain the highly problematic, blatant contradictions in his writings. As a "humorous" anecdote in *Scouting* demonstrates, "quick thinking," "acting on your feet," and "playing the game" might ultimately be the greater virtues in the Baden-Powell canon, more so than "truthfulness," "self-control," or, for that matter, compassion. In the story, a greedy soldier overtaken by the urge to eat "mutton" disobeys his regiment's rules forbidding the killing of any animals except "savage wild beasts." When caught in the act of killing a sheep, he quickly plunges his sabre into the animal a second time, all the while loudly berating it as a savage wild beast who bit him.

It would seem that, for Baden-Powell, the act of writing for children, or creating a blueprint of a highly "evolved" society for them, necessitates that the rhetoric surrounding hunting needs to transmute into the rhetoric of compassion through the donning of a somewhat different sort of authorial persona. In a move that parallels Spivak's analysis of the manner in which the protection of woman "becomes a signifier for the establishment of a good society" ("Subaltern" 28), he invokes the protection of animals as a touchstone signifying the evolved culture that he wishes British children to aspire toward. Ultimately, what this demonstrates is the extent to which discourses on animals function as markers of civilization.

Memories of India (1915) and *Lessons From the Varsity of Life* (1933)

The hunting descriptions that appear in Baden-Powell's later writings attempt to balance the tensions between his desire to uphold the grand narrative of the British carrying the torch of civilization, with his increasing self-consciousness about the problematic nature of many of the activities through which that torch was maintained and stoked. Whether or not he bought into the Victorian era's enhanced sensitivity to animal cruelty, Baden-Powell's attempts to anticipate criticism make it clear that he was only too aware of the sorts of opprobrium his descriptions of hunting could provoke. Accordingly, to an even greater degree than in his earlier works, *Memories* and *Lessons* incorporate a range of discursive strategies that attempt to justify hunting practices, particularly in the context of imperialism, or at the very least to present such practices as not totally incompatible with the needs of a progressive society. These strategies range from seemingly ingenuous bids to forestall the voice of censure by the use of blatant understatements, to—particularly in the case of B-P's favorite sport of pig-sticking—exaggerating the monstrous and malicious nature of the hunted animal. Baden-Powell also makes a point of stressing that all the various participants, including the victim, do not just take part in the activity, but thoroughly enjoy it (his earlier writing does not go quite so far as to claim that the pig actually "revels" in the activity). "It is a rough, wild sport, with perhaps a taint of barbarism about it if examined critically and in the abstract," says a seemingly dispassionate Baden-Powell, always quick to discredit what he dismisses in *Lessons* as "mere academical scholarship" (3:1):

> ...but in actual fact it is neither so cruel nor so one-sided as one might be apt to think. I have somewhere stated that it is a good sport because it pleases the majority of those involved in it. There is no doubt that it is the most exciting work that a man can go in for. At the same time the horse without a doubt enjoys it almost as much as his rider, and the pig too, being endowed with a fighting and bloodthirsty nature as well as a particularly tough and unfeeling nervous system, seems to revel in the fight up to the bitter end. (*Memories* 38)

This passage is a classic example of Baden-Powell's desire to have the cake of civilization, and to eat it too. He invokes the binaries of civilization and barbarism in order to recast the brutality of an activity like pig-sticking as adhering to the norms of civilized behavior, only misunderstood by effete intellectuals incapable of appreciating manly activities of this nature. Quite

apart from the irony of the colonizer claiming that the worth of an act lies in the degree to which "the majority" is pleased by it, one recalls Gandhi's analysis of the inherent unfairness of a concept that disregards the needs of the few for the good of the many:

> I do not believe in the doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number. It means in its nakedness that in order to achieve the supposed good of 51 per cent the interests of 49 per cent may be, or rather, should be sacrificed. It is a heartless doctrine and has done harm to humanity. The only real dignified human doctrine is the greatest good of all.[35]

Although Gandhi seems to be pointing only to the human in these lines, the fact that he had consistently argued for the rights of all human and nonhuman beings ("The greatness of a nation and its moral progress can be judged by the way its animals are treated," [Lowe 97]; "It ill becomes us to invoke in our daily prayers the blessings of God, the Compassionate, if we in turn will not practice elementary compassion toward our fellow creatures" [*CW* 19:357]), one can safely assume that he would have included *all* animal species in his principle of "the greatest good of all." Unlike Gandhi, however, and despite his own seeming insistence on the egalitarian principles of scouting, Baden-Powell's writings show that he conceives of living beings in strictly hierarchical ways that imply that certain humans and animals fall into categories that do not in fact deserve much—even any—consideration.

With the passage of years, however, and presumably in response to increased political sensitivities toward both humans and animals during the early twentieth century, a certain change in tone begins to creep into Baden-Powell's books. Interestingly, while he becomes more nuanced—or at least more careful—about the manner in which he describes both colonized humans and game animals such as lions and gazelles who appeal to the human aesthetic, when it comes to his favorite hunting target, the boar, his increasing defensiveness in fact leads him to emphasize its brutishness to an even greater degree. His tendency to retell stories provides us with the opportunity to see the subtly different flavor that a specific incident acquires over time. Thus, a comparison between his narration of the incident of the speared pig and wounded beater in *Sports in War*, with his recounting of the same story fifteen years later in *Memories*, is illustrative of the changes that an increasing awareness of the zeitgeist leads to in his writing. Here is the passage from *Memories*:

> The pig then went for an old coolie beater, and sent him flying head over heels backwards with a terrible gash on his thigh, and having contented

> himself with this display of temper he had turned and taken refuge again in the clump of bush. Our first care was for the wounded native who looked like bleeding to death. So we rigged up an impromptu tourniquet and stopped the bleeding, then readjusted the flap of thigh where the thigh-bone was exposed and stitched it in place with half a dozen stitches, after carefully washing out the wound. We bound up the whole thing up in as businesslike a way under the circumstances and sent the old boy off on a bedstead to the neighbouring village....
>
> [W]e then set fire to the bush and] the old boar came bounding out apparently as fresh as ever, and if anything a little more savage... [when he] found he was being hunted he turned upon us and came at us bristling with rage, but it brought upon his end, for with fresh horses and sharp spears we quickly settled the business. (62)

Several interesting points come to mind while reading this passage. Firstly, unlike his earlier recounting of the incident, in which the sahibs only hear the villagers shout out that a beater has been injured, Baden-Powell here provides clear visual details of the pig's attack on the beater, thus giving the story a dramatic immediacy and laying the responsibility for the injuries (solely) on the pig. The fact that the animal has a spear stuck in its body—which might conceivably account for its "temper" and "savage... rage"—is barely mentioned. Casting the pig as having a "particularly tough and unfeeling nervous system" addresses any pity a reader might feel for the animal; moreover, it is telling that Baden-Powell now describes the animal with the same rhetorical strategy that he had earlier employed to withhold sympathy from the injured native human by theorizing that brown bodies do not sustain injuries as much as white ones.

This new version of the story thus incorporates some significant differences. In his desire to emphasize the animal's viciousness in contrast to the humanity of the sahibs, Baden-Powell tells us that he noticed that the beater looked like he was "bleeding to death." This is a marked change from the crisp "Of course he is not killed, nor anything like it... nor indeed is there much flow of blood," with which the hunters had greeted the news of the beater being wounded in *Sports in War*. In this later narration of the incident, however, the sahibs are not only efficient, but they are also compassionate. We are told that their "first care" was the welfare of the native, after dispensing which duty their ire turns to administer just retribution upon the perpetrator of the crime by setting fire to the bush in which it had gone for refuge and then, equipped with the fresh horses and spears readily provided by their native servants, spearing it yet again, this time until it is dead.

A tiny but noteworthy detail pertaining to age-categories also gets included in this later narration so patently geared to cast the boar in a

negative light: as the final proof of its monstrousness, the boar is now described as "old." This little touch points to the obverse side of the valorization of youth and young adulthood in Baden-Powell's imperialist ethos of strength and masculinity. When not dismissing colonized peoples as childish, one of the primary means by which the Raj was able to deal with the fact that India had a rich and ancient civilization of its own was through a "theory of decline" that paralleled "Britain's own 'progress'" toward the prime of nationhood (Metcalf 67). Ashis Nandy has argued that modern Europe "delegitimized not merely femininity and childhood," but equally scorned old age (16); certainly Baden-Powell's writings often invoke old age to describe both animal and human in disparaging ways. For example, he describes a "barren old sow" with the same degree of contempt that he reserves for the "fat old [native] colonel" whom he pokes fun at. "Manliness can only be taught by men," he wrote, " not by those who are half men, half old women" (*Scouting* 301).

The pig-sticking example that I have been discussing is just one of many in *Memories of India* and *Lessons From the Varsity of Life* that stress the monstrous nature of the boar, thus justifying its destruction as not just compatible with civilized behavior, but in fact promoting it. In the tradition of a ritual combat between good and evil—a veritable psychomachic conflict enacted to preserve the values of the civilization the heroes represent—the boar is depicted as possessing superhuman strength and displaying satanic glee as it "rips" assorted innocent humans and animals during the course of the hunt: "he went straight for the wretched man and gave him one gash that floored him with his thigh laid open, and then went on his way rejoicing... [he then] ripped three horses" (*Memories* 46). In yet another incident:

> I speared him through the back and forced him on to his knees, but he broke my horse's fetlock with his tusk. He then got one of the Shikaris down and nearly killed him, ripping him in five places and cutting an artery in his arm before I could get up and spear him on foot. (*Memories* 47)

Anticipating that his audience might well be horrified at the mayhem that ensues during these hunts, Baden-Powell invokes the classics to dignify boar hunting with the aura of ancient European tradition. "The boar had a great reputation amongst the ancients for rugged, uncompromising courage," (*Memories* 29) he tells us, citing the writings of Plutarch and the myth of Adonis as proof that the boar hunt has long been the means through which heroes have tested their mettle. "You who sit at home will naturally condemn it," he says in *Lessons*, "But again I say, like the drunkard to the parson, try it before you judge" (3:5). Large claims are made for field-sports.

Just about every imperial virtue can be traced to a love of hog-hunting, and there is no vice that a dedication to riding after pig cannot cure. We are yet again reminded that the democratic quality of pig-sticking allows even "the young Briton" and "the poor man" to enjoy sport; moreover, the discipline it teaches is responsible for "completely driving out from the British subaltern the drinking and betting habits of the former generation" (*Memories* 31). Baden-Powell presents hunting as providing the most complete form of training, carefully including a spiritual dimension to offset the bloodthirsty details of the actual sport:

> They develop the qualities of observation and deduction, endurance, courage, patience, resourcefulness, self-reliance, nerve, and eye for country, as no other training could do. But, side by side with these, one gains a wider conception of the Brotherhood of man, where the hardships and dangers are shared by faithful, if less civilised, natives. And then through living in continued contact with Nature a fuller and higher appreciation is developed of its order and of its Creator. (*Lessons* 3:2)

Significantly, while the sense of "Brotherhood of man" that imperial youth will gain through shikar includes at least the Gunga Din-type of loyal native, both the Nature and the Creator that he envisages hunting activities as invoking are ultimately based upon hierarchies of empire which presuppose that some members of this "wider" brotherhood are less civilized than others.

Despite this, both *Memories* and *Lessons* make a point of emphasizing the political importance of the camaraderie and mutual respect that hunting activities created between colonizer and colonized, particularly in the context of the Raj's ever-present memories of the Revolt of 1857. "Among the Indian Princes and cavalry leaders are a number of good pig-stickers," says Baden-Powell at one point, "and it is on this common ground of sportsmanship that our officers of both British and Indian Regiments are on such good terms of friendship" (*Lessons* 3:2). He mentions the various rajahs (the Maharajah of Patiala, the Ranah of Dholpur) who offered his friends and him hospitality, and often accompanied them on hunting expeditions. Besides, hunting activities did not only serve to bond Indian and British men; Baden-Powell notes that the fascination of shooting was such that, on occasion, it spanned gender. The Rani of Dholpur, for instance, was so taken by the hunt that she would come out of the seclusion of the women's apartments to practice rifle shooting (*Memories* 280).

Ultimately, however, and despite the many hunting-based friendships with native Princes and officers that Baden-Powell talks about, he continues to claim the greater "pig-sticking success" of the British as proof

of their "rightful claim to superiority as a dominant race."[36] While his language is less apt to highlight deep-seated beliefs in the supremacy of the "imperial race" that his earlier writings display, his drawings continue to expose his prejudices. Despite his approving comments on the skills of at least some Indians in shikar, in his sketches of hunting expeditions Baden-Powell tends to position natives as inhabiting an evolutionary space somewhere between the human and the animal. His frequent depictions of rajahs and native officers with oddly disproportionate bodies, spindly legs, bulging stomachs, and hunched shoulders are often in marked contrast to the beautifully proportionate, confidently erect bodies of British hunters. His sketch "Our host the Maharajah" for instance (See figure 4.1, from *Memories* 261, of the Maharajah of Patiala with a group of British officers), verges on caricature. It shows a somewhat oddly proportioned, hunched over, distinctly nonregal native king who seems to be staring blankly at the ground while holding a gun in the most inelegant way possible. In the

Our host the Maharajah.

Figure 4.1 "Our Host the Maharajah." Sketch by Baden-Powell, *Memories of India*, 1915.

background, forming a study in contrast, are three superbly proportioned British officers, alert and ready for pig-sticking action as they hold their guns and spears with military decisiveness and pride.

Despite the many ways in which Baden-Powell defends hunting activities, however, a noteworthy feature of his later books is the increasing sense of his wrestling with self-doubt about at least some of these pursuits. At one point, following several pages detailing pig-sticking exploits, he seems anxious to prove that he is not, by his own standards, a complete barbarian, but is in fact entirely capable of appreciating animals who exhibit what he sees as valuable human characteristics. "The elephant is a gentleman," he writes, betraying the British social hierarchies through which he is judging various animal species. "There is something uncannily human about the mind and doings of an elephant... my respect for them is far too great to allow me to shoot them" (*Memories* 245). Of course, in implying that something that is reminiscent of the human—and especially representing a superior social status—does not deserve to be shot, Baden-Powell is also gesturing toward the logical conclusion to such a sentiment: that that which is not judged to be fully human and/or lacking the markers of a high social class is not deserving of respect, and therefore may be hunted. Be that as it may, the point he is trying to make here is that his refusal to hunt elephants proves that he is no "butcher," and is indeed capable of valuing animals that are suitably "deserving."

One sees a similar ambivalence entering Baden-Powell's accounts of other animals that he does in fact shoot. For instance, he describes with distinctly mixed feelings the experience of being on a lion shoot, where the "grand old brute," when fired at, looked at him in "dignified surprise" before it died. "...The hit always brings regret," he writes in *Lessons*, "I hate to see the beautiful eye of a gazelle gently questioning: 'what harm have I done that you should shoot me?' and then glazing in death" (3:4). Anticipating that a reader might well wonder why, feeling as he does, he continues to love hunting, Baden-Powell is quick to add his favorite Whitmanesque excuse about it being human nature to contradict oneself, "...but as I said before, I am utterly inconsistent." The gradual change of rhetoric that one sees creeping into his writings makes it not totally unexpected when, by the time he comes to the last sections of *Lessons* in 1933, he joins in the growing chorus of voices that was suggesting that "big game kodak-ing" might be preferable to the "butchery" of shooting as a newly "recognized form of sport" that equally called for "crafty stalking and as great daring and skill as ever" (3:4). Of course, one must keep in mind that his advocacy of photography was inspired not so much by a desire to end the glazing over of animal eyes in violent death at the hands of humans, as much as from his wish to have "the fauna still intact for our sons to hunt in

their turn, in the same fashion, and so to learn the invaluable lessons one gains in the school of the jungle" (*Lessons* 3:5).

For all his talk about the importance of following consistent rules, one begins to suspect that what really appealed to Baden-Powell was the *lack* of control that being out in nature allowed, the eternal adolescence that the relative absence of rules in the colonies afforded, particularly with regard to animals. Since—even within imperialism—it was unacceptable to simply hunt down and kill natives (except "enemy" natives, of course), it was the presence of animals that allowed the British to shrug off a rule-bound existence in India. The freedom and opportunity to hunt thus served an important function in the Raj. Perhaps Baden-Powell was not entirely off the mark when, in *Pig-sticking or Hog-hunting*, he claimed pig-sticking success as proof of the superiority that enabled the British to rule an empire. Without animals and hunting, the Raj may literally never have existed.

Women, Hunting, and the Raj: Isabel Savoury's A *Sportswoman in India: Personal Adventures and Experiences of Travel in Known and Unknown India*

If Baden-Powell's writings on animals and hunting are a prime example of the admiring self-definition that characterized the very masculine colonial project, *A Sportswoman in India* (1900), one of the few books on field sports penned by a woman, allows us to consider whether the women of the Raj might have brought a different perspective to these issues or impacted the iconography of imperial hunting to any degree. Before turning to Savoury's writings, I take a very quick glance at the perspectives of two other women of the Raj, Fanny Parkes and Mary Kingsley as, from different times and colonies, they bring contrasting female perspectives to bear on issues of guns and big-game hunting.

Although the language of imperium had mainly been molded by its male exponents during the nineteenth century, by the end of the Victorian age the creed of empire was slowly widening to include both male and female virtues:

> It was an improving, self-reinforcing faith, designed to assert national vigour in an increasingly competitive world, but ultimately dependent upon the personal qualities of individuals...[moreover the] symbolic empire...depended heavily upon feminized imagery. Britannia ruled the waves, thus "enabling the motherland to keep in touch with her daughter

> states in other lands". . . . the choice of familial, and especially maternal, metaphor offered important meanings to women who wished to share in the self-congratulatory adventure. (Bush 2)

Despite the symbolic inclusions of women in imperial rhetoric, however, and even as the suffragette movement gained strength in England, many British males battled to keep what they viewed as "men's places"[37] and activities sacrosanct. Judith Walkowitz notes that as late as 1883, letters complaining that ladies at the British Museum would not confine themselves to the tables set apart for them appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In fact, according to James Ryan, the rise of big-game hunting in the colonies and its presentation as a "manly occupation" was at least in part a reaction to the assertive presence of certain female groups (especially the suffragettes) in late Victorian society. He notes that many men of the Raj celebrated the "outdoor life of absolute freedom" as a refuge not only from modern, industrial Britain but also from women" (110). On the other hand—and perhaps exhibiting an equally traditional, if contrasting, perspective—were the men whom Doris Harlow and C. J. Pelley describe as anxiously waiting for what was known as "the fishing fleet" of women to arrive. These were men who "had not seen an English girl for years, for ages. And they were all waiting for these girls. So any girl who came out there, unless she . . . definitely didn't want to get married, was bound to get married" (*Lure of the East* interviews).

The increasing numbers of women who came to the colonies during the nineteenth century could not but have been aware of the roles and expectations that awaited them, or of the complicated gender dynamics that they faced. Many of the British women who arrived in India obligingly followed the model of the fishing fleet, choosing one of the "plentiful" (*Lure of the East*) men available and settling down to the typical life of a memsahib of the Raj, duly hosting tea parties and other social events, and organizing amateur theatricals, games of badminton, and other amusements formulated to keep at bay the eternal "boredom" of Indian life that particularly affected its memsahibs (MacMillan 87). Still other women threw themselves into the civilizing mission by adopting acceptable female occupations as missionaries and teachers devoted to the glorious work of empire.[38] In contrast to masculine activities figured as belonging to outdoor spaces (including the Boy Scout movement), both these roles were confined to more easily monitored and ordered indoor areas.

But not all British women in the colonies adhered to one or the other of the twin registers that Victorian society pushed them toward, the more free-spirited among them refusing to settle down in "domestic society" or, for that matter, to devoting the major portion of their lives "arranging for other

people's pleasures or upliftment."[39] Determined to live life on their own terms, and recounting their experiences in ways that both accommodated and subverted the predominantly masculine narratives of empire, independent spirits such as Fanny Parkes enthusiastically threw themselves into the adventure of traveling around India with a "good tent and good Arab [horse]," gleefully exploring everything they came across, from hills and rivers to bazaars (markets) and zenanas (native women's chambers), and refusing to participate in the ethos of racial snobbery, conquest, and self-control advocated by the public-school sahibs and hunter-imperialists. Although Parkes enjoys the "tamasha" (98) of animal fights that native hosts organize for her friends and her, she records in an 1838 journal entry, "I have a pencil instead of a gun, and believe it affords me satisfaction equal, if not greater, than the sportsman derives from his Manton.... Oh! The pleasure of vagabondizing over India!" (303). Her use of the term "vagabondizing" is telling, pointing as it does to her desire not to be rooted in cultural or other expectations that would dictate the manner in which she should live her life. In like vein, Ryan notes that Mary Kingsley adopted a deliberately unheroic stance when she declared, "I have seen at close quarters specimens of the most important big game of Central Africa, and, with the exception of snakes, I have run away from all of them" (110). According to him, "[H]er almost proud admission of cowardice in the face of big-game may be read as a sign of her generally ambivalent stance toward a masculine tradition of exploration or even a parody of male heroics" (110).

While Parkes's and Kingsley's avoidance of guns and big game could be read as adhering to a classic female type, their refusal to live according to the social norms of the day demonstrates their unwillingness to live stereotypically gendered lives. Moreover, given that hierarchies of race conceivably trumped hierarchies of gender in the colonies, while the males who objected to women not sticking to their places at the British Museum would doubtless have been pleased at these women not encroaching upon the male territory of hunting, one suspects that the same men would have been even more horrified by Parkes's and Kingsley's refusal to follow the (higher) codes of race, particularly in the colonies where maintaining the façade of a "pukka sahib"—a *real* sahib who displayed the distilled essence of Englishness—was so essential. Arguably, Parkes's and Kingsley's disavowal of symbols of power such as guns and big game hunting was directly related to their refusal to think hierarchically about categories such as race or gender. However, one should not forget that both women were writing outside the context of the high imperialism of the Raj that followed the Sepoy Rebellion—Parkes well before 1857, and Kingsley in Africa—times and places that conceivably allowed for somewhat more fluid identities than the Manichean rigidities of empire during which Savoury was writing.

Like Fanny Parkes and Mary Kingsley, Isabel Savoury is unwilling to simply embrace domesticity, devote herself to other people's pleasures, or remain a passive onlooker from the peripheries of colonization to which nineteenth-century Anglo-Indian women had been relegated; like them, she is determined to experience all the "moments of excitement" (17) and "joyousness" that she can snatch for herself. However, unlike them, the particular forms of excitement that she chose to experience ultimately belonged to what were arguably the deepest recesses of "men's places," even within the context of an overall masculinist empire. In contrast to Parkes's and Kingsley's decision to proudly articulate female identities outside the machismo-driven ethos of the hunter-imperialist, Isabel Savoury's *A Sportswoman in India* voices her wish to assert her identity as a woman within it. Determined to be "the right sort of woman" (131), and conscious of there being "women and women" (131), she refuses to be one of those who "fritter time away" (341). Bent upon keeping away from the "sickening monotony" of the British clubs with "their paralyzing enuii," she desires to use "those latent forces and capabilities with which [women] have been endowed" (29) to the full; the only manner in which she seems to be able to imagine using these capabilities, however, seems to be within a framework defined by a male ethos. "Englishmen are supposed to possess an insatiable desire for slaying something; a healthily minded woman has invariably a craving to do something," (202) she writes. Accordingly, despite knowing that she faces the accusation of being "mis-called unwomanly and hard" (29), the slaying of animals becomes the "something" that she turns to as a way of experiencing life to the full and "doing" something.

As one of the two women hunters in a group comprising mostly British men, Savoury thus negotiates the hyper-imperial rhetoric of the post-1857 Raj in combination with the burgeoning suffragette movement in England by attempting to prove her (almost) equal status with them. However, recalling Virginia Woolf's description of "the masculine point of view which governs our lives, which sets the standard" (86), her desire to seek out and participate in male-dominated hunting activities indicates that she has internalized notions about the desirability of such activities, particularly as a means of asserting her place in the multiple, crisscrossing constructions of difference that comprised the social realities of her time. Having stormed this particular bastion of maleness she needs even more to live by its rules, and judge her success by its standards; Savoury therefore adopts and mirrors back the constructs of species, race, age—and even gender—that characterized the imperial male of the Raj. In fact, deeply conscious of her own liminal status as a woman and therefore unable to take her position right at the top of the hierarchy for granted, she makes a deliberate attempt to distance herself from those lower than herself. As a

result, she tends to adopt an even greater tone of superiority, on occasion borrowing the censorious language of the evangelicals (we hear references to “salvation,” and “degraded humanity”) while describing the animals, natives, and (other) women that she encounters during the course of her hunting adventures.

What this results in is a narrative that, particularly in its content, is in many ways indistinguishable from other hunting writings, particularly those written after 1857. In Savoury’s detailed accounts of the various tigers, leopards, bears, pigs, and deer that she hunts as a guest of different native Rajahs, one sees the same—if slightly more emphasized—constructs of the hunted animal as vicious, evil, cruel, and savage, with the carnivores frequently characterized as having poisonous bites and “poisonous nature[s] (85).” A familiar callousness and lack of empathy toward both animal and native human mark her writings: aside from the hunted animals who are subjected to repeated spearings and shootings, at least one beater is killed, various villagers working in fields are badly injured, horses are fatally wounded (we are told that it is entirely the fault of both native and animal when such things happen). Yet again we hear about “discriminating” British hunters being contrasted to “native village shikaris [who] are rapidly ruining the country” (279), and whose indiscriminate hunting is “denuding” its forests. Once more we see the “horrors of the Mutiny” (201) invoked in the service of underlining the “great gulf” between “an Oriental’s brain” and a “white man’s” (301), thereby making possible the use of familiar tropes of native as animal. Thus, we hear about “black bodies scurrying up [the trees] like monkeys” (280) at the approach of a tiger; the tracks left by a bear described as being “exceedingly like a very much enlarged native’s” (209). And, in the very subtitle of the book, referring as it does to “Travel in Known and Unknown India,” we yet again hear a privileging of the knowledge of the European hunter-explorer that dismisses as irrelevant the intimate knowledge Savoury’s native guides possess of these supposedly “unknown” areas.

While the content of Savoury’s writing often replicates the other male narratives I have examined, some noteworthy differences in tone and/or style indeed distinguish her writing from Victorian (male) hunting narratives. The first of these is her willingness to acknowledge, both in her text, as well as in her sketches and photographs, the greater expertise of her sporting companions, especially the leadership of the sportsman “S.” who is apparently in charge of the proceedings. For instance, while Savoury is clearly a hunter in her own right, often successfully “bagging” animals, at least one sketch shows her being helped across a steep ridge by S. and a shikari during a snow landslide (131).

Figure 4.2 "Tiger Shoot—A Trophy." From Isabel Savoury, *A Sportswoman in India*, 1900.

There are few more poignant vignettes of the position occupied by the British memsahib—as well as the animal and the native—within the iconography of imperial hunting and the power structures of shikar, than the photograph captioned "Tiger Shoot—A Trophy" (figure 4.2). This classic Victorian-Indian picture featuring hunters posing by assorted dead animals (in this case a "bag" of trophies) shows Savoury as a shadowy, if beautifully dressed, presence at the sidelines, seated on the ground only a little closer to the center of the image than the native shikaris who bookend it, while the two male hunters confidently stand at center stage, in clear command of both the animal parts draped behind them, as well as of the bodies—native and female—around them. Savoury's role in this photograph is clearly at least in part ornamental. Unlike the men who are dressed in the stern part-riding part-military clothing that the Raj had adopted as its shikar costume, thereby marking them as a continuing part of the "action" whose results we are witnessing through this image, she has slipped out of her hunting clothes (seen on page 267 of her book), thus presenting herself as an (even) more passive participant than her seated posture might indicate. This visual representation thus mirrors several points of her narrative where—for example—she defers to S.'s instincts and knowledge of animals. Even as Savoury's narrative inserts a woman into the male domain of the hunt, therefore, it maintains and reflects the stratifications of gender and species that underpin the Raj. By remaining an unthreatening presence within the masculine spaces of shikar, this Victorian woman retains her place within them.

As a related point, one cannot help but notice Savoury's willing, indeed gushing, admiration for at least some of the animals she hunts, indicated by her arguably "feminine" choice of words—including a profusion of adjectival modifiers—even as she vilifies the beasts as being the very incarnation of the devil.[40] Thus one hog is "sweet," while another is "magnificent," and a "splendid animal . . . it was quite grievous to see him dead" (25). While Baden-Powell on occasion voices a similar appreciation for animals that put up a particularly "plucky" fight, what most characterizes Savoury's writing as "female" is perhaps the passages where her descriptions of the tiger turn into rhapsodies about the magnificence of its male muscular glory:

> [He was] a picture of fearful beauty. Beasts in captivity are under-fed, and have no muscle; but here before us was a specimen who . . . was fit as a prizefighter, every square inch of him developed to perfection . . . [he] looked magnificent. . . . His long, slouching walk, suggestive of such latent strength, betrayed the vast muscle working firmly through the loose, glossy skin. . . . The sight of such consummate power, as he swung majestically along . . . was one

> of those things not soon to be forgotten. . . . [he was] a magnificent male, very large and heavy [with] enormous paws and moustache. (265)

In fact, Savoury's portrayal of "her" next tiger is difficult to distinguish from the language that might describe a man: "This was the finest of my three. . . . Enormous beasts they look, as they lie dead; their muscle, especially in the forearm, is colossal. [Their] skin is beautifully marked; a lovely head with a great, sprouting moustache" (282). Her repeated emphasis on the magnificence and power of the animals she kills makes one suspect that, if the size and beauty of game tempted male hunters to establish their manliness by killing them, for Savoury, too, the killing of large beasts might well have been her way of staking a claim to power, perhaps even an assertion of control over quasi-male substitutes; she writes about the trophies that will decorate the walls of her "sanctum sanctorum," "call[ing] forth admiration and reverence" (29) from those who behold them.

The last distinguishing feature of Savoury's writing is the degree to which she feels free to unselfconsciously lapse into poetry (either spontaneous verses of her own or lines from well-loved poems) at so many points of her narrative, sometimes multiple times on a page to the point where narrative and poem coalesce into one and the reader is never quite sure where one ends, and the other begins. While John Still's book *Jungle Tide* (1930) similarly uses poetry as a part of his narrative, it does so with the important difference that the poems that intersperse his writings are separate pieces, cordoned off from the prose by clear markers of page and typesetting. Savoury's verses, however, freely intermingle with her prose. She particularly turns to poetry while recounting moments of intense drama during hunting episodes, as in the following description of the hunters having spotted a boar:

> For the field it was a case of —
>
> Harden your heart like a millstone, Ned,
> And set your face like a flint,
>
> and the three leaders, S., G., and M., charged it gallantly in line. . . . (19)

Conceivably, Savoury uses the unexpected snatches of poetry not only to express high excitement but, as in the above case, where she suddenly inserts lines from a 1893 hunting poem by Adam Lindsay Gordon, as a way of owning the more unfamiliar activity of hunting through her knowledge of another activity that she clearly has greater mastery of, literature.

Unlike the majority of hunting books whose almost generic titles relentlessly focus on the nature of the activity (*Oriental Field Sports, Sketches of Field Sports, Sport in War*), the very title of Isabel Savoury's book calls

attention to the gender of the author in a way that suggests that she wishes to highlight the unusual perspectives that a *woman* practicing field sports in India might have to offer. However, despite her emphasis on "a woman's point of view," and the many references to the manner in which those around her are surprised (and impressed) at her presence in shikar activities, Savoury's narrative remains so deeply entrenched in the dominant masculine discourses of the Raj as to be virtually indistinguishable from them. Her own cogitations on how to define a sportswoman betray a complete absence of any particularly female perspective:

> I have often wondered how one would define a real sportswoman, and I think any definition should include an appreciation of the free camp life—such as ours. It might run thus: "a fair shot, considering others, and never doing an unsportsmanlike action, preferring quality to quantity in a bag, a keen observer of all animals, and a real lover of nature." (140)

Like the early twentieth-century Indian princess Gayatri Devi from the state of Jaipur, Isabel Savoury sought to dismantle gender barriers through a participation in shikar. While both women were able to transcend at least some hierarchies of gender (and, in Gayatri Devi's case, race), what allowed them to bond with their male hunting companions was a shared ability to think hierarchically about animals. Ironically, Savoury was able to attain the "spirit of joyous motion" that she so desperately wanted to experience only at the expense of so many other species; her choice of shikar as the means to empower herself meant that she was only able to enjoy the "fever [and] fulness of animal life" that she rhapsodized about by, in fact, draining it out:

> Oh ! the vigour with which the air is rife,
> The spirit of joyous motion,
> The fever, the fulness of animal life,
> Can be drained from no earthly potion. (18)[41]

The "Tiger Hunting" *Indian Album*

When the late Robert Sobiziek, curator of photography at LACMA, generously allowed me the use of a set of black-and-white photographs from an unpublished "Tiger Hunting" *Indian Album* from the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film Collection (figures 4.3–4.5), I was initially somewhat mystified at the oddly static nature of the nonetheless very interesting sequence of nine

images that comprised the collection. Further enquiry revealed the reason for the diorama-like quality of the photographs: the "Tiger Hunting" series was in fact a carefully put together "reconstruction" of a tiger hunt, using an already dead tiger, in Madras during the year 1872. While little else is known about these photographs, the fact that they are a meticulously orchestrated attempt to depict an activity that carried the weight of so much symbolic meaning during the Raj makes this charmingly amateurish set of photographs even more interesting, as it reveals as much about those who commissioned them, and what they wished their audiences to see, as it does about the event portrayed. Moreover, in terms of its technique, the "Tiger Hunting" sequence inhabits an interesting space, representing what I think of as a "paintograph" that combines the manipulations and idealizations possible in paintings, with the inability to escape from the simple demands of physical realities that constrains the photographic medium.

Imperial hunters had always relied upon visual techniques such as sketches and paintings to display their hunting and exploring achievements. The advent of photography, however, provided an even more convenient means to create what Said referred to as the "imaginative geography" of empire. James Ryan has argued that colonial photography, including photographs capturing hunting or trophies, served a vital function. Perceived as having the legitimacy of an "Art-Science," this new medium was often used in conjunction with other forms and conventions of representation (72). The visual records of hunting provided by photography offered the colonial gaze an India where "natives, flora, fauna and natural resources, and cultural and natural landmarks [could] be enumerated, categorized, and rendered fit as specimens for a Linnean-type of investigation" (Lal 92–93). Moreover, since both native human and animal, and often the landscape itself, were perceived as "unreliable, mysterious and deceptive" (Pinney 17), photographs were seen as fulfilling the desire for a "stern fidelity" as records of geography, natural history, and anthropology (Ryan 108).

Several things stand out about the "Tiger Hunting" series. Restricted by the exigencies of the photo shoot in these early days of photography, as well as by the fact that the narrative was presumably somewhat hampered by the availability of only one dead tiger that had to be posed and repositioned in various creative ways, this hunt is a small-scale affair unlike the large-scale elephant-dominated tiger hunts conventionally depicted in narratives and illustrations of the Raj. The main actors in this little drama merely comprise some thirty-odd humans, one buffalo (live) and one tiger (dead). Although the photographs were clearly taken to capture one of the grandest traditions of the Raj, they were in all likelihood commissioned

by a private group of British officials who wished to preserve the image of themselves as the sahibs who responded to tiger-sighting reports by villagers and vanquished that ultimate symbol of eastern disorder.

Among other things, shikar, especially for the most desired animal species, served as a site of difference, functioning as a sport of the highest social prestige that allowed an exhibition of control over both animals and natives. However, despite the predictably commanding body language displayed by the sahibs in the photographs, one cannot also help but notice the passivity of these figures who seem to spend the entire sequence striking studiedly authoritative attitudes that are almost always in response to actions initiated by the natives. While the photos presumably wished to capture the manner in which the sahibs were in charge of, and directing the proceedings, their stiltedly assertive postures can perhaps best be understood in the context of Orwell's description of how the overwhelming struggle not to be laughed at ultimately cost the white man in the East his own freedom. The colonizer, a victim of his self-ascribed role of being at the top of the pecking order, is frozen into a "hollow posing dummy" constantly needing to enact his authority:

> And it was at this moment, as I stood there with the rifle in my hands, that I first grasped the hollowness, the futility of the white man's dominion in the East. Here was I, the white man with his gun... seemingly the leading actor of the piece; but in reality I was only an absurd puppet pushed to and fro.... I perceived in this moment that when the white man turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys. He becomes a sort of hollow, posing dummy, the conventionalized figure of a sahib. For it is the condition of his rule that he shall spend his life in trying to impress the "natives," and so in every crisis he has got to do what the "natives" expect of him. He wears a mask, and his face grows to fit it.... A sahib has got to act like a sahib; he has got to appear resolute, to know his own mind and do definite things.... [M]y whole life, every white man's life in the East, was one long struggle not to be laughed at. ("On Shooting an Elephant" 152)

If the sahibs in the photographs are conventionally portrayed, many of the villagers too adhere to the classic native of stereotypes. For example, in contrast to the sahibs whose bodies and limbs are both clothed and controlled, the villagers are more fluidly represented, often wearing only a minimal loin cloth and turban, arms sometimes gesturing emphatically with classic Eastern extravagance. Sahibs and natives thus represent an archetypal culture versus nature; arguing that colonial photography was interested in natives not as individuals but as "specimens of types," Christopher Pinney has noted that photographers particularly focused on visible markers of difference that could then be "tabulated against group identities" (29).

Even so, an interesting feature of the series is both the relative dignity, as well as the level of participation and action granted to the natives, including images in which they move to the center of the frame to dominate the action. Apart from a desire on the part of the organizers of the photo shoot to give the villagers their due, and assuming that at least one function of these photographs was to document "the East," the fact that the natives visually present an anthropological "type" would have functioned as a reason not to write them out of the narrative to the extent that most purely text-based hunting accounts do. A further reason might well be that while the descriptions that accompany the photographs only refer to "villagers" (and we have no way of knowing when these descriptions were added), at least some of these "villagers" are almost certainly shikaris, as indicated by the long elephant guns they hold. Unlike more educated or wealthy natives who were frequently derided as ridiculous (we only need to remember Baden-Powell's caricatures here), lowly village shikaris were often accorded respect by at least some hunters both because of their skills, and because they were sufficiently socially removed from the sahibs as not to pose a threat. Besides, the dependency of imperial hunters upon local shikaris with their tracking expertise and knowledge of both animals and hunting grounds often led to these shikaris receiving approbation as rare examples of native masculinity and loyalty.

Notwithstanding the grand-sounding title of the series, the somewhat odd narrative line that the reconstructed photograph sequence follows, in which the tiger is more accurately "found," makes the term "hunt" seem something of a misnomer. The first photograph of the sequence, titled "Villagers Reporting a Tiger, Seen Asleep" (figure 4.3(a)), splits the frame horizontally in two. On the right are the Englishmen against the background of their tent, and on the left, the three shikaris bringing tidings of the tiger. At the center of the image are the two top ranking members of each group, the chief sahib and the chief shikari. While the sahib, attired in the safari clothing of the day, strikes a pose of authority with his leg and hand resting confidently on the chair and his gaze directed at the shikari's countenance as he listens to what the other has to say, the lanky barely-clad villager's entire stance suggests deference. Eyes averted, hands tightly clasping his long elephant-gun close to his body, he narrates his tiger-sighting tale. Behind him are the other two shikaris, excitedly gesturing as they tell the sahibs about the tiger.

Despite their being in the wilderness, the sahibs partake of the amenities of the life of a British official, including a table set for tea, food, and wine, served by an entourage of native servants. In thus domesticating foreign landscapes, the "Tiger Hunting" photographs fulfill an important function of colonial photography, namely that of owning the land by

Figure 4.3 (a) "Villagers Reporting a Tiger, Seen Asleep." (b) "Villagers Pointing Out Tiger." (c) "Villagers Staking a Buffaloe." From the 1872 "Tiger Hunting" *Indian Album*, courtesy of the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film.

turning, in Pinney's words, "unknown spaces into familiar scenes" (72). The preservation of familiar markers of hierarchy allows the remotest areas of empire to be rendered accessible and knowable. Both clothing and seating apparatus point the viewer toward the relative ranks of humans: the chief sahib, for example, always sits or stands with his leg on one of the two armchairs, the lesser sahibs sit on moodas (cane stools), while the villagers often simply sit on the ground.

Given that the second photograph, "Villagers Pointing Out Tiger" (figure 4.3(b)), shows us the shikaris peering at the "sleeping" tiger from atop a large boulder, why they would then need to lure the tiger by tying a bullock to a stake is somewhat unclear. Figure 4.3(c), however, presents "Villagers Staking a Buffaloe," followed by "Buffaloe Killed by Tiger (Kites, Vultures and Crow feeding on Carcass)" (figure 4.4(a)), in which we are meant to understand that the tiger was responsible for killing the tethered buffalo. For the purposes of setting up the photo shoot, since the tiger could clearly not have killed the buffalo (at any rate at the point at which the viewer first made its acquaintance), one asks: is the dead buffalo in figure 4.4(a) in fact the *original* buffalo that the tiger had killed? Or was this the same buffalo from figure 4.3(c) that was killed by the organizers of the photo shoot to fulfill the exigencies of this photo essay? If the buffalo is thus yet another victim of the hunters (as, conceivably, are the birds), is its inclusion—and theirs—then the equivalent of the subsidiary "small deaths" (birds, rabbits) that Leppert describes as often included in dead animal paintings in order to provide a kind of "visual aside, a parenthetical 'not only . . . but also,' as if to emphasize that the licence to kill was virtually unrestricted" (78)?

Photograph Five (figure 4.4(b)), needing no more description than the brief "Tiger Killed," depicts the sahib atop the same large boulder, gun in hand, as he gazes masterfully down at the tiger he has just shot. On the rocks around him are the shikaris holding backup guns. The fact that it is the sahib who gets to shoot the tiger despite the gun-toting shikaris being the ones who originally tracked it down, reiterates the symbolic importance of who does—or is represented as doing—the actual shooting. The time lag between the first sighting and the subsequent shooting demonstrates that this really is the luxury of "sport," and not mere necessity, so to speak, wherein a man-eating tiger would presumably be disposed of at the very first opportunity that anyone would get.

Figures 4.4(c), 4.5(a), and 4.5(b) present the human world's total and complete domination over the tiger. Figure 4.4(c), a portrait of the "Dead Tiger," uses an aesthetic highlighting device by presenting the tiger in an artistic oval frame. The dead tiger thus both performs the metaphoric role of the conquered enemy, as well as presents an aestheticized fantasy

Figure 4.4 (a) "Buffaloe Killed by Tiger (Kites, Vultures, and Crow feeding on carcass)." (b) "Tiger Killed." (c) "Dead Tiger." From the 1872 "Tiger Hunting" *Indian Album*.

Figure 4.5 (a) "Coolies Carrying Dead Tiger." (b) "Skinning the Dead Tiger." (c) "Return to Camp." From the 1872 "Tiger Hunting" *Indian Album*.

of power for the spectator of the image to consume and, in so doing, to partake of a privileged identity. Figures 4.5(a) and 4.5(b) present the ultimate objectification of the tiger, every vestige of dignity eroded. In the tradition of visualizations of hunting trophies, the animal is shown in a deliberately staged fashion to indicate the extent to which it has been conquered. Figure 4.5(a) thus captures the coolies carrying the dead tiger, paws bound together, head hanging down, as it is carried slung from poles while the sahibs look on from the sidelines. Assorted villagers and their children, standing or squatting on the ground, join in watching the spectacle. The next photograph, in which the villagers skin the tiger as the sahibs watch, completes the humiliation of the animal, every vulnerable part of it now exposed to the human gaze as it lies spread-eagled on the ground, its feet grasped by four men. The putative enemy of man is thus literally being invaded, reduced to its constituent parts in order to create a trophy that will provide a concrete, material claim to privilege and affirmation of order.

The last photograph continues the theme of (re)affirmation of order as the British, back at camp, are once again established at the center of the action. The central third of the image is occupied by various colonial markers of civilization—tables laden with cups and saucers, china and silverware, bowls to wash face and hands, native servants. Lest there be any doubt as to who is, and has been in control of whom all along, this scene depicts the typical "end" of so many hunting narratives: the moment of paying the shikaris and other natives, lined up to receive their wages from the sahibs.

Ultimately, the "Tiger Hunting" series depicts a Raj of harmony between colonizer and colonized, as the two groups of humans are brought together by a common interest. That the killing of the tiger represents more than a simple employer-employee relationship is clear from the interest both shikaris and villagers exhibit in the proceedings. The conspicuous absence of any females in these photographs points to a particularly effective form of male bonding across ages, one that includes old men and little boys, even if only as spectators; the dead tiger thus serves to mediate the space between the various males in the photograph.[42] Given the ease with which the bullock is sacrificed, and the tiger shot, what links these various groups of humans together is their species (and gender), and their shared othering of the various animals involved. Keeping in mind the popularity of amateur theatricals in colonial circles, one imagines that for its creators, "Tiger Hunting" was a fun piece of theater incorporating the relatively new technology of photography. The roles of the various actors that this little drama wishes to present to its spectators is quite clear: the role of the British is to be in control (as the bookending photographs at either end make clear); the role of the shikaris and other villagers is to be competent

and willing participants in the employ of the British; and the role of the buffalo and the tiger is to be used as the humans see fit, the former for bait, the latter by way of providing sport and trophy.

Toward Independence: 1920–1947

The last few decades of the Raj would witness something of a change in attitudes toward hunting. At least partially motivated by the increasing difficulty of celebrating the shooting and spearing of animals as representative of the highest form of civilized behavior, in the course of just a few years the protection rather than the hunting down of (certain) animals became the new measure of civilization (Rangarajan, *IWH* 56). In fact, given the progressively brutal means by which the Raj was endeavoring to control even nonviolent demonstrations protesting imperial policies (the apogee of these being the 1919 massacre of several hundred unarmed civilians at Jallianwalla Bagh, the stated aim of which was to "produce a moral effect"),[43] the move toward conservation could even be seen as an attempt by the British to regain at least part of the moral high ground they were swiftly losing, by emphasizing their compassion for this *other* category of victims, animals.[44] Right up to 1947, when the country gained independence, the protection of wildlife was invoked as an (additional) argument against a self-governing India, with apologists for colonialism voicing skepticism about the ability of a self-governing India to protect its wildlife.[45]

Among other causes for the apparent volte-face from hunting to conservation were genuine concerns about cruelty to animals as well as the growing realization that unless stringent measures were taken, entire species would disappear from India in the same manner that the quagga had been rendered extinct in South Africa, and the wolf in most of Europe (*IWH* 56). In some cases, the move toward conservation was motivated by a desire to preserve sufficient animals for future generations to hunt. Toward the end of his life, Baden-Powell himself began to advocate conservancy as, in his words, "It leaves the fauna still intact for our sons to hunt in their turn, in the same fashion, and so to learn the invaluable lessons one gains in the school of the jungle" (*Lessons* 3:5). In other cases, the stringent "conservation" game laws that began to be passed were almost entirely aimed at keeping hunting skills in the hands of the British. In an essay on changing attitudes toward the tiger, Heather Schnell offers yet another explanation. According to her, ideas based on pseudo-evolutionary theory that spread among big game hunters led them to identify with animals such as the tiger on the premise that masculinity

itself was predatory. Since predators made an important contribution to natural selection, predatory behavior could be viewed as normal rather than aberrant, thus functioning as "a powerful, potentially beneficial" tool serving to justify imperialism (230).

Whatever the reasons, in contrast to the post-1857 gothic hunting narratives with "no psychology or plot line"[46] to explain the "unaccountably" evil nature of the hunted animal, several hunters-turned-conservationists now began to attempt to understand why at least some animals behaved in the ways they did. The most famous example of this new attitude was the Indian-born Irish-British ace-shikari-turned-champion-of-wildlife, Jim Corbett. Arguing that those who use phrases like "as cruel as a tiger" and "as bloodthirsty as a tiger" in order to "emphasize the evil character of the villain of [the] piece... show a lamentable ignorance of the animal [they] defame" (xii), Corbett analyzed the reasons why some tigers become man-eaters in his most famous work, *Man-Eaters of Kumaon:*

> A man-eating tiger is a tiger that has been compelled, through stress of circumstances beyond its control, to adopt a diet alien to it. The stress of circumstances is, in nine cases out of ten, wounds, and, in the tenth case, old age. The wound that has caused a particular tiger to take to man-eating might be the result of a carelessly fired shot and failure to follow up and recover the wounded animal.... Human beings are not the natural prey of tigers, and it is only when tigers have been incapacitated through wounds or old age that, in order to survive, they are compelled to take to a diet of human flesh. (ix)

Laying much of the blame for tigers and leopards being forced to eat men on the actions of irresponsible hunters, Corbett fought to stop the cycle of hunters wounding big cats who then took to man-eating, which led to more "protective" hunts that often only served to wound even more tigers and other animals. He issued a warning: India was well on its way to losing its big cats, unless drastic measures were taken for their protection. While his warnings came too late for animals like the cheetah that never recovered from large-scale depredations in their numbers due to bounty-hunting, in 1935 he helped to establish India's first National Reserve, Hailey National Park (later renamed Jim Corbett National Park), where hunting was banned, and not only tigers but all other forms of wildlife were protected.

Like other hunters turned conservationists, men like Corbett and F. W. Champion (author of *With a Camera in Tigerland*) increasingly turned to their Leica stills or Bell & Howell cine-cameras more than to their .275 Rugby and .500 rifles. Mahesh Rangarajan reminds us that cameras had originally made their way into jungles as an adjunct to hunting parties that wished to photograph themselves with the carcasses of game

animals; slowly, however, the new challenge became to portray animals as they actually lived in the jungle (*IWH* 73). As Corbett would write, "The taking of a good photograph gives far more pleasure to the sportsman than the acquisition of a trophy... while the photograph is of interest to all lovers of wild life, the trophy is only of interest to the individual who acquired it" (212). And so, as the perception grew that hunting was perhaps not the ultimate proof of masculinity, conservationists began to suggest that a higher measure of civilization, one that required even greater courage, discipline, and masculine prowess, was the ability to approach at close range and "capture" big cats and other wild animals on film.

Photography, then (ironically even further out of the reach of the average native than the gun had been), replaced hunting as the new measure of civilized behavior, and the new means of accumulating knowledge. Discussing the aetiology of the gun/camera analogy in the Victorian era, James Ryan notes that the very language of photography—"loading," "aiming," and "shooting"—originated in hunting practices; thus Susan Sontag's description of the camera as a "sublimation of the gun" (Ryan 99). While social anthropologists such as Ryan have convincingly argued that the shift to photography played a significant role in preserving imperial discourses surrounding natural history, the fact remains that the new definition of conservation-as-civilization was an important gesture in dismantling some of the human/animal binaries foundational to imperialism by acknowledging that those perceived as lower in the hierarchy deserve consideration.

Like the humane movement in England, the move toward conservation in India helped spread an awareness about issues of animal cruelty. One cannot deny that both movements were tinged with a paternalism that often derived from—and replicated—lines of race and class by invoking attitudes toward animals as marking civilized behavior. Ultimately, though, it is surely no coincidence that the decades leading up to India's independence, during which the dominance of one race over another was acknowledged as fundamentally unacceptable by increasing numbers of people, including prominent English men and women such as A. O. Hume and Mira Ben, was also a time when the rights of other species began to be seen as worthy of political action and consideration. However, sadly, although much progress was made until Independence and after, both the humane and conservation movements often failed to consider the rights of *all* animals, frequently highlighting domestic and/or vanishing species over more plentiful or less aesthetically appealing animals, such as that central figure of so many hunting narratives, the much-beleaguered boar. Long-established hierarchies are slow to fall.

Chapter 5

Animals, Humans, and Natural Laws: Kipling and Forster

Thou hast been with the Monkey-People—the grey apes—the people without a Law—the eaters of everything. That is great shame.

—*Bagheera in* The Jungle Book

Consider with all reverence, the monkeys. May there not be a mansion for monkeys also? Old Mr Graysford said No, but young Mr Sorley, who was advanced, said Yes; he saw no reason why monkeys should not have their collateral share of bliss. . . . And the jackals? . . . And the wasps? He became uneasy during the descent to wasps, and was apt to change the conversation . . .

— *Forster,* A Passage to India

As the daughter of two zoologists in India, stories about animals were an important part of my childhood bedtime rituals. I particularly loved hearing about the adventures of Mowgli and his jungle companions. Even as a wee lass, however, I remember being somewhat puzzled at the glaring disconnect between the frequently affectionate portrayals of *shers* (tigers), *bandars* (monkeys), cows, and buffaloes in so many of the local folktales I was exposed to, and their oddly harsh representations in the *Jungle Books*. I wondered why some of the good and intelligent beasts of Indian mythology unexpectedly metamorphosed into the most relentlessly stupid and evil creatures the minute they stepped into the Mowgli stories. One function of this chapter, then, is to examine the ways in which the Indian animal gets imagined in the fiction of Kipling, followed by a brief commentary on the very different ways in which Forster, another English writer who

incorporates nonhuman creatures (albeit in a very different kind of fiction), includes the Indian animal. In this chapter, I explore what the use of the animal allowed both writers to do in their short stories and novels.

Rudyard Kipling arrived on the literary scene of the Raj just as, in Peter Morey's evocative words, "the arteries of imperial governance [were] beginning to harden" (21). By the late Victorian era, the impossibility of the civilizing mission, that is to say, the idea that "the colonized were *fundamentally* different from the colonizers,"[1] was a firm tenet of the Raj. "The ideology of permanence," as Francis Hutchins dubs it, had begun to exert a strong pressure on British life and thought (qtd. in Wurgaft 3). Thus, as she notes, "[a] permanent raj seemed a practical possibility and to be confirmed by racial and political and religious theories as both sound and high principled" (3).

While earlier readings of Kipling tended to view him as an unquestioning spokesperson for such late nineteenth-century imperial ideologies of permanence, the past few decades have also focused upon what Zohra Sullivan has called the "dynamic, slippery and sometimes oppositional discourse[s]" (10) in his writings. Most critics, however, have tended to concentrate on *Kim* (1901), often with a focus on Kipling's culturally torn authorial persona rather than on the two *Jungle Books*.[2] When the *Jungle Books* do get discussed, it is usually in the shadow of *Kim*, thus focusing on Mowgli's story as a bildungsroman, or story of moral and psychological growth from childhood to adulthood. Recent postcolonial work by Daphne Kutzer and Jopi Nyman seeks to remedy this lack via exemplary studies: Kutzer reads the non-Mowgli stories included in the *Jungle Books* as children's literature within the context of British imperialism, while Nyman analyzes Mowgli and the various animal figures in the *Jungle Books'* "postcolonial animal tales" as representing colonizer and racialized colonial other.[3] In this chapter, I hope to build upon their work by including a posthumanist dimension to further investigate how Kipling's use of animals permits the juxtaposition of animals with "Man" as an important part of the fictional strategies used to depict and speak for India. I also tease out the manner in which the flexibility of the animal trope allows for a few but significant alternative readings of the official imperial mythologies contained in Kipling's writings.

By the time Kipling wrote the stories of *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895), he was already a respected member of the Anglo-Indian literary scene, and increasingly viewed as a spokesperson for empire. His beloved first child, Josephine, was four years old at the time, which conceivably motivated the story teller in him to turn his skills to writing a book for children while broadly adhering to the conventionally accepted literary genre for the young, the moral tale. But Kipling also loved

playfulness—letters to other youthful friends see him exhorting them, in Carroll-esque fashion, not to be so "awful growed up . . . [but to] frivol and be a baby now and again, as I am always" (*O Beloved Kids* 6). What better medium, then, to combine the twin goals of Lockean instruction and delight than the animal fable, which was recast as the "didactic fantasy"[4] in the late eighteenth century; what more serendipitous form, given the prominence of the animal in discourses of the Raj?[5] Perhaps Kipling's sense of being a conduit for imperial values—especially for his child—prevented him from being able to "frivol" quite as much as he might have liked in the *Jungle Books*; his less ideological animal poems and stories—such as "Divided Destinies" or the later *Just So Stories*—reveal him at his most delightfully puckish. It is surely no coincidence that "Divided Destinies," though Indian in its setting, is by no means a children's poem; and *Just So Stories*, although officially "children's literature," is not set in India. The potent cocktail of "Indian Empire" and "writing for children" seems to have resulted in Kipling's most ideologically driven animal tales.

The use of animals enabled Kipling to do several important things in the *Jungle Books*. Most significantly, it allowed him to present the hierarchies of imperialism as "natural" by invoking "The Law of the Jungle" as a part of nature itself, a doctrine that all the animals of the jungle (except for the depraved monkeys) willingly accept as being in their best interests and live by, thus harnessing the animal in the service of empire. The selective incorporation of actual details from nature, such as the fact that mongooses kill cobras and other snakes, or that wolves are pack animals who follow an alpha male additionally legitimizes the narrative and implies that the structure of human groups mirrors natural forms. Complex intertwining ideologies of species, nation, and race are thus created. Such stories help underline hierarchies between species as well as within them, to imply, for example, that some wolves (or men) are more worthy of being leaders than other wolves or men. The sheer range of available animals, many of which were already well known in the iconography of the Raj (Kipling tells us that he included every detail "heard or dreamed about the Indian jungle"[6]), allowed him a wide selection of "types" to plausibly draw upon in fulfilling various narrative purposes.

Further, by setting the story in the primordial space of the jungle, with laws "as old and true as the sky," and such mythic creatures as "the first tiger" whose adventures trigger events leading to the creation of the laws by which the animals now live, Kipling is able to endow his characters and their biblical-sounding utterances—complete with generous smatterings of "thees" and "thous"—with the larger-than-life proportions of myth. As psychoanalyst Jacob Arlow reminds us, the significance of myth lies in its capacity to create a particular kind of communal experience by employing

the past as a medium for conferring meaning. "It is a special form of shared fantasy," Arlow writes, "and it serves to bring the individual into relationship with members of his special group on the basis of certain common needs."[7] The reader's induction into the community of the eternal and ordered world of the jungle thus functions as an important factor in the creation of the imperial mythology associated with Kipling, enabling him to contribute to the ideology of permanence through the *Jungle Books*.

Invoking animals and jungle spaces as part of ancient tradition also helped Kipling to tap into the romanticized manner in which the Raj was engaged in constructing India in the late Victorian era. Having dispensed with the impulse to modernize India and improve social conditions in the years following the revolt of 1857, the British now thought about the country in essentialist terms. Copland points out that

> It was not long before the British began to find things to admire in the very social traits they had hitherto regarded as a cause for despair. Thus, the unrepentant East became translated, by gradual degrees, into the "mysterious" East—a repository of ancient traditions sanctified by time, colourful rituals, majestic spectacle and arcane knowledge. Where, as in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta, actuality in the shape of a burgeoning westernized middle class challenged this romantic construction, it was neatly marginalized by the skilful penmanship of scholar-administrators such as William Wilson Hunter, Henry Maine and Alfred Lyall, who, in their pioneering ethnographic accounts, projected a picture of Indian society which privileged the traditional, the rustic and the martial over the urban and modern. (22)

The ability to think of animals in terms of fixed essences allowed Kipling to make an important contribution to this new ideology. Implying as they did that the *real* India was to be found not in the fast-modernizing cities with their upstart natives, but in the "old" traditions of the unchanged countryside—complete with feudal and loyal natives such as Baloo, the wolf cubs, and Rikki- Tikki-Tavi—the *Jungle Books* provided the Raj with a comforting vision of a just, eternal, and ordered permanence.

The visibility and power of the imperial animal mythology that Kipling created is demonstrated, among other things, by the influence that the *Jungle Books* had on the creation of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout movement, as well as on the later (and equally successful at the time) "Wolf Cubs," formed in 1916 for younger boys. Kipling's use of the jungle allows Mowgli to return to the foundational powers of nature; this, in combination with Seton's ideas would inspire Baden-Powell's conception of the outdoors as the space where "flat-chested youth with shaky nerves" could regain the vitality they were in danger of losing. Furthermore, as Boehmer points

out, it was from the *Jungle Books*—and *Kim*—that "Baden-Powell derived the idea that empire, like life should be conducted by way of obedience to certain unchanging Laws, of duty, of obedience to authority, of loyalty to the group" (*SB* xviii). The dynamism of Kipling's animal tales is also evident in the extent to which Baden-Powell borrowed their imagery, characters, and even structure to make his programs more appealing to the young: thus, the story of the Mowgli tales (or B-P's version of them) frames the *Handbook*. The Wolf Cub Master is called Akela and sits on a "great rock in the middle" (10) surrounded by the Pack, the Cubs are to squat "as young wolves do," and the call of the pack is a "howl" (12). The first edition of *The Wolf Cub's Handbook* was dedicated:

> To Rudyard Kipling, who has done so much to put the right spirit into our rising manhood. I am very grateful for the permission to quote as my text his inimitable "Jungle Book." (*WCH* 2)

No wonder, then, that Baden-Powell would frequently reference his friend Kipling's writings in *Scouting for Boys*, even going so far as to list *The Jungle Book* as a source for "information" on animals in his section on "Knowledge of Animals and Nature" (*SB* 119). It is surely no coincidence that he did not include *The Second Jungle Book*—with, as we shall see, its more potentially subversive tales—in his list of "Books to Read."

Despite Kipling's reputation for unquestioning jingoism, a closer look at the individual tales that comprise the *Jungle Books*, in particular the second book, reveals small but significant ambivalences in the narratives and, occasionally, even the possibility of alternate readings that tantalizingly beckon the reader into more subversive territory. Predictably enough, the stories where such fractures occur tend to be those with a more ambiguous status as to the age-categories of their readership; unlike the more prominent children's stories, these tales are often included in the latter halves of the collections. After all, while the *Jungle Books* are ostensibly for the young, the only overt clue that these are children's books is the last line of "Tiger! Tiger!," where the narrator holds back from giving his audience details of how Mowgli later "became a man and married," with the excuse "[b]ut that is a story for grown-ups" (*JBI* 73). Apart from this one sentence, and the convention that animal tales, especially ones that loudly articulate morals, are meant for children, one might be hard put to think of stories such as "The Undertakers," or even the Mowgli tale "The King's Ankus," as children's literature. Filled as they are with particularly explicit references to "kills," including the eating of a newborn "blind" puppy hiding in a shoe, attempts by both the jackal and the mugger (crocodile) to eat a baby and a young child, and Bagheera's calm advice to Mowgli to "kill first" before

thinking about other business, both tales take the general eat-and-be-eaten ethic of the jungle to an unusually explicit level in writing for children, even the late-Victorian young. Given that almost all the stories were individually published in various magazines before being incorporated into the two books, one might reasonably speculate that the only reason some of the later stories might have been included was that they broadly fell into the category of animal tales. "The Undertakers" for instance, was originally published in the reputed *Pall Mall Gazette*, a magazine "written by gentlemen for gentlemen"[8]; the magazine's adult readership allowed Kipling to articulate more complex ideas than a children's magazine would have. In the analysis that follows, I examine both the rich ambivalences and the ideological uses that the trope of the animal permits in his writing.

The very first tale in *The Jungle Book* ("Mowgli's Brothers") begins with a short poem:

Now Chil the Kite brings home the night
That Mang the Bat sets free—
The herds are shut in byre and hut,
For loosed till dawn are we.
This is the hour of pride and power,
Talon and tush and claw.
Oh, hear the call!—Good hunting all
That keep the Jungle Law!

—"Night-Song in the Jungle"

This short verse, the very title of which implies shared jungle traditions, lays down the basic premise of the two books. The use of the Indian words as proper names for various animals—something those not familiar with native languages might reasonably guess—establishes the animals of the jungle as "native" creatures under an overarching law. In dismissing "the herds" of cattle as a nameless group, the poem indicates from the get go that the heroes of the tales will by no means be *all* animals, not even all jungle animals—and certainly not the grass-eating ungulates that are largely absent presences in this jungle, referenced only by various "kills." The phrase "good hunting all" sums up the fairly specific "proud and powerful" group that Kipling focuses his tales upon: his protagonists are those with "talon and tush and claw," or, as he later dubs them, "the hunting tribes" ("Kaa's Hunting," *JBI* 48).

At one level, then, the *Jungle Books* are cast as chivalric tales of "pride and power" that portray the medieval virtues shared by the gentlemanly public-school ethos that sustained empire. By attributing these virtues to animals, the books naturalize highly contextualized moral judgments centering on constructs of order, masculinity, courage, chivalry, sportsmanship, self-control and, most of all, an adherence to a "Law." Recognizing Kipling's

choice of the broad label of "hunting tribes," as opposed to other categories of jungle creatures is essential to identifying the imperial framework that reflects the social Darwinism of the orderly but competitive "eat and be eaten" ("The Undertakers," *JBII* 87) colonialism of the Raj. The fact that the animals in the *Jungle Books* represent discursive constructs of family, race, and nation is constantly underlined by their being referenced through the use of human terms. Thus, the wolves are established as the "Free People"; at the head of their "family" unit are Mother Wolf and Father Wolf.

Even as the Law of the Jungle propagates a social Darwinian worldview, its emphasis on the gentlemanly ethos of sportsmanship prevents it from being purely Darwinian,[9] as evidenced by the fact that no animal will attack another animal at the pool in times of drought. The basic tenets of the Law, described by Baloo as "as perfect as time and custom can make it," (*JBII* 7) are spelt out (also by Baloo) in *The Second Jungle Book*:

> *Now this is the Law of the Jungle—as old and true as*
> *the sky;*
> *And the Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the*
> *Wolf that shall break it must die.*
>
> *As the creeper that girdles the tree trunk, the Law runneth*
> *forward and back—*
> *For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength*
> *of the Wolf is the Pack.*
>
> . . . . .
> Keep peace with the Lords of the Jungle—the Tiger, the
> Panther, the Bear;
> And trouble not Hathi the Silent, and mock not the Boar
> in his lair.
>
> When Pack meets with Pack in the Jungle, and neither
> will go from the trail,
> Lie down till the leaders have spoken—it may be fair
> words shall prevail.
>
> . . . . .
> Ye may kill for yourselves, and your mates, and your cubs
> as they need and ye can;
> But kill not for pleasure of killing, and *seven times never*
> *kill Man*.
>
> . . . . .
> *Now these are the Laws of the Jungle,*
> *and many and mighty are they;*
> *But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch*
> *and the hump is—Obey!*
>
> ("The Law of the Jungle," *JBII* 23–25)

The Law envisages the animals as leading highly hierarchical lives, with a stress on group-identities. At the apex of the social structure are the lords of the jungle, followed by the leaders of different "packs." Apart from each individual being assigned to a specific role within a pack ("Lair right is the right of the mother.... Cave right is the right of the father"), the different species themselves are ranked according to status. As the stories make clear, the "hunting tribes" are accorded the highest places, even if this does call for some manipulation on Kipling's part, since Baloo the bear is acknowledged as an eater of only "nuts and roots and honey" (*JBI* 16), and the Master of the Jungle, Hathi the elephant, could hardly be described as a hunter.[10] What this points to, of course, is that the term "hunting tribes" should not necessarily be taken literally, but implies a state of mind, or, to be precise, the acceptance of certain moral values—the same values, in fact, that the (British) human hunting tribes lived by.[11]

Drawn by Kipling's father John Lockwood Kipling, the illustrations above the titles of the stories "Her Majesty's Servants" and "Toomai of the Elephants" unambiguously make their point (figure 5.1). In the first case, the animals of the jungle are lined up to offer fealty to Queen Victoria as she sits upon her throne, two elephants protectively raising their trunks above her head. The second depicts a herd of elephants, trunks raised in celebration of and in obeisance to the Indian man-child Little Toomai, their "master... to be" whose "shrill little orders" they would never dream of disobeying (508–9), as he is presented to them by his father, the very rays of the sun seeming to beam down in benediction upon this scene of jungle harmony.

While the status of man is not clearly spelt out in "The Law of the Jungle" (we only hear that to kill man is the most forbidden of all), as the tales proceed we soon realize that within groups of men, too, there are categories. One such group, the "white men," in fact emerge as the final arbiters of the Law. Story after story tells us of the retribution that follows both animals and men who break the most "shameful" law of all ("Letting in the Jungle," *JBII* 54), and that the killing of man—any man—leads to "the arrival of white men on elephants, with guns, and hundreds of brown men with gongs and rockets and torches" (*JBI* 11). It is to the laws of men who "be white... and govern all the land" (*JBII* 55) that Mowgli's mother Messua and her husband escape when threatened with death by barbaric native villagers. As for reprobate animals who desire to kill men (Karait the poisonous snake, the cobra couple Nag and Nagaina, and Mugger the crocodile), justice in the form of white men with guns swiftly follows upon their heels.

The *Jungle Books* present us with an entire range of creatures who disregard the Law in one way or another thereby threatening, as Nyman argues,

Figure 5.1 (a) and (c) The illustrations that appeared above the titles of the stories "Her Majesty's Servants" and "Toomai of the Elephants," respectively, in Kipling's *The Two Jungle Books,* 1895; (b) Josephine Kipling in 1895, at the age when her father would have been entertaining her with his stories from the *Jungle Books*.

"the stability of colonial rule" (44). Tabaqui the jackal, for instance, "despise[d]" as a scavenger (that too of native rubbish-heaps), is feared by even the strongest in the jungle because he is prone to spells of that worst disrupter of order, "madness." This disease, Kipling tells us, is "the most disgraceful thing that can overtake a wild creature. We call it hydrophobia…" ("Mowgli's Brothers," *JBI* 7).[12] His unexpected invocation of "medical discourse" (Nyman 45) underlines the gravity with which he views Tabaqui's condition—while simultaneously hiding his misrepresentation of rabies as something that comes and goes at unexpected intervals. The reason Kipling felt the need to create a fiction of this kind is not hard to guess. Even if the Mutiny of 1857 rarely enters his writings explicitly, references to the "madness" that overtook the rebelling natives (and that presumably could appear again) would find their way in one form or another in so many late nineteenth-century writings of empire. Such references fulfilled an important function as they served to keep alive the constant reminder of the "colonial rule of difference" (Chatterjee 20) that the British were convinced they needed to maintain.

Predictably enough, the only creature in the jungle who tolerates Tabaqui's company is Shere Khan the tiger, whose own man-eating ways threaten the very basis of order. Having undergone a radical transformation from the loved and respected figure of Indian folklore, Kipling's tiger displays all the motiveless malice of a true villain. Shere Khan hates Mowgli from the start simply because the latter is a man's child: "Give me the Man-cub," he roars to the wolf tribe, "He is a man, a man's child, and from the marrow of my bones I hate him" (*JBI* 25). In portraying the tiger as an evil character ready to overturn the most sacred injunction of the Law, Kipling is following conventional imperial representations of this animal as an anarchic beast whose destruction is essential to the maintaining of order, down to the detail of the bounty of a hundred rupees offered by the government for Shere Khan's head. Thus, at precisely the age when her father was composing the jungle stories that he would read out to her—and in a veritable visual feast depicting the tiger conquered, domesticated, and rendered useful by its transformation into a luxurious rug for the English child—we see little Josephine Kipling posing on an armchair that is covered by an enormous tiger skin, a second skin laid out on the floor next to her (figure 5.1(b)).

In addition to the various other factors that led to an animosity toward tigers (discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of this book), Joseph Sramek's summary of historical associations with tigers helps in understanding the degree of virulence the empire reserved for this species:

> As "royal" beasts and "kings and masters of the jungle," tigers had been closely associated historically with Indian and other Southeast Asian rulers

> (Wessing 27), associations of which many nineteenth-century Britons were keenly aware. Not only did many Britons seek to emulate various Mughal emperors for whom tiger hunting was an element of kingship, but on the way to presuming themselves the "New Mughals" they had to outdo various regional rulers such as Mysore's Tipu Sultan (who held power from 1782 to 1799) who also employed tigers as powerful symbols of their rule (Brittlebank 140–46). (659)

The association of the tiger in British minds with their old rivals the Mughals would help explain why the tiger ("sher" in Hindi) is the only character in the jungle book with a title—the Mughal honorific "Khan"—affixed to his name. The appending of the "e" to the end of the Hindi word "sher" only serves to render the tiger's name even more Mughal-sounding. Thus, Shere Khan's name could well be pronounced "Sher-e-Khan"—as indeed my mother did—in the manner of titles such as "Mughal-e-Azam" or "Kaiser-i-Hind," Queen Victoria's own imperial title as Empress of India. In the process, Shere Khan's very name taps into the anxieties of the Raj about the past. The British never forgot that the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar had been the rallying point for the mutineers of 1857, who had wished to crown him emperor of India.

Given that the near-disaster of 1857 was never far from the British imagination, Shere Khan also invokes another fear: that of the degeneration of English youth leading to the eventual loss of empire. Thus we see the "younger wolfs of the Pack" not hunting for themselves, but following Shere Khan "for scraps," something Akela, the aging leader of the Pack "never had allowed" (*JBI* 19). Enticed by Shere Khan's flattery, the younger generation of wolves are willing to break the Law and kill Mowgli, now well on his way to taking his "rightful" place as the new "Master of the Jungle." Yet again invoking popular British representations of the Revolt as led by traitorous natives who unaccountably turned against the very sahibs who had worked to uplift them, Bagheera tells him, "The others, they hate thee because their eyes cannot meet thine—because thou art wise—because thou has pulled out thorns from their feet—because thou art a man" (*JBI* 21). For all his Machiavellian power, Shere Khan, too, is ultimately an animal who cannot meet Mowgli-the-human's eyes. His somewhat puzzling willingness to live (for the most part) under the Law of the Jungle can be read as a testament to its power; the logic of the *Jungle Books* needs to harness anarchist native tendencies by subordinating them to the higher laws of nature, synonymous with those of empire within the world of Kipling's jungle.

Far worse than those who choose to break the Law of the Jungle are those who live without it. In choosing a group of animals to depict this particularly debased state, Kipling—surely not coincidentally—turned to

yet another beloved figure from native mythology, the monkey.[13] As several commentators have pointed out, the Monkey-People call to mind Swift's debased and primitive forms of men, the Yahoos. However, Swift's invocation of the Yahoos hopes to jolt so-called civilized societies into recognizing how tenuous the dividing lines between animal and human are (Gulliver is shocked to realize that he too is a Yahoo), whereas Kipling's portrayal of the Bandar-log seeks to emphasize the fundamental differences between civilized, orderly, groups with the values of "men," and savage, anarchic, "animalistic" ones. Monkeys, revered in Hindu traditions, are famous for their ubiquitous presence in every village and town of India, which fact helps equate simian and native in the *Jungle Books*. In naming his monkeys the "bandar-log," and thus using the word for "people" in its vernacular form (the Hindi "log"—all the other animal tribes are described using the English word "people"), Kipling emphasizes the parallels between their lawless ways and those of their "blood-brothers" (63), the natives. "They are very many, evil, dirty, shameless," the narrator says of the monkeys, echoing the Adjutant's later description of native spaces as dirty ("The Undertakers," 80), "[t]hey ... sit in circles on the hall of the king's council chamber, and scratch for fleas and pretend to be men ... and ... drift about in ones and twos or crowds telling each other that they [are] doing as men [do]" (*JBI* 45–46). The Bandar-log's obsessive desire to be like men, coupled with the fundamental differences that ensure that they can never in fact truly *be* men taps into the Raj's flattering image of itself while feeding into hierarchical constructs of species.

And yet. Even as the text dismisses the monkeys as what Kipling would later describe as "Lesser breeds without the law,"[14] the very act of defining these groups as being without a law raises the possibility that such an existence might in fact be something that they have chosen. Conceivably, this is the real (and tantalizing) "threat" that the Bandar-log represent, and that Kipling was all too aware of. Unlike the other animals who unquestioningly accept the Law of the Jungle as an inevitable part of life, the very existence of the Bandar-log in that same jungle implies that it is possible to exist—and happily—without the Law, thereby dismantling the binaries of order (empire) and disorder (Shere-khan, natives) that form the very basis of colonialism.

Thus, while the poem outlining the Law of the Jungle describes the law as a "creeper that girdles the tree trunk" (*JBII* 23)—the use of the word "girdle" implying comfort and security—the narrator also tells us about Baloo's words to Mowgli, "when the boy grew impatient at the constant orders, that the Law was like the Giant Creeper, because it dropped across every one's back and no-one could escape" (*JBII* 7). This particular description of the Law presents it as a monstrous presence, a whip that

creeps up and drops down on everyone's backs, and from which nobody can run away. However, the Bandar-log *have* in fact escaped the Law, thereby calling into question the reliability of Baloo, and perhaps even the narrator.[15] In this light, to recall that the aphoristic poem "The Law of the Jungle" was in fact recited by Baloo (who may or may not have composed it), makes us see the poem somewhat differently, as the truth of a specific teacher, rather than axiomatically capturing a vision that the entire jungle lives by.

Despite the contempt that Mowgli and the rest of the jungle display toward the Bandar-log, Kipling remained ambivalent about these creatures without the Law.[16] For all his emphasis on the various "Laws" that appear in so many of his works, there was a part of him that yearned to be free, and even, as his poem "Divided Destinies" so wistfully articulates, to be an "artless Bandar loose upon the mountain-side." Appearing to Kipling in a dream and addressing him as "man of futile fopperies, unnecessary wraps," the bandar of this poem begins by pointing to the vanities that constitute the life of a man. He then proceeds to reel off the long list of psychic and physical ailments that afflict humankind. Noting that neither "Mrs. B." nor he stoop to the petty rules that govern human social interactions, the bandar concludes that he pities and despises man. In answer, Kipling's spirit "cries [out]. . . . To be an artless Bandar," as he responds to his "brother" with the following sentiment:

> So I answered: "Gentle *Bandar*, an inscrutable
> Decree
> Makes thee a gleesome, fleasome Thou, and me a
> wretched Me.
> Go! Depart in peace, my brother, to thy home amid
> the pine;
> Yet forget not once a mortal wished to change his lot
> with thine."

The very title of the poem, "Divided Destinies," hints not only at the different destinies of man and bandar, but at the ambivalence Kipling feels about the bandar and the possibilities for freedom that the monkey represents. Critics such as Zoreh Sullivan and Lewis Wurgaft have discussed the degree to which Kipling was torn between the two cultures he was so closely allied to, the British and the Indian. By allowing him to glimpse into, and articulate, an alternative world to the ossified structures his human world posited, the use of the animal in fact performed an important function in the writings of the culturally torn Kipling. The animal enabled him to express rich and ambivalent positions, even—on occasion—to quietly subvert the jingoistic rhetoric he was otherwise so well known for.

In like manner, one of the last Mowgli stories, "The King's Ankus," is rich in alternative possibilities. In the story, an old cobra refuses to accept that his raison d'etre, the wardship of the King's treasure—hidden in underground caves—is a thing of the past, and that the bustling city that once existed above him is long gone. The poisonous cobra, of course, is a favorite oriental trope: the story gains verisimilitude from the many accounts of cobras taking up residence in underground vaults, thus effectively protecting the treasures that kings would hide there. On the surface, the story symbolizes the end of the age of fabulously wealthy Indian kingdoms, and the obsolescence of the fiercely loyal native servants who guarded their riches. The cobra is now old and senile, any threat he once presented now gone, as Mowgli demonstrates by prying his jaws open to reveal the dried up poison glands. Ashis Nandy's analysis of one of the ways in which the Raj dealt with the living four-thousand-year-old literary and civic traditions of India is relevant to such a reading:

> [The British] postulated a clear disjunction between India's past and its present. . . . The present India, the argument went, was only nominally related to its history; it was India only to the extent it was a senile, decrepit version of her once-youthful, creative self. (17)

What opens up the possibility for an alternative, less jingoistic interpretation, is the repeated emphasis on the whiteness of the cobra, among other things. To read the description "white" as a clear marker for Britishness is surely not unwarranted in a set of stories that repeatedly invokes whiteness in very specific contexts: white men, white-faces ("The Undertakers"), "The White Seal," which summons "seal-folklore" to explicitly link the (messianic) qualities of whiteness and leadership.[17] Although Kipling was writing the *Jungle Books* at the peak of empire, he would have been only too aware of the burgeoning movements for independence that had been gathering in strength from the middle of the century. Given the cynicism about imperialism that sometimes unexpectedly punctuates Kipling's writings (in the poem "The Song of the Exiles" he describes young imperialists as "chas[ing] with all the zeal of youth / Her Majesty's Rupee"[18]), one could equally read the White Cobra as an oblique reference to a Raj living on its past glory and refusing to acknowledge that its self-appointed guardianship of its Jewel in the Crown is, in fact, over. Thus the native boy, Mowgli, is now free to walk in and partake of the treasures the cobra has so zealously been guarding for so many years.

"The King's Ankus" also subverts notions of man's—any man's—inherent superiority. Unaccustomed as he is to the ways of men, Mowgli is charmed by the beauty of the pictures depicted on the bejeweled ankus

(elephant goad), but the narrative makes clear that he would have been equally delighted by "a bunch of new flowers to stick in his hair" (*JBII* 106). However, as Bagheera tells him, "Very many men would kill thrice in a night for the sake of that one big red stone alone." And indeed, as per the prediction of the cobra who, "know[ing] the breed [of men] well," (110) warns that the ankus "is Death," six men die in the course of just a few hours out of greed for this one object from the treasure. While the first two men are clearly natives, Kipling's description of the remaining group of four as "men with shod feet" implies that they are British; the Jackal specifically identifies "white-faces" by their shod feet in "The Undertakers" ("Hark again! That was no country leather, but the shod foot of a white-face" [90]).

"The King's Ankus" also underlines man's cruelty and desire to inflict his will on other creatures. Bagheera explains what an ankus is to Mowgli:

> "It was made by men to thrust into the head of the sons of Hathi, so that the blood should pour out. I have seen the like in the street of Oodepore, before our cages. That thing has tasted the blood of many such as Hathi."
>
> "But why do they thrust into the heads of elephants?"
>
> "To teach them Man's Law. Having neither claws nor teeth, men make these things—and worse."
>
> "Always more blood when I come near, even to the things the Man-Pack have made," said Mowgli disgustedly." (106)

Bagheera's mention of "Man's Law" is significant, with its implication that the "The Law of the Jungle" is, in fact, superior. That this is indeed the case is reflected by the end of the story, when Mowgli, schooled under the latter law, takes responsibility for the deaths of the greedy men, and returns the ankus to its distraught guardian. In response to Bagheera's comment on the deaths as, "What matter? They are only men. They killed one another, and were well pleased," Mowgli replies: "They are cubs none the less, and a cub will drown himself to bite the moon's light on the water": "The fault was mine," said Mowgli, who spoke as though he knew all about everything" (111).

As the narrator implies, and as Mowgli's own words demonstrate, by the end of the *Jungle Books* Mowgli has grown into a somewhat paternal Master of the Jungle, of whom all the animals are "just a little afraid," (*JBII* 139) something that he seems to take a certain pleasure in. The fact that he returns to a human village at the end of the two books underlines his ultimately being more man than wolf; the knowledge that, even as a child, he had been quick to establish himself as "master" of the village children, tells us that he may well become a "leader" of his new human tribe. Despite the increasing critique of men that enters his later stories, Kipling

ultimately affirms man's place at the top of the hierarchy by ensuring that his hybrid boy returns to the "breed of men" in the village; a village, moreover, under English law, unlike the one he had been born into, "hate[d]," [*JBII* 63] and helped destroy.

To an even greater degree than the Mowgli tales, the best-known non-Mowgli story of the *Jungle Books*, "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi," explicitly supports imperial frameworks through the use of a carefully maintained hierarchy of animals and humans. The story legitimates and naturalizes imperialism through a cast of animal characters who benefit from living on the premises of the bungalow and garden that "the white man" and his family have recently moved into. All the animals in the story are invested in the defeat of the only two creatures (a cobra couple) who, in addition to the third venomous snake of the story, Karait, threaten the new and idyllic existence created by the occupation of this piece of land by the white family.

Although the British empire is never explicitly mentioned, the symbolism of the threats that the sahibs face from the native cobras who wish to reclaim their half-wild garden is clear. On the one hand, the animals in the story are carefully—and delightfully—detailed through the use of observations from natural history; on the other, they are endowed with ideological attributes so seamlessly blended with their natural characteristics that the two cohere in a highly convincing whole. Thus even a minor character such as the muskrat Chuchundra is a nervous little critter who scurries about at the far edges of rooms and lives in terror of the villainous snakes; the tailor-birds Darzee and his wife weave a nest that is intricately sewn together but fragile, resulting in one of their babies falling to the ground and being eaten by the (same villainous) cobras.

"Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" is named after its central character, a young mongoose whom the English family find half-drowned and take in as a pet. Like many of Kipling's stories, this bildungsroman traces the growth of a protagonist from babyhood to maturity. Particularly in the *Jungle Books*, depending on whether the character represents white man or native, during the course of the story the juvenile instinctively moves toward his rightful place as either paternalistic imperial persona (Mowgli, Kotick the White Seal) or loyal native servant (Rikki-Tikki-Tavi, Toomai of the Elephants).[19] Like the venerable old elephant Kala Nag in "Toomai of the Elephants," the status of the animals in "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" derives from the degree to which they are useful to, and supportive of, colonial humans (Kutzer 28). As a native Indian animal, Rikki is a potentially loyal native servant of the Gunga-din variety from the very first moment we meet him: everything in his circumstances, genetic makeup, and childhood training seemingly combine to make this the only option available to him.

Not only have the English family saved and taken him in (thus ensuring his loyalty), but the wise and knowledgeable Englishman instinctively *knows* Rikki's nature and needs from the moment he first sets eyes on the half-drowned baby mongoose. The story underlines the sahib-and-loyal-servant relationship so dear to the imperial heart by endowing Rikki with an entire heritage of loyal native mongoosehood. His mother, too, had lived in an English officer's house, and had duly tutored her son in the proper etiquette in dealing with "white men" (101). Most of all, the narrator tell us, "every *well-brought up* mongoose always hopes to be a house-mongoose some day" (emphasis mine). Not only does every *good* wild creature desire to be domesticated by humans, the authorial voice implies, but the desire to live in an Englishman's house (under English law, as Mowgli does at the end) is upheld as the mark of a child that has been raised well, as opposed to the yet-to-be hatched offspring of the wild and knavish snake couple, Nag and Nagaina, living outside in the lawlessness of the native garden, and threatening to bring even more lawless children into that space.

Like that other turn-of-the-century work, Forster's *Howards End*, the story revolves around the issue of who shall inherit the earth, with "the earth" in this case represented by the White Sahib's bungalow with its semi-wild garden. The central question that occupies both works is: To which children does the future belong, Wilcox or Schlegel, little English boy Teddy and loyal native Darzee's babies... or almost-certainly villainous native snake-babies hatching in the melon-bed? To Rikki, the answer is clear. Just as the sahib instinctively knew that Rikki could be trusted, both nature (mongooses kill snakes) and ideology lead Rikki to immediately "know" that Nag and Nagaina, who threaten the idyllic existence of the colonizer, are the enemy. Like a good servant, he quickly takes it upon himself to defend the person and honor of the sahib's family at the risk of his own. Getting the consent of a certain strata of native populations was vital to the imperial project: in pledging his loyalty to the sahib, the little mongoose becomes an agent of empire.

In contrast, the villains of the story, Nag and Nagaina, not only wish to overturn order by killing man, but threaten empire itself by desiring to rid the garden of the white sahib and his family. Highlighting his ethnic and religious affiliations, in particular his sacred status in Hinduism, Nag proudly and menacingly tells Rikki, "The great god Brahm put his mark upon all our people.... Look, and be afraid!" (102); in the story, the association of the cobra with Brahma, creator of the universe in Hindu mythology, inspires only fear. The garden that the snake couple think of as their "own" (106) is full of treacherous dangers to the sahibs, including the venomous snake, Karait, killed by Rikki early in the narrative.

Daphne Kutzer points out that the snakes are "highly emblematic of India itself":

> Not only are they a kind of visual shorthand for "the Orient"... [but] they also are representative of that element of Orientalism that considers Orientals to be duplicitous and untruthful. The cobra couple in "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" plot, lie, scheme, hide, and otherwise behave in ways that link them with stereotypical portrayals of exotic Orientals in much Western writing. The snakes are also representative of another aspect of Orientalism that Said discussed at length: the seductive, dangerous qualities of the Orient. (26)

And yet. While the logic of the story rests upon the villainousness of Nag and Nagaina, Kipling also inserts details that render them sympathetic to a small but significant degree, both as natives and as animals. The story makes explicit that they are among the original inhabitants of the garden, now in danger of losing their native home to its new occupants. Their main motive in wishing to kill the humans is their desire to reclaim the contested space of the garden so as to be able to raise *their* children and allow their babies "room and quiet." As Nagaina tells Nag, when he demurs at killing humans:

> When the house is emptied of people, *he* [Rikki] will have to go away, and then the garden will be our own again.... When there were no people in the bungalow, did we have any mongoose in the garden?... as soon as our eggs in the melon bed hatch (as they may tomorrow), our children will need room and quiet. (106)

Questions as to whose babies or eggs are "fair" (109) to eat are raised right through the story. By way of underlining Nag's evil ways, Rikki asks him, "Do you think it is right for you to eat fledglings out of a nest?" (102). In response, the cobra challenges the mongoose's ethos: "Let us talk," he says, "You eat eggs. Why should I not eat birds?" (103). While one interpretation of Nag's words indicates the seductive, dangerous qualities of the Orient that Kutzer refers to, a speciesist reading allows one to see the question as a fair one... much like Darzee's quite reasonable dilemma:

> Darzee was a feather-brained little fellow who could never hold more than one idea at a time in his head; and just because he knew that Nagaina's children were born in eggs like his own, he didn't think at first that it was fair to kill them. But his wife was a sensible bird, and she knew that cobra's eggs meant young cobras later on. (109–10)

In the above passage, Kipling is careful to insert multiple pointers that indicate Darzee's flawed thinking (Darzee is featherbrained, cannot hold more than one thought at a time, he only thinks in this manner "at first," his wife who has thought differently all along is sensible). The hammering home of how muddled the tailor-bird's logic is only underlines the extent to which Kipling realizes the possible difficulties involved in convincing readers about the virtue of killing one set of "babies" over another.

The fact that Kipling allows such issues to surface at all indicates at least a degree of ambiguity in his stance. Thus the scene when Nagaina hears about the death of Nag and the loss of her precious eggs is rich in pathos. Ultimately, however, the story denies the snakes sympathy, and sets up hierarchies of mothers, fathers, and children of different species. Like so many of Kipling's stories, it asserts man's place on the top of the ladder, symbolized by the final deathblow to Nag administered by the human. Affirming the blessings of imperium is the very end of the story, in which all the animals of the garden join together in a harmonious song of celebration at the re-establishment of order.

Perhaps no other story than "Her Majesty's Servants" so clearly indicates hierarchies of man and beast—or subtly subverts these in quiet lines that all but go unnoticed against the loud choruses of "Obey!" that echo through the tale.[20] Set against the backdrop of a viceregal "Review" (reminiscent of the various Delhi Durbars captured in figures 6.2 and 6.3), 30, 000 humans and animals have been assembled in tents and camps for a period of some days. The "Parade-Song of the Camp Animals" that follows the story sums up the melding of tropes of animal, child, and native as the various military animals (the Elephants of the Gun-Teams, Gun-Bullocks, Cavalry Horses, Screw-Gun Mules, and Commissariat Camels) celebrate their obedience to their masters in a song with the following chorus:

> Children of the Camp are we,
> Serving each in his degree. (156–57)

The entire story revolves around the obsessive rankings of the British Raj, with each animal identifying itself not with a name, but by its number and role in the army. Animals lower in the status meekly accept their inferiority, and naturalize hierarchies by willingly offering explanations for their backwardness. Thus the camels ("indigenous to the east but not to the west.... [their] susceptibility to superstition... also mark[ing] them as Oriental" [Kutzer 31]) who cause a minor rampage apologetically acknowledge that they are only "baggage-camel[s] of the 39th Native Infantry," and not as brave as their betters; the bullocks (closely associated with native villagers) openly admit to a lack of intelligence and

imagination by agreeing that they only "see straight in front," and cannot "see inside [their] heads." (149). But it is not just intelligence and bravery that guarantee some animals a higher stature. The story presents the animals as being particularly sensitive to distinctions of human race. The fact of an animal's "man" being white automatically confers status upon the creature (in this case, the dog), not only in his own eyes, but in the eyes of the other animals as well:

> "You big, blundering beast of a camel, you, you upset our tent. My man's very angry" [says the dog].
>
> "Phew!" said the bullocks. "He must be white".
>
> "Of course he is. . . . Do you suppose I'm looked after by a black bullock-driver?" (151)

Not only does the sahib's dog feel free to insult the lesser animals (who humbly accept all that is heaped upon them) and their men, but upon hearing that the dog's "man" is very angry, the bullocks correctly assume that he must be white. Anger, it would seem, is not an emotion permissible—or available—to lower-ranked animal *or* human.

On the face of it, "Her Majesty's Servants" would appear to end with an unambiguous moral spelled out for the edification of that "wild king from the very wild country" (139), the Amir of Afghanistan. "But are the beasts as wise as the men?" asks the Amir, marveling at the scale, order, and precision of the "Review" of humans and animals he has just witnessed. His question receives the following answer from—Kipling is careful to specify—a native officer who has seemingly internalized the ethos of blind obedience and "trust" of "your man" (144) that undergirded empire:

> They obey, as the men do. Mule, horse, elephant, or bullock, he obeys his driver, and the driver his sergeant, and the sergeant his lieutenant, and the lieutenant his captain, and the captain his major, and the major his colonel, and the colonel his brigadier commanding three regiments, and the brigadier his general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress. Thus it is done. (154)

What renders the "moral" of "Her Majesty's Servants" somewhat less than unambiguous, however, is that it has been preceded, and less than three pages before, by the following passage:

> "What I want to know," said the young mule, who had been quiet for a long time—"what *I* want to know is, why we have to fight at all."
>
> "Because we're told to," said the troop-horse, with a snort of contempt.
>
> "Orders," said Billy the mule, and his teeth snapped.

> "Hukm hai!" (It is an order), said the camel; and Two Tails and the bullocks repeated, "Hukm hai!"
>
> "Yes, but who gives the orders?" said the recruit-mule.... "But who gives them the orders?" (151)

While the young mule's two questions go unanswered, the other animals being made so uncomfortable by the mere voicing of such subversive notions that the party quickly breaks up when he persists in his queries, it is important to keep this passage in mind while reading what is commonly accepted as the "moral" of the story. Furthermore, while the animal-children of the story seem bound to their human-master-quasi-parental figures with seemingly unquestioning servitude, the very fact that they repeatedly need to remind themselves and each other about the necessity of "trusting your man," betrays the slippages and the anxiousness that exist behind their blind assertions. Besides, even if it is only a newly recruited young mule—ranking low in categories of age and species—who actually questions the issues on which the edifices of empire rest, it is noteworthy that it is precisely the use of a quirky, if quickly marginalized, animal persona that allows Kipling to quietly articulate such subversive thoughts.

And in fact it is through the particularly quirky animals in the startling (if less known) "The Undertakers," placed right at the heart of *The Second Jungle Book*, that Kipling slips in hints of a less acknowledged (British) perspective on the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. As Kutzer points out, there is a deliciously sly irony at work in this story, "with its central trope of eating and being eaten," ostensibly the very issue (of who was consuming what) that sparked the Rebellion itself (28).[21] Mainly telling the story from the Mugger's perspective allows Kipling to do several interesting things, including the reversing and blurring of conventional constructs of hunter and hunted.[22]

The Mugger is an unabashed and undiscriminating hunter and scavenger of animals and especially humans, both "brown-face" and "white-face." Commenting on the practices of those other hunters, the English, he hints that they have double standards, displaying great excitement and patience when they are doing the hunting, but quick to lose interest in the game when they are the ones being hunted. He tells the Jackal and the Adjutant "You do not know the English as I do.... All the English hunt in that fashion, except when they are hunted." On the one hand, the singularly amoral world of "The Undertakers," with its three protagonists who swap tales about the manner in which they had tried to get at (or succeeded in getting at) various puppies, babies, children, and women posits the brutality (or amorality) of animals and/or natives. But more significantly, it presents the broader ruthless world against which the drama of the Sepoy

Rebellion and its brutal aftermath played out. Without explicitly mentioning the Rebellion, Kipling hints at it through the Mugger, who remembers being able to gorge himself on all the white-faces that came floating down the river at one point... followed in a few days by the tens of hundreds of "Hindus and Purbeeahs... from Arrah to the North beyond Agra... as if entire villages had walked into the river... and every ripple brought more dead" (88). He recounts how all day and all night he heard the guns, shod feet of men, carts, and boats of the avenging armies. While abstaining from any direct commentary on the events of the Mutiny-Rebellion, Kipling here gives an oblique indication of the disproportionate retribution that British armies wreaked on native populations.

Like so many of Kipling's other *Jungle Book* stories, the ending of "The Undertakers" includes a moral, in this case an appropriately gruesome one. The Mugger is increasingly obsessed with tasting white-face flesh yet again, in particular remembering with regret a little English boy whom he had wished to hunt just for pleasure during the Mutiny (he certainly had no dearth of food at the time), but whose mother had bravely saved in the nick of time. Without knowing that this is the very crocodile who had earlier tried to hunt him, the little boy, now a grown man, finds and shoots the Mugger at the end of the story, bringing the tale a full circle as he subjects the beast to the ultimate indignity of reducing one part of him to a trophy, while the rest is thrown away: "Haul that head up the bank, and we'll boil it for the skull," he says, "The skin's too knocked about to keep" (92).

As several commentators have pointed out, the two *Jungle Books* function as some of the most creative mythologies through which empire sustained itself. In particular, Kipling's Indian animal stories allowed him to reconcile what Wurgaft has described as the fundamental tensions between the two contrasting attitudes the British displayed toward India: "The attraction to India as a land unknown, mysterious and seductive; and the self-mastering and self-sacrificing repression and denial involved in the commitment to govern" (xi). While the *Jungle Books* ultimately uphold both empire and the primacy of the human, the richness, "mysteriousness," and seduction of Kipling's jungle allowed him to play with a range of possibilities that prevented his constant emphasis on various laws, rules, and repressions from coming across as unimaginative and ossified.

The elaborate and highly detailed animal mythologies that express Kipling's visions of empire are in sharp contrast to the fluid—so fluid as to seem nearly invisible—presence of the animal in E. M. Forster's only fictional writing on India, *A Passage to India* (1924). Unlike Kipling, Forster's writing tends to focus on human characters, and his non-Indian novels and short stories rarely include the nonhuman other except as a manifestation

of the supernatural. It is a testament to the dominance of animals in narratives of the Raj that Forster turned to this particular form of imagery in conveying his vision of India. Although animals only rarely intrude upon the actual action of *A Passage to India,* the subtle animal imagery functions as a backdrop to the events of the chaotic human drama, serving to tie together diverse nationalities, races, and religions within the novel. In contrast to Kipling, whose use of animals predominantly ratifies social order and establishes certainties, Forster invokes the animal to destabilize established hierarchies and insert uncertainty into discourses of power. Thinking about the differences in the manner in which the animal is evoked in these two authors as they write during different periods of the Raj enables a richer understanding of the workings of imperialism, revealing not only how the animal reflects various colonial manipulations, but is, in fact, often foundational to these.

While Kipling was writing at the peak of an empire symbolized by grandiose imperial spectacles, Forster's novel was published during the twilight of the Raj when, in Peter Morey's words, "a sense of the hollowness of imperial symbolism" (53) was increasingly apparent. Moreover, as a private employee of the princely state of Dewas Senior—and therefore not a part of the official British Raj—Forster belonged to a group of somewhat atypical British men and women, many of whom consciously sought to reject the privileges of race and nationality. Analyzing the history of Western anti-imperialism in her book *Affective Communities,* Leela Gandhi has discussed the anticapitalist utopian critiques of empire that emerged at the turn of the century, noting how British and other European individuals associated with a range of marginalized lifestyles and subcultures (including homosexuality, animal rights, vegetarianism, spiritualism, and aestheticism) came together against imperialism and formed enduring affiliations with colonized peoples across the world. Considering Forster's affiliations with the unconventional thinkers of the Cambridge-based Bloomsbury group and their fundamentally nonhierarchical philosophies, it is not surprising that he does not view the animal as an opportunity to ponder human superiority. Instead, in his writings, animals force a rethinking of social constructs. Perceiving the connections between the politics of capitalism, imperialism, gender, and species, Forster unsettles the primacy accorded to the human and what he "knows" by challenging the imperial model which privileges masculine colonizer over feminized colonized, and human over nonhuman.

Some of the most significant animal references in *A Passage to India* provide the philosophical basis to the novel by positing a vision of inclusiveness. The moral worth of characters is indicated by the extent to which they are willing to include those who belong to different categories,

groups, or species. Thus, the good-hearted and well-meaning missionaries Mr. Graysford and Mr. Sorley betray their inability to think beyond the limitations of their particular systems of belief, if to varying degrees. In contrast to the older missionary Mr. Graysford's refusal to allow the monkeys into the kingdom of heaven, the younger missionary Mr. Sorley ("who was advanced") is willing to let monkeys "have their collateral share of bliss":

> And the jackals? Jackals were indeed less to Mr. Sorley's mind, but he admitted that the mercy of God, being infinite, may well embrace all mammals. And the wasps? He became uneasy during the descent to wasps, and was apt to change the conversation. (38)

Unlike the missionaries, Mrs. Moore, the putative (if somewhat ambiguous) heroine of the book, extends the doctrine of "God si Love" to all creation, including wasps. The evocatively misspelled words appear on a native banner, "composed in English to indicate His universality" (281). "Pretty dear," Mrs. Moore gently says to a wasp sleeping on the peg on which she had wished to hang her coat, taking care not to disturb it (33). The image of the wasp later serves to unite Mrs. Moore and Professor Godbole, another enigmatic (if orientally inscrutable) figure who seeks "completeness" through inclusion. Thus the Professor attempts to love all creation during the frenzy of a festival:

> His senses grew thinner, he remembered a wasp seen he forgot where, perhaps on a stone. He loved the wasp equally, he impelled it likewise, he was imitating God. . . . It was his duty, as it was his desire, to place himself in the position of the God and to love [Mrs. Moore, whom he knew only slightly]. . . . This was all he could do. How inadequate. But each according to his own capacities, and he knew that his own were small. "One old Englishwoman and one little, little wasp" he thought. . . . It does not seem much, still it is more than I am myself. (286–87)

Despite the gentle irony with which Forster presents Godbole, the Professor's attempt to imitate god by loving equally and in the same moment a human close to the top of the social hierarchy, as well as an animal relatively low on any chain of being, points to Forster's forcing the reader to rethink conventional religious (and other) categories. His tongue-in-cheek description of the monkey-god Hanuman, for instance ("God so loved the world that he took monkey's flesh upon him" [316]) deliberately shakes the primacy accorded to the human in Western philosophy by positing alternative ways of imagining the divine.

And indeed, an important reason for the inclusion of the animal in *Passage* is to constantly remind the reader of the levels upon levels of worlds that exist beyond the human sphere, worlds that exist harmoniously with one another, and are indifferent to tidy human categorizations. The racially distinct spaces within the city of Chandrapore are divided by native streets that "share nothing" (10) with the European civil stations, except for the "so strong and so enormous" overarching sky and the birds wheeling about in it. Refusing to respect the dictates of the human world that demarcate what should be let in, and what kept out, "[b]ats, rats, birds, insects will as soon nest inside a house as out" (35), thus reminding us of the "eternal jungle" with which we coexist.

In blurring the neat boundaries constructed by humans, Forster's animal serves to underline both the limitations of human knowledge, and the absurdity of the human desire to control through possession. Thus, unlike Mrs. Moore and Professor Godbole, content to simply "love" the wasp, we see Adela and Ronnie attempting to "label" (91) the green bird on the tree as well as the unknown animal that collides with and leaves a mark on their vehicle. In the end, they tacitly acknowledge the futility of their attempts to "fix" both bird and animal by naming them. Similarly, in his essay "My Wood," Forster ironically describes his attempt to think of a bird in his newly acquired wood (bought with his royalties from the sale of *Passage*) as "[*his*] bird"; the bird, of course, under no such illusion, promptly flies away into his neighbor's property, thus becoming "her bird."

While Adela and Ronny both desire to identify the bird, the world of *A Passage to India* reveals the superficial desire to "know" through labeling as irrelevant, be it trying to know a bird, an animal, Indians, or an experience in the caves. Ultimately, both bird and "hairy animal" are significant, not because they serve as opportunities for Adela to acquire knowledge (it is she who wishes to identify the bird), or for Ronnie to supply it (he immediately obliges with various incorrect answers), but because the chance inclusion of these other creatures into their world eventually brings them closer to each other, introducing a moment of harmony into their otherwise humdrum lives. Similarly, a romp on his horse leads Aziz, in a bad temper, into an unexpected game of polo with a strange British subaltern. Aziz's horse knew how to play, even if he himself did not, we are told. This tiny incident leads to a moment of genuine goodwill between the men of different races, and puts Aziz back in good spirits. Like the wasp, the bird, and the unknown animal that appears at a strategic moment of the book, the horse enables the human to connect to another human. Within the world of *A Passage to India*, the inclusion of animals frequently allows humans to reach out, however temporarily, both to other species and to each other. Till the end of his writing career, Forster showed an overwhelming interest in the idea

of "passages" and "connections" between disparate groups. In this context, one only has to think of the epigraph of *Howard's End*: "Only Connect."

Ultimately, however, in Forster's vision, humanity is not yet ready for a sustained measure of harmony. "Why can't we be friends now?" Fielding asks Aziz. "It's what I want. It's what you want":

> But the horses didn't want it—they swerved apart; the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House.... they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices, "No, not yet," and the sky said, "No, not there." (317)

Yet again, the animal, and indeed all of nature itself, points to the limitations of human understanding. Like the fish in the tanks, who "manage better" than men by not "try[ing] to be harmonious all the year round...with results [that] are occasionally disastrous" (206), the horses separate Aziz and Fielding lest they come too close to one another, and thus set another "disastrous" cycle of events in motion.

At one level, the presence of a subtle but fairly insistent animal presence in Forster's Indian novel could be read as serving a classic orientalizing function, especially given the relative absence of the animal in his other, non-Indian fiction. Additionally, the very uncertainties we have been discussing lead him to describe India as a "muddle." However, more importantly, Forster's use of animals moves away from stereotypical representations of the nonhuman during the Raj. Instead of concentrating on the usual tigers and elephants, the creatures he chooses to include in his novel are the ones commonly seen in every town and village of India. Even when he uses the animal to philosophize, his portrayals of different animals are relatively free of value judgments on the animal itself. Forster thus presents a relatively nonhierarchical vision of species. In contrast to Kipling, who—despite the occasional subversions of jingoistic rhetoric—mainly presents animals in terms of structures that serve to undergird the kind of thinking that makes imperialism possible, Forster's inclusion of the animal works to blur dividing lines between nonhuman and human, pointing to the absurdity of the assumption that some living beings should rule over others of their own or other species. Although he, like Baden-Powell, turns to other cultures in search of a vitality that he feels is missing from his own, he is willing to remain in a state of uncertainty, of not knowing, of not having all the answers. Unlike Kipling and Baden-Powell, each of whom essentializes animals (they "know" the tiger and the hog), Forster's reluctance to label and hierarchisize the animal is of a piece with his desire to abdicate the position of the all-knowing imperial male.

Chapter 6

Making Kingdoms Out of Beasts

Just around the corner stood the rich East India House, teeming with suggestions of precious stuffs and stones, tigers, elephants, howdahs, hookahs, umbrellas, palm trees, palanquins, and gorgeous princes of a brown complexion sitting on carpets, with their slippers very much turned up at the toes. . . .

—*Dickens,* Dombey and Son

Roar, cannon, to the brass-bands' blare, and elephantine trump;
Big drums, make all the noise you can, and native tom-toms thump!
While Viceroy Lytton changes gilt howdah for gilt throne,
And Victoria's Indian titles are to India's corners blown!

—*"Kaiser-i-Hind,"* Punch, *January 13, 1877*[1]

So what *did* the British Raj look like? Here are some possibilities: the Raj looked like Lord and Lady Lytton atop the gloriously bedecked, much-touted largest elephant of India, surrounded by loyal uniformed natives on horseback, and at the head of a fabulous procession of yet more elephants, horses, and camels arranged in hierarchical precision (figure 6.1); the Raj looked like groups of hunters with guns and spears raised as they surround an animal at bay (figures 3.3 and 3.4); like little Josephine Kipling gorgeously dressed and seated on a tiger skin, as her father entertains and instructs her with tales of the jungle and its Laws (figure 5.1(b)); or like the exotic collection of fabulous Oriental animals (complete with accoutrement such as howdahs) and princes all jumbled together as part of the riches of the East India House in *Dombey and Son*—and as in figure 6.3. In other words, the Raj looked like the imperial human defining and enacting both

Figure 6.1 The Delhi Durbars of 1877 and 1903. Clockwise from top: (a) "Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, passing the Flagstaff Tower," 1877. (b) "The Imperial Assembly of India at Delhi: The Vice-Regal Procession Passing the Clock-Tower and Delhi Institute, in the Chandnee Chowk," 1877. (c) "H.E. the Viceroy and Lady Curzon leaving the Railway Station [for the 1903 Durbar]." According to his biographer, Lord Ronaldshay, Lord Curzon "always seemed to live in spirit on the back of a highly caparisoned elephant" (qtd. in Cannadine 134). (d) The Imperial Procession extending as far as the eye can see at the Delhi Fort, 1903. (e) Kiplingesque "Commissariat Camels" of the "Bikaner Camel Corps," 1903. (f) Horses at the Durbar's "Great Review," at which 35,000 troops were reviewed ("Introduction," Coronation Durbar, Delhi, 1903). (g) Lord and Lady Curzon arriving at the 1903 Delhi Durbar. "H. E. the Viceroy and Lady Curzon on the first Elephant, followed by Their R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. . . . As H. E. the Viceroy passed this point the [fifty Princes and] assembled Chiefs on their Elephants fell behind in the Order of Precedence" (Ibid., 7–8).

his humanness and his Englishness through a series of rhetorical moves that figured the animal in a variety of dominant and sadistic, extravagant and moralistic, sensual and playful ways.

Such rhetorical moves serve several functions. For instance, particularly in the context of the brute force the British frequently resorted to, continually reminding us of the animal—constructed as always in need of policing—helps to naturalize, and even glorify, violence. Thus the actual, or even more importantly, the potential aggressiveness of the controlled animal, as well as the aggression of the human controlling it, are sought to be understood as "natural," simply "an expression of a male sexuality grounded in nature . . . [that implies that] sometimes nature takes over, and nature is a violent place" (Tithecott 61). Furthermore, never letting us lose sight of the beast underlines the need for a constant and vigilant control of (actual or latent) wildness. In particular, foregrounding the animal in the service of the human enables the human to emphasize the ascendancy of his species over all animal species, and thus, by extension, over the kingdom of nature. Some narratives present a variant on this theme, presenting specific animals as equal if not superior to some sections of the human species. In casting the animal as "worthy" or an "equal opponent" of the hunter (for example), they set up at least certain animals as in fact more worthy than native humans, often figured as cowardly, effeminate, and lazy, thereby justifying British control over them. Either way, the relentless presence of the beast in narratives of the Raj predominantly serves to ratify hierarchies. The fact that animals themselves did not often seem to comprehend their allotted status in divine chains of being and other human configurations—and were, in that sense, beyond hierarchies—made it even more imperative to obscure the fact that they had little or nothing to

do with such imaginings by highlighting them as a visible part of human social structures.

After all, and as Cannadine has so persuasively argued, the primary marker of the Raj was an almost compulsive adherence to rank and status; in Philip Mason's words, "British India was as much infected by caste as Indian India" (qtd. in Cannadine 43). This was particularly true of the years following 1857, when the British sought to find new strategies by which to manage and unify their most populous, complex, and diverse territory. Coming from a highly structured society themselves, they understood their colony both in terms of difference and what Liebersohn has termed the "construction of affinities."[2] Interpreting Indian social structures as mirroring their own, they decided to unite their empire by "ordering into a single hierarchy all [the Crown's] subjects, Indian and British alike" (Metcalf 50).

Unlike the early years of the century, when Indian society had been viewed as urgently in need of reform, the British now embraced what they saw as the Indian order of social precedence as a valuable tradition, analogous to English practices.[3] In particular, they seized upon, and further codified, the Indian caste system,[4] seeking to project their Indian empire as a feudal hierarchy, at the apex of which was Queen Victoria, now declared as the summit of the social order. In Cannadine's words, "she was now an eastern potentate as well as a western sovereign" (45). In order to emphasize this new feudal order, the Raj now aimed to bind the loyalty of the Indian princes who still ruled a third of the country, by codifying a complex system of rewards, titles, and honors that formally put the recipients in a direct but clearly subordinate relationship with the British Crown.

Convinced that the "Oriental mind" thrived on spectacle (Meyer and Brysac 294), in particular spectacle delivered in a native idiom, the Raj also sought to ensure the support of both the public and the ruling princes by appealing to the "Oriental imagination."[5] The period from 1860 onward would accordingly witness a significant expansion in the appropriation of Indian civilization by imperial rulers, resulting in an increasingly visible orientalization of the Raj.[6] The British would now reinvent their empire through the enactment of a complex "cultural-symbolic" form of rule that endeavored to integrate hierarchical domestic social structures of the metropole with indigenous forms of rulership.[7] Metcalf notes that this new "durbar" model of empire suited at least some of the Indian princes, especially since "they possessed no [other] way of participating in the European-style public arena of courts and councils" (196).

And so, while the early nineteenth century had witnessed attempts by men like Thomas Macaulay and Charles Trevelyan to transform Indian society along the lines of the British model, ironically, the later years of

the century would see the British Empire seeking to replicate and surpass the most extravagant forms of native display. As Bernard Cohn points out, the various celebrations of British victories that had been held in India during the early years of the nineteenth century had been characterized by a familiar English idiom, with fireworks, military parades, illuminations, dinners with ceremonial toasts, musical accompaniments, Christian prayers, frequent speeches, and only the most marginal Indian presence (178). However, the years that followed the Rebellion of 1857 led to significant changes in the symbolic cultural constructs that made up the British empire. The new emphasis on a fresh "invention of tradition," called for what Hobsbawm has described as the process of:

> ...formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition.... [Thus] old uses [are adapted to] new conditions... [by] using old models for new purposes. (Hobsbawm and Ranger 4)

As we shall see, the orientalization of the Raj was accomplished through the lavish adaptation of traditional Indian "old models" such as durbars and processions, resulting in the creation of a new imperial "culture of ornamentation."[8] India and Indians were imagined as belonging to an earlier age, thereby justifying empire by underlining the colonial civilization as less advanced than the imperial, while simultaneously invoking a nostalgia about the more glorious and ordered English past. This new projection of empire was a pseudo-medieval, gothic pageant of feudal rank and inequality (Cannadine 46).

While the beast had been a prominent part of narratives and visuals of the British experience in India from the very earliest days of the East India Company, the Indian animal acquired an additional new role as part of this invention of tradition. Thus Cannadine's (other) question, "[H]ow, in the decades after the Mutiny, did the British re-envisage (and re-establish) this most resonant and romantic part of their empire, 'ordering into a single hierarchy all its subjects, Indian and British alike'?" (41) can fruitfully be answered using the animal presence through which the Raj imagined and presented itself. If the ornamentalism that characterized the post-1857 British Raj was marked by hierarchies that had been made "visible, immanent and actual" (122), and if these hierarchies also served the vital function of homogenizing the heterogeneity of the Indian empire, then the animal played an important function in lending a coherence to an empire struggling to unite the diversity of Indian cultures under one vision. The ceremonial use of animals such as elephants, camels, and horses, and the furs and feathers, skins and antlers, trophies and tusks so

prominently displayed on colonial walls, so adorning the human that you could sometimes barely see the figure underneath, all played an important role in the reimagining of the Raj.

In particular, this new "Gothic efflorescence of empire" as Cannadine describes it (45), endowed the elephant with a prominent emblematic function within the Raj that drew, among other things, upon its traditional role in the royal and religious processions of Indian states.[9] Writing in 1899, Theodore Morison was to point out that one did not have to look far to locate where the British found the model for their spectacular displays of empire:

> If any tourist . . . wishes to enter into the political ideas of people of India . . . let him accompany the Rajah on his evening ride. From the gateway of the fort, the Rajah's elephant, in long housings of velvet and cloth of gold, comes shuffling down the steep declivity; on his back, in a silver howdah, sits the Rajah, laden with barbaric pearl and gold; behind him clatter his kinsmen and relations on brightly caparisoned horses. . . . As the cavalcade winds down the narrow streets the men pick up their swords and hurry forward; the women and children rush to the doors of their houses, and all the people gaze upon their prince with an expression of almost ecstatic delight; as the elephant passes . . . [t]he most indolent tourist cannot fail to notice the joy upon all the people's faces; and . . . the intensity of delight. (49)

And indeed, the highly ritualistic displays that took place after the British crown assumed direct rule of India in 1858 were grand pageants along the lines of the ceremonial processions of both Mughal emperors and Hindu maharajahs. Of course, the British had long followed the Indian tradition of using elephants to pay visits to princely courts in India. Dhriti Lahiri-Choudhury points out that even in the seventeenth century, sahibs would frequently get down from their horses and mount an elephant for their formal entries into royal durbars (xxi). What was new was the *scale* on which Indian animals such as elephants and camels, complete with elaborate howdahs and exquisite decorations, were now deployed in the service of imperial displays. The highlighting of these beasts in stylized processions presented a visual enactment of the chain of being by emphasizing their relationship of servitude to the Crown.

In turning to the use of elephants for ceremonial purposes, both the British (and the Indian rulers before them) were, of course, using the size and legendary strength of the elephant to visually signal their own status. After all (and as Kipling's "Toomai of the Elephants" reminds us), the catching, training, and maintaining of elephants was commonly acknowledged as an enormously expensive and difficult process that often required

considerable ingenuity and bravery, and that signalled the wealth and resources of whoever owned the elephant. However, in contrast to the native veneration of the animal, till as late as 1854 the elephant had been viewed by sportsmen such as Samuel Baker as at the top of the hierarchy of game animals, and a prime source of trophies (255). It was largely on account of this beast's usefulness, particularly in the context of its excellence in tiger hunting, that at least some of the British began to rethink their perception of the elephant as prime game.

By the last decades of the nineteenth century the orientalization of the Raj had led to the adoption of the elephant as its most dominant visual symbol. In its new imperial role, this animal was now reimagined as the Raj's most conspicuous loyal servant (see figure 6.2). Writings about the elephant now laid an added emphasis on virtues such as sagacity and courage; presumably, the implication was that such qualities transferred to, and even originated from, its rider-owners. By the turn of the century, the refiguration of the elephant as royal imperial symbol was complete, as witnessed in the writings of Baden-Powell and Kipling who, respectively, refer to it as a "gentleman" and "Master of the Jungle."[10] Describing the Prince and Princess of Wales' visit to India in his 1906 book *The Royal Tour in India,* Sir Stanley Reed goes to great lengths to stress the significance of elephants, as opposed to other animals such as horses, during ceremonial displays that were clearly enacted as much—and arguably more—for the imperial overlords themselves as for their subjects:

> The elephant is the real Imperial beast. The four-horsed carriage which has hitherto done duty on the tour is a recent importation by comparison, and the employment of elephants on a large scale for the entry into [Gwalior]...invested the ceremony with a far more distinctive Indian character than any which have gone before.... [T]he march of gorgeously-caparisoned elephants through Gwalior was the real Imperial India. It was instinct with the spirit of the East, and yielded a series of the most oriental pictures Their Royal Highnesses have yet seen.
>
> A noble sight it was to see thirty-six of these regal brutes, in all the pomp and circumstance of eastern state, arrayed in readiness for the Royal visitors. Those for the Prince and Princess were gigantic animals, painted from head to foot...with the Prince of Wales' feathers [heraldic badge] on their foreheads, the historic motto "Ich Dien" ["I serve"] beneath. (226)

However, even as the British sought to co-opt native perceptions of the elephant as a symbol of kingship, there were important differences in how the public perceived sahibs riding out ceremonially atop these imperial beasts. As Cohn argues in another context, while the British seemed to have retained the rituals of the Indian aristocracy, the meanings had subtly

changed. Thus, unlike the "mystical bonding" (180) that the view of their king atop the royal elephant allowed his subjects, signaling a personal relationship between Maharaj and peasant that was on occasion even cemented by actual interaction, the Crown-native relationship did not even pretend to be dialogic. Although Britain's pageantry was calculated to impress the native, the primary purpose of its elaborate symbolism was to involve the latter in a primarily one-way transaction, if not openly extract his obeisance. This was something the native was more than cognizant of, and frequently resented, especially since the British tended to misread ceremonial acts by seeing them as economic in nature and function. Cohn observes, for instance, that the offering of nazar and peshkash, symbolic gifts underlining a mystical bonding between giver and recipient, were interpreted as paying for favours. Following their own cultural codes

> [t]he British glossed the offering of nazar as bribery and peshkash as tribute . . . and assumed there was a direct quid pro quo involved. . . . [Thus] the meanings had changed. What had been, under Indian rulers, a ritual of incorporation now became a ritual marking subordination. . . . By converting what was a form of present-giving and prestation into a kind of "economic exchange," the relationship between British official and Indian subject or ruler became contractual. . . . The contractual aspect of . . . entitlement[s] was painfully clear to the Indian recipients as the accoutrements given had to be returned at the death of the holder. (169–72)

Thus, while the British deployed the same symbols of hierarchy that Indian rulers had used for centuries, the rigid implementation and meanings attached to that hierarchy caused their use of such outward signs to be less than successful. The viceroy seated atop an elephant remained exactly that, an emblem of an ornamental hierarchy imposed from above.

As Peter Morey and others have noted, the post-1857 Anglo-Indian community was an increasingly insular, and the gap between it and the native community had considerably widened by the late nineteenth century (Morey 54). Even as the adoption of the elephant visually signaled an imagined community of an empire in tune with native cultures, the prominent use of this beast allowed the Raj to create an important illusion. The very height of the animal allowed the British to—quite literally—distance themselves from the same cultures they were ostensibly identifying with. The elephant was thus an important agent in allowing what Mary Louise Pratt has described as the Victorian male "monarch-of-all-I-survey" mode of seeing (qtd. in Gates 169). After all, what better than an elephant from which to indulge the panoramic gaze that Barbara Gates, paraphrasing Pratt, describes as "aesthetically appropriate[ing] all that the monarch's eyes [fall] upon . . . [and] invoking a rhetoric of presence [that] represent[s]

his imperial authority over the landscape" (Gates 169). Artistic renditions of the Raj further exaggerated the size of the elephants mounted by those in positions of power and emphasized the lofty perch of their riders by depicting the figures atop them as being disproportionately small and remote. A comparison between the sketches in figure 6.1(a), (b), and (g) with photographs (c) and (d) is revealing. Figure 6.1(a), for instance, uses perspective (and good old fashioned artistic license) to depict Lytton's elephant as practically as high as the Flagstaff Tower. After all, what more spectacular animal than the elephant to allow oneself to be presented in the grandest, yet most rarefied light, and to be glimpsed by the maximum number of people as one presents one's vision of oriental and feudal hierarchy?

The most dazzling displays of this vision were the three imperial "durbars" of the British Raj, held in 1877, 1903, and 1911. All three were held in Delhi on account of the city's central location, as well as its significance as the old Mughal capital. Each of these durbars marked an important event of British history, assembling all sixty to seventy princes from different parts of India to pay homage to the occasion being celebrated. In so doing, the durbars sought to establish direct connections between metropole and periphery through the use of what was considered a form of spectacle particularly appealing to Indians. The first durbar, held in 1877, proclaimed Queen Victoria the Empress of India; the second was held to commemorate the coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra (now the new emperor and empress of India), and the third marked the coronation of King George V and Queen Mary (the next emperor and empress of India, and the only ones to actually attend in person).

Photographs, paintings (many specially commissioned by the Raj), and an array of toy figures representing the durbars, show animals and natives marshaled in obedient subordination to their British overlords, all gloriously dressed and neatly ranked in hierarchical precision. The elaborate decorations on the animals both invoke native custom and serve to underline, quite literally, the human ability to "mark" the animal. Implicit in the images and narratives of the "highly caparisoned"[11] creatures is the animal's willingness to be thus appropriated; thus, for instance, John Lockwood Kipling is at pains to emphasize the "docility" displayed by the elephant during the long hours it takes to "dress" it for parade (254–57). Figure 6.2, "Hathi's Greeting: A Trunked and Tusked Loyalist in Calcutta," drawn by *The Illustrated London News'* "Special Artist in India for the Durbar" surely needs no comment.

In evoking what has been described as a mixture of "Indo-Saracenic" and "Victorian Feudal" style (with the former dominating) (Meyer and Brysac 294), the three durbars sought to present India as both medieval and traditional, while simultaneously presenting the strength and unity of

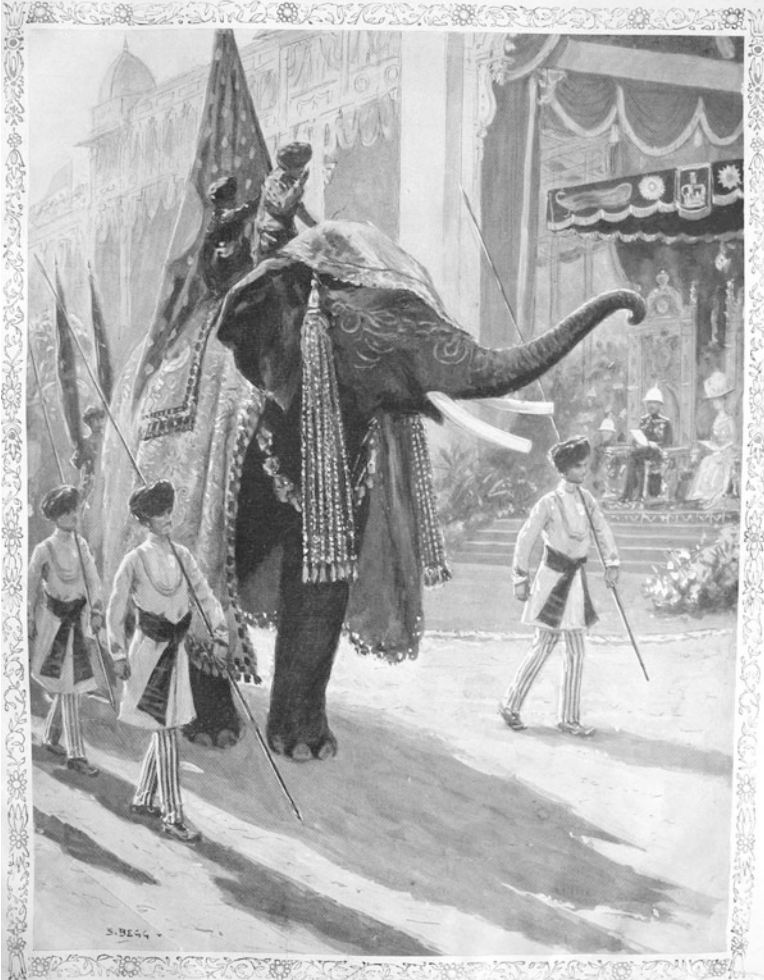

Figure 6.2 "Hathi's Greeting: A Trunked and Tusked Loyalist in Calcutta. Drawn by S. Begg, Our Special Artist In India For The Durbar," 1911. The image was captioned: "Saluting Their Imperial Majesties…The King-Emperor and the Queen Empress."

the Raj as an ordered, glorious spectacle designed to invoke awe and fealty. Field Marshall Lord Roberts describes the 1877 durbar (figures 6.1(a) and (b)) in a first-person account that emphasizes the princes, their animals, and their riches rallied in the service of Queen Victoria:

> [Viceroy Lord Lytton] mounted with Lady Lytton, on a state elephant, and a procession was formed, which, I fancy, was about the most gorgeous and picturesque which has ever been seen, even in the East. The magnificence of the native princes' retinues can hardly be described; their elephant-housings were of cloth of gold, or scarlet-and-blue cloths embroidered in gold and silver.... Delhi must have witnessed many splendid pageants, when the Rajput, the Moghul, and the Mahratta dynasties, each in its turn, was at the height of its glory; but never before had princes and chiefs of every race and creed come from all parts of Hindustan, vying with each other as to the magnificence of their entourage, and met together with the same object, that of acknowledging and doing homage to one supreme ruler. (Tappan 184–90)

However, despite Lytton's pageant being a grand production that lasted four days, the most dramatic durbar was the extravaganza of 1903 (figures 6.1 (c), (d), and (e)) organized in meticulous detail by that arch lover of theatricality, Viceroy Lord Curzon.[12] Described by Charlotte Cory as "a dazzling display of pomp, power and split second timing worthy of [the showman and circus king] Barnum,"[13] the durbar continued for fully twelve days. Indeed, as Cory remarks, a Delhi Durbar parade would become a staple item of early twentieth century circuses, being "a good excuse for glitz and a natural deployment for elephants."[14]

While durbars and other ceremonial occasions prominently highlighted the animal presence within the British Empire, one must not overlook the innumerable other examples of animals—in these instances, reduced to their body parts—that littered the couches, floors, and walls of everyday life in British India (figures 6.3(b), 5.1(b), and 4.2). These countless heads, horns, antlers, and skins that served as decorations, as well as the furs and feathers used to embellish the human form, also functioned as an important means through which the human enacted its control of other species, dismembering and fashioning them for its use. Besides, in the same manner that sport had been defined by a so-called purity of intent that implied leisure, such trophies and fashion accessories were marked by the aesthetic of superfluity, of the "literally unnecessary," of the luxuries of naked power. While curiosities such as the conversion of elephant feet to umbrella stands, and "its penis [to] an intriguing golf bag" (Moorehouse 105) were relatively unusual items, few things brought home the human domination of animals quite as much as the constant display of the animal body for human use.

What made this supremacy complete, both in the day-to-day existence of native and colonizer, as well as in the surprisingly opulent and leisurely dinners that often followed a day of hunting, was the ingestion of the animal body. "[T]hey were men with a tremendous zest for the good things of life," J. G. Elliott writes of colonial sportsmen, describing a representative post-shikar meal as "a hearty dinner of soup, sanwal fish from the lake, a roast haunch of black buck, pintail duck and blue bull marrow bones" (180). Among other things (and irresistibly bringing Stoker's Renfield to mind yet again), the sahib's highly masculinist zest for life and power often translated into consuming a vast variety of native animals procured by the skilled cooks who were an important part of every imperial retinue of servants. Exotic animal flesh served at the imperial table was a powerful indicator of social prestige and the manly ability to command resources. Thus descriptions such as Forsyth's, of "dinner consisting of a peacock and sambar tongue, supported by roast haunch of red deer venison, as *pieces de resistance* with cheetal cutlets and fillets of nilgai veal as *entrees*, followed up by boiled quails and roasted teal. . . . " (qtd. in Elliott 180) were the gustatory equivalent of an aesthetic of superfluity bolstered by the luxuries of power, complete with italicized markers of high culture in the narratives that recorded these occasions.

But it was not just the dinners, decorations, and durbars of India that were used to present imperial conquest over animal and native, indeed nature itself. Thomas Richards has suggested that "the symbolism of the British Empire was built on an extended foundation of national symbols" (qtd. in Malamud 72). Among other things, these symbols manifested themselves in an assortment of domestic exhibitions, museums, zoos, and privately owned menageries; the very act of being able to collect, label, and display were important signifiers of an aristocratic leisure and imperial ability. Furthermore, as Ritvo notes, most British regimental headquarters or official residences in India or Africa were "apt to include a miscellaneous accumulation of half-tamed fauna . . . after the usual 'Anglo Indian fashion' " (*AE* 247). These collections, she argues, not only provided entertainment in the otherwise monotonous lives of the sahibs, but symbolized the force and power of empire by operating as living mementoes of the hunting expeditions during which they had been obtained. Such symbols were particularly prominent at national culture-and-knowledge- producing institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society, the London Zoo, and the British Museum. In a compelling work, Randy Malamud describes the manner in which animals in cages

> proved where Englishmen had been, what they had done while there, and what they had brought back to enrich the capital. The gathering of animals

> from the corners of the earth in the heart of Regent's Park signified the favor bestowed upon the British Empire and everything it stood for—its supremacy over any other place or people—just as the assembly of animals in Noah's ark proved God's favor for that just man over all other people on the face of the earth. (73)

Thus the two sides of imperialism, the annexation of territory and the campaign of propaganda geared toward public support of imperialism, merged together in the great cultural institutions of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England. In particular, the display of animals—alive or dead—in public venues such as zoos and exhibitions was an important instrument in the popularization of imperialism. Such displays also served the function of providing opportunities for public education and "rational recreation," creating a space for people of all ages, genders, and classes to gather and be united in feelings of pride at their exotic imperial possessions.

Recalling Said's description of imperialism as the expansion of nationality, Ritvo defines exoticism as "the aestheticizing means by which . . . [that] expansion is converted to spectacle, to culture in the service of empire, even as it may also act to change the originating national culture" (Ritvo and Arac, *Macropolitics* 3). Thus figures 6.3(a) and (b), depicting the Crystal Palace exhibit "The India Court," evoke what Greenblatt referred to as "the dream of possession" (121) of exotic lands, people, and animals. The exhibit captures "India," most prominently represented by a large stuffed elephant, in addition to a seemingly endless pathway of gorgeous animal parts through which the perspective of the painting invites us to take a stroll, pausing along the way to smoke a pipe, perhaps, or drink a cup of tea. After all, animals that had been conquered by humans offered the occasion for reassuring contemplation about humankind's position at the top of the chain of being; dead wild ones, in particular, functioned as one of the most potent symbols for the showcasing of fierce skills and an ability to suppress wildness. Complete with glorious tusks, this particular wild animal (figure 6(a)) has been conspicuously subdued by the removal of its inner organs, and subsequent embalming and stuffing. Frozen in time, and positioned to enhance the vision of the organizers of "The India Court," the elephant has moreover been converted into a trophy not just by the act of killing, but by the elaborate human aestheticizing (whether by native or imperial power) that barely allows the animal beneath the multiple layers of drapes to show through. To complete the picture, the beast is topped with a luxurious howdah practically as high as itself, meant for the pleasurable riding of its putative master.

Figure 6.3 "The India Court" exhibit from the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace, 1851. Courtesy the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust : Elton Collection.

Next to the elephant is the rest of India, as figured by three dark-skinned humans, including the future in the person of a child; doubtless the prominent labels would have guided the audience in how to think about what they were witnessing. The fact that it is the elephant who is on

a raised platform and not the humans—despite the beast's already towering presence—betrays the degree to which the curators of the exhibition rely upon this particular item to most strongly capture the imagination of the visiting public. Flanking the animal and human figures are another howdah and an elaborate palanquin, two native symbols of hierarchy and status, relying as they do upon the naked harnessing of socially inferior human and—equally socially inferior—animal labor; these native modes of transportation had been quickly adopted by the Raj.

The artist depicts "The India Court" exhibit as surrounded by an audience of beautifully dressed English men, women, and children, the very act of being at the Crystal Palace conferring gentility upon them. They have come to witness, be edified by, and be moved to patriotic fervor by "the imposing and solemn spectacle" that, as an unknown correspondent gushed in a letter to the Queen, made him feel "so proud that [he was] an Englishman" (Hobhouse 63). Thackeray's poem "A May Day Ode" captures the feelings of the Victorians as it apostrophizes the "trophies" of England's "arms of conquest [and] bloodless war," all "blent" and brought together in "England's Ark" with God's benediction "beaming" through the glass domes of the Crystal Palace:

> And from the subject Indian seas
> . . . . .
> From Afric and from Hindustan,
> From Western continent and isle,
> The envoys of her empire pile
> Gifts at her feet;
> . . . . .
> From Mississippi and from Nile—
> From Baltic, Ganges, Bosphorous
> In England's Ark assembled thus
> . . . . .
> These England's arms of conquest are,
> The trophies of her bloodless war...
>
> —Thackeray, "A May Day Ode" (1851)

If the exhibition and display of animals and trophies helped in the harnessing of public support for empire, so too did representations of beasts in popular British cartoons which acted as complex rhetorical structures that powerfully influenced mass opinion. In particular, cartoons dealing with colonial issues played off the popular English associations of the tiger (symbolizing India) with darkness and evil, in contrast to the lion (symbolizing Britain) with royalty and masculinity.[15] Given that the lion, like the tiger, was a carnivore,[16] one can only understand the

distinctions that defined popular representations of these two animals in a historic context.

Unlike the tiger, the lion was historically associated with British royalty and monarchy. Perhaps owing to its popular title as King of Beasts, this creature was especially prominent in visual representations of the figure of Britannia. The conferring of the epithet of king (of beasts, of course) was doubtless influenced by the perception in the (ever narcissistic) human mind that the lion's "face" was close to its own. Late eighteenth-century animal painter Sawrey Gilpin, for instance, claimed that "[t]he lines, w[hich] form y.[the] countenance of y. lion approach nearer to those of y. human countenance, than y. lines of any animal with w[hich] we are acquainted" (qtd. in Ritvo, *PM* 188). As the "emblem of British might" this beast, as Ritvo notes, was the one large, powerful animal not described as being "unmitigatedly wicked" (*AE* 26). The British Lion came to play an important symbolic role in the architecture and pageantry of the Raj: the ornate decorations of the durbar of 1877, for instance, included shields with the Three Lions of England and the Lion Rampant of Scotland, in addition to the Lotus of India and the Irish Harp hanging from the canopy over the ten-foot high dais of the viceroy. The artist LeBlond's painting of Queen Victoria arriving to open the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace places Britannia and her majestic lion at the top of a series of panels surrounding the gleaming, modern edifices of the Palace, as they look down on vignettes of the four main "nations" assembled within its walls. Europe, the Americas, and Africa are symbolized by vignettes of their landscapes, peoples, and animals; India, the one land to be represented solely by its nonhuman inhabitants, has a predictably malicious tiger being fought off by barely visible (but blindingly white) human figures atop two elephants, a disproportionately large snake and wolf lurking threateningly in the jungle that surrounds them.

In keeping with the ubiquitousness of such lion and tiger constructs, a number of cartoons in newspapers and magazines, in particular those by well-known *Punch* illustrator Tenniel, used these animals by way of political commentary. Thus Tenniel's "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger" (figure 6.4(c)) published after the Rebellion of 1857, was a two-page cartoon depicting the British Lion pouncing upon a Bengal Tiger that had attacked an English woman and child. The epithet "Bengal" is used for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was that the region was famous for its tigers. More significantly, however, popular publications such as the *Civil and Military Gazette* used the term "Bengal Tiger" to pejoratively describe the natives of India in general (Wurgaft 31), often working the analogy to paint verbal images of traits such as a tail-wagging obsequious rapaciousness or latently vicious animality.[17] The

Figure 6.4 (clockwise). (a) “Ready!” Britannia with lion and tiger. John Tenniel in *Punch,* 1885. (b) “The British Lion Prepares for the Jubilee.” Tenniel in *Punch,* 1887. (c) “The British Lion’s Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger.” Tenniel in *Punch,* 1857. (d) “Figures from a ‘Triumph,’ ” 1878. From *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*.

figure of the Westernized Bengali, in particular, had begun to be viewed as a political threat to the Raj, in addition to being a potential parody of the Englishman himself; the Bengali would thus be singled out by the Raj as a particular "object of a hatred informed by mockery and derision" (Sharpe 165). "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Indian Tiger" cartoon was widely circulated, and expressed the passion with which the British public desired revenge on the Indian native during the immediate aftermath of the Rebellion.

In contrast, three late nineteenth-century cartoons, "Ready!," portraying Britannia flanked by the lion and the tiger (1885) (figure 6.4(a)), "Hail Brittania," a popular Tenniel cartoon published at the opening of the colonial exhibition of 1886, and "Figures from a 'Triumph'" (1878) (figure 6.4(d)), depict the integration of India into the empire by showing lion and tiger standing next to one another. In keeping with hierarchies of species, however, both animals have been harnessed in the service of the human—one willingly, and the other, through firm discipline. Thus the tiger, depicted with a markedly downcast expression, is frequently controlled by chains. The remarkable "Hail Britannia" cartoon follows a classic pyramid structure, with the victorious Britannia at the highest point, a trident in one hand, the other flung outwards in a gesture of confidence and magnanimity as she stands in her lion-and-tiger drawn carriage surrounded by an entire slew of (predominantly) dark-skinned racial "types" offering the bounty of their lands as they gaze upwards toward her. Mixed in with these men and women are various colonial animals such as a kangaroo, an elephant, and a horse, seemingly so awed at the glorious figure before them that they can only bow their heads in obeisance. In figure 6.4(a), a warlike Britannia stands with her left hand on the lion's mane, while the tiger stands a step behind them on her other side, gazing with distinct trepidation at the spear she holds in her right hand. In contrast to these visualizations of the tiger as an animal always to be carefully held in check, is the kingly lion who stands erect and ready to serve, gazing off into the distance with a traditionally confident masculine gaze. Yet another cartoon (figure 6.4(b)) shows the British Lion all dressed up, down to his fancy slippers, jauntily getting ready for the Jubilee of 1887.

While many imperial British and European constructs of the tiger portray it as purely evil, at least some representations of this animal reveal the highly complex relationship that Europe had both with the orient, and with its most frequently invoked animal symbol.[18] Both Said and Bhabha remind us of the "polarity of division" at the heart of Orientalism: "It is, on the one hand, a topic of learning, discovery, practice; on the other, it is the site of dreams, images, fantasies, myths, obsessions and requirements."[19]

In particular, Bhabha stresses representation as a concept that articulates the historical, the political, and the fantastical "as the scene of desire" (103). As an example, Eugene Delacroix's painting "Indienne mordue par un tigre" ("An Indian woman killed by a tiger," 1856) presents us with a tiger carrying off an—so the *title* of the painting tells us—"Indian" woman. The extreme lightness of the woman's complexion and her style of clothing, however, suggest a deliberately ambiguous cultural representation, devoid of any markers of oriental womanhood. Particularly interesting is the woman's languorously satiated pose and even blissful expression as she is carried off by the tiger, its eyes gleaming as it grasps her chest. Delacroix's representation of the tiger, and the relationship between the woman and the much-maligned animal is intentionally enigmatic, hinting at the pleasures of this highly exoticized (and eroticized) encounter. In forcing the viewer's gaze to acknowledge the sensuousness of the woman's body as it arcs toward the wild beast, the painting implicates both woman and viewer in an implicit bond with that most highly represented of oriental animals, the tiger.[20]

Which brings me to the final questions this book poses: What animals get included in narratives of the Raj . . . and which ones are rendered invisible? Surely, given the huge visibility of cattle, domestic pigs, monkeys, donkeys, goats, and dogs in the day-to-day existence of the villages and cities of India—all of which contributed to a unique quality of life—*these* would have been the beasts one would have expected to see written about, painted, and photographed. If the criterion for choosing which animals got represented was "usefulness" in daily activities, conceivably even the day-to-day existence of the British, then the many ubiquitous domestic creatures would have been the ones most often—or at least equally—represented in the visuals and narratives of the Raj.

And in fact one *does* see these common Indian animals prominently mentioned . . . in a very specific type of imperial text. This was the so-called ethnographic work that endeavored to record native life and the animals that, as far as the Raj was concerned, only the native was (fit to be) associated with. One has to understand Kipling's contempt for "cattle" and bullocks (for example) in this context. Quite apart from the fact that some of these animals were already familiar to the British, their not being either game or "impressive" military animals resulted in their being considered unworthy of imperial representation. Entire species of beasts were thus dismissed as uninteresting, unintelligent, and "unimaginative" *native* animals with no "character," not worth writing or thinking about, except as foils to the more valuable "hunting tribes."[21] In the end, the most visible animals on the rural and urban landscapes of India would find a place only in the ethnographic or anthropological musings of the Raj.

In his volume *A Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, and of their Institutions, Religious and Civil* (1879), Abee J. A. Dubois, a missionary in Mysore, spends a considerable amount of time describing the native's relationship to animals:

> Of all kinds of superstition by which the human intellect has been clogged, degraded, and debased, the worship of Brute Animals seems to be the most humiliating to our species.... The Egyptians, however, limited their religious adoration of animals to a small number of sorts, the most beneficial or the most dangerous; while the Hindus, in all things extravagant, pay honor and worship, less or more solemn, to almost every living creature, whether quadruped, bird, or reptile. (321)

Clearly, it was the lack of tidy distinctions between the human and the animal that most stood out for Dubois, as for other imperial ethnographers. While W. Crooke's *Natives of Northern India* (1907), written some years later, explains the absence of a human-animal distinction in native cultures as a mark of an "earlier" culture, it also attempts a more tolerant understanding of differences in ways of thinking:

> As has already been said, people in this stage of culture draw no clear line between the human and the animal. In their belief animals manifest an intelligence which is much higher than our conception of instinct. Special animals thus come to be worshipped, some because of their utility to man, others on account of the awe and wonder which they inspire. The most obvious example of the first class is the cow....
>
> ...[One sees that] luxuriance which shows itself in Oriental faiths, and...ends in the establishment of a crowd of deities, the functions and attributes of one merging in or being identified with those of another, until the student is almost tempted to abandon in despair any hope of arranging them on a consistent plan. To the people of the west who have reduced theology to a science, and regulate it by definite creeds, such a system of belief appears intolerable. But the Hindu looks on the matter from quite a different point of view. The vagueness of the conception is to him its greatest merit, and there are no indications that his view is likely to be seriously modified in the immediate future. (241–45)

In *Beast and Man in India* (1891), John Lockwood Kipling (the novelist's father) indeed emphasizes the "ubiquity of the bull, the cow, and the ox...[as] foremost figures in both the rustic and urban scenery of the country" (114). However, he primarily uses his description of local animals to indulge in a scathing indictment of the native. For instance, he is contemptuous of the lack of precision in naming and differentiating

different breeds of birds (14); his Victorian sensibilities are offended by the lack of classification, viewing the refusal to categorize according to European scientific principles as a form of ignorance. Most of all, though, John Kipling reserves his greatest indignation—expressed over the course of practically an entire chapter—to refuting the writings of authors such as "Mr Lecky" in his influential two-volume *History of European Morals from Constantine to Charlemagne*. In his work, Lecky argues that native peoples show a greater concern for the wellbeing of animals, and have only in recent times begun to "learn cruelty" from the British. Consumed with outrage at such a suggestion, John Kipling promptly raises the issue of Indian prejudices about certain species, citing examples of native callousness primarily stemming from the Hindu desire not to take life, which results in prolonged agony for old and dying animals. He is quick to point out that the British have no such foolish qualms, frequently stepping in to compassionately end the suffering of such creatures.

What is of interest here is not so much the question of whether native or Englishman is more "kind" to other species, but the manner in which John Kipling views cruelty to animals (or the lack thereof) as a primary marker of civilization: hence his outrage. Thus, even the overwhelmingly domesticated beasts of ethnographic texts function as important touchstones in debates legitimating imperialism. In other imperial texts, these animals are all but invisible, playing little or no role in the imaginings of empire. Those imaginings needed a very different type of animal: savage beasts that must needs be subdued and forced to an acknowledgement of the human will. It was this second category of creatures that were written (and rewritten) about, and painted, and photographed as the beasts that must be "brought to bay" in an enactment of the blessings of imperium on wild lands. Ultimately, the Raj's complex of representation and self-representation employed very specific lenses with which to foreground only a slice of the vast richness of species in the villages, cities, and forests of India.

Notes

1 Introduction: Why the Animal? Or, Can the Subaltern Roar, and Other Risky Questions: Some Theoretical Frameworks

1. In the field of postcolonial studies, Manicheanism (deriving from the dualistic doctrines of the third-century Persian prophet Mani) is a term for the binary structure of imperial ideologies. In an influential essay on "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," Abdul JanMohamed uses the concept to describe the process by which imperial discourse polarizes the society, culture, and the very being of the colonizer and colonized into the Manichean categories of good and evil. The colonized are represented as being at the boundaries of civilization and therefore as uncontrollable, chaotic, unredeemable, and ultimately evil, while the civilized culture is the embodiment of good.
2. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World,* 41. Sharpe calls this "the human-making project of colonialism," *Allegories of Empire,* 15.
3. Bhabha, "Dissemination," *The Location of Culture,* 201.
4. See Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics,* 244.
5. Taking as a starting point feminist philosopher Iris Marion Young's "five faces of oppression," namely "exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence," ecofeminist Lori Gruen has demonstrated that this analysis equally describes the oppression of nonhuman animals (171).
6. Descola, "Constructing Natures," 86.
7. "[C]rucial to its exercise of power, colonial discourse produces the colonized as a . . . reality which is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible." Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture,* 101.
8. See Wolfe, *Zoontologies,* ix–xxiii for an in-depth discussion on changing discourses on the animal and animality.
9. Haraway, "Encounters," 100.
10. Said, *Orientalism,* 72.
11. "The extension of the basic principle of equality from one group to another does not imply that we must treat both groups in exactly the same way, or grant exactly the same rights to both groups. Whether we should do so will depend on the nature of the members of the two groups. The basic principle of

equality, I shall argue, is equality of consideration; and equal consideration for different beings may lead to different treatment and different rights." Singer, "All Animals Are Equal." Regan and Singer, 148–62.

12. Quoted in Elder, Wolch, and Emel, "Race, Place, and the Bounds of Humanity."
13. This section is particularly indebted to Cannadine's excellent discussion on the changing approaches to the history of empire in the "Preface" and "Prologue" to *Ornamentalism.*

2 ANIMALS, CHILDREN, AND STREET URCHINS

1. As per Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler. Cited in Hall, *Civilizing Subjects,* 9.
2. On December 31, 1600, a group of merchants who had incorporated themselves into the British East India Company were given monopoly privileges on all trade with the East Indies. The Company rapidly expanded to assume military and administrative power over large swaths of the country, with Company rule effectively established in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey. Following the events of the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, the British Crown stepped in to assume direct control of India.
3. For all the controversy surrounding Ariès's methodology and theories, he is widely acknowledged as laying the foundations for the history of childhood as a serious field of study.
4. One cannot but help notice that increases in human life expectancy are paralleled by the emergence of increasing categories of age. Thus the distinct developmental stage of adolescence is only "discovered" near the end of the nineteenth century (Baxter, *Identity in Crisis,* 1).
5. This formulation of the mind as a blank slate recalls J. R. Seeley's emphasis upon "the English taking their name to 'empty' parts of the globe which they settled and made 'English throughout.' Quoted in Hall, *Cultures of Empire,* 2.
6. J. S. Richardson, "Imperium Romanum: Empire and the Language of Power." Armitage, ed. *Theories of Empire,* 1–9.
7. Gonzalo Arrendondo y Alvarado, quoted in Franz Bosbach, "The European Debate on Universal Monarchy." Armitage, ed. *Theories of Empire,* 87.
8. Anthony Pagden, "Disposessing the Barbarian: The Language of Spanish Thomism and the Debate over the Property Rights of the American Indians." Armitage, ed. 164.
9. Ariès, 58. Ariès points out that the "effeminization" of the little boy would only have been dropped after the First World War.
10. For a discussion of the ideology of athleticism in British public schools, see John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* 229.
11. Joanna de Groot, " 'Sex' and 'Race': The Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century." Hall, *Cultures of Empire,* 51.
12. It also brings home the degree to which the Victorians were willing to ignore issues of cruelty to children so graphically described in the novels of Dickens (for instance).

13. In *Wuthering Heights,* for instance, Heathcliff's and Hareton's monstrous natures are indicated by their tormenting animals (hanging Isabella's dog, for instance); Fanny Price's goodness of character is signaled in *Mansfield Park* by (among other things) her concern that a horse not be tired out too much.
14. A somewhat earlier alphabet reader, *Colonial Alphabet for the Nursery* (1880), is slightly less jingoistic and somewhat more creative, if equally speciesist: "O Is the Ostrich with long legs and neck, / And feathers our hats and our bonnets to deck…Q Is the Quadruped gentle and mild, / In the Indian jungle where Lions run wild.…V is for Vulture in habit so foul, / In the Tower of Silence [in Bombay] he feeds like a ghoul."
15. Quoted in Morey, *Fictions of India,* 65. Morey comments on "the palpable inauthenticity of such voices, with their childish, pidgin quality." Aden, in Yemen, was ruled as a settlement of British India until 1937.

3 Herein the British Nimrod May View a New and Arduous Species of the Chase: Hunting Narratives and the British Raj, 1757–1857

1. Members of different species gathered to hunt down the members of yet other species (horses, dogs, and elephants, trained by humans to assist in the hunt for boars, for instance).
2. Quoted in J. G. Eliott, "Shikar as a Part of Life," Lahiri-Chaudhury, 170.
3. John Day (1620), quoted in Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World,* 21.
4. Kromm and Bakewell, *A History of Visual Culture,* 271.
5. Tipu's Tiger is now on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It was originally housed in the offices of the East India Company, where visitors could operate the crank in order to hear the screams of the pipe organ. Kromm and Bakewell describe how John Keats was one of the many visitors to view Tipu's Tiger at this location, "which inspired his Orientalist poem 'The Pipe and Bells,' about a despotic Asian prince and his 'Man-Tiger-Organ'" (Ibid., 272).
6. For a detailed discussion of the colonial impact upon wildlife in India, see Rangarajan, *India's Wildlife History.*
7. *IWH*, 22. Rangarajan points out that "similar techniques had been honed to perfection in the British Isles whose prime predator, the wolf, had already been killed off by the time the British founded an empire in India" (23).
8. In this context it is interesting to keep the etymology of word "vermin" (from the Roman "worm") in mind. Dictionaries of etymology list vermin as "animals of a noxious or offensive kind" (*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*).
9. Although the first text that I am examining was published in 1822, the actual experiences that form the narrative occurred from the late 1780s onward. We know this because Daniel Johnson refers to his arrival in India while Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General of India, which was from 1786 to 1793. Also, in the "Preface" Johnson mentions that he is describing experiences from

twenty-six and more years ago. It is for these reasons, as well as the fact that Johnson's text is closer in spirit to the relatively tolerant period before 1800 (in contrast to Thomas Williamson's text which I will analyze at the end of this chapter) that I am including *Sketches of Field Sports* in this section. In fact, while the main body of *Sketches* captures Johnson's experiences during the more accepting British culture in India before 1800, the title page, dedication, frontispiece, and preface—all of which were presumably added closer to the time of publishing—are closer representatives of a post-1800 ethos with its greater reliance on stereotypes and difference.

10. On page 56, Johnson goes so far as to speculate on "English words derived from the Hindoostanee."
11. The words literally seem to mean "The useful frequently gets disdained." From a translation of "The Stag at the Fountain" by Christopher Smart at the *Perseus Digital Library,* Tufts University. The Latin Language and Literature page at <http://www.latimedireito.adv.br/latining.htm> lists the phrase "Utilissimum saepe quod contemnitur" as being from Phaedrus's fable "The deer at the fountain."
12. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Rangarajan, *India's Wildlife History,* Chapter 4.
13. Also see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*. The literature on this point is by now immense.
14. Ashis Nandy has speculated about the homoerotic bonds between British and Indian men, although he has not linked these to hunting activities. See *The Intimate Enemy,* 10.
15. In keeping with the English imperative to minutely order and classify 'knowledge' about India, *Oriental Field Sports* takes great pains to describe itself—in capital letters and on the very first page—as "exhibiting in a novel and interesting manner the natural history of the elephant, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the leopard, the bear, the deer, the buffalo, the wolf, the wild hog, the jackal, the wild dog, the civet, and other domesticated animals. . . . " In this work, I concentrate on the hunting narratives featuring two of these animals, the hog and the tiger.
16. Johnson had pointed out that just in the space of the twenty years that he served in India, he had noted great changes in the way his countrymen chose to dress: "When I first arrived in India, a broad cloth coat was scarcely ever seen in the hot months, except on formal visits. . . . When I left India in 1809, broad cloth coats were worn at dinner in the hot months by almost all the European inhabitants," a change he considered impractical and foolish (*Sketches* 250–51). While the early Company-wallahs had readily adopted Indian clothes, by the early nineteenth century, dress was increasingly used as a marker of difference. Howett's plates accordingly differentiate race through clothing.
17. Williamson, *Oriental Field Sports,* 190. "Billingsgate [also "Billinsgate"] is the market where the fishwomen assemble to purchase fish; and where, in their dealings and disputes they are somewhat apt to leave decency and good manners a little on the left hand" (*Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue,* 1811).
18. Latin: "leisure with dignity."

4 OUR RIGHTFUL CLAIM TO SUPERIORITY AS A DOMINANT RACE: HUNTING NARRATIVES AND THE BRITISH RAJ, 1857–1947

1. The Sepoy Rebellion is variously known as the Revolt of 1857, the Great Rebellion, India's First War of Independence, the Uprising of 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny, and the Indian Mutiny. Predictably, Indian historians tended to use the terms "war," "rebellion" and "revolt" in describing the event, while many British writers preferred to think of the event as a "mutiny."
2. So termed by a range of prominent writers, including Jawaharlal Nehru (the first prime minister of India), and Karl Marx.
3. Such policies had both reflected and reinforced the absence of racial thinking at the institutional level.
4. Charles Grant, quoted in J. Morris, 74.
5. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 26. He writes: "It was no accident that carving meat at table was so important a social accomplishment, or that it was associated with a lordly (and distinctly sadistic) vocabulary." Ritvo too discusses roast beef as a symbol for British masculinity and strength in "Barons of Beef," *The Animal Estate*. Also see Ames, *An ABC for Baby Patriots:* "R is for Roast Beef / That has made England great; / You see it here pictured / Each piece on a plate."
6. Whether or not this was merely a rumor, what is important here is that the sepoys believed (or chose to believe) that the grease provided for the cartridges of the new Lee-Enfield rifles contained pig and cow fat. Many historians have argued that this might indeed have been the case. Fremont-Barnes, for instance, writes: "... contractors would naturally [have been] inclined to use the least expensive variety of [grease], tallow, which was based on animal fat" (*The Indian Mutiny 1857–58,* 28).
7. Fremont-Barnes makes the interesting point that the British clearly had not learned from a similar mistake made half a century before: "[t]he potential for such violence ought not to have been lost on British authorities. Mutiny had broken out before, in the summer of 1806 at Vellore [on the issue of new dress regulations, including turbans]. ... what to Company officials appeared a matter of no consequence—the issuance of a new cockade made of cow or pig hide—was in fact fundamentally offensive to Hindus and Muslims, and exacerbated existing grievances" (*The Indian Mutiny 1857–58,* 29).
8. See Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815–1914*, Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914,* and J. Morris, *Heaven's Command* for a detailed account of the Mutiny of 1857.
9. The introduction of new modes of transportation such as the steam engine in the mid-nineteenth century allowed for more efficient penetration into hitherto difficult-to-access areas (Ritvo, *AE* 257).
10. See Nandy, "The Psychology of Colonialism," *The Intimate Enemy*.
11. Major-General Sir Charles Dalton in the *Lure of the East* interviews.
12. Colonel John Hainsworth. Ibid.

13. Douglas Fairbairn. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Roger Manning, quoted in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination,* 133. As Faulkner's "The Bear" demonstrates, the hunt functioned as an initiation into manhood in other countries as well. Kent Baxter notes that the distinct developmental phase of adolescence only appeared as a separate category at the end of the nineteenth century.
17. For an excellent article on this subject, see M. S. S. Pandian, "Hunting and Colonialism in the Nineteenth-Century Nilgiri Hills of South India."
18. Pandian, Ibid., 273–82.
19. This is equally true of politics, of course. In *The Great Indian Elephant Book,* Lahiri-Choudhury notes that the "common gossip in shikar camps [was] that the Viceroy's tigers were measured with specially marked tapes which had eleven inches to a foot" (xxx).
20. Believing as he did that it was not just at the peripheries but in the metropole that the imperial character needed to be trained and developed in order for the English to preserve their leadership over the world, Baden-Powell grudgingly accepted that girls too should receive imperial training. However, as Julia Bush points out, he "insisted that it must be conducted differently and separately so that the boys' training should not be prejudiced" (127). Accordingly, in 1910, his sister Agnes headed the much smaller Girl Guides association, whose handbook was titled "How Girls Can Help Build up the Empire."
21. Titled *Sport in War* in some editions.
22. Preface to *Sports in War,* 8.
23. Just as participation in the sport of subduing animals was viewed as good training for subduing colonial humans, it likewise helped train British men to be better prepared in the battles for dominance between colonial powers ("all the European conquistadores") that were to be played out in the twentieth century. See Mangan, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism,* 82–117.
24. For an excellent discussion on the relationship between militarism, sport (including pig-sticking), and empire see Mangan, *Militarism, Sport, Europe,* 97–119.
25. W. Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell.* Quoted in Mangan, *Militarism, Sport, Europe,* 109.
26. *Scouting,* 313. For Baden-Powell, team-spirit is one of the most important (imperial) virtues.
27. Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture,* 101.
28. *Orientalism,* 71.
29. *The Sporting Magazine,* LXVII (Jan. 1826), 121; *The Sporting Magazine,* LXXII (July 1828), 244. Quoted in Mangan, *Militarism, Sport, Europe,* 104.
30. Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing* (III, i, 106).
31. Several commentators on Baden-Powell note the manner in which he often appropriated ideas and concepts from a variety of sources without acknowledgement, including central concepts and practices of Seton's woodcraft movement.

32. See Boehmer's authoritative introduction to *Scouting for Boys* for a detailed analysis of the origins, influences, and reception of the book.
33. D. Smith, "Scouts uncool? Not in my book." Web.
34. Many of these are listed in Baden-Powell, *Sports in War*, 23.
35. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, "The Diary of Mahadev Desai," *All Men are Brothers: Autobiographical Reflections,* 24.
36. Baden-Powell, *Pig-Sticking or Hog-Hunting,* 310.
37. Beatrice Webb, *The Diaries of Beatrice Webb,* 1:87; *PMG,* 8, 12 Oct. 1883. Quoted in Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight,* 69.
38. According to Spivak, these two roles represented the twin registers of the white feminist woman's subjecthood under imperialism: "the domestic-society-through-sexual-reproduction cathected as 'companionate love,'" and the "imperialist project cathected as civil-society-through-social-mission" ("Three Women's Texts" 244).
39. Susan Harris discusses how devoting oneself to arranging pleasures for other people was an important cultural function for women in the late Victorian age (7).
40. One recalls Suleri's description of women's writing in English India, specifically the use of language as a form of romanticized picture writing, as the "feminine picturesque" (*The Rhetoric of English India,* 75); Gates, *Kindred Nature,* uses the term "Victorian female sublime" (169) for that "distinctively Victorian form of literature about the individual encounter with the sublime" (169).
41. The lines are from Adam Lindsay Gordon's poem "Ye Wearie Wayfarer, Hys Ballad In Eight Fyttes: Fytte 07" (1893).
42. John Ibson, *Picturing Men,* has discussed how dead animals (and other objects) in everyday American photographs of the 1920s and 30s began to mediate the space between men, and provide a nontactile connection between them. This was in contrast to earlier photographs in which men were not self-conscious or uncomfortable being shown with arms around each other, and so on. My thanks to Michael Messner for making this connection.
43. On April 13, 1919, with the Punjab under martial law, an army unit led by General Reginald Dyer marched into Jallianwala Bagh, an enclosed garden. A large crowd of people were gathered in the square to peacefully protest the government's new Rowlatt Act, in addition to visitors from nearby villages who had come into the town to celebrate the festival of Baisakhi. Given the government's ban on public meetings, this constituted an illegal public gathering. Dyer's battalion blocked the one gate into the walled space, got into firing positions, and fired 1,650 rounds into the crowd without warning or providing the opportunity to disperse. While the official estimate of the dead was 379, with 1,200 injured, the Congress, which conducted its own enquiry, concluded that as many as 1,000 people may have died in the firing. Dyer justified the shooting by saying that he had wished to "produce a moral effect" since Indians needed to be taught a lesson. Sources: Zachariah, *Nehru*, 37–38 and Lal, *Manas.*
44. Several commentators have written about the manner in which the protection of women became a primary justification for the narrow moralism and

racism of the Raj. Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination,* notes that the "idealized 'purity'" of the memsahib "became symbolic of the aristocratic pretense that marked the British in India after the mid-century" (42). The protection of children often gets invoked in much the same way.

45. As Rangarajan has demonstrated, this skepticism was without foundation, with India losing only one large mammal (the cheetah, on the verge of vanishing in the British era) since Independence. In contrast, the first fifty years of the twentieth century witnessed the disappearance of four large mammalian species from the country (*IWH* 80).
46. As per the discussion on the Gothic near the beginning of this chapter.

5 Animals, Humans, and Natural Laws: Kipling and Forster

1. Skaria, *Hybrid Histories,* 193, emphasis mine.
2. See Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination*; Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire;* and Kutzer, *Empire's Children*.
3. In my analysis of the stories of the *Jungle Books*, I am indebted to Kutzer's *Empire's Children*, Nyman's *Postcolonial Animal Tale*, and Morey's *Fiction's of India*.
4. Karen Patricia Smith defines the didactic fantasy as "a form that introduced the talking animal or object into a 'realistic' tale." Unlike the fable, it was a work of extended length, episodic in nature, with "a persuasive thread [narrating] the adventures or life history of a major character or characters" (54).
5. The original inspiration for the Mowgli stories came from another writer of imperial romances, Kipling's close friend and fellow-countryman, Rider Haggard. As Kipling reports in *Something of Myself,* the first germ of the idea of a wolf-boy was suggested by "a phrase in Haggard's *Nada the Lily,*" in which Zulu warrior-prince Umslopogaas is presented as running with a pack of wolves.
6. Kipling, quoted in Gilmour, *The Long Recessional,* 107.
7. Jacob Arlow, "Ego Psychology and the Study of Mythology." Quoted in Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination,* xvi.
8. The description of the *Pall Mall Gazette* as "a magazine by gentlemen for gentleman" was as per the fictional magazine in Thackeray's *Pendennis,* from which the real-world magazine took its name (371).
9. Peter Linebaugh discusses "The Law of the Jungle" as following a socialist ethic. See *The Magna Carta Manifesto*, 158-9.
10. Thus the ultimate insult to Shere Khan is to call him a "cattle-killer": not only does the killing of cattle imply a lack of any respectable form of "hunting," but the association of cattle with natives presumably renders them particularly worthy of contempt, even as prey or food.
11. While I have not been able to find a description of Kipling on an actual hunt, it is clear from poems such as "The Boar of the Year" and scattered references to hunting in his letters that he supported the ideologies represented by

imperial hunting. The following example sees him approvingly judging the Rajput princes by their hunting prowess: "The Rajput is a man and a brother, in respect that he will ride, shoot, eat pig, and drink strong waters like an Englishman. Of the pig-hunting he makes almost a religious duty, and of the wine-drinking no less." *From Sea to Sea* (70).

12. See chapter 3 for a discussion on Daniel Johnson's representations of hydrophobia.
13. One often sees historic instances of such demonizing of old religions or cultures and their symbols by those who wish to replace them. For example, an important reason for the Church's suspicion of cats (which reached its zenith in the Middle Ages, when cats were associated with the devil) was the fact that these animals had been worshipped by the Egyptians.
14. Kipling, "Recessional." The poem was written for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.
15. For a discussion of the problematic narrator figure in Kipling's (adult, non-animal) fiction, see Morey, *Fictions of India,* 23–49.
16. In "The Miracle of Puran Bhagat," (*The Second Jungle Book*), the wise and saintly Puran Bhagat, in search of a "higher" Law, eschews the world of men. Living in a remote cave, he refers to the jungle animals–including the monkeys who share his blankets—as "my brothers."
17. "The White Seal," *The Jungle Book,* 89.
18. This is in sharp contrast to the sentiment expressed in "The White Man's Burden," where part of the burden is "To seek another's profit / And work for another's gain."
19. As another example, at the end of *Stalky and Co.* (1899), the young Stalky leaves school to take his rightful place in the Indian Empire.
20. The short but powerfully subversive passage in fact seems to have gone unnoticed by the otherwise very perceptive Daphne Kutzer, who argues that the story "among all of the *Jungle Book* stories, spells out a moral concerning imperialism most clearly and unambiguously" (30).
21. See the beginning of chapter 4 for details.
22. Like many of the names Kipling gives his animals, the name "Mugger" derives from the Hindi word for the animal ("Muggermutch"). So Bagheera is from "Bagh" (tiger), Chuchundra from "Chuchunder" (muskrat), Baloo from Bhaloo (bear), and so on.

6 Making Kingdoms Out of Beasts

1. Brooks and Faulkner, *The White Man's Burdens,* 222. *Punch* was poking fun at the overblown oriental imagery of Lytton's durbar.
2. Liebersohn applies the term to travelers who "make meaning out of their experiences by matching up features of a foreign culture with seemingly identical traits of their own" ("Discovering Indigenous Nobility" [749]).
3. For an excellent analysis of this topic, see Cannadine, *Ornamentalism;* Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj;* and Cohn, "Representing Authority."

4. Susan Bayley notes that "Under British rule, more of the subcontinent's peoples than ever before found themselves drawn or coerced into the schemes of ritualized social hierarchy which are now regarded as key characteristics of caste society." Quoted in Cannadine, *Ornamentalism,* 42.
5. Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates* (3rd ser., ccxxxii, 1876, 4). Quoted in Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," 184.
6. Metcalf points out that Curzon had felt that Lytton's 1877 "imperial assemblage" had not been Indian enough, with too much of a medieval European element in its trappings. For his own 1902 extravaganza, therefore, Curzon deliberately chose a style that was much closer to the "Mogul, or Indo Saracenic," as the more "familiar and even sacred [in the] East." Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, 196–97.
7. Ronald Inden, quoted in Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," 172.
8. J.P. Waghorne, quoted in Cannadine, *Ornamentalism,* 46.
9. For a detailed analysis of the role of the changing role of the elephant in the British Raj, see Dhriti Lahiri-Choudhury, *The Great Indian Elephant Book*, xi–xxxv.
10. In famously describing the tiger as a "large-hearted *gentleman*" (emphasis mine) (*Man-Eaters of Kumaon* xiv), Jim Corbett similarly tried to recast the tiger as being "worthy" of protection by emphasizing its respectability.
11. As his biographer Lord Ronaldshay would write in 1928, Lord Curzon "always seemed to live in spirit on the back of a highly caparisoned elephant." Quoted in Cannadine, *Ornamentalism,* 134.
12. Meyer and Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows,* recount a previous occasion when Curzon had "turned up for an audience with the Emir of Afghanistan wearing medals and decorations purchased from a theatrical costume shop" (294).
13. <http://www.charlottecory.com/travel/delhi_durbar.htm>
14. Reflecting the sentiments of several other commentators, she writes, "The very success of the Durbar was to be Lord Curzon's undoing. His perfectionism, combined with his arrogance, only made him unpopular. Bickering about the spiraling costs (in an India wracked with famine) and problems of protocol left a sour taste for years after. The Coronation Durbar was soon dubbed the Curzonization Durbar as people suspected he regarded the occasion more as a celebration of his own Viceregality than of the ascension of a new king." According to a scathing article satirizing "Durbars as a Cure for National Ills" in the 1906 issue of *Everybody's Magazine,* $6,500,000 were spent on the durbar during the same week that 70,000 persons died of hunger and "preventable plague" (Russell, "Soldiers of the Common Good," 791).
15. This is somewhat ironic, since the lion is native to India, which remains one of the few countries that continue to have a (small) lion population in Gir, Gujarat.
16. See chapter 3 for a discussion on the manner in which carnivores were constructed in British and other imperial writings.
17. "In the pages of the *Civil and Military Gazette* the natives of India were identified with the 'Bengal Tiger,' which 'has been observed wagging its tail at the

dainty smell' of judicial privilege, a whiff of which would 'inflame the eye and erect the bristles of every tiger within its range.'" (Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination,* 31). For further analysis of the manner in which the middle-class Bengali was perceived as a threat, and therefore a particular object of hatred, see Wurgaft, *The Imperial Imagination,* 46–48 and Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj,* 105–6, 166.

18. Blake's tiger (*Songs of Innocence and of Experience*) is a good example of the combination of terror, awe, and fascination with which the tiger was often viewed in European and British writings.
19. Bhabha, "The Other Question," *The Location of Culture,* 102.
20. Because of constraints of time, I will refrain from dwelling upon the interesting racial and gender implications of this painting.
21. Kipling frequently represents cattle and bullocks as unintelligent and unable to see "inside their heads" (that is, have no imagination) in the *Jungle Books*; Baden-Powell often approvingly refers to the animals he hunts as having "character."

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Figure 2.1: Courtesy of The Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

Figure 4.1: From Robert Baden-Powell, *Memories of India*. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Libraries.

Figures 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5: From the "Tiger Hunting" series of photographs in *Indian Album 1979:0032,* courtesy of the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film.

Figure 5.1(b): Courtesy of The Landmark Trust USA.

Figures 6.1 (a), (b), (g), and 6.2: From *The Illustrated London News*. Courtesy of John Weedy at iln.org.uk.

Figure 6.1(c), (d), (e), and (f): From *Coronation Durbar, Delhi, 1903,* Vest and Co. Art Printers, 1903. Courtesy of the University of Michigan Libraries.

Figure 6.3: Courtesy of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust: Elton Collection.

Figure 6.4: (a) From *Punch*, Vol.88 (b) From *Cassell's Magazine: December 1900 to May 1901* (c) From Charles L. Graves, *Mr. Punch's History of Modern England, Vol. II* (d) From Arthur Bartlett Maurice and Frederic Taber Cooper, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*.

Author photo: Gunnar Pálsson.

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