

FANTESIES OF IMPERIAL MAPPING

Fantezii în cartografierea imperială

Lector univ.dr. Nicoleta MEDREA
Universitatea „Petru Maior” din Târgu-Mureș

Abstract: The paper follows the history of the British hill stations in India in the late 19th century as represented in the stories of Rudyard Kipling who realistically captured in his world of imagination their close mirroring of the rise and fall of the British Empire.

Keywords: colonial discourse, hill stations, space colonization, representations of representations

In the spirit of what Edward Said characterized as *tradition of representations of representations*, the English found within the Indian hill stations' space the possibility to materialize the landscapes of their memories of Home, which were never to depart them. They subdued nature, created enclaves, as replicas of their homeland where they had no difficulty in transferring their accustomed way of life. The purpose was clear: to establish and strengthen the ties that preserved the British identity whose integrity guaranteed the success of the British imperial project. The result was the creation of centers of power whose aloofness from the rest of the subcontinent brought about their demise.

The British were not satisfied with colonizing only the discourses that supported their civilizing mission, but they physically reinvented the colonized realm as an imperative to create a sustainable physical and social environment for the imperial project. They transformed the unfamiliarity of those alien spaces into a familiar land, which they invested with their own system of references. As a historian of British tourism observed: "Travel ...forces us to measure the unfamiliar by reference to the familiar: to define the concept of being abroad we need a concept of 'home.'"³

³ Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p.2

In Victorian times the concept of home as a physical environment was embodied in the notion of the picturesque.⁴ This notion was like a camera eye that the English took with them abroad and focused on the scenes that conformed most closely to the conventions of the picturesque. Even Walt Disney's version of the *Jungle Books* repeats to a certain extent the picturesque motifs the English used in the lithographs and paintings of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India. This may be suggestive of the long tradition of representations of representations, which has created a certain pattern of perceiving the Orient.

In the early to middle part of the nineteenth century a dozen or more volumes of engravings and lithographs portraying various parts of the Indian highlands were published and they followed the same pattern of the picturesque. Subduing nature was an imperative and the boundaries of the empire had to be crossed. Most were the work of British East India Company officers who were often skilled craftsmen. Actually training in topographical and architectural drawing was standard for the training of civil servants and professional artists were employed to teach drawing and watercolor painting. Kim, Kipling's main character in the homonymous novel was to be trained these skills so as to become a spy in the Great Game. As a child Kipling himself had to view - and struggle to understand- the colorful images of India through the filter of his father's attachment to the occidental set of values. Consequently Kipling was left somewhere in the middle. He was "neither part of the indigenous culture nor out of it."⁵

Another example of subduing nature is given by the choice of terminology for the sanatoria placed in the mountainous region of the Himalayas: *hill stations* and not mountain stations⁶ despite the fact that in the early nineteenth century the British knew that the highest peaks in the world could be found there. Their reaction could be interpreted as fear of the dangers involved by a savage environment. Consequently the landscape necessitated taming. It had to be repainted with picturesque hues and the terminology was meant to scale back its overwhelming force.

Kipling followed that tradition: the name he chose for his Indian stories collection is *Plain Tales from the Hills*. Here the author mainly concentrates on the social life of his countrymen and little space is provided for landscape description of the hills. If present, the scenery of the hills is subdued, domesticated to serve those who seek physical and psychic relief from the pressures of

⁴ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p. 39

⁵ *Ibid*, p.43

⁶ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p. 47

the plains. In “By Word of Mouth” the doctor Dumoise is sent on a leave to Chini, a hill station, to recover after the death of his wife: “Chini is some twenty marches from Simla, in the heart of the Hills, and the scenery is good if you are in trouble. You pass through big, still deodar forests, and under big, still cliffs, and over big, still grass-downs swelling like a woman’s breasts; and the wind across the grass and the rain among the deodars say-‘Hush-hush-hush.’”⁷

Taming the scenery of the hills required not only a change of terminology but also a physical intervention in that world. It started with the introduction of gardens. In one of his letters to his American friend Edmonia Hill, Kipling describes the garden of the English-style ‘country house’ that the Kiplings rented in Simla for the summer season as having rhubarb plants, mushroom beds, English pears, strawberries, namely “all the hundred fads and whimsies with which a wealthy bachelor (the landlord) is at liberty to surround himself.”⁸ The British needed elements of reference that were not only evocative but also gave them a feeling of security by introducing the familiar into an unfamiliar land.

The strolling of the British along the paths of gardens in Simla, Darjeeling or Ootacamund was somehow a search for the peace and the purity associated with the original home of Adam and Eve as opposed to the world of the jungle associated with the image of the natives. This was meant again to assert their superiority as representatives of the white ruling race whose duty was to keep these gardens up as a symbol of their orderliness, opposed to the disarray of the native’s environment. The British intervention in the physical environment was meant to assure them a closed space with luxuriant gardens, picturesque cottages, wide pedestrian malls and meandering lanes, all reminding of Home. The result was an enclosed space divorced from the intimidating environment of the Himalayas but safe for the British. Untouched by the contaminating influence of the lowlands, the hills seemed for the English “so pristine, so free of human admixture that they felt compelled to engrave their own dreams and desires on their space.”⁹ The sense of isolation that hill stations created was what made them so appealing to the British serving in the subcontinent.

“Feel like heading for the hills? There is an entire panorama of magical retreats for you along the Himalayan ranges. Beautiful resorts in Himachal Pradesh include Shimla, Kullu,

⁷ Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Penguin Books, London, 1994, p.320

⁸ Rudyard Kipling to Edmonia Hill, 28 June 1888, in *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Macmillan, London, 1990, edited by Thomas Pinney

⁹ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p. 61

Manali, Dharamsala, Dalhousie, Sarahan and a whole range of scenic spots.”¹⁰ This advertisement posted on the Internet by the Indian Ministry of Tourism wouldn’t have sounded odd among Kipling’s contemporaries whose language pattern and vision of the hills seem to have endured until today. It was there in the hills that the British created enclaves built out of their desires, dreams and memories of Home. The replicas they created were sustained both by a very concrete design - roads, railways, public institutions, houses, shops, hotels, as well as by words, which, as the above-mentioned ad shows, have proved to be as durable as the bricks. The remoteness of the hill stations made them appealing to the British as it gave them the feeling that there they could create spaces isolated from any alien influences, spaces, which would allow the construction of a self-sustained community different from the situation on the plains.

This oppositional relationship between the hills and the plains followed constantly the design of highland stations and the vertical movement from the plains to the hills was also significantly conferred with spiritual characteristics. The ascent into the hills brought about physical relief from the heat of the plains and this made them especially appealing in the summer seasons: Kipling’s journey to Simla “began in heat and discomfort, by rail and road. It ended in the cool evening, with a wood fire in one’s bedroom.”¹¹ Until the introduction of the railways in the second half of the 19th century, access to the hill stations depended on human and animal means. The bearers, known also as coolies were not always reliable and that made the journey to the hills even more difficult. In “Lispeth” the Englishman affirms the unreliability of these bearers: “He fancied that ...his coolies must have stolen his baggage and fled.”¹² However, in another story Kipling sympathizes with these people and reveals the harsh treatment they were subjected to. Significantly he chooses an English character, Pluffles, who got under the spell of Mrs. Reiver and consequently was treated like her servant: “He learnt what it was to be spoken to like a coolie and ordered about like a cook.”¹³ This commentary bluntly sanctions the superior attitude that the British assumed in front of these people and reveals the sympathy Kipling felt for the natives. However his character preserves his status and his temporary treatment ‘like a coolie’ is meant to teach him a lesson that will deepen his understanding of life.

¹⁰ Ministry of Tourism, Government of India Celebrates Visit India Year 1999-2000 North Zone.htm

¹¹ R. Kipling, *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Tomas Pinney, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990

¹² R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p.4

¹³ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p.56

Once the railways were introduced they made hill stations more accessible to visitors and this inevitably brought about an increase of demand for accommodation and consequently the development of the physical form of these highland resorts. This development was meant to follow the pattern of colonial urbanism. According to Anthony King, the geometrically composed and closed compounds were supposed to create an enclave that discouraged penetration by, and interaction with the indigenous inhabitants of the city.¹⁴ However, the intended separation between British residential sites and Indian populated areas such as the bazaars couldn't be strictly maintained in the hills. Their close vicinity is betrayed by Kipling in "Tods' Amendment": the boy "patrolled the Burra Simla Bazar in his morning rides"¹⁵ thus proving the proximity of the natives' compounds to the British residencies.

The colonial urbanism of the hill stations was supported by the introduction of several landmarks, such as the Anglican Church that stood in the middle of the hill station and from where the main avenue emerged. Important institutions like the postal and the telegraph office, the collector's office, the civil court, banks were located along this avenue. The name chosen for this was the "Mall". The name suggested its pedestrian nature given the shape of the terrain but it also evoked the elegant locations at home. The previously mentioned advertisement about Simla assures the prospective visitors that: "But it is the Mall where one can see many people. The Mall is the heart of Shimla, which is dotted with shops, restaurants and clubs."¹⁶ The same humming Mall offered Kipling's contemporaries the opportunity to meet with each other and, more important, it functioned as a stage where their social status was displayed. In "The Other Man", Mrs. Schreiderling "used to trod up and down Simla Mall in a forlorn sort of way with...a shocking bad saddle under her". This was because as Kipling ironically says the generosity of her husband "stopped at the horse. He said that any saddle would do for a woman as nervous as Mrs. Schreiderling."¹⁷ In order to make her status acknowledged, Mrs. Bent, in "A Second-Rate Woman", "pervaded the Mall by her husband's side."¹⁸ The Mall concentrated the entire society of the hill stations. Mrs. Mallowe, in "The Education of Otis Yeere", suggestively calls it a "river" thus dispiriting Mrs. Hauksbee's attempts to accommodate the huge flow into her

¹⁴ Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development*, Routledge, London, 1976

¹⁵ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p.200

¹⁶ Shimla Hill Resort, *Travel to Shimla, Vacations in Shimla, Shimla India.mht*

¹⁷ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p.95

¹⁸ R. Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie*, p.86

imaginary future *salon*: “How do you propose to fix that river? [...]Your salon won’t weld the Departments together and make you mistress of India, dear.”¹⁹

The spaces of the hill stations developed, as expected, a social life, which in its attempt to mime that of Home ended up by over-ritualizing it. Kipling gives us accounts of the custom of filling a dance program, which was established before the dance parties and which was to be followed by the attendants.²⁰ Another habit was that of calling. Visitors coming to the stations had to post their cards in the “not-at-home” boxes at the entrance of the houses and thus the residents could elicit those they wished to meet.²¹ On his last stay in Simla Kipling had to push himself again through the usual social hoops, visiting the Viceregal Lodge, “to call and tell lies”²², and dining with the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir James Myall- “a portentous dull affair.”²³ No matter how dull such rituals were, Kipling knew that if he had to report about the life of his countrymen he had to attend them.

What was the purpose of such customs? Apart from their imitating character, it is evident that they were nothing but means of selection and hierarchical classification of the members of the community; they were safe both for the members and for the society as they secured its cohesion. Thus the newcomers were integrated in the circles where their social status qualified them. The rules were strict and this explains situations such as that of Dicky Hatt in Kipling’s story “In the Pride of His Youth”: “now and again he was asked out to dinner...But this was seldom as people objected to recognizing a boy who had evidently the instincts of a Scotch tallow-chandler and who lived in such a nasty fashion.”²⁴ It was only with mischievous means that the new comers could penetrate higher positions if they were not qualified for them: Kipling’s character, Tarrion, in “Consequences” with the help of the shrewd Mrs. Hauksbee, succeeds to get an appointment in Simla and also unveils the weak points of the colonial system, fissures caused by corruption. Tarrion secures this position from “the strongest man that the Government owned”²⁵ after revealing compromising information contained in some papers that accidentally got to Mrs. Hauksbee.

¹⁹ Ibid, p.9

²⁰ R. Kipling, Plain tales from the Hills, “Three – and an Extra”, pp. 9-14

²¹ Margaret Strobel, European Women and the Second British Empire, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991, p. 9

²² Rudyard Kipling to Edmonia Hill, 28 June 1888, Thomas Pinney, ed., The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, p.68

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ R. Kipling, Plain Tales for the Hills, p.216

²⁵ R. Kipling, Plain Tales for the Hills, p.104

Once in the hill stations, the newcomers entered the spinning wheel of the social life. It involved assembly halls, clubs, gymkhanas, libraries, Masonic lodges or theatres. Polo, cricket, golf, badminton, archery, tennis, croquet, horse races were part of the wide array of recreational means. The British made social calls at home, relaxed outdoors by organizing visits to the nearby sites where their picnics were a must; they walked along the Mall where they exchanged greetings or went to dinner parties, balls and theatrical performances. Many of Kipling's *Plain Tales* use as a background these social activities: in "Three and- an Extra" - a dancing party, in "False Dawn"- a picnic, or in "Cupid's Arrow"- an archery competition. In "On the Strength of Likeness" Kipling notices that: "the facilities that Simla offers are startling. There are garden-parties, and tennis-parties, and picnics, and luncheons at Annandale, and rifle-matches, and dinners and balls; besides rides and walks, which are matters of private arrangement."²⁶

Kipling himself realized that he had to take an active role in the social life of the hill stations if he was to render accurate reports about them. While in Simla in 1885 as a correspondent for the *Civil Military Gazette*, Kipling was to inform the readers about "important government decisions, while taking them behind the scenes at the parties, dinners and amateur theatricals that were essential ingredients of life in the summer capital."²⁷ He even took dancing classes in order to be able to take part to the balls. However Kipling soon got bored with the daily parties, balls or concerts. As he told his aunt Edith "the best way to sicken a youth of frivolity is to pitch him neck and crop into the thick of it on the understanding that he is to write descriptive matter about each dance, frivol, etc...As it is, it is the dullest of dull things to be chroniqueur of a Gay Season in the hills."²⁸ This indicates the over-ritualizing character of social habits and customs that the British performed out of their desire to create replicas of the environment left at home.

As one of the main reasons for the British presence in India was the political one, hill stations inevitably had to assume this function, too and to accommodate the 'Heavenly-born' rulers. Although initially designed as places of sanitarium and relaxation they soon got infused with officials who decided that they could carry on their affairs also from these sites. Gradually hill stations became seasonal headquarters for different official agencies and especially after the great mutiny their remoteness and safety motivated the formal transfer of government offices. Once

²⁶ Ibid, p.304

²⁷ Andrew Lycett, Rudyard Kipling, p.149

²⁸ Rudyard Kipling to Edith Macdonald, 30 July, 1885, quoted by Andrew Lycett, Rudyard Kipling, p. 154

envisaged with a political characteristic hill stations faced another problem. This regarded the type of population that could support and carry on the British imperial policy. Few were the prospects of having white settler colonies as most of those coming to India wanted to make fortunes and then return to England. Characters in Kipling's stories see India as a promised land, which could help them raise a fortune and thus assure a better social position back home.

In "Only a Subaltern" Kipling informs us that "Little country villages at Home are full of nice girls, because all young men come out to India to make their fortunes."²⁹ Phil Garron, in "Yoked with an Unbeliever" "was really going to ...save a large proportion of his magnificent salary yearly, and in a very short time return to marry Agnes Laiter."³⁰ The more serious and unfortunate Dicky Hart "received an appointment in India which carried a magnificent salary from the Home point of view."³¹ Yet the reality they found in India was different: "the country that Dicky came to was a hard land where men of twenty-one were reckoned very small boys indeed, and life was expensive."³² In another account, rather poignant, Kipling presents India as a land that worked on different principles than those at Home: "India is a place beyond all others where one must not take things too seriously...It is a slack country where all men work with imperfect instruments; and the wisest thing is to escape as soon as you can to some place where amusement is amusement and a reputation is worth the having."³³

For other British such as young Bobby Wick, India is a place where he is to continue the family tradition as his father worked there for thirty years as a Commissioner and he, as a British officer, is to honorably serve the Empire, much to the pride of his family. However, as "you can't focus anything in India"³⁴, Bobby is also warned by his father about the lack of order that he could witness there unless he 'sticks to the Line.' He follows the advice, "the Regiment was his father and his mother and his indissolubly wedded wife"³⁵ but ironically he doesn't fall victim of any vice but of hard work, which dries him of energy and he cannot survive cholera. Thus, no matter the reason of their coming to India, for fortune or fame, the British were faced with the dangers of an alien and unfriendly environment.

²⁹ R. Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, "Only a Subaltern", p.102

³⁰ R. Kipling, *Plain tales from the Hills*, pp.35-36

³¹ *Ibid*, p.214

³² *Ibid*, p.214

³³ *Ibid*, p.17

³⁴ R. Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, "The Education of Otis Yeere", p.9

³⁵ *Ibid*, "Only a Subaltern", p.104

Although the vision of colonized India with white settlers, with permanent colonies of Europeans was not deferred and in 1857 the Parliament appointed a committee to investigate the prospects of European colonization in India, the conclusion reached by the committee was that because of the harsh climate, of the scarcity of alienable land and the abundance of indigenous labor, the subcontinent didn't offer many possibilities to the working classes of the British Isles, but rather to a higher class of settlers who could function as overseers of Indian laborers.³⁶ Consequently the image of India inhabited by a large population of white settlers couldn't find support.

Yet, as the hill stations were concerned, the committee showed confidence in their possibility of enduring as colonies of Europeans. After all the British did their best to secure there an enclosed community which had all the necessary elements for its perpetuation.

The development of agriculture in the second half of the 19th century, assured by the extension of the railway system and the state-supported commercial crops (tea, coffee cinchona) brought along British planters such as Phil Garron who began to congregate on the slopes of the hills. Nevertheless, many of the planters were bachelors who didn't have lasting attachments to the land and most of them formed a superior class of settlers who only oversaw the work of the Indians. Phil Garron belonged to that superior class as he "was living comfortably, denying himself no small luxury."³⁷ But, the case of Phil is a little bit different. Instead of saving money and going back Home, he "began more and more to look upon India as his home." Kipling sanctions his behavior: "Some men fall this way and they are of no use afterwards."³⁸ Moreover he marries a Hill-woman, "very clever and shrewd". Later on, Kipling's commentary regarding Phil's choice of mixing with the Other turns to be impartial as he presents two completely different opinions and doesn't side with either of them: "he married Dunmaya by the forms of the English church, and some fellow planters said he was a fool and some said he was a wise man."³⁹

Such instances of mixing with the Other blurred the boundaries between the ruler and the ruled and therefore weakened the British claims of superiority. If the British had added to this a large number of poor white population, then the Imperial project would have got unbalanced even more as it would have lowered the social standards of the white community and drained the

³⁶ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, pp.151-153

³⁷ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p. 39

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.39

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.39

resources of the state. All these were nothing but more reasons to discourage the theory of an India inhabited by a large white population meant to secure power in the colonial spaces.

The British had to turn to other means to sustain their power. As Kipling's stories of the hills largely drew inspiration from the life that the British led in those areas it is significant that only one story "Yoked with an Unbeliever" has as a character a British planter, in the person of Phil Garron. Most of the British characters inhabiting the stories of *Plain Tales from the Hills* are soldiers, officers, civil servants or Government representatives. Thus we can realize what the social milieu of the hill stations looked like and which were the main agents of the imperial power engaged in controlling the subject races. The most important of them, the one that Kipling greatly admired, was the army.

After the 1857 revolt, apart from the health benefits, the army came to appreciate the importance of hill stations given their strategic position. Surveys of the hills were initiated in 1859-60 by the military department of the Government in India in order to find locations suitable for quartering British soldiers. Given the development of railway system and the telegraph, there were enthusiasts who even believed that if all British forces were concentrated in the hills then they would be safe from any surprise attack and they could respond to any troubles in the subcontinent.⁴⁰ They even went further by suggesting the possibility for these soldiers to settle in those areas and supply with reserves of military force. In "His Private Honour" Kipling has his narrator fantasize about planting army pensioners in Kashmir where they would "breed us white soldiers."⁴¹ Gradually in the second half of the 19th century the hills attracted military forces. As David Arnold points out "by the 1870s a sixth of the British forces in India were located in hill cantonments, and two decades later the proportion was nearer a quarter."⁴² These figures indicate a clear shift of power toward hill areas.

Moreover, apart from this concentration of military forces, hill stations accommodated the official representatives of the Empire. As Mahatma Gandhi said, "The place which is the real headquarter of the rulers is Simla."⁴³ Indeed Simla had become the main residence of the viceroy of India, the commander-in-chief of the Indian Army, the lieutenant governor of Punjab and other government officials. We can find evidence for this in "Tods' Amendment" where Kipling

⁴⁰ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p.157

⁴¹ R. Kipling, *Many Inventions*, "His Private Honour", Doubleday, New York, 1925, p.134

⁴² David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993, p. 79

⁴³ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p.147

presents a “shocking spectacle” with all the major officials leaving for a moment their serious businesses and running after Tods’ pet kid, which had got loose. The chase engaged “a Legal Member and a Lieutenant-Governor [...], under the direct patronage of a Commander-in Chief and a Viceroy.”⁴⁴ No wonder that Mrs. Hauksbee, the grass-widow, is to be found in Simla, too, as the location gives her plenty of material to sew her intrigues and use them to manipulate a wide array of what she calls “Pillars of the Empire”⁴⁵ for her benefit or for that of her protégées.

Simla became a vibrant political capital from where the affairs of Empire were conducted. However, the officials’ estrangement from the direct contact with the natives created the turmoil that later on brought about the demise of this centre of power. Kipling warns about the unawareness of the officials with regard to the necessities of the natives. This ignorance permeates even the highest authority institutions. In “Tods’ Amendment” it is the Supreme Legislative Council that “began to settle what they called the ‘minor details.’ As if any Englishman legislating for the natives knows enough to know which are the minor and which are the major points, from the native point of view, of any measure!”⁴⁶ Ruling the natives, legislating for them should have involved living among them and knowing their real needs. The Legal Member of the Council in Kipling’s story “did not know that no man can tell what natives think unless he mixes with them with the varnish off.”⁴⁷ Kipling satirizes the ignorance of the officials by making an Anglo-Indian child who has talked to the servants responsible for getting an important piece of legislation changed. As Lord Stanley, the secretary of state for India (1859-1860) warned, “the chief evil was that the officials became more and more separated from the inhabitants of the country, and more ignorant of their wants and feelings.”⁴⁸

The British inward community supported by ritualic social gatherings and isolated working life assured this way its unique position as the best ruler of India. The same aloofness of the hills made them too appealing and the migration of the officials to the hills couldn’t be stopped. Kipling himself in one of his poems, “A Tale of Two Cities” gives account of this trend: “But the rulers in that City by the Sea (Calcutta)/ Turned to flee/ Fled, with each returning spring-tide from its ills/ To the Hills.” He categorizes the complaints of Calcutta residents as envy:

⁴⁴ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p.197

⁴⁵ R. Kipling, *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, “The Education of Otis Yeere”, p.5

⁴⁶ R. Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, p. 198

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.199

⁴⁸ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*, p. 169

Because for certain months, we boil and stew, / So should you.” In the end he clearly affirms his position on this issue: “Still, for rule, administration, and the rest, / Simla’s best.”⁴⁹

The reality was that the isolationist policy, the distancing from the realities of the plains didn’t justify the governing pretences of a ruling race, which gradually risked losing touch with its subjects. Voices rose in Calcutta, Madras and in other areas of India, and they came especially from the Indian nationalist circles. The government seemed so aloof from the natives, just like the shop in Gandhi’s essay on Simla, “Five Hundredth Storey”, that its owner chose to locate on the last floor of a five hundred floor- building.

Beyond all these controversies as whether the centers of power should be in the proximity of the subject races or distant from them in safe and comfortable areas, the facts indicate that at least after the 1857 event the British decided to relocate the centers of government on the map of the Empire. Hill stations functioned like magnets and they became more and more appealing to the viceroys, governors, lieutenant governors, chief-commissioners, lawyers, merchants, clerks, servants and so on. The geography of power reorganized itself and the move from the plains to the hills became a reality. Yet this process of power relocation that seemed so natural for the British stirred the dormant forces left behind on the plains.

Acknowledgements

This paper is a result of the project “Transnational Network for Integrated Management of Postdoctoral Research in Communicating Sciences. Institutional building (postdoctoral school) and fellowships program (CommScie)” - POSDRU/89/1.5/S/63663, financed under the Sectoral Operational Programme Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

Cited works:

Kipling, Rudyard. *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Penguin Books, London, 1994

Kipling, Rudyard to Edmonia Hill, 28 June 1888, in *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Macmillan, London, 1990, edited by Thomas Pinney

Kipling, Rudyard. *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Tomas Pinney, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990

Kipling, Rudyard. *Wee Willie Winkie*, Macmillan, London, 1947

Kipling, Rudyard. *Many Inventions*, “His Private Honour”, Doubleday, New York, 1925

Kipling, Rudyard. *The Complete Verse*, Kyle Cathie Publishing, London, 2002

⁴⁹ R. Kipling, *The Complete Verse*, Kyle Cathie Publishing, London, 2002, pp.62-63

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993

Kennedy, Dane. *The Magic Mountains* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996

King, Anthony. *Colonial Urban Development*, Routledge, London, 1976

Lycett, Andrew. *Rudyard Kipling*, The Guernesey Press Co.Ltd., London, 2000

Ousby, Ian. *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990

Strobel, Margaret. *European Women and the Second British Empire*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1991