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## Mental Illness of the British Sahibs in Late Nineteenth, Early Twentieth Century Colonial India

Shaona Barik

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“...because it was the kind of night in India when, if a man is not happy, he probably begins to wander about the compound with a revolver to shoot pariah dogs that bark and keep him awake, sometimes instead of a dead dog, it is the man who is found shot, through the roof of his mouth.”(*East of Suez*, Perrin, 106). Long stretches of time spent away from family, friends, homeland in remote and culturally alien terrain often disturbed the mental stability of the men of the Empire<sup>1</sup>. The tropical climate, forceful residence at uncharted and lonely territories, friendlessness and pressure of work further added to their distress. On top of that they were required to follow the standardized codes of conduct (often in the form of masculinity) which were imposed by the Empire. Such repressive norms throttled the freedom of these men and frequently led to the development of nervous disorders. To escape from the depressive conditions of alienation they often succumbed to alcohol and became severe alcoholics in the process, some went astray and started wandering about aimlessly, some even got assimilated into native traditions they were known to have ‘gone native’. The British society in India post the mutiny of 1857 was rife with insular sentiments. It believed in tightening the structures of British communities by controlling their behavior towards the natives. The cult of aloofness was maintained when it came to interaction with the natives or their cultures. Residence in a land where they were forbidden to maintain contacts with its inhabitants, cultures could have further added onto the isolation of the British in India. The British were concerned with the segregation of their society on the principles of a class based system of hierarchy. As a result of which free mixing within their community was not possible, further they had to follow certain prescribed norms while dealing with the British fellow of a different class. Such a stringent focus on class could have resulted in the loneliness of the British. They often complained about the thankless job that they were required to do in India. At times they were posted in remote terrains where amidst tremendous difficulties they had to perform their tasks, but most of those responsibilities never gained any appreciation or recognitions. Non recognition could have aggravated the feeling of isolation, “Image of unappreciated administrators carrying out his duties in some remote outpost, which Rudyard Kipling popularized in 1890s, captured not only the manifest content of imperial government, but also less clearly perceived sense of emotional impoverishment that accompanied it. It is no coincidence that many of Kipling’s lonely administrators committed or contemplated suicides.”(78, Wurgaft, *Imperial Imagination*).

Unfamiliarity with the culture of India made the British look towards it as a strange land where unexpected incidents could occur. The popular everyday vocabularies like Tommies<sup>2</sup> or Griffins were used to address those fresher who arrived in India on service to the Imperial crown. Their inability to adapt to Indian culture, climate and Anglo Indian lifestyle often became a source of humor for those British who had already completed the initial phases of their residence in India. The silly deeds of a tommy in an alien land, the hardships he had to face were satirized by an anonymous Civilian officer in twelve cantos in a poem entitled *Tom Raw: The Griffin*(1828).

Through the trope of burlesque he was actually critiquing the policies of the Empire which cared little about its' men's wellbeing (mental health most importantly, lack of proper facilities) in the colonies. In the introductory section of this poem the author wrote that he intended to point out the strange customs of India which was little known in England. This lack of proper knowledge and unfamiliarity with a terrain where they were required to set up homes for a prolonged period of time could have as well given rise to the sense of alienation.

During the late nineteenth century we have already seen in the previous subsection how the competition wallahs or those men who were selected for Imperial service through the Indian Civil Service examination started arriving in India. Treveleyan felt that this change in the system of jobs provoked the loneliness of the civilians in India<sup>3</sup>.

Loneliness in India reached such heights that at one point of time the British purposely engaged themselves in various forms of eccentricities in search for excitement. Some of them even craved for wars, riots at least they were still capable of providing some amount of change. "The general feeling in the district where the Mutiny struggle had raged most fiercely was first an immense relief when the storm had passed, and then a curious reaction of regret for the excitement and glamour of battle. Alfred Lyall was writing home in 1859, "Life in India is just now very dull. There is a sort of reaction after the excitement of the last two years." And a year later, "I sit alone in the evening and long for something to happen. The whole country is hopelessly quiet; there is not even a murder or a highland robbery...life in peace times is completely stagnat""(201, Kincaid, *British Social Life in India*).

### **Mental Illnesses**

The atmosphere of the east was often blamed for the development of eccentricities in the European man. The climate's depressing effects upon British individuals, its tendency to foster indolence amongst the Europeans and Eurasians in India have been the topics of recurrent discussions. "The climate of India often the cause of the Anglo Indian and Eurasian's indolence and listlessness. That the climate of India is a trying one to Europeans there can scarcely be serious thoughts. It is also a fact that the madness and habits of native population give proof that they too are affected by the same cause. Still climatic influences are not the only reason for the superiority of the British in London...There is no doubt a certain vigour and activity observable among the Eurasians and domiciled Anglo Indian population of India, but this peculiarity of the decedents of active and enterprising European nations may be partly owing to the depressing effects of the climate and partly owing to the disadvantageous circumstances under which the community labours."(Oct 19, 1878, *Anglo Indian Guardian*). "The environment of the tropics has much to answer for in its effect on the character of Europeans. It develops good as well as evil calling forth the best part of a man who is strong, but offering the weak temptations that might not assail him in the land of his birth."(The *Tea Planter*, F.E. Penny). Fleetwood a character in the same novel reflects "it is wonderful how we put the blame on our surroundings for our faults in the east."

When a British fellow usually serving in the military regime committed suicide in India rather than the portrayal of his mental debility he was considered to have broken

discipline, code of conduct for which perhaps he got ruined. The climate of India was also blamed for the loss of mental stability of the British men. It is interesting to note that all these causes were perhaps unearthed to cover up the repressive policies of the Empire. Any act or behavior which deviated from the set rules of conduct was termed as the lack of mental stability. Disciplinary methods were prescribed as corrective measures; for example flogging was used as a mode of punishment inside military regiments. "There was little sympathy for consideration of subordinates' personal difficulties in coping with the demands of military life." (130, *Mad Tales From the Raj*, Waltraud Ernst). The restrictive institutions within British culture perhaps enhanced a man's mental discomfort, but they were never critiqued. The British were deliberately alienated when any kind of contact with Indian culture was forbidden post the mutiny of 1857. Anyone who tried to break such a notion was said to have gone native and therefore insane. This kind of distance that they were asked to maintain from the culture of the natives could have been a taxing experience for the British.<sup>4</sup> Cultural imbibitions automatically and unconsciously take place when one begins to reside in a particular place for a prolonged period of time. Any kind of deliberations to prevent that snatches away an individual's freedom. The terms and conditions of insanity was thus predefined by the Empire. Breaking of class barriers was seen as a taboo. Thus at times the real causes of insanity were not focused upon rather it was heaped on people deliberately. The desire to uphold a superior status made the British deport back those fellows who they thought would tarnish their image. "The policy of sending the European insane back to Britain was a particularly poignant reminder that the company acted swiftly to make invisible those who might otherwise tarnish the image and self-perception of the British as a mentally and physically superior people." (ibid, 126) Madness was thus institutionalized and social repression defined its norms.

Suicide was common amongst the military men<sup>5</sup>. Discomfort of tropical climate was said to have had a depressing effect on the minds of these men. When perhaps no reason seemed adequate for the suicides committed the climate was made responsible.<sup>6</sup> "Mental illness had no place in army vocabulary. 'It was just all just bad discipline' says Stephen Bentley. Where a weak minded chap's mind snapped in the heat then, of course, they said, "This is a breakdown of discipline. Court martial him and put him in detention for three months, four months, six months. This was commonplace." (124-125, *Plain Tales*, Allen). Sexual oppression which once again ensued out of the Empire's repressive agendas could have resulted in the mental disturbances of the military men. I am summarizing some of the examples of such repression: a) In India the military men were discouraged to marry till a certain age, "The subalterns were seldom given permission to marry until they became captains, which was at roughly thirty to thirty five years of age. It was held that officers encumbered with family responsibilities would be unable to perform their imperial duties satisfactorily" (112, Sinha, *Manliness a Victorian Ideal* she quotes from Philip Mason's *A Matter of Honour*, 368-69 b) Previously the cantonments did not have sufficient number of white women c) They were posted in remote areas where it was still more difficult to come across white women d) Homosexuality was strictly prohibited e) Moreover there were restrictions imposed on the profession of prostitution. Elaborate schemes were devised to regulate the soldiers' access to a few selected native prostitutes<sup>7</sup>. The prostitutes were checked thoroughly for traces of venereal diseases, they were approved finally by the military men. The soldiers were then allowed to pay visits to those prostitutes (113, Sinha) f) Cohabitation with Indian

mistress was outlawed as that was feared to have defiled their racial purity. Few were perhaps able to deal with sexual abstinence properly. To vent out their sexual energies, to get respite from tropical heat and loneliness often sports was recommended as a remedy. But in most of the cases it failed to solve their miseries, thereby once again suggesting that sports which was one of the codes used by the Empire to cultivate physically fit, patriotic, masculine men was incapable of providing relief. The men understood the “dread meaning of loneliness. They were all under thirty years of age which is too soon for any man to possess that knowledge.”(115) Kipling describes in most of his stories the desire of the soldiers to commit suicides, the ferocity of the pre monsoon heat often brought about their nemesis. (115, Wurgaft).

The mental asylum reports published in India during the late nineteenth century showed a marked increase in the number of admissions with each passing year. The majority population of European asylum inmates comprised of the soldiers. I am tabulating the data of a few asylum reports to prove the previous statement:

Name of Report	Year	Number of Admissions	European Soldiers/Military Men
No. 2732 of 1874, Report by Deputy Surgeon General Maitland on the Lunatic Asylums of Poona and Dharwar	1872-73	92 (Europeans)	75
Annual Administration and Progress Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Bombay Presidency for the year by W.G. Hunter, M.D., F.R.C.P.	1879	87 (Europeans)	74
-do-	1880	116 (Christians)	79
-do-	1881	97(Europeans)	84
-do-	1882	120 (Europeans)	104
-do-	1886	62(Europeans)	49
-do-	1887	55 (Europeans)	48

-do-	1889	35 (Europeans)	30
-do-	1890	64 (Europeans)	51
-do-	1891	52 (Europeans)	36

Maximum causes of the mental disorders were attributed to substance abuse like alcohol, opium, ganja. Some of the reports stated that exposure to the sun also had a severe effect on the nerves of the British which often pushed them towards insanity. But then again Overbeck in his book stated that sunstroke alone could hardly suffice to cause insanity. Careful enquiry unleashed a history of alcohol abuse, which Overbeck felt was a potent factor in the production of insanity. "Moreover it is people of these habits who are most liable to be exposed to heat as well as suffer from its result"(292-293, *Mental Derangements*). Overbeck stated that 'sun traumatism' might result in such cases of exposure to the sun. Report of the Hyderabad Circle, Military Department, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1877 No. 5279, mentioned "The death rate for diseases of the nervous system showed a marked increase, due to the prevalence of sunstroke at Kamptee." Post 1880 amongst the moral causes of insanity grief became a cogent factor for the rise in the admittance to the asylums. Progress Report of the Lunatic Asylum of Bombay Presidency, 1880 showed that 46 people were admitted on the ground of grief, in 1881 it increased to 45, 47 in 1882, 72 in 1884, in 1891 67 people were admitted for having suffered from grief. I have selected the reports of Bombay presidency as Kolaba asylum the only all European asylum back in that period was a part of that province. This marked increased admission into the asylums due to grief reflects on the rise in the suffering of the English people. It is evident thus that they suffered from loneliness; work conditions were harsher as well which increased their sufferings. It projects on the societal repression that existed in British Empire which was definitely a cause for the mental breakdowns, nervous disorders that the British experienced in India. Fevers were also responsible for the occurrence of chronic mental diseases; they too were shown to have affected the cerebral region of the brain.

Chronic mania, melancholy, acute dementia, chronic dementia were common and regular types of insanities to be encountered in the colonial asylums. (Annual Administrations and Progress Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Bombay Presidency for 1878). Over exhaustion from work in a tropical climate became a cause for the remarkable rise in insanities. Delerium Tremens<sup>8</sup>, a common mental disease that was the subject of interest of many authors of colonial fictions was a mental condition that several colonizers suffered from. "Delerium Tremens a mental disease, a disorder of the brain. It is associated with the disorder of consciousness, attention, cognition and orientation. Organic delirium is accompanied by fever."(essay JSTOR, *British Women's Mental Health*). To further elaborate the disease and its impact on the colonial mind I would like to mention the synopsis of a short story by Leonard Woolf entitled 'Pearl and Swine'. An English man named White suffered from DTs (Delerium Tremens) in the story, life in a remote island of Ceylon gradually destroyed his mental stability. Unable to bear the pangs of loneliness he started to consume alcohol. Woolf spoke about the ways in which alcohol intake combined with the tropical heat made one feel feverish, the person's mind got damaged. How the east got into one's mind and was difficult to get rid of has been time and again hinted at in the story. White wasted away in that island, his

Loneliness, detachment from family members added to his distress gradually he fell under the grasp of DTs. When he had seizures induced by DTs the symptoms he showed were a) He wanted to kill himself only after killing others. As a result of which any kinds of weapons were confiscated from his hands to restrict him from indulging in bloody violence b) He raved like a mad man, screamed in pain and had to be tied up with the help of a rope to a chair. The pain of isolation, cultural alienation started to show physical and psychological manifestations in the forms of eccentricities c) He had delusions, hallucinations and spoke of the dark, gory aspects from the past. He often spoke of the ways in which he had bamboozled the natives, subjected them to inhuman treatment by inflicting torcher upon them and by exploiting them. It seems that the role of the aggressor that the British were required to put up in the East invoked senses of guilt in White, intensity of which perhaps maddened and sickened him.<sup>9</sup> Asish Nandy refers to the ancient Hindu philosophy in his book *The Intimate Enemy*, to point out that one ends up doing that to himself what he has done to others. White ultimately boomerangs the same aggression towards himself that he was supposed to show off to the colonized. One of White's associates who happened to be a British witnessing White's plight gradually lost his mental stability. Loneliness in the island was also an added source of mental trouble for him; he too cried out often and was unable to perform his assigned duties. Thus the codes of masculinity which was considered to be an asset of the Empire gave away to mental deteriorations of its men. This proves that there were repressive principles within such codes of conduct which got revealed at times in the forms of eccentricities of the men of the Empire. The blind rush to follow such codes often affected them psychologically.

The term 'doolally tap'<sup>10</sup> which has been derived from a native word, was used to denote those British men who had lost their sanity in India. Eccentricities frequently resulted from loneliness, to dispel boredom as well the British engaged in entertaining activities which almost took the shape of madness<sup>11</sup>. But it is interesting to note that those British who were a little different, strange were known to have fared well amongst the natives. They were in fact liked by the natives, eccentricity served as a lubricant to enhance their popularity. "Englishmen if provided they don't get all walled up in the system within their first five years tend to do very well. Undoubtedly those officials who got on best and were longest remembered were those 'queer Englishmen' who usually arrived at the truth."(106, Allen). India brought about changes in the British men; their own administrative systems were responsible for their transformations. Such changes were often brought forth by alien culture, the nature of their tasks. It could have ultimately led to eccentric behavior on the part of the British fellow. "The administration then has at its core a terrible irony. He who would administer and govern this vast mass is himself a victim. Stoically he goes through the motions of his trying occupation, appropriating to himself a world and a life completely alien; and the more alien it becomes the more it engrosses until he had no soul of his own left and can only plod mechanically on until finally engulfed"( 82, *Wheels of the Empire*, Alan Sandison).<sup>12</sup>

Strict norms of masculinity to which one had to adhere to, the pressure of hard work under uncomfortable climatic conditions, loneliness often made the soldiers feign insanity. "The British soldiers at times feign insanity in order to be sent to the hills or invalided home and the sepoy for very similar reasons does the same, while in those

awaiting trial the motive is readily to be found.”(24, *Mental Derangements*). This proves that many of them were not satisfied with the ways in which the Empire functioned as a result of which they longed for escapade. “Institutionalisation for some was a source of relief from the harsh criterions of manly duties promulgated by the laws of the British Empire.”(Colonial Masculinity, *Visva Bharati Quarterly*)

The dread of syphilis gave rise to a type of insanity. The British were constantly worried about the contamination of their racial purity, for which they forbade their men from having contacts with the natives. Restrictions were imposed on their interactions with the native prostitutes who were thought to have been the carriers of venereal diseases. This dread of being infected with diseases in an alien land, disgust for the natives (who were considered by the British to be dirty and unhygienic) abhorrence for their black skin made the British reduce the chances of having physical contacts with them. This kind of a restrictive, hateful attitude towards the natives probably gave rise to this form of insanity, the symptoms of which was the maniacal fear of being infected with syphilis<sup>13</sup>. “This type is fairly common among the Europeans and Eurasians, but I have never heard a case in an Indian.”(299-300, *Mental Derangements*).

Overwork led to the formation of stress which definitely was a reason for the nervous breakdowns of the men of the Empire<sup>14</sup>. “Men broke down according to medical argument because they overdid the striving for achievement that society honored” (120, Janet Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves*). Victorian society perhaps sanctioned this cause as an authentic one to hide the real repressive measures within its system. Desire to live up to the codes of masculinity with constant focus on toughness of mind and physique, could have generated stress related mental disorders. The fetters of repression were further tightened when Victorian society claimed those men as effeminate who displayed their emotions. This kind of a thrust on mechanical toughness at the cost of forgoing one’s individual liberty of self-expression was a major catalyst behind mental disorders. The laws of repression were also extended to the domain of sexuality, masturbation was said to have given birth to diseases like impotence, consumption, epilepsy in Victorian England. Case histories of mental breakdowns (asylum reports mainly) in the nineteenth century depict the rise in the number of men suffering from weak nerves. Then to conceal its flaws the Empire came up with the idea that men underwent such traumas due to certain specific causes, “unlike women who led sheltered lives, men had to strive hard, worry about money. That made them susceptible to nervous breakdowns. Therefore the concept of overwork and nervous collapse. The demise of beloved wife, child, parent-the extreme sentimentality with which the Victorians approached the subject of death, at the end of nineteenth century as much as at start afforded men some leeway for expression of feeling, without diminishing reputation for manliness.”(131, *Shattered Nerves*, Janet Oppenheim). It is of interest to note how the definition of imperial masculinity tried to build up rules to satiate its own selfish will. It ultimately aimed at the survival of the Empire and also tried to conceal any sense of anxiety. The rules were subjected to constant improvisation, they were made and marred according to the social, political and selfish needs of the Empire (after all the Empire aspired to dominate, subjugate and expand). The tendency to live up to the prescribed codes of conduct could have given rise to an ambivalent self. The code of masculinity might have aggravated the aggressiveness in oneself which perhaps destroyed the positive qualities like compassion, emotions. This tug of war between the dual selves, the



confusion of choice and the destructive fight against one's true identity might have led to eccentric behaviors. One perhaps kept on fighting his original self,<sup>15</sup> underneath all the attempts to identify with the aggressor and despite singing praise of the powerful, was also a matter of turning against the self, a defense touching in this case the very margins of self-destructiveness" (70, Nandy).

Racial and class based segregation prevalent within the British society in the middle of the nineteenth century perhaps also gave rise to some varieties of madness. They believed in keeping the natives at bay from almost all fronts. But there are some evidences which proves that the more they forcefully attempted to brutalize the natives in order to maintain aloofness from them, the more the British actually ended up succumbing to strange, savage behaviors. Behind the attempt to associate the natives with savagery lurked a fear of regression. Anxiety of regressing back to that animalistic stage (from where they believed the natives had not evolved) perhaps started haunting them and led to the development of some form of insanity. Such anxieties of the British reflect the repressive forces that were prominently present within their social structures.<sup>16</sup> While discussing some of Kipling's stories and characters Wurgaft pointed out certain such examples of the fear of regression that haunted the military officials in India. "Hummil has taken his desolation and duty too seriously, and has been driven back into "terrified childhood" in the process. After witnessing a similar regression in 'The Mark of the Beast' Strickland and the narrator are overwhelmed by a seizure of hysterical laughter...Loosing coherence and identity, disgracing themselves as Englishman. Often appalling is the last resort from the oppressive, darkness of native life which threatens sense of self as in 'Mark of Beast', 'Thrown Away.'"(129-139, *Imperial Imagination*). Class based discrimination amongst the British was also common, we have observed this phenomenon in the previous chapters. The concern with class specific identity might have led to the isolation of the British. Moreover the insularity of the British character has been pointed out by Ernst, "It was the insularity of the English character (said to have been as marked in the eighteenth and nineteenth century), which made the English 'persist on their customs and habits of life in most unfavourable circumstances.'"(2, *Mad Tales*, Ernst). Diversity existed amongst the British in India as most of these men had come from different countries of Europe which had its own customs, cultural identities. On top of that the particular regions of India where they resided were said to have marked their identity in a specific and a unique way. Each region had its own ways of influencing those British who came to stay there.<sup>17</sup> Such types of diverse identities, insularities may have enhanced the loneliness of the Englishman in India, due to the strain of which often he became mentally imbalanced.

"Rules of insanity and nervousness differed on the basis of class. For the military troops regular physical exertion compensated for the little brain work they had to do. Only a few officers, especially the self-conscious intellectuals were ready to assert their nervousness. Even in asylums treatment for the officials of higher ranks was much more attentive and caring in nature. Preset definition of colonial insanity and nervousness often failed to take into consideration other kinds of causes and symptoms, moreover it failed to look beyond the categories of class. Nervousness was considered to be a sophisticated disease; people of a certain class could claim to suffer from it. As mentioned earlier norms of insanity varied according to class and race. The natives were generalised as irrational and unruly owing to their lifestyle. Colonial

science attributed other major flaws of their character to the tropical climate.”(Colonial Masculinity Essay, *Visva Bharati Quarterly*)

### End Notes

1.Exposure to unfamiliar cultural conditions can have psychological consequences characterized by a variety of emotional and behavioural coping strategies, of which anxiety, anger or depression are the most common, usually followed by a tendency to either over adapt or response aggressively to the alien environment. (2, Ernst)

2. This and those of good hearted patriotic lower classes of Britain supplying the Raj with ‘Tommyes’ who dutifully went to their untimely deaths in distant lands. (ibid,36-37)

3. “The sensation of loneliness is much aggravated by the present system of selecting and training the members of the Indian Civil Service. In older days a Writer came out in company with a score of men who had passed the last two years of the English life in the same quadrangle as himself. He found as many more comfortably settled, and prepared to welcome and assist their few collegian; and, in his turn, he looked forward to receiving and initiating a fresh batch at the end of another six months.”(7, *Competition Wallah*, Trevelyan)

4. Like if a European behaved as so many facquir do, he would probably be promptly seized and put in an asylum, while a native can act in this way and nothing is thought about it. Innumerable other examples of this sort arising from difference in habits, customs, environments and temperaments can be quoted. The difference in the laws in Great Britain and India, too affect very greatly the types of insanity met with in asylums in these two countries. (101, *Mental Derangements*, A.W. Overbeck, 1912)

5. Suicide seemed an unnecessary act when the climate was as likely as not to do the work for you, if given half the chance, yet there was a definite suicidal tendency at certain times of the year. Calcutta Gazette (1787) commented on unusually high rate of suicides among cadets. To what cause to impute this melancholy disposition we know not nor can we pretend to say whether in any respect it may be ascribed to the climate whether from this cause or from loneliness, distance from home, cumulative effects of endemic complaints such as hepatitis there are a surprising number of “suicide graves”. Perhaps the isolated situation of the barracks, the cold winter and months on end shrouded in cloud had a depressing influence.(200-201, Wilkinson). “This ready availability of arms and ammunitions on Sundays sometimes had unforeseen consequences. ‘ I remember two tragedies that occurred during Church parades. The chaps were very low in spirit, I suppose. They’d say they were not very very well and “please, could they be excused”, and they’d go back to the barrack rooms and blow their heads off. Suicides among BORS in India were far from exceptional: ‘Besides these two shootings we had a young boy who’d only been out two weeks before he hanged himself, and another lad, only seventeen who considered himself tormented by the NCOS and drove himself insane and blew his brains out. There were occasional desertions rarely successful and a new sort of disease that came into the laguage and was called ‘doolally tap’ not so much a disease as a mental condition in which men went mad on the rampage, smashed things up or they would stand outside shouting at the sergeant major, “I want to bloody well shoot you the moment you come out””( 161, Allen)

6. During the summer months when the military men were mostly kept indoors without much work in hand Spike Milligan wrote, “ It was a time when tempers frayed , when many arguments used to go on and sometimes blows struck. Charles Wright recalls how in Multan it was ‘so hot and so dusty and so boring that it got on people’s nerves. I remember one sergeant, he may have had bad news from home, I don’t know, but he got his rifle and put a bullet through his head in his bunk.”(124-125, Plain Tales)

7. Failing marriage, a man's opportunities for a healthy sexual life seem to have been restricted. Gone were the free and easy liaisons with Indian women which had aroused no criticism in the early part of the century. A young man might invite courtesans to his bungalow, but he would have to be excessively discreet if he wished to maintain his position in 'civilised society'. Bombay, if the majority of travellers are to be believed, was remarkably a moral place, perhaps because of the difficulty of keeping any irregularities secret in a tiny and intimate community. Perhaps too, as a result of lack of opportunity. 'There are none of those lures and haunts which prove so attractive and fatal to the young Londoner', 'His Indian contemporary must spend his evening in a decorous manner, for not only would he soon become marked if he frequented such scenes of debauchery as there are, which are of the very lowest description and where common soldiers, sailors and blackguards of the place resort, but there is not that field for a "lark" which tempts the London spruce apprentice, and youths of higher degree, to take to the streets in search of such adventures. (34, *Bound to Exile*, Michael Edwardes).

8. Delirium Tremens may arise in several ways. It may be the result of an excessive amount of alcohol intake within a short space of time, or on the contrary a sudden suspension of the drug may suffice to originate an attack or it may occur after an injury or shock, or complicate an illness, typhoid or pneumonia. Physical symptoms are-gastric derangement, anorexia, sleeplessness. Mental Symptoms being, patient excited, impulsive, timid, hallucinations, devils torment and jeer at him, agony of fear. Whole dementia, suicide is often contemplated by the patient. (Overbeck, 207).

9. World of men who built, ran or legitimised empires, about the experienced violence which became in them a lifelong fear of and respect for violence, about the attempt to give meaning to private suffering by developing theories of extraversive violence. Thus in turn, underneath all the attempts to identify with the aggressor and despite singing the praise of the powerful, was also a matter of turning against the self, a defense touching in this case the very margins of self destructiveness. (Nandy, 70)

10. Troops were often moved to Deolali transit camp, where mental patients on their way to Netlet Mental Hospital had their papers stamped. Thus 'Doolally Tap' came to mean someone a bit round the bend. (50, Allen)

11. General Nicholson won bets by crocking Mangho Pir hoping from the back of one crocodile to another till he reached the farther bank. On the Upper Sind Frontier the saga of General Jacob continues to grow and the extraordinary cloak which he made is still the wonder of visitors to Jacobabad.(269, Kincaid)

12. Mrs Mallowe says of her husband Government has eaten him up. All his ideas and powers of conversation- he really used to be a good talker even to his wife-are taken from by this-this kitchen sink of government.( 82, Sandison)

13. The first class ( Insane dread of Syphilis) comprises those who have an insane dread of syphilis and who may in fact never have had the disease in any form. It is in fact an obsessional insanity and has been termed 'syphilophobia'. The patient spends his days washing and scrubbing himself and his belongings searching his body for symptoms of syphilis and worrying himself into a depressed and delusional state in which suicide is common. The second class of the affectation (Insane dreads of results of Syphilis) is also to be seen in Europeans and Eurasians and leads to very much the same sort of symptoms. Besides being suicidal, however, such cases are liable to commit homicide, a husband perhaps killing his and child in the belief that he had given them the disease also. ( 299-300, Mental Derangements)

14. Colonial medical science categorised these breakdowns and made them gender specific. It was thought that the manly nerves got frazzled owing to overwork and competition but for the women it was often her biological construction, reproductive incapacity, domestic irresponsibility which led to nervous frailty. Nervousness in the tropics often covered up heterogeneous symptoms of other maladies. Rather than psychopathic causes the somatic domain was given priority. In majority of the cases during the eighteenth century the body's malfunction was thought to make the mind function in an abnormal manner. It was as late as the middle of the nineteenth century that psychology got substantiated as a special branch of science. This led to the explanation of irrationality; mind was not coterminous with brain or organs of the body. Colonial breakdown was the true weight of the white man's burden. Mental stress in alien and disagreeable surroundings was not easily dispelled. Those British who went astray due to mental repression were either institutionalised in asylums or were shipped off to England. The characteristics of colonial madness were also predefined, any military man who failed to aptly perform his duties was considered to be mentally instable. Institutionalisation for some was a source of relief from the harsh criterions of manly duties promulgated by the laws of the British Empire. Imperial masculinity took the help of colonial medical science to dictate terms and conditions for colonial nervousness that a British man often suffered from during his stay in India. Under those conditions breakdowns due to loss of family members, extreme form of competition, working under terrible weather conditions and pressure of work were sanctioned as natural causes. Such cases were dealt with sympathy and care. This allowed the repressive norms of masculinity to get relaxed to some extent. The men could show off their emotional side without feeling ashamed. A woman's nervous breakdown in the tropical land was never due to pressure of work rather shunning of responsibility was thought to be the cause of a woman's nervous disposition. Rather than a show of sympathy they were asked to strictly follow their prescribed roles to avoid untoward breakdowns

15. The centre piece of Kipling's life was a refusal to look within an aggressive 'anti intraception' which forced him to avoid all deep conflicts and prevented him from separating human problems from ethnic stereotypes. Remarkably extravertive, his work stressed all forms of collectivity and saw the bonds of race and blood as more important than person to person relationship. As if their author, he hoped that the restlessness and occasional depression that had dogged him since the southsea days could be driven off sent by the extravertive search for cultural roots, through the service he was rendering to imperial authority. He lived and died fighting his other self a softer, more creative and happier self and the uncertainty and self hatred associated with it. (69, Nandy). Nandy has further highlighted upon the two voices of Kipling, " His martial, violent, self righteous self which rejected pacifism and glorified soldiery, went through spells of depression was fascinated by grotesque and macabre, and lived in fear of madness and death. The other was Indianness, his awe for the mind and culture of India, his bewilderment at India's heterogeneity and complexity, her incoherence and ancient mystery, her resistance to mechanisation of work as well as man, her androgyny. The antonyms were masculine hardness and imperial responsibility and feminine softness and cross cultural empathy on the other. (ibid 69)

16. The theory of repression enables us to understand our attitude when faced with a man who is culturally very different from ourselves, somewhat as it does our attitude towards our own suppressed desires, with all the reactions that this attitude can arouse. The real difficulty cannot be explained in purely cultural terms. How could sorcery, anthropology, polygamy and other 'barbarous' customs have disturbed those who observed them if the latter did not carry the temptation or the possibility of these things deeply hidden within themselves? The situation thus created is in some ways similar to paranoia- it is oneself whom one condemns in the other, whom one wishes to convert, to civilise or to educate. (89, Mannoni, 'Psychoanalysis and Decolonisation of Mankind')

17. "Let me remind you that while there are numerous races with a different creed, caste and language so there are customs and manners peculiar to each; and this variety is not confined to the natives; for the habits and customs of social life among the English in India likewise present their petty diversities; and the "Qui Hye" of Bengal, the "Mull" of Madras and the "Duck" of Bombay, adhere to and defend their own customs with jealous warmth of feeling." (Curry and Rice, Atkinson, pg nos not given in the book)

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### BIO-NOTE

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