Some Political Implications in the Works of Rudyard Kipling

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SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE WORKS OF RUDYARD KIPLING

by

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VITA

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Preface

It is probable that, in the years to come, Rudyard Kipling will be remembered chiefly as a writer of delightful stories of India. If such is the case, his fame will be a well-deserved and happy one. The public of the future may remember also his ballads in dialect about the British "Tommy," his stories of the animal world, or his tales of the supernatural. This study does not seek to set forth this Kipling, the one who will be remembered happily.

Instead it will try to show that most of his works from Departmental Ditties to The Five Nations were part of the spirit of a great tide of imperialism that enveloped Great Britain in the last decade of the nineteenth century. He was not responsible for the movement; he did not seek public favor by catering to it. His works in that decade gave expression to sentiments which, in many minds, sought an active outlet in government policy. His publications in the nineties augmented and swelled the imperial movement until he was thought to be responsible for it.

The works will be traced upon the background of the political events of the day. The Boer War may be said to be the climax, with the action descending swiftly to the point where his influence fell off noticeably. The year 1906 saw the end of his first spectacular popularity, and this study will not trace the political background beyond this point. The section concerned
with the ideas of good government will not need a background of politics: these ideas are abstract theories, for the most part, and are drawn from more than one period of Kipling's life.

This work has suffered because of the fact that there exists no biography of Kipling that is worthy of being so called. This would have been the logical starting-point for any effort that must consider an author's works, influence, and criticism about him. But even the barest biographical information about Kipling had to be constructed wherever it could be found. Facts about his later years, when they were learned in the early parts of the study, were simply stored away until, when they were placed with other odd bits found at random, they were built into some kind of biographical sketch. It is obvious that such an assembled whole would reveal large gaps of information. When some of these more elusive facts finally were found, this writer had surmounted, in part, what had constituted a knotty problem.

Two very helpful books were those of Edward Shanks and Hilton Brown. Both are serious studies and are concerned with the writer's entire life and production. The latter, though it is highly interesting, is chatty and impressionistic. Hilton Brown has expressed a need very early in his work. "Some day no doubt -- and may it be soon! -- an official biography of Kipling will appear and will unveil much that has been hidden and dispel many cherished illusions. In the meantime it is
strange how ill informed we are about an author we have taken so closely to our hearts. Few of Kipling's admirers or detractors could answer a dozen elementary questions about his life;"—1

Attention has also been called to Leon Lemonnier's French book on Kipling, but it was not available for incorporation into this paper.

There has been some recent scholarship about Kipling that is concerned with the tracing of his psychological development. Van de Water's account of Kipling's years in New England is given a prominent place in this personality development. In a similar way his intimate family life, his personal frustrations, and his health are examined. This kind of investigation is modern as well as vital, but it too is handicapped by obscurities and omissions of important details.

Although it was the purpose of this paper to focus attention on the first and most spectacular phase of Kipling's influence, it would be incomplete without a mention of his later tendencies. He did not regain his optimism after the Boer War. He continued to believe that through observance of The Law men would find freedom, peace, and a continuous civilization. But he no longer believed with the old fervor that the British people could carry out this mission alone. Insofar as this was concerned, he was a disillusioned man for the rest of his life.

1 Hilton Brown, Rudyard Kipling (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), p.11
This had an effect upon his work. He did not exhort the British people as often in the later periods, but when he did, it was with all the magnificent forces of rhetoric at his command. Previously he had roots nowhere. He had wandered over the face of the earth. When he moved from India to England he did not become part of England. After he had lived four years in Vermont, (1892-1896), had built his home there, and had seen two of his children born there, he did not become part of the United States. Finally Kipling discovered England. Her very soil provided a soothing balm for his confused spirit as well as a theme for some of his most satisfying stories and poems. "An Habitation Enforced" is often cited as the finest of the works that represent Kipling's preoccupation with the soil of England. It concerns a rich American couple, unhappy and restless, who have wandered over Europe seeking health and peace of mind. When they stumble upon an old English house, they are charmed and seek to possess it. While they are busy making repairs and tending to the needs of their tenants, they gradually become absorbed in the life of the country-side and become happy people. Later it is found that the wife's mother had been born in this very community and had been one of the gentry. England had claimed her own. The story is the hymn of praise of the man who knows he has come home and who knows also, in some mystical manner, that his return has been accepted and approved.

Kipling was beginning to perceive that England was the work of one generation laid upon the work of another. It is to this
feeling of continuity with the past that he returned often. Puck of Pook's Hill is the final picture of the England that he had come to love. In a measure it took the place of the empire he previously worshipped, the empire which had shown itself to be an uncertain object for his affections.

In 1913 Kipling published "The Edge of the Evening" which showed that he was anticipating the first World War a year before it began. The story tells how two German fliers, after they had taken illicit photographs in England, land their plane in a back-field of the country home of a peer and attempt to kill him. Instead, they are killed by him. In order to prevent a scandal, the peer arranges to do away with the bodies and to continue as though nothing had happened. The dead Germans are placed in the plane which is started off into the air with the belief that it will fall into the Channel.

Kipling dreaded the coming war. He knew it would be different and more horrible than any wars of his experience. Indeed, his only son was killed in battle in September, 1915, and his body was never recovered. The strain and horror left Kipling defenseless. He was not in sympathy with the way in which the government was pursuing the war. He saw the careerism and venality of the modern politician. This was represented, in his mind, a great set-back to the laws of civilization. He wrote savagely, and he showed a cruelty toward the enemy never shown before. "Mary Postgate" shows how an English woman allows a wounded German aviator to die without aid of any kind right in
her own garden. Mary is shown to be savagely glad about the whole thing.

Another development that made Kipling bitter was the attempt to free Ireland. He was antagonistic to all efforts along this line. He made a speech of almost hysterical virulence against the Home Rule Bill, and he had the speech published and circularized. To him, the bill was setting official approval upon sedition, rebellion, intimidation, and murder. A similar type of reasoning made him fear the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

The period that began after the World War's end is Kipling's most difficult and his least understood. He limped out of the wreckage more sorely confused than were the critics and readers still concerned with his confusing output. His general public had already been discouraged, partly by the elliptical and complex techniques of the works following the Boer War, and partly from political reasons. His works now were following two directions; the wholesome contemplation of the soil of Sussex, and other unnatural problems. Problems of pain, death, ill-doing, religion, and the other world were occupying his mind. He was concerned much with doctors, and so he wrote of people in morbid states of body and mind. Some of these works were veiled in obscurity and could not yield their full meaning. He was confused within himself. He had seen the glorious pageant of life, men, women, and countries. But what was it all for? His tortured seeking and groping was an effort to find an explanation of pain...
There is much more character complexity and psychological development in Kipling's life and stories than such a paper as this can allow. Most people had a more normal development in life than he had. Most people struggle toward a goal that takes a long time to attain, and in the process attain (if they are fortunate), wisdom, character, a rounded personality and a rounded philosophy of life. Kipling had the so-called good things of his life while he was still youthful. He had popularity, security, a high place in his chosen work, and the warm happiness of his own family circle. Moreover, he was the idol of many classes of people who awaited his every utterance with reverence. All these things happened before he was forty. He was sure of himself; he knew the answers. He believed that he knew where the empire was going; he believed that he knew where he was headed. One by one, these things were taken away. He lost one daughter, then he lost a large segment of his public. Next, he saw his beloved empire following a path that he knew would leave it weakened and vulnerable. Then he lost his only son. It is small wonder that the Kipling of the late years was misunderstood, criticized, and disliked. There was little that he, himself, could comprehend in the world about him. The public pictured him as surly, aloof, vindictive, and bitter during the war years and later. He was all of these things and he was sick besides.

Edmund Wilson has sketched incidents intended to show the
reasons for the gradual warping of Kipling's personality into
the neurotic man of the later years. It is his contention that
Kipling, when he most needed freedom to develop superior ability,
found himself cramped by the stupidity of inferiors. The little
boy in the household at Southsea was bullied and tormented by the
older boy who had a sadistic desire to see little Rudyard pun-
ished as often as possible. A similar situation occurred at
"Westward Ho!" in the form of the inferior bully who wanted to
fight the half-blind underling. According to Wilson, Kipling
consequently developed a fear of popular rule.

The final thing which completed the shriveling process was
a series of incidents involving one of Mrs. Kipling's American
relatives, and it occurred in Vermont. Beatty Balestier, the
relative, was a lawless, indiscreet man who was given to heavy
drinking and to neglecting his family. Kipling lent him money
and gave him advice. The advice was not well taken. Arguments
flared up whenever the two met and during one of them Beatty was
supposed to have threatened Kipling's life. Kipling promptly
had Beatty arrested. This was great fun to this man who had
little to lose, but Kipling, who hated publicity, realized that
in court he would be made publicly ridiculous. The case grew in-
to a long drawn-out legal affair and, early in 1896, before it
could come to the Grand Jury, the Kipling family fled abroad.

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2 Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling That Nobody Read," The Wound and
the Bow (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941)
When they returned to the United States in 1899, word came that Beatty was bringing a countersuit against Kipling. But the author had contracted pneumonia upon his arrival in New York and when he had recovered, he could only be rushed back to England. Beatty Balestier was just having another demonstration. No suit was ever entered. In fact, he admitted later that he was having a little fun at the expense of his annoyingly superior kinsman.

Wilson pointed out that Kipling did not know that the American way to settle family disputes is not by legal proceedings. To Kipling, the situation was full of danger; but aired in court, it would be laughable. To Kipling, American law seemed to protect the malefactor and to abuse the law-abiding man. The bully had won again. From that time forward, concluded Wilson's article, Kipling distrusted popular government and hated democracy.

After one has read this study, a question may arise: "What is the importance of writing a thesis about a man whose ideas were so narrow, whose hatreds were so intense, and who represented so much that is antagonistic to modern progress?"

First, it should be pointed out that many of his beliefs were held by many classes of the British people during his decade of greatest influence. Intellectuals, serious critics, and political adversaries were never members of his cult. But it was large and vocal enough to merit study on the part of the student of literature and history. To study some of Kipling's political aspects in this period is to study, in part, the history of the Britain of the nineties. Second, the study of the
political aspects of his works serves to define the limitations and faults of these works, for his political side is his objectionable side. Once this is done, the rest of the work can become a source of enjoyment to the reader. He will find that the better works are more enjoyable because he has been forewarned.

Even when a separation has been made, it is deplorable that the whole should be less acceptable because of the presence of an objectionable part. But this is so. It may be the reason that so few attempts have been made to picture his life and works as a whole. Even today, while certain authors write at great length about the Indian works and of his early life in India, the larger group of critics do not deal with him at all. Much of the scholarship about Kipling was written at the turn of the century, but the disappointing thing is that out of this great bulk there is so little of value to the student of literature. At the time of his greatest vogue, periodicals were eager to accept almost everything that he wrote. The same thing must have been true, to some extent, of the articles written about him for they are almost endless in number. The later authors who treated of Kipling after his works were separated, so to speak, from the political element contained in them, are much more thorough and scholarly.
CHAPTER I

Kipling's Early Life and Works

There were four Macdonald girls, daughters of the Reverend George B. Macdonald, whose marriages brought them not only fame and social distinction, but an enviable place in the history of nineteenth century England. Georgiana married Sir Edward Burne Jones, then a poor young painter. Agnes married Sir Edward Poynter, who became one of the greatest English artists of his time. Louise made a "good marriage" in the worldly sense. Her husband was Alfred Baldwin and their son, Stanley, became Prime Minister of Great Britain. Alice, the wittiest and most talented of the four, met John Lockwood Kipling on a picnic. He was a skilled draftsman working at that time as a designer of terracotta. When he received an appointment as Professor of Architectural Sculpture in the Bombay School of Art, he married Alice and the two set out for India.

The child Rudyard was born in Bombay, December 30, 1865, and he spent his first six years in India. Like all Anglo-Indian children he learned the language of the bazaar from the ayahs and he learned, too, that he was a child of the ruling race. He lived much with the servants, he knew the feast days, he saw the processions and the glowing fruit market. At an early age he had formed an easy acquaintance with several faiths.

John Lockwood Kipling was a man of wide culture. He was said to be witty, cynical, and entertaining. His friendships
were many and varied, and his acquaintances seem to have been legion. In his home the child met and knew many men who steered India's course. He gave his son encouragement and good advice and, together with his wife, he provided an intimate family life which was to be one of Kipling's chief delights throughout the years. The father's most important work, *Beast and Man in India*, discursive and formless, is nevertheless a mine of information on all things Indian. It contains the origins of many of the customs and incidents which are scattered throughout his son's stories. Rudyard owed his father much. His mother was another source of inspiration. It was she who, on later occasions, would clarify an idea for him when he came to her in the throes of some creative dilemma.

Rudyard was sent to England at the age of six to be boarded in the home of a woman who kept children from overseas. At this gloomy place, Southsea—Near Portsmouth, the little boy suffered through five years of a rigid Puritan regime. He devoted a few intense pages to these years in his autobiography.\(^1\) It was a strange "home." Its mistress was an Evangelical who portrayed the terrors of Hell to little boys who embroidered the truth and who read books into the night. The children were prodded, beaten, and bullied into accounting for every moment of their leisure

time. "Yet," said Kipling, "it made me give attention to the lies I soon found it necessary to tell; and this, I presume, is the foundation of literary effort." These were lonesome days too, but during the time he gained a familiarity with the Bible which was later to influence the vocabulary and rhythm of his poetry. The boy complained very little and tried to live as much as possible within his own imagination; but, when eventually his health broke, his mother came and rescued him and - for an added treat - his father took him on a joyous trip to Paris.

When they returned to England, Rudyard - now eleven - was placed in The United Services College, "Westward Ho!," a public school chiefly intended for the sons of Anglo-Indian civil and military officers. He spent five busy, happy years, that he later made famous in Stalky and Co., with boys who were mostly, like himself, the children of empire.

André Chevrillon sketches briefly what benefits Kipling derived at "Westward Ho!" and, indeed, what the English public school does for every English boy. He says the aim is practical - the aim of life, rather than of knowledge. The school is a rearing-ground which stresses religion, honor and morality. It builds character by its freedom and its discipline; it develops the ability to command by compulsory participation in

2 Ibid. p.6
games that teach the boy to obey. The traditions of the public school aim to produce Englishmen of the true standard type, healthy steadfast men, capable of action, devoted to duty, firmly welded into the social group, and of distinct value to that group. Chevrillon states that from these traditions the young Kipling derived the very faith which is the ground work of his poetry.

The school years were happy and profitable. He was interested especially in the literature of France, of the English Renaissance, and in the Russian Language. He shared the fear of many Anglo-Indians that Russia was the natural enemy of British rule in India. He was a good student, but he was not at the head of his class or even near it. He was, however, editor of the school paper for a time. At the age of sixteen he was given a choice: the university, or India. He chose India, which had possessed his imagination ever since he had left it ten or so years before.

"Home" was now at Lahore, where John Lockwood Kipling had been appointed Curator of the Government Museum, the "Wonder House" of Kim. It was a joyous reunion for the little family. Rudyard had seen very little of his parents since his sixth year. His mother proved to be more delightful than all his boyish imaginings. He had feared secretly that she might be a great disappointment to his now "adult" standards. She had charm, beauty, a keen insight, a nimble mind, and a sprightly, if at times caustic, wit. Because she was gay and gifted, she
Rukh-Din, the foreman of our side, approved of them immensely, for he was a Muslim of culture. He would say: "Your poetry very good sir; just coming proper length today. You giving more soon? One-third column just proper. Always can take on third page."

Mahmoud, who set them up, had an unpleasant way of referring to a new lyric as "Ek aur chiz" - one more thing - which I never liked. The job side, too were unsympathetic, because I used to raid into their type for private proofs with Old English and Gothic headlines. Even a Hindu does not like to find the serifs of his f's cut away to make long s's.4

This was extremely hard work. Kipling spent from ten to fifteen hours a day in his office, where often, half the staff was ill of fever. During the hot season when most of officialdom took itself to Simla for several months, Kipling remained behind in the heat. The opening pages of "The Man Who Would Be King"5 depict a scene which the youthful newspaperman must have lived through more than once. Its beginning is generally conceded to be among the hottest, the most uncomfortable pages in literature. Its heat is the fever-ridden blast of death. Kipling was no stranger to death either, for in that community where nurses were unknown, the well sat up with the dying, and little or no attention was paid to the sex of either. Quarantine or isolation of any type was not practiced apparently, except in the case of the sweeping epidemics among the natives.

5 Rudyard Kipling, Under the Deodars (New York: Charles Scribner Sons, 1897)
when all the children were herded off together.

After the paper had been "put to bed" Kipling would go to his club. There he met and knew men representing the army, education, forestry, engineering, irrigation, and railways, as well as civilians, doctors, and lawyers — each talking his own "shop". The army called the men at the stations into service for long periods, and many servants and unlimited leisure, on the part of some, made for an active social life to relieve boredom. Teas, dinners, dances, and theatricals brought society into frequent and close contact; and Kipling gleaned what furnished the germ for many a tale.

Soon the paper began sending him away to cover events and stories: floods on the railway, openings of great bridges, village festivals and consequent outbreaks of Cholera, communal riots, reviews of armies, receptions of Afghan potentates, and murder trials. The Duke of Connaught, a friend of his father, gave him carte blanche to go to the frontier, live with the army, and write up the British common soldier, "Tommy Atkins." This was most valuable experience, for Kipling was able to visualize the beginnings of his soldier stories and his Barrack-Room Ballads.

He had one particularly jolting experience during his early newspaper years. He referred to it in his autobiography.6

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The Liberal government in England fostered a bill for India which provided, in part, that white women must be tried by native judges. There were many, including the judiciary, who felt that this was unwise and the little *Civil and Military Gazette* took the lead in voicing its opposition. Overnight, however, the paper changed its theme to that of praise for the government's high ideals in the matter. Kipling asked his chief for an explanation, but he got no satisfaction. Still puzzling, he repaired to his club where he was hissed upon entrance. Someone, a little kinder than the others, asked him if he had not known that the *Gazette* held the government printing contract, and that it had been forced to support the bill. Many years later Kipling marveled at his own stupidity saying, "I did know it, but I had never before put two and two together."7

The little incident has some alluring implications of a political plus a racial nature. No student of Kipling, however, has seen fit to expand it in its proper political background and Kipling himself refers to it in a kind of half-light. It is noted here because it marks a step in the development of his social maturity.

A few months later, one of the *Gazette's* two chief proprietors was made a knight. Then Kipling began to perceive that certain civilians who had seen good in the government's

proposal had somehow been shifted out of the heat to billets in Simla. Now he was able to see also the many and ugly ways in which the government could put pressure on those with whom it was displeased. Those men who kept to the middle of the road were recognizable to him by their formula, the formula that all men who are parting with their highest convictions, use. He had only scorn for such men. He never allowed himself to fall into that class. He shunned patronage of any kind and he preached his own doctrines even when he knew they were falling on deaf ears.

In the meantime his verses were becoming known in India. Many letters from men in the army, railway, and the civil service demanded that Kipling put them into a book. A real book was out of the question, but Rukh-Din (the "Muslim of Culture") and the office plant could be employed for a consideration out of office time. Accordingly, Kipling designed a lean, oblong docket, wire-stitched, to imitate a D. O. government envelope, printed on one side only, bound in brown paper and tied with red tape. It was addressed to all heads of departments and government officials. Thus, for his first book, Kipling was author, editor, printer, and publisher. He took reply postcards, printed the announcement of the book on one side, a return order blank on the other side, and posted them up and down the empire from Aden to Singapore. Every copy sold within a few weeks and there was a demand for a new edition. He called this collection of verse **Departmental Ditties** (1886). It contained a series of
satiric sketches of Anglo-Indian life, and, while it showed promise, it is not considered as being of great literary importance.

After he had served for five years on the Lahore paper, Kipling had orders to report for duty on the Allahabad Pioneer, the most important paper in all India. He went with some misgivings. Here he continued his earlier practice of writing short stories to be used as fillers. The Indian public had come to anticipate them; twenty-one already had appeared in the Gazette. Kipling incorporated these with several more and published them in India in 1888 under the title Plain Tales from the Hills. The stories in this volume gave a frank description of life from the inner circle of officials down to the least half-caste hireling. Within the year followed the collections called The Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black and White, and Under the Deodars. These were, in form and substance, a continuation of the Plain Tales. The fame of Rudyard Kipling was well established in India by the time that he began to serve on his second newspaper post.

Almost without exception the stories of Kipling's Indian period are concerned with the India that he knew. Many stories are about the Indian Civil Service and the hard-working, self-sacrificing Englishmen responsible for the effective administration of Indian Affairs. "At the End of the Passage"8 provides

The collection in which it appears is included in the Indian production because of its form and spirit and because many of its stories appeared individually in India. The volume was not published as a whole, however, until Kipling had left India. Hummil, an assistant engineer, has made a weekly practice of entertaining three other men—Mottram, of the Indian Survey, Lowndes, of the Civil Service, and Spurstow, a doctor. One evening mention is made of the death of another friend under mysterious circumstances. Spurstow perceives that Hummil is suffering from heat and overwork and he advises Hummil to get immediate leave. Hummil refuses on the grounds that the man who would be sent to relieve him would have to bring his wife and child and that they would suffer in the climate. Spurstow spends one night with the ailing Hummil and finds that he is suffering nightly torments from sleeplessness and delusions. When the three men return the following week, they find that their host is dead. Kipling allows the reader to infer that the fear delusions brought on by his own state of health and mind caused his death. This grim story is told in a matter-of-fact way. While these characters are shown as kind and considerate to one another, they do not dwell on the hardships of their lives; indeed, their complaints are rare.

Many stories of the Indian period concern the army, its officers good or bad, whose function is to put down rebellions, insure peace, and administer whatever discipline the common soldier needs. The officer stories may depict the officer going
to pieces in a crises. This is the case in "The Big Drunk Draf". It concerns Mulvaney who has been home as a "time expired man" but who cannot settle down. Accordingly, he accepts an offer to take charge of a gang of natives who are working on a railway contract. A home draft which turns out to be Mulvaney's old regiment, camps nearby and creates a disturbance among the native workers. The commanding officer, an inexperienced lieutenant, is handling the whole affair very badly when Mulvaney steps in to offer his advice. The lieutenant, who has heard of Mulvaney's exploits, accepts the older man's guiding hand gratefully. Order is restored and another feather is added to Terence Mulvaney's cap.

"Thrown Away" is Kipling's lament that the young officer in the case could have been prevented from suicide by the timely advice of an older man. "The Boy" (no names are mentioned in this story) was reared and trained at home where he led a sheltered life. When he is transferred to India, and must stand alone, he fails. Unable to cope with failure he adopts the old subterfuge and becomes mildly dissipated. His colonel reprimands him for his unseemly conduct. "The Boy" shoots himself. The letter to his parents at home explains that his death was caused by cholera. The story is set up as a lesson that this

9 Rudyard Kipling, Soldiers Three and Military Tales Part II (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897).

10 Rudyard Kipling, Plain Tales from the Hills (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898).
youth's misdeeds, all minor ones, were owing to the fact that he had no guidance from older, experienced men. His life was "Thrown Away."

It is the common soldier, however, who is the hero of some of the most popular tales. The Soldiers Three, captained by Mulvaney, are the exemplification of this type. Faultily conceived or not, the trio became known and loved by Kipling's readers. Terence Mulvaney, the Irish giant, was the god-father to successive generations of young and foolish recruits. He has served with various regiments from Bermuda to Halifax. This eloquent, rascally genius is as tender-hearted as he is incorrigible. The other two soldiers suffer by comparison to him; Learoyd is a six and a half-foot Yorkshireman, and Ortheris is a little Cockney, as sharp as a needle, an inveterate poacher and dog-stealer. When the trio has done with fighting, they may be found drinking, swearing, playing pranks, and lending a hand to the weak and confused - all within army confines. The regiment is their home, beyond which they look out upon a strange world, the laws and moralities of which are little to them. "Civilians" they take to be their natural enemies upon whom it is always fair to make reprisals or otherwise mishandle them. This is done in all good humor and without malice.

The stories of Anglo-Indian society make the least pleasant reading; they do not show the author at his best. They feature social gatherings and events, the attendant gossip, love, adultery, and a whole parade of the domestic vices. Some of these
tales are laughable and hideous; others are cynical and tragic. Men who are full of their gaming, drinking and other poor amusements, and women who have passed their youth and freshness, and who insist upon being coy and flirtatious, figure importantly in this class of stories.

The Story of the Gadsbys is a series of social-life playlets with a narrative running throughout the whole. It stands above the other works of its class by virtue of the fact that Kipling has allowed his characters to exhibit some real and wholesome emotions.

The first sketch is entitled "Poor Dear Mama." It introduces Captain Gadsby who, coming to call on mama, meets instead the daughter, Minnie. She, in the manner supposed to be common to her sex, babbles pleasantly about mama; but, when the Captain leaves, he is convinced that mama is no longer a suitable playmate for his dashing self, and that Minnie as an object for his affections would be ideal. There is also much revealing talk of horses, dancing, managing the servants, and other lighter phases of social life.

The next sketch, "The World Without," continues the thread of social conversation. This time the scene is the smoking-room of the officer's club. Eventually the talk leads to Captain Gadsby and his attentions to Minnie. His friends are pleased, but they are curious about the "other woman" in the case. How is Gadsby going to get rid of her?

In "The Tents of Kedar" Gadsby does dispose of her, and not
very neatly either. He allows the situation to run along until awkwardness develops. The reader comes away with a great admiration for the discarded Mrs. Herriott. Her earnestness and grace contrasted with Captain Gadsby's cruel blundering is handled in some clever dialogue.

"With Any Amazement" predicts Gadsby's preparations for the wedding. He is in an extremely nervous condition and his bosom friend's attempts to bolster his wavering courage make very amusing reading.

"The Garden of Eden" is, of course, the honeymoon. The young couple talk the silly talk of lovers. Minnie wants to question her husband about his past, but in the end she shies away from the whole subject.

"Fatima" comes down to solid ground in the matter of human emotions. The husband is trying to concentrate upon army business, when Minnie interrupts him again and again. His coolness, instead of driving her away, makes her more persistent. She asks foolish questions, teases, begs him to explain what he is doing, and prowls over his desk. There she finds a reproaching letter to the Captain from Mrs. Herriott. Its meaning is veiled so that Minnie can only resent it without really knowing why. When both husband and wife are irritated beyond measure, Minnie tells him her reason for interrupting: she wanted to tell him of their coming child and did not quite know how.

In "The Valley of the Shadow" Mrs. Gadsby has fallen desperately ill of fever and her child is already dead. The doctor,
the chaplain, and Captain Gadsby await some change in her condi-
tion. At the end she passes the crisis and is on the road to re-
ccovery. There is one vividly real scene between the husband and
his half-delirious wife in which she babbles truths mixed with
feverish fancies. The story is notable for the attitudes of the
husband helpless to aid his wife, and for the portrait of the
woman at the door of death.

"The Swelling of Jordan" is Captain Gadsby's decision to
leave the army. He is explaining his reasons to his bosom
friend, Captain Mafflim, who rejects them, one by one. Finally
the husband is forced to speak the truth to his friend. He is
"in a funk;" family responsibilities and fears for his wife's
health pursue him constantly. He is afraid that one day he may
disgrace himself and his regiment, as he is not as sound as he
used to be. Captain Mafflim registers Kipling's own amazement
at the prospect of a man leaving the job that needs him.

The small group of stories about the Indian native is most
effective. Kipling makes no attempt to portray him in his own
setting, but rather when he is in contact with white men. "The
Judgment of Dungara" shows that, in his mind, there is no meet-
ing-ground for East and West, and it pleads the wisdom of ac-
cepting the belief of "the great God Dungara, the God of Things
as They Are --."\footnote{Rudyard Kipling, \textit{In Black and White} (New York: Charles
Scribner's Sons, 1897) p. 46.} The story tells that an inspired missionary
couple exile themselves in an isolated community in order to convert a native tribe. The British Assistant Collector seeks to warn them of the hopelessness of this task, but the Reverend Justus Krenk and his virtuous wife, Lotta, are fired with more zeal than ever. They do appear to succeed in spite of the threats of the high priest of the native shrine who is losing his revenues. The shrewd priest hints at his own conversion and comes to the mission also. The missionaries are delighted with their success and they plan a great celebration when one of the government officials comes to visit. All that remains, argues the high priest, is that the tribe wear clothes of their own making. He leads them to certain plants from which they can make the fibre and weave their own cloth. On the appointed day the little group donned their new clothes and were to advance upon the visitors, singing hymns. The singing had barely begun when the poor natives were seized with a mass attack of wriggling, scratching, and screaming. They fled from the scene shouting abuse at the good couple and their teachings. Never again did they desert their god, Dungara, who, they believed, had smitten them with madness for their wickedness. Kipling infers that the idea was without hope in the first place and further, that the good couple erred in going into a strange place without having a thorough knowledge of it. The Assistant Collector, who had lived in that place many years, could have prevented the calamity if he had known of the plans, for he knew about the poisonous plant as well as the cunning of native
high priests. This effectively-written story is marked by sarcasm; the author's laughter is almost audible.

Mixed with these larger themes are such ones as bloody border wars, tales of the supernatural and horrible that surpass even the Gothic romances for effect, psychic stories, stories about children, at least one superb animal story told by Mulvaney, and ghosts both tragic and comic. From these one can get a fair idea of the scope and character of the prose of Kipling's Indian period.

The immediate success of an author commonly results from his discovery of some new field. Kipling discovered India. He revealed an unknown world, swarming with life and color, a world of fierce dreams and headlong deeds, where soldiers went about their business and civilians enrolled themselves against heroic labors. His India was a land where the English worked and played among mysterious names in a civilization that meant antiquity to ancient Rome.

Of this new discovery he wrote in a manner that was equally new: a fascinating mixture of reserve and familiarity, a kind of sententious enthusiasm. He developed the boyish affectation of omniscience into an engaging assumption that the reader knew as much as himself. These stories have the quality of being told over a drink and a cigar, confidentially, with the author recognizing the brotherhood of the reader. This may have been caused by the fact that the early stories were written for an Anglo-Indian audience. He was artist enough to be able to explain
himself to the general reader without losing the tone of mere reminder and suggestion. "But that is another story" would mark the omission of some alluring irrelevance. Kipling also employed the subtle device of telling a story from the inside, so to speak, and - most artful of all - was his ability to suggest more than he told. His early manner may be characterized in the words "confidential" and "suggestive."

Apart from his good fortune in having fresh material to deal with, the success of Kipling's early work was owing also to its dominant quality - force. The original strength and vigor of the stories was, to the jaded reader, a keen, refreshing breeze. Like Marlowe in Elizabethan days, Kipling seemed a towering, robust, masculine personality who had at his command a supply of material absolutely new.

He was still a newspaperman, but there was something that was not congenial in his work on the Pioneer. For one thing, he was irked by too close supervision from his proprietors; for another, they regarded his handling of the news as flippant. There was also the old political bugaboo, for it seemed that one of the chiefs had his heart set on a knighthood. So it was with little regret on either side when, in 1889, the Pioneer sent him on a leisurely tour to England by way of the Orient and the United States. He was to send back to the paper a series of letters about his travels.

About this time Kipling learned that an American publisher had pirated Plain Tales from the Hills; but, when he
arrived in Japan on his great tour, he was faced with American book piracy in a general way. There (in Japan) he found all the important works which had been written in his lifetime being put out for the small price of twenty-five cents, and without any provision for compensation to the authors. Some of his own stories appeared, too. In 1899, ten years later, when Kipling was established as an author, he planned to publish the old letters that he had written to the *Pioneer* as a collection. When he learned that a publisher had sent someone to India to dig up as many of them as could be found and publish them in an unauthorized edition, Kipling was forced in self defense to rush out his own edition first. He revised the letters hastily while he was recovering from his grave illness in New York, and he acknowledged that the job was not the best under the circumstances. The collection was called *From Sea to Sea* (1899).

Carpenter says of them:

> The letters are not a fair basis for appraisal of his genius, though some critics begin and end with them. For they were the noisy outpourings of a young writer just released from the supervision of an editor. But the letters remain fresh, vigorous and interesting, with the tang of things out of the ordinary. He was young and curious and sophisticated in East Indian ways, and perhaps showed a disproportionate interest in the bizarre. And while his criticisms may sound harsh and presumptuous, we must remember the year of his impressions was 1889, when we, *the people of the United States*, were more widely known for noise than poise...

This quotation from an American writer in her intimate and admiring sketch of Rudyard Kipling is included because, in her efforts to explain away certain of this work's objectionable features, she has highlighted the very attitudes here, and in later works, that have rightly prejudiced audiences against Kipling as an artist. In spite of her gushing quality, Carpenter has stated some truths. The letters that comprise From Sea to Sea are intensely gripping. The reader does not want to skip any of them, even when their attitude is most odious.

In the very first chapter he sets forth his scheme in a light-hearted fanciful way, and thus sets the tone for the entire work.

After seven years it pleased Necessity, whom we all serve, to turn to me and say: "Now you need do Nothing Whatever. You are free to enjoy yourself. I will take the yoke of bondage from your neck for one year. What do you choose to do with my gift?" And I considered the matter in several lights. At first I held notions of regenerating Society; but it appeared that this would demand more than a year, and perhaps Society would not be grateful after all. Then I would fain enter upon one monumental "bust"; but I reflected that this at the outside could endure but three months, while the headache would last for nine. Then came the person that I most hate - a Globe-trotter. He, sitting in my chair, discussed India with the unbridled arrogance of five weeks on a Cook's ticket. He was from England and had dropped his manners in the Suez Canal. "I assure you," he said, "that you who live so close to the actual facts of things cannot form dispassionate judgments of their merits. You are too near. Now I -" he waved his hand modestly and left me to fill in the gaps.
I considered him, from his new helmet to his deck-shoes, and I perceived that he was but an ordinary man. I thought of India, maligned and silent India, given up to the ill-considered wanderings of such as he--of the land whose people are too busy to reply to the libels upon their life and manners. It was my destiny to avenge India upon nothing less than three-quarters of the world. The idea necessitated sacrifices--painful sacrifices--for I had to become a Globe-trotter, with a helmet and deck-shoes. In the interests of our little world I would endure these things and more. I would deliver "brawling judgments all day long; on all things unashamed." I would go toward the rising sun till I reached the heart of the world and once more smelt London asphalt.

So Kipling left Calcutta for Burma. His first and lasting reaction to its crowded cities was that of confusion, squalor, and revulsion. Life was pictured in such vivid colors that even one who had lived in India was not prepared for it. He was repelled by the presence of large numbers of Chinese--a people that he could not understand. These early letters are impressionistic, even fantastic; they have a dream quality that is difficult to explain. The figure of the Chinese must have pursued him throughout the Southern Asiatic travels, for he is fascinated and repelled by them. He cannot comprehend them and he cannot leave them alone.

The early part of From Sea to Sea is marked by this peculiar attitude of mind, a sick quality that worries and frets an issue and yet cannot drop it. There are hints that there were

other reasons for this extended tour besides journalistic ones. It is entirely possible that Kipling was on the brink of another of those breakdowns in health that marked his whole life.

The ship which took him through the Straits was jammed with uncongenial people. One infers that he would have enjoyed being quite alone, or at least with a select group of people whose tastes were similar to his and from whom he could hear informative stories. This great story-teller was also a practiced listener. Some of his happiest recollections were of chance acquaintances whom he had met on shipboard or while he was traveling otherwise. When he met a man who could tell him a good tale, he felt that he was very fortunate indeed. But the aristocrat in him was offended on this ship; many rude women jostled him; also present was a group of Chicago Jews who were offensive indeed [Kipling does not say how] and who had with them a child of eight whom he spoke of as one of his most horrible experiences.

In Hong-Kong he visited the "gay" section and painted a lurid and pitiful picture of the bizarre characters he found there. This section continues the nightmare quality, although it is balanced by most beautiful accounts of visits to temples, descriptions of art-wares and other products of the artistic crafts.

Kipling was highly appreciative of art and his discussions of it form some of the fine sections in From Sea to Sea. The detailed account of the making of cloisonne in Japan is as lyrically beautiful as the product itself is exquisite. He
portrays the painstaking steps which will ultimately produce the finished vase or bowl. Further, he has reproduced the very spirit and proud tradition that is mixed into this craft.

Japan was a land of delight. It was so clean, so bright, and so full of dear little children. The people prepared delectable dishes for him to eat. The country was in the very midst of its program of assimilating Western ideas. He asked many questions about the government and the army, and these people took great pains to explain. Japan was becoming "civilized", as the people termed it, at a breakneck speed. They were proudest of their constitution with its Parliament and its two parties - Liberal and Radical. He saw the Japanese army on parade. He conceded that, as soldiers, they showed promise, and that with the training of European officers, they might make a first-class enemy.

He did note among these people a carefully-veiled streak of blood-thirstiness which was first revealed to him in their art, and later, when he studied the ideals of hara-kiri. Kipling could not reconcile this with their innate courtesy and kindness, and their love of children and old people.

When he arrived in the United States, Kipling found that there was little to his liking. This attitude may have been heightened by the fact that he was unsuccessful in finding a literary market for his work here. San Francisco is painted in vivid terms as a city of great wealth, lawlessness, and crude people. The presence of many spittoons and lovely girls without
any apparent refinements was another great irritation. The phantom Chinese loomed up again. This time he is the murder victim in a terrifying game of poker at which the author is an observer.

He spent much time in seeing the rural west and some of the national parks; but, when the tourists began to annoy him, he moved on to Chicago. He found that this was an atrocious city and he made it the butt of his vicious humor.

The closing chapters of this revealing book tell about Kipling's interview with Mark Twain, a writer whom he had always held in high esteem. It is done without bitterness and without mannerisms. It is a simple, direct account of the visit and of Kipling's satisfaction in meeting the American writer.

If, in the Indian stories, the reader felt certain narrow-minded prejudices on the author's part his suspicions are confirmed in From Sea to Sea. For, nestled close to some of the most beautiful lyrical passages, can be found some hateful statements of personal hatred for a race or nationality. How often he mentioned that the Chinese were horrid, of inhuman habits, and that he was frightened of them.\textsuperscript{14} He was so horrified by the strangeness of the Canton Chinese and of the apparent futility of their lives that he could offer no remedy better than that of

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., pp. 273 ff.
mass suicide.\textsuperscript{15}

He arrived in England in the autumn of 1889, unheralded and very near the end of his means. He had no wish to present himself before his distinguished relatives as an obscure Indian writer for, in 1889 he was unknown outside of India. A chance meeting with a fellow journalist resulted in an interview being published in the \textit{London Times}. The final result was that the whole of his Indian production was re-published in England for English readers.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 341-342
CHAPTER II

The Years of Kipling's Greatest Popularity and Influence

Kipling came to England at the close of a century in which many things had been happening. The century was one of withered hopes. The Industrial Revolution in England had fostered great hopes of material progress and happiness to be attained through comfort. Instead, it gave rise to vast misery by the overcrowding of towns and the processes of the distribution of wealth. Throughout the century Liberal doctrinaires urged that social justice would be ensured by a widening of the suffrage through destruction of privilege. Between 1830 and 1870 it was expected also that there would be a great increase in human happiness through the establishment of free institutions. Toward the end of the century Gladstone was the Liberal leader who dominated British politics, with the exception of a few Conservative intervals, when Disraeli and others carried the imperialistic policy forward.

The miserable parliamentary history connected with the various Home Rule Bills resulted in the growing impotence of the Liberal party. The Conservative ministries helped to alienate the Irish people by passing various "coercion acts." Even the end of the century did not see peace in Ireland. The whole Home Rule business had to be dropped temporarily, and, in spite of numerous concessions granted to Ireland, that country remained unsettled and unhappy.
Outside of England, there was a condition of conflict and hatred in South Africa. The colonists who had emigrated from Holland were a hardy independent race of farmers and stockraisers known as Boers. They were unwilling to accept the language, customs, and ideas of the British after their colonies came under British control in 1806. They were aggrieved, too, by the abolition of slavery in 1833. The result was that large numbers of Boers "trekked" from Cape Colony northward and formed two separate states, the Orange Free State and The Transvaal. A certain independence was granted them by the British.

More friction followed involving native tribes, boundary disputes, and new settlers, when the diamond fields were discovered at Kimberley in 1870. Seven years later the British government attempted to form a confederation of all states, both Boer and British. The Transvaal resisted, and it was annexed by proclamation. In 1880, The Transvaal revolted, declared its independence from the British and gained several victories over them. The British defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881 was felt bitterly at home. Only a year before, opinion in some quarters was questioning the advantage of continuing the struggle in South Africa. Some leading journals were asking whether such ever-growing conflicts were strengthening or sapping the country's vitality. Majuba Hill crystallized opinion. All quarters were united in enforcing the annexation. Negotiations were started which resulted in independence being granted The Transvaal as long as it agreed to recognize the suzerainty of Great Britain in
foreign affairs. Conservative opinion was appalled at this conclusion. It believed that this peace was pregnant with danger. Confusion and revolt reigned in South Africa up to the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899.

In such a time of social conflict and political upheaval, there was no opportunity for the deep, harmonious tones of a truly national literature: Tennyson's melodious accents and Browning's rhetorical dogmatism were felt to be inadequate as expressions of the restless self-questioning, inquiring, skeptical spirit of an age no longer either very confident of the present, or hopeful of the future. There were younger and more discordant voices -

---the humanistic transcendentalism of Meredith, the gentle yet grim pessimism of Hardy, the raucous imperialism of Kipling, the scientific skepticism of John Davidson, the classical stoicism of A. E. Housman, the religious faith of Francis Thompson, the Celtic mysticism of W. B. Yeats and 'A. E.' - but none of these, with the exception of Kipling's romantic and sentimental jingles and popular ballads, had any widespread influence or authority.1

The discouraged and pessimistic thought that followed the development of the natural sciences brought a proud detachment to literature. If men could not dominate the world of politics and economies, let them seek refuge in art. By the end of the eighties certain schools of literature were preaching

the creed of disdainful aestheticism and cloistered intellectualism. It was the time of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley, when artists sought to shun the sentimental conventions of progress and to pursue the cult of art isolated from life. But that exhaltation of art as something detached from reality could not last. Certain classes of young Englishmen were worn out with spiritual and intellectual problems. They longed for something that they could understand. This personal mood of disillusionment found easy transition in Kipling’s earliest works to the enthusiastic mood of strenuous exertion and heroic sacrifice for the British Empire. Here was no retreat, no refuge from the rapidly multiplying problems of civilization. Instead, this balladist pointed out to British youth the proud way of patriotic service to the glorious, far-flung empire.

Into such a world Kipling already had injected a new, fresh note with his stories. In 1892 he published Barrack-Room Ballads and other Verses, a series of poems written in soldier slang. English literature had much in the way of heroic work about the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, but of the British army specifically as a way of daily life, as composed of individual men, as full of marked characteristics and peculiarities, English poets had little conception. These vigorous ballads are written in the spirit and dialect of "Tommy Atkins," the British common soldier. They deal with a few marked incidents, experiences, and emotions from the private soldier’s point of view; some are general and unlocalized, but most are
peculiar to military life in the East. Kipling's undiluted strength has gone into these vivid poems. There is no superfluity, no misplaced sentiment, no disguising of the ludicrous and ugly. "Tommy Atkins" is presented to the ordinary reader with no apologies and no adornments.

We aren't no thin red 'eroes, nor we aren't no blackguards too,
But single men in barricks, most remarkable like you;
An' if sometimes our conduct isn't all your fancy paints,
Why, single men in barricks don't grow into plaster saints;\textsuperscript{2}

The civilian gets a sense of the soldier's life, in its rough hardships, the experiences of camp and battle, the accidents of a battery charge, the perversities of the commissariat camel, the dangers that await the half-made recruits in the East, the humors of the time-expired man, the fatigue and exhilaration of route-marching. There is the generous recognition of "Fuzzy-Wuzzy," the Soudanese:

So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan;
You're a pore benighted 'eathen but a first-class fighten' man;
We gives you your certificate, an' if you want it signed
We'll come an' 'ave a romp with you whenever you're inclined.\textsuperscript{3}

Tommy bestows a eulogy no less generous upon the native water~

\textsuperscript{2} Rudyard Kipling, "Tommy" Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses (Leipzig: Heinemann and Balestier, 1892), p. 9.

\textsuperscript{3} Ibid. "Fuzzy-Wuzzy." p. 12.
carrier, "Gunga Din," also a servant of the Queen. Perhaps the most winning of all in the singing "Mandalay": the Burmese girl and her lover, the British soldier, his sickness and disgust at England after those old times in the East. The ballads of the "Bolivar" and the "Clampherdow" introducing his poetry of the ocean and the engine-room, and "The Flag of England," voicing the imperial sentiment, gave the keynote to much of his later verse.

Such verse, together with the fine ballad of "East and West," won for their author a second fame, wider than that which was his as story-teller. The most noticeable thing about the ballads, at their first reading, is their swinging, marching music. They go with a swing, an emphasis, and a roll.

Many editions of the ballads were called for, each repeating old favorites and adding some new poems. Even The Five Nations contained a group of Barrack-Room Ballads born of the Boer war.

The puritans of literature were shocked. The young man from Lahore was neither Christian, Oriental, nor Occidental. This was not the polite literature of the drawing-room, nor the aestheticism of the studio. It reeked of the army canteen, of beer, and of the stable. Here was fresh material in literature dealt with in an unconventional way. When all the complaints had died down, however, Kipling was accepted by the multitude including those who were not accustomed to reading poetry.

By the year 1892, Kipling had entered the magic decade of unparalleled popularity, a popularity that was to develop into influence. The scope of his work was widening yearly. A novel
entitled *The Light That Failed* was published in 1891 with fair success. *Life's Handicap*, a collection of stories about Indian life was published in the same year. This collection usually is considered as a part of the Indian production, although it was first published in England. Its stories are longer and show more care and better workmanship than many of the stories of the earlier Indian collections. One by one the poems, which were to be included later in *The Seven Seas*, were appearing in newspapers and in the magazines.

It became apparent that there were certain clearly-stated, recurrent themes in all these works that could be taken to make up Kipling's political creed. The ideal of devotion to duty in the face of all obstacles runs throughout. It was a lesson that he had learned on the Lahore paper when he was seventeen. The individual is a cog in a machine whether that machine be the army, the civil service, or a newspaper; the individual must sacrifice himself to this machine for efficient running. *The Story of the Gadsbys* provides an excellent illustration. In ordinary circumstances a man who decides to change his job in order that his wife's health, her life perhaps, may be saved - would be commended as wise and considerate. When this very thing happens to the Gadsbys, the husband is shamed to leave the army of which he was an integral part, and Kipling manages to turn the reader's sympathies against poor Gadsby. Consider the four Englishmen pictured in "At the End of the Passage." 4 Each has his own work

4 Kipling, *Life's Handicap*. 
and problems; each is hampered at every turn, beset with loneliness, disease, and death; yet they make no complaints unless they are questioned directly. These men who do their duty, and live cleanly and cheerfully, represent the moral bone and fiber of Kipling's writings.

He also did the English a signal service by celebrating the romance of the British government in India. His stories and songs accomplished for the imperialistic idea just what the imaginative artist can do. They made people realize what a great dependency such as India meant, what it cost to maintain it, and just what the organic relation between England and her possessions beyond the seas actually consisted in.

Kipling's handling of the Indian native is on the debit side. He is arrogant here. He believed that the Indian government was the guardian of these people and that it knew what was best for them. He resented bitterly any interference on Indian matters from Parliament, as well as inquiries, originating in England, into native troubles. He thought that it was the duty of the ruling race to maintain peace, prevent famines, and promote education for the natives. He was certain that they were children incapable of ruling themselves and that should the British leave them to their own resorts, some other nation, inferior in its capacities for government, would overwhelm and exploit them. He was solidly opposed to converting Indians to
Christianity. "Lispeth"5 is a sad story which shows that, in Kipling's mind, conversion is impossible. "The Judgment of Dungara"6 goes beyond that; it makes the whole lofty idea ridiculous. Kipling was sure that Asia would never be civilized after the Western methods.

He has been criticized severely for neglecting to portray the real nature of the Indian people. That charge could be explained in more than one way. First, it would be a monumental task even if he had such material within his scope. Second and more pointed, such portrayal would not fit into his artistic or social creed. He could make a story about Michele d'Cruze, one-eighth white, who - in an unexpected crisis - rose almost to greatness because a native believed he was a "Sahib."7

Critics have discredited certain elements of blood-thirstiness in the early works. There was too much rejoicing in the noise and clamor of war, too much of the butcher-shop. Kipling did revel in war as a game. Sympathetic critics like Edward Shanks said that this was caused by the fact that he was fascinated by the way in which soldiers did their work, and further, that in the border wars Kipling was depicting, casualties were very low.8 Others lamented that no word of sympathy was spoken.

5 Kipling, Plain Tales from the Hills.
6 Kipling, In Black and White.
7 Kipling, "His Chance in Life," Plain Tales from the Hills.
for the enemy that was being overwhelmed solely by superior force of arms. The fact is that there is truth in both claims. That the young Kipling's work contains a brutal streak cannot be denied. It is sometimes referred to critically as the "Give 'em Hell attitude." Many of the early Kipling's battle scenes are bloody indeed. This writer, who is usually so terse, is apt to overdo in his accounts of war and killing. In a land where life seems cheap, Kipling made it cheaper. Tied up with this tendency is his overwhelming preoccupation with the way in which specialists do their special jobs. Whenever, in a Kipling story, there is an account of a specialized job to be done or of any mechanism to be explained, be assured that there will follow page upon head-splitting page of technical detail. There is no explanation of the brutality in "The Drums of the Fore and Aft" except to say that physical force fascinated Kipling. Richard Le Gallienne called it "blood-madness" and "homicidal lust" and said that the man who glorified war was an enemy of society. It is encouraging to note that, in the face of the greater distress during the Boer War, the idea of war as a game was replaced by more wholesome and more worthwhile attitudes.

Viewing these characteristics of the earlier writings one can see imperialistic trends in formation, but no one could say


10 Kipling, Soldiers Three and Military Tales, Part II

in 1892 that Kipling was yet the "prophet of empire." Forces were at work, however, that would bring impetus to the coming great sweep of his influence which began with the publication of The Seven Seas in 1896, reached its climax in the publication of "Recessional" in July, 1897, and veered away sharply after the Boer War and the publication of The Five Nations in 1903.

Liberal ministries had been replaced largely by Conservative ministries during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Of the long list of dependencies in various parts of the world many were acquired by conquest and were ruled primarily for the commercial or military advantage of Great Britain. Empire questions became more important than internal questions. In 1896 the collection called The Seven Seas was published. It gave direction, inspiration, and unity to the imperialistic spirit. It should be remembered, however, that Kipling was not following a trend; he took his own line always.

The poet of The Seven Seas sang the epic of the English and of the sea. He evoked the waters of the globe, the true domain of his race. He pictured the sea as the aspiration that has stirred in many souls. With pulsing rhythms he praised the adventurers of the sea, the discoveries of new lands, the true founders of the empire.

Its first poem, "A Song of the English," is powerful. When the dead have spoken bearing witness to the laying down of their lives in the jungles, on the sea-floor, on the veldt, and at the Pole, the sons vow to serve calling on the cities who
rise, in turn, and proclaim themselves. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, Singapore, Hong-Kong, Halifax, Quebec and Montreal, Victoria, Capetown, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Hobart and Auckland - all make obeisance to the old mother, gray-haired England, who replies:

Truly ye come of The Blood; slower to bless than to ban;
Little used to lie down at the bidding of any man.

Later she states:

Also we will make promise. So long as The Blood endures, I shall know that your good is mine; ye shall feel that my strength is yours:
In the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all, That Our House stand together and the pillars do not fall.

Thus is accomplished the welding of the more worth-while empirical forces to establish a spiritual union of all the English-speaking peoples. If this poem had been alone in the volume, it probably could have awakened the pride of race by itself.
"The Native Born" reiterates the same theme.

"The Merchantmen" is the song of the men who have manned Britain's ships on all the seas. "McAndrew's Hymn" depicts the Scotch engineer talking the night through to his God. He had dedicated forty-four years to caring for, and bringing harmony out of, his ship's engines. Some of its lines are well known:

Lord, send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam!

Now, a'together, hear them lift their lesson -
theirs an' mine:
"Law, Order, Duty an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline."

The last two lines are the substance of Kipling's idea of work and good government. It is a theme that continues from the early Indian stories into the stories for children. "McAndrew's Hymn" made a sensation when it was first published. It was considered somewhat shocking that the sacred medium of verse should be used in reference to follower - bolts and snifter-rods. It was from Browning that Kipling derived the device of presenting a philosophy in a richly decorated soliloquy.

"The Mary Gloster" is another dramatic monologue which portrays the death scene of Sir Anthony Gloster, self-made millionnaire shipbuilder. He is explaining to his wastrel son the manner in which he expects to be buried at sea. Mixed with his explanations are lucid lapses into the past, when he chuckles at some joke he has played at another's expense or when he momentarily regrets his sinful ways.

There are only two characterizations in The Seven Seas: McAndrew is religious, endowed with singleness of purpose; Sir Anthony Gloster is more dissolute, coarser, perhaps more human. But this is the type of individual upon whom Kipling has set approval as the men who will take the British Empire somewhere.

All of these poems have imagination, power, and sweep. There is none of the up-and-down quality that the critics deplored, no descents from pure inspiration into clap-trap sentimentalism. The themes of bitterness, trivial revenge, and poking
fun, so marked in some of Kipling's verse, are missing entirely in The Seven Seas. These poems are majestic and manly. The poet recognizes the Hand that rules England and invokes God's aid on her side. "Hymn Before Action" is a foretaste of the spirit which was seen later in "Recessional." Its first and last stanzas bring together and give power and purpose to England's empirical program.

The earth is full of anger,
The seas are dark with wrath;
The nations in their harness
Go up against our path!
Ere yet we loose the legions --
Ere yet we draw the blade,
Jehovah of the Thunders,
Lord God of Battles, aid!

---

E'en now their vanguard gathers,
E'en now we face the fray --
As Thou didst help our fathers
Help Thou our host today!
Fulfilled of signs and wonders
In life, in death made clear --
Jehovah of the Thunders,
Lord God of Battles, hear!

In 1897, the year following the publication of The Seven Seas, Great Britain came to the celebration of the Queen's second Jubilee. There was the elaborate display of military contingents from all over the world; but the crowning event was the naval review at Spithead - the triumphant exhibition of the massive results of the advanced naval policy of the preceding years. The colonial representatives were brought deliberately into the foreground. The Jubilee of 1897, in contrast to the one of 1887, was imperial. Its spirit was a source of great pride in British
territories and possessions in men and wealth.

In the meantime, affairs in South Africa were again reaching a crisis. Cecil Rhodes, who had built an entire fortune in business enterprises in South Africa, had been made Prime Minister of Cape Colony. He applied business methods of chance and risk in the matter of empire building, where wisdom and caution might have served better.

It came as a shock when the government in England learned that Leander Starr Jameson, South African statesman, crossed the border of the Transvaal with a force of 600 men on December 31, 1895, ostensibly to support an uprising of British residents there who had banded together against Boer rule. The British government repudiated the whole idea of the raid, however, and ordered Jameson to return. He ignored the order and proceeded, only to be ambushed and captured by the Boers. Investigation put the whole affair in a doubtful light. No such plight as the one described of the English in the Transvaal ever came to the government at home. It became clear that there was official complicity somewhere in South Africa, and the finger of suspicion pointed to Cecil Rhodes.

Kipling knew and admired these "men-of-action." The families of Kipling and of Rhodes lived in happy intimacy when the Kiplings were in South Africa for their extended vacations. The author's verse, "If," was offered in praise of, and was inspired by Jameson's character.

Reverberrations from the raid, however, were tremendous.
The raid practically made war inevitable, since it stirred up antagonisms which were thenceforth beyond reconciliation. The Boers now knew, with Majuba Hill and the raid as proof, that on their own ground they were a match for the English. The Kaiser sent the Boers a message which implied a promise of assistance in the event of hostilities. (Such help never came, however.)

The president of the Transvaal began to engage himself in buying arms from Germany. A few lucid minds were questioning whether the bloodshed attendant upon what was called glibly "the cost of empire" was worth it.

The average man had no such misgivings. The Jameson affair was pushed into the back of his mind and the sovereignty of the Crown was unparalleled. When the great days of the Jubilee were about to come to an end, there appeared in the *Times* of July 17, a poem that stirred the nation deeply. This was the dignified "Recessional." It was called by one writer --- "one of the chief religious events of the decade."12 Kipling addressed the soul of the English people. At a moment when ostentatious superiority had reached a climax, he went straight to the heart of the matter with his warning. It is based on the assumption that it is God's will that England conquer and hold her colonies and heather peoples. It states further that the English, the rulers, must re-consecrate themselves in all humbleness to this task.

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God of our fathers, known of old,  
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,  
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold  
Dominion over palm and pine—  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies;  
The Captains and the Kings depart:  
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,  
An humble and a contrite heart.  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

Far-called, our navies melt away;  
On dune and headland sinks the fire:  
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday  
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!  
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,  
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose  
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe,  
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,  
Or lesser breeds without the Law—  
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget — lest we forget!

For heathen heart that puts her trust  
In reeking tube and iron shard,  
All valiant dust that builds on dust,  
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,  
For frantic boast and foolish word—  
Thy Mercy on Thy People, Lord!

It was the pomp and circumstance that impelled him to the re-  
monstrance of "Recessional." He, himself, said that the nation  
was approaching the celebration of the Jubilee with a complasen-  
cy and optimism that frightened him. Here he has pointed out no  
immediate concrete lesson. In the spirit of the Hebrew psalmist  
he is pleading for spiritual consecration to the awful tasks of  
empire. "Recessional" should be considered as an integral part  
of all of Kipling's deliberate empirical preachments from The
Seven Seas to The Five Nations. These works, considered as a whole, were an effort to stimulate the English at home to an interest in their empire. They cared so little for its splendors; they accepted it as a fact. They would do little to serve it or to further its development; yet, they were placidly assured it would continue. Kipling, a child of the empire, knew that this could be a dangerous illusion. He knew that the empire would not go on unserved, uncherished, and unnoticed. It would either collapse or secede, and then the position of the mother country would be markedly worse.

The spirit of "Recessional" has often been misunderstood. It has been tagged "religious"; actually it is as empirical or political in spirit as "The Islanders" or "The Truce of the Bear" for example.

This message did the English people a great good, or so they believed. If there was any uneasiness born of the Jubilee display of wealth and power, if there was any doubt concerning the right of one people to conquer and rule another people -- such feelings on the part of the man in the street, were set at ease. He knew now what England's responsibility was. Kipling had made the message vocal and he had enlisted God on the side of the British Empire. The great sweep of empirical force was given a fresh start. A start for what end? Apparently that did not matter.

Richard Le Gallienne described the phase of Kipling's reputation toward the end of the decade when he said that Kipling was
a prophet and his fame a church. Kipling provided a voice for
a large section of public opinion which was waiting for such
help to become vocal. Before "Recessional" he was a national in-
fluence. Now, he was being called the "Savior of Empire," the
"Interpreter of Great Britain," the "Laureate of Empire," and the
"Apostle of its Manifest Destiny" as a world power. It is true
that his was the most responsible voice for this state of things.
He did not create the imperialist spirit; such things are cumu-
lative and go deeper than any single personality. But his was
the voice of this great tide at its height. There is a captain-
cy in expression and such is the responsibility of the voice.

The modern reader is conscious that there is some quality
outside itself that made this poem figure so importantly in
Kipling's career. The answer is obvious. It owed its success
to its topical quality, to the accuracy with which it dictated a
national mood of chastened feeling at the time of the second
Jubilee. It is coupled often with "The White Man's Burden" which was addressed to the United States when it took over the
Phillipine Islands in 1899. This, too, is based on the assump-
tion that the ruling race must administer to the needs of the
conquered peoples. In spite of the hardship, sacrifice, and in-
gratitude, Kipling believes it is a duty to uphold Christian
ideals before savage races. The poem says, in part:


14 Rudyard Kipling, The Five Nations (New York: Doubleday, and
Company, 1911).
Take up the White Man's burden --
Ye dare not stoop to less --
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloak your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your Gods and you.

The initial assumption of both of these poems contains fallacies which were unheeded by the large section of the public that worshipped Kipling, but which were obvious at once to certain critics. He meant these verses sincerely. He was not the man, however, to give effective or human expression to a widespread national or imperial movement. He was not suited to the task. His artistic personality contained too much of the aristocrat and not enough of democracy, humanity or love. It is notable that, with this one exception, Kipling never again led a national movement nor was he associated actively with one. Strangely enough, his interests were all national in scope. He was fitted better to give warnings, point out dangers, and make personal attacks. He had a far sight, but he did not have a broad vision.

The fallacy of "Recessional" lies in the statement that there is a Lord God of Hosts who is pleased by British conquests. This attitude is difficult to reconcile with the non-Christian tone of some of his other writings and with the statement that he is the servant of "the God of Things as They Are--"15 which is

15 Kipling, "The Judgment of Dungārā, in Black and White, p. 46.
his inspiration. The fallacy of "The White Man's Burden" is practically the same. No one has said that Kipling consciously misled his public. His integrity and his sincerity have not been questioned in this matter.

It is nearer the truth that conquests are made when a nation is least Christian. A truly Christian nation will not get an empire. A certain amount of jingoism or chauvinism is inseparable from national existence. A nation could hardly go on existing if it did not believe itself to be very wonderful indeed. But, in these two poems, Kipling was reinforcing a national hypocrisy which could produce dangerous reactions. Le Gallienne points out one:

To see how little Englishmen welcome the real Christian ideal in national poetry one has but to compare the reception of the "Recessional" and "The White Man's Burden" with the languid reception given to Mr. William Watson's noble Armenian sonnets. There was a white man's burden, if you like. There was a work to do on which the Lord God of Hosts had surely smiled. But no! we stood to lose in Armenia. But we have no objection to taking up the white man's burden in the Soudan --- where we stand to gain. Perhaps it must be admitted that interference in Armenia was too perilous for the general peace of the world for us to undertake. ---but, having stayed our hand in Armenia, we must not talk of taking up the white man's burden till we can convince, say, France, that we have conquered the Soudan with the single-minded intention of benefiting the Soudanese. That it may be for the ultimate good of the Soudanese (if sufficient remain upon whom to form an average) is really beside the point of Christian jingoism. Like any other nation we conquer countries for the purely selfish and natural purpose of extending our trade. It is a natural law; but it is not a Christian proceeding, and we are the only Christian nation that pretends
Now that Kipling's career was given the international spotlight, intellectuals found more in his work that was objectionable. It seems that his work showed both moral and artistic faults. Whereas his poetry brought fresh material to literature, it has not worn very well. The sentiment that was originally so stirring seems cheap in repetition. There was "too much bluster about his patriotism and his style, once praised for its amazing vigor often impresses us as at once strident and thin."  

Kipling's vigor was not accompanied by moderation and good taste. He sinned against the laws of artistic proportion and subtle suggestion. He simply had no reserve. In many instances his style was altogether too loud for his subject. One wearies of eternal fortissimo. Many of his tales should have been printed throughout in italics because every word was emphasized. In examples of this nature all qualities are overplayed; the tragedy becomes melodrama, the humor becomes buffoonery, the picturesque becomes bizarre, and the whole effect upon the reader is that of confusion and weariness.

There are two more defects in the early works that might be classed as moral deficiencies. The first is the ever-present

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coarseness that Kipling mistook for vigor. The tendency is inseparable from force and needs to be held in check. It is the inevitable product of superabundant vitality. Many of the humorous scenes are devoted to drunkenness. "Gloriously drunk" is a favorite phrase. The time will come when this sort of thing will be obsolete. Some of Kipling's contemporaries laughed at drunkenness in the same way that the Elizabethans laughed at insanity. The same defect in this writer leads him to overindulge his passion for ghastly detail. Here he ceases to be a man of letters and becomes downright journalistic. It is easier to excite momentary attention by physical horror than by any other device, and Kipling leaves nothing to the imagination.

Another moral defect in the early works is the attitude of world-weary cynicism, a quality that is foolish in so young a writer. His treatment of women characters in unfavorable. His attitude toward them has been described as "disillusioned gallantry." Kipling is frequently giving his reader a "knowing wink," which after a time gets on one's nerves.

A disconcerting vein of sentimentality appears in some works that often is called "clap-trap" or "Fairy-tale" sentimentality. "The Drums of the Fore and Aft"\(^{18}\) depicts the bloodiest of battle scenes in which the British regiment is on the verge of retreating in shame, followed by the flagrantly

\(^{18}\) Kipling, Soldiers Three and Military Tales Part II.
sentimental scene in which the two drummer-boys save the honor of
the regiment by drumming it back into the fray. Such a view of
sentimentality is at variance with Kipling's uncompromising real-
ism. Francis Adams comments on the same thing when he said —
"His vogue was the most universal one of our time. His popular
limitations were plentiful enough, his cheap effects were glar-
ing enough to win him the applause of the intellectual ground-
lings, the noisy imperious "pit" of our contemporary theatre of
art.""19

Another false note was struck in "Gunga Din."20 After the
heroic Indian had saved the British soldier's life and had given
him water, Gunga Din, himself wounded, addresses the soldier,
saying — "I 'ope you liked your drink" in the language of Tommy
Atkins. Gunga Din would have said nothing of the kind. He was
too busy dying. It is another of the superficialities that
Kipling sometimes cannot resist.

According to the intellectuals, the hard-won gains of the
nineteenth century philosophers were lost in the face of Kiplings
doctrines. His preachings were the products of a pessimistic age
of modern hope or endeavor he had nothing good to say. Democra-
cy, the education of the masses — these were favorite butts of
his laughter. He was looked upon as a dangerous influence

19 Francis Adams, "Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Verse, "The Fortnightly

20 Rudyard Kipling, Barrack Room Ballads and Verses (Leipzig:
Heinemann and Balestier, 1892).
because he glorified war. His influence was all on the side of a narrow patriotism that saw no nation but his own. He found worth in other nations only when they allied their interests with those of Great Britain.

In October, 1899, actual war broke out in South Africa. The Boers carried an unbroken series of victories in the early winter of 1899-1900, thus amazing the world. The British government sent all the available troops, accepted services of volunteer militia regiments as well as troops offered by the colonies. She had no allies; indeed she felt that in this matter she had no friends. The best of her fighting men were being shipped over a perilous route that could be cut the moment England lost control of the seas.

It was a perplexing, anxious issue for Kipling. He believed that the war was necessary, but he took no joy in the fact. He knew now that this would be no mere border skirmish, but real war with death, suffering, and disappointments, against an enemy that was prepared for the onslaught. He was fearful too that the forces of empire might not assert themselves with the efficiency he had dreamed of. Some of his worst fears were confirmed. He saw the amazing inefficiency of the politicians and generals who directed the defences. He saw the youth of Britain wasted in the struggle against an enemy who was fighting his own kind of warfare in the country that he knew. On the credit side he saw the courage of the common soldier and the heartening response of the trained troops from the colonies.
Gradually the British overwhelmed the Boers, although guerilla warfare continued for another year. In May, 1902, all resistance ceased and the Boer republics were annexed later to the British Empire.

The war was a crucial event in Kipling's career. The effect upon the British people themselves cannot be overestimated. For the Boers it was now or never. They knew that they had to bring the whole of South Africa under their rule or sacrifice their entire way of living. England sent a quarter million men to South Africa sustaining there a military effort at a distance of thousands of miles on a scale which she had never attempted before.

At the beginning of hostilities Kipling went directly to the front. He wasted no time making a case against the enemy. He said nothing to encourage an easy optimism. He perceived two things: the bad handling in higher places which wasted so much time and so many lives and which increased the risk to the empire which the whole affair involved, and the suffering, heroism, and good-humor of the men and regimental officers. He became the hero of the war when "The Absent-Minded Beggar" was published in the Daily Mail October 31, 1899. It was a delightful singing bit of whimsy asking alms for the soldier who has gone to war leaving his wife, his children and his debts behind.

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21 This poem was not included in any collection for many years. It may be found now in the definitive edition of *Rudyard Kipling's Verse* (New York: Doubleday Doran and Company Inc., 1942)
him. It was written in dialect and its spirit was similar to that of the Barrack-Room Ballads. The poem was set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, and the whole proceeds from its sale was devoted, in Kipling's name, to the benefit of the wives and children of the reservists.

Immediately after the war, The Five Nations (1903) was published. It contained many themes of the war. Many of its verses already were known, since they had appeared separately in periodicals or newspapers. "Recessional" and "The White Man's Burden" were included. Some of the older themes of The Seven Seas -- ships, the sea, soldiers, emigrants, and explorers -- were expanded. England's devotion to the white man's tasks is shown in "Pharaoh and the Sergeant" and in "Kitchener's School."

"The Fleet of the Young Men" is the song of the restless pioneers who carry the poet's approval. "The Broken Men" is the lament of those who have had to leave England for one or another reason and who cannot return. "Our Lady of the Snows" is Kipling's tribute to Canada and "The Young Queen" was composed for the inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth.

The poems of The Five Nations which were written during the war itself show a distinct change in their point of view. Kipling ceases to extol empire. The spiritual union of the English peoples has been accomplished. He no longer sings "The Song of the English. " His people now must be told of their weaknesses. "The Old Issue," published at the war's start, is an admonition to them to keep the law of civilization. The
reference is to the days of King John at Runnymede and to the freedom the forefathers had fought for. Otherwise the message of this fine poem is not entirely clear. Kipling does repeat warnings in it of vague dangers from abroad:

Give no heed to bondsmen masking war with peace.
Suffer not the old King here or overseas.

"The Lesson" is another challenge to the British to profit by the experiences of the war. The poet does not cite directly the lessons to be gained; this poem and the former ones are more in the nature of exhortations. Kipling is setting the stage for the utterances that he will make when he says in the last stanza of the poem, "The Lesson":

It was our fault, and our very great fault--
and now we must turn it to use;
We have forty million reasons for failure,
but not a single excuse!
So the more we work and the less we talk
the better results we shall get--
We have had an Imperial lesson; it may
make us an Empire yet!

But that "Imperial lesson" was such bitter medicine it served instead to lead Great Britain away, for a time, from concerns of empire.

The poet pricks deeper in "The Old Men" likening certain qualities in his countrymen to the degenerate qualities of old age. This is a scathing satire on the English asleep in their ancient habits and prejudices, their traditional sense of well-being, and their illusion of security. That the English should muddle through every crisis and then be pleased with themselves at the result, is preposterous and offensive to the poet.
"The Islanders" finally states what Kipling believes was the greatest lesson of the war: the need for orderly conscription of men for the nation's army. He allows his anger full scope. He flays a people who felt that they were so far from danger, and whose armies were like toys. These people assembled an army, unfit and raw; their horses and dogs were better trained. Yet, the nation was saved by this "remnant." The strong men cheered, while the youngsters went to war. Then the country "fawned on the Younger Nations for the men who could shoot and ride!.

Kipling pleads solemnly for his cause:

Idle—except for your boasting — and what is your boasting worth
If ye grudge a year of service to the lordliest life on earth?
Ancient, effortless, ordered, cycle on cycle set,
Life so long untroubled, that ye who inherit forget
It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep.
Men, not gods, devised it. Men, not gods, must keep.
Men, not children, servants, or kinsfolk called from afar,
But each man born in the island broke to the matter of war.

He pleads for the same thoroughness and training that islanders insist upon in their games, and for sound, immediate action before the already-gathering clouds of the next war break. Two lines in "The Islanders" were like a slap in the face to the public that supported him:

Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
With the flanneled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.
For the first time an Englishman had spoken contemptuously of those games which are looked upon as a national discipline and a potent factor in the formation of the English character. 22

"The Truce of the Bear" included in The Five Nations, had little to do with the Boer War. It was Kipling's sneer at the Czar of Russia's proposal to limit armaments. 23 His opinion of Russia as uncivilized and untrustworthy had been seen already in "The Man Who Was," 24 and in this allegory ("The Truce of the Bear") he voices his distrust of the "bear who walks like a man." Matun, the old blind beggar, warns the white men to beware when they hunt the bear, for when he appears to be trapped he is most dangerous of all. He rips the bandages off his face to show how the bear mutilated him just as Matun was about to spare the animal's life.

22 Chevrillon, Op. Cit., p. 45, first footnote, says, "Of course Kipling's attack was chiefly aimed at the spectacular games played by professionals, which attract a mob of loafers and betting men."

23 An interesting aside regarding the Czar's conference - the main proposal for limiting armaments had to be dropped. Each nation was busy with its pet inventions for waging war. Certain conventions of war were established, however. One was the banning of certain types of bullets which flattened on impact. Great Britain protested that she had to rely on these in stopping the onrushes of certain savage peoples under her rule. It was decided then that this type of bullet would never be used against a civilized enemy.

24 Kipling, Soldiers Three and Military Tales Part II.
The Five Nations lost for Kipling a large segment of his public. Very few were willing to see in the war lessons that he wished them to see. Many believed that his rantings were the result of seeing that the nation was beginning to turn its back on him. Kipling, however bigoted he may have been, kept to his arguments. Englishmen resented his complaints about unpreparedness and about their unwillingness to go to the veldt and die. They simply did not hold with his view that an invasion of Natal constituted an invasion of sacred English soil. They also replied to his charge that Mother England sent out her trained colonials to South Africa. It seems that many Englishmen volunteered in the early years of the war when it had a defensive character, but they did not continue to do so when it became obvious that it was undisguisedly a war of conquest and annexation. They ridiculed the statement that the life of a soldier is the lordliest life on earth. They knew better. The war was over. Men did not want to occupy their lives preparing for another.

Critics found that The Five Nations was disappointing. Some of the sea poems showed an impassioned imagination; the sketches of South African types were merry and picturesque. In spite of the fact that Kipling drew on many parts of the globe for his subjects, the poems are restricted in range of interest. They do not bring forth any new aspects of his talents. The critics took the part of the "street-bred people" against the reckless daredevils of the world. It is the stay-at-home who
sways the fortunes of the world; the others are playing an increasingly minor role. It is easier to admire the patriotism of Tennyson which delighted in glorifying the traditional qualities of Englishmen, than to sympathize with Kipling's imperial sentiment that apparently desired to see every good Englishman engaged in the business of governing someone who is not English. This was the gist of critical reaction to The Five Nations and all that its poems implied.

"The Absent-Minded Beggar" was a result of the war, as we have seen, but it was not included in The Five Nations. After he had studied this poem, Richard Le Gallienne longed for a national poet of more inspiration. He lamented that Kipling was of the mob. That a national poem should be written in the dialect of the cockney costermongers was deplorable to this critic. He said, "Of course, if England is satisfied to be represented by 'The Absent-Minded Beggar,' all the worse for England. It only means that its finer minds are withdrawing themselves from the direction of national destiny."

In Kipling's next collection of stories, Traffics and Discoveries, (1904) he dealt with no main themes of war, but rather with the outgrowths of the war. Of the eleven stories in the volume, three are concerned directly with aspects of the conflict.

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The first story, "The Captive," is the experience of an American renegade, Lawton O. Zigler, and his invention - the automatic two-inch field gun - in the war. He is shown as a prisoner and he tells his own story in what Kipling would have one believe is the American manner. Zigler and his gun enlisted on the side of the Boers. When the British capture him with the enemy, both sides sit down together and talk as friends. Zigler is overwhelmed by the integrity and friendliness of the commands, both Boer and British. He is sent to recuperate from his wounds to the home of an English lord. The story is notable for its portrayal of the American and for the unusual side-lights about the war. For instance, Kipling could admire the enemy high command; it was not Boer, but was made up largely of men imported from the Continent. But "brother Boer" himself evoked no praise from Kipling. He was a psalm-singing hypocrite who would do anything but die. The story is so packed with names of places and people, currents and counter-currents, that it loses some of its value to the contemporary reader. Kipling puts some of his own concise views into the mouth of the English lord:

He had his knife into the British system as much as any American. He said he wanted revolution, and not reform in your army. He said the British soldier had failed in every point except courage. He said England needed a Monroe Doctrine worse than America—a new doctrine, barring out all the Continent, and strictly devoting herself to developing her own Colonies. He said he'd abolish half the Foreign Office, and take all the old hereditary families clean out of it, because, he said, they was expressly trained to fool around
with continental diplomats, and to despise the Colonies. His own family wasn't more than six hundred years old. He was a very brainy man, and a good citizen. We talked politics and inventions together when my lung let up on me.26

"The Comprehension of Private Copper" reveals the false attitudes held by the enemy regarding the British, peddled to them by certain pro-Boer British journals. Private Copper is ambushed by a young Boer burgher of British ancestry. He has Copper at his mercy, and he pours out his hatred for the British.

"Yess, I'm a Transvaal burgher. It took us about twenty years to find out how rotten you were. We know and you know it now. Your army - it is the laughing stock of the Continent." He tapped the newspaper in his pocket. "You think you're going to win, you poor fools. Your people - your own people - your silly rotten fools of people will crawl out of it as they did after Majuba. They are beginning now. Look what your own working classes, the diseased, lying, drinking white stuff that you come out of, are saying." He thrust the English weekly, doubled at the leading article, on Copper's knee. "See what dirty dogs your masters are. They do not even back you in your dirty work. We cleared the country down to Ladysmith - to Estcourt. ---"

The Boer flung more insults at the British who dared not kill spies or burn the homes of the enemy, who could not command the loyalty of the native tribes even by paying them, and who did feed and care for the women and children of the enemy.

Kipling has clothed an unlikely situation with his views on the British weaknesses in pursuing the war. The Boer had received his information from Jerrold's Weekly, an English pro-Boer paper of the time.

Private Copper manages to overpower his adversary and trots him back to the English camp, where the prisoner is enlightened respecting some facts, and where the men get a hearty laugh from the newspaper which told, among other things, how the British Tommy was slaking his brutal instincts in furious excesses. The story ends with a comic twist. The captain, hearing that an English paper taken from a prisoner is in camp, is led to believe that it is a copy of the *Times*. He sends his servant to make arrangements for a trade. Private Copper is heard making gurgling noises in the dark and he blesses his good fortune.

A story told in the earlier Kipling manner is "A Sahib's War." This delightful monologue pictures episodes of the war as seen through a Hindu's eyes. His is an admirably drawn character with Eastern imagination and Oriental dignity. The old Sikh trooper and his "Kurban Sahib," a young Anglo-Indian, get sick leave from their Indian regiment and go to South Africa to offer service. The young man is killed by Boer treachery. When the Hindu seeks to take revenge in his own way, the spirit of the younger man appears to remind him that he must hold to the old public school ideals of sportsmanship in the Sahib's war. The story satirizes the combination of cant and treachery in the Boer character.
The public had called for ten thousand copies of * Traffics and Discoveries* before publication. It lost many readers for Kipling, however, on the strength of its style alone. All of the stories are marred, to some extent, by irritating technical passages, a practice which having now begun, he adheres to more and more in future works. Readers of 1904 did not want to be reminded of what they did not know. The earlier Kipling always assumed that his readers knew all the details, even while he was explaining them. He took his readers into his confidence and shared, so to speak, any information that he wanted the readers to have. The stories in * Traffics and Discoveries* are quite different; some of them require several readings for full comprehension. "Mrs. Bathurst" is conceded to show expert character development, but it does not fully reveal the true meaning. According to the immemorial custom of the multitude it derogated what it could not immediately comprehend.

It has been seen how literary opinion has, with growing force, veered away from Kipling's ideals. * Traffics and Discoveries* marked the diminishing of his reputation among ordinary men. The message of *The Five Nations* marked his first alienation from the dominant empirical politics of the nineties.

John Bull was so relieved that the Transvaal business was over. He wanted to return to his former comfortable way of living and thinking. He was, therefore, inclined to ignore the urgent warnings. Kipling lashed at the nation, at every class and party, to prepare defenses, to show her strength, the mere sight
of which he believed would avert catastrophe. But all parties, Tories, Liberals, and Labor alike, were unanimous in refusing the one measure which, to the poet, meant salvation -- national conscription.

When the struggle between Right and Left grew keener and the Liberals swept back into power in the elections of 1906, they were the chief opponents of any attempt to prepare the country for danger. The idea was considered antagonistic to democratic thought then setting off in the direction of popular reforms. If there was war to be faced, reform would have to take the opposite way: not the reign of the masses but submission to authority, not the prosperity and equality of all but discipline, renunciation, and effort, not more rights - but more duties.

Liberals, from their chief downwards, denied the peril of war and labeled it a Tory invention. They went even further, and began reducing armaments. Kipling was no longer a force to be reckoned with. With 1906 came what Shanks called "the great outburst of critical silence."²⁸ Kipling stubbornly and steadily kept to his own arguments. He regarded Liberalism as preparing the way for the enemy in the greater conflict that he knew was coming.

With the favor of a political reign pulled away from him, his reputation completed its partial eclipse. He was never to

return to that high place that he had occupied. He was never to regain his optimism. He had to temper his belief that the British Empire would be the greatest engine for the perpetuance of law, order, and progress in the world.
CHAPTER III

Some of Kipling's Theories of Good Government

Much of Kipling's work was popular because of its topical quality, and much of it has been neglected for the same reason. There are works, however, containing his abstract theories which are timeless. Technique and the technician are the pivots of his political thought. He was an authoritarian: he believed that the job should belong to the man who can do it and that he should be allowed to do it without inexpert interference. He delighted always to portray a man doing the work for which he is fitted and trained. The process of organism, of coordinated work, fascinated him. In the early tales, he was concerned greatly with the army in which all parts worked together for its best interests. The strength of any system that Kipling portrayed came from coordinated work. Discipline and labor were the by-words of The System. The one place where a man may stand is his appointed station in the strategy of things. Individual initiative counted for little. It was for the best interests of The System that Ortheris refused to report the officer who had struck him in a fit of nervous anger.1 It was for the same reason that Hummil refused to get leave from the job and the climate that was killing

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1 Kipling, "His Private Honour," Soldiers Three and Military Tales Part I.
him. To Kipling, nothing counted but The System. Health, love, family, personal comfort mattered little to the exacting System. The stories of the Indian army and the Indian Civil Service are noted for such heroes. Such figures who are in revolt or who have fallen from the ranks are treated as tragic or pathetic. He scorns the skulker, the egoist who whines at the rules instead of playing the game. "He sees Creation as a vast organism of beauty and irony and endeavor, linked by the law of cause and effect, and swung steadily toward a Nirvana of relationship through the resultant force of myriads laboring each in his degree."

The Day's Work (1898) shows this master idea at its height as it pertains to machinery and animals. "The Ship That Found Herself," "Bread Upon the Waters," and "The Maltese Cat," are fairy stories of a new kind. The first story describes the first transatlantic voyage of a cargo-boat. The many parts speak to each other and the genius of steam is shown exercising a soothing influence over all. Toward the end the parts awaken to the realization that they are working for a much larger whole. The fantastic and futuristic "With the Night Mail" is Kipling's most

2 Kipling, "At the End of the Passage," Life's Handicap.
extreme display in technical writing. It shows clearly the gospel of coordinated work, of discipline for useful ends. "McAndrew's Hymn"\textsuperscript{5} has something similar in its lesson -

"Law, Order, Duty an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline!"

Kipling discerned among men a constant and necessary hierarchy, the framework of an heroic society, which takes place whenever a human group has a difficult task to accomplish\textsuperscript{6}. At the top are the heroes who dominate its elements of fear, envy, idleness, ambition, and desire, and so obviate whatever disorder is arising. When order is restored, the great administrators step in. These are strong, cautious, silent men. They have few words to say about themselves or their concerns. Through skill and self-control the statesmen maintain the society created by the heroes. Last, the self-seekers and talkers, encouraged by the solidarity of the established order, come in. The reign of politicians and exploiters creates confusion and anarchy, until the cycle starts anew. These three stations are depicted clearly in "Little Foxes,"\textsuperscript{7} a story which will be discussed later. "William The Conqueror"\textsuperscript{8} has the heroes and great administrators only. The problem in this story is to bring

\textsuperscript{5} Rudyard Kipling, \textit{The Seven Seas} (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925).


\textsuperscript{7} Kipling, \textit{Actions and Reactions}.

\textsuperscript{8} Kipling, \textit{The Day's Work} (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co. 1925)
order and relief to a native population that has been stricken by famine. William is a young girl who won't be left behind. Her type is rare in Kipling's stories. He usually pictures women as enemies of The System because they distract a man's attention from duty by their preoccupation with love and family matters.

The man of action is everywhere in the stories. His character is of the simplest. Neither love nor family count for him until his day's work is accomplished. He trusts no one to take his place, unless it be other men of action, younger perhaps, whom he honors by giving them the hardest tasks. To no one else would he entrust the ceaseless toil to which he subjects himself. Jim Hawkins, in charge of famine relief in "William The Conqueror" says while estimating the worth of one of his new assistants, "That's a good man. If all goes well I shall work him hard."

Kipling encountered these brave men often in his travels about India. Some of the best accounts of his travels may be found in "Letters of Marque" which is affixed to later correspondence to form the work called From Sea to Sea. The earlier letters, however, have a different tone and attitude. In them he speaks as a student, anxious to report all he can, and at the same time seeking to learn more. The haughty tone of the later letters is missing entirely. It was not his good fortune to visit the Indian Native States very often, but when he did, (in November and December of 1887) he found Englishmen there, the

9 Ibid., p. 182
very duplicates of those he was later to celebrate in his stories.

In the middle of all this bustle of reform planned, achieved, frustrated, and replanned, and the never-ending underground warfare that surges in a Native State, move the English officers - the irreducible minimum of exiles. As a caste, the working Englishmen in Native States are curiously interesting; and the traveller, whose tact by this time has been blunted by tramping, sits in judgment upon them as he has seen them. In the first place, they are, they must be, the fittest who have survived; for though, here and there you shall find one chafing bitterly against the burden of his life in the wilderness, one to be pitied more than any chained beast, the bulk of the caste are honestly and unaffectedly fond of their work, fond of the country around them, and fond of the people they deal with. In each State their answer to a question is the same. The men with whom they are in contact are "all right" when you know them, but you've got to "know them first," as the music-hall song says. Their hands are full of work; so full that, when the incult wanderer said: "What do you find to do?" they looked upon him with contempt and amazement, exactly as the wanderer himself had once looked upon a Globe-trotter who had put to him the same impertinent query. And - but here the Englishman may be wrong - it seemed to him that in one respect their lives were a good deal more restful and concentrated than those of their brethren under the British Government. There was no talk of shiftings and transfers and promotions, stretching across a Province and a half, and no man said anything about Simla. To one who has hitherto believed that Simla is the hub of the Empire, it is disconcerting to hear: "Oh, Simla! That's where you Bengalis go. We haven't anything to do with Simla down here." And no more they have. Their talk and their interests run in the boundaries of the States they serve, and, most striking of all, the gossipy element seems to be cut altogether. It is a backwater of the river of Anglo-Indian life - or is it the main current, the broad stream that supplies the motive power, and is the other life only the noisy ripple on the surface?
You who have lived, not merely looked at, both lives, decide. Much can be learnt from the talk of the caste, many curious, many amusing, and some startling things. One hears stories of men who take a poor, impoverished State as a man takes a wife, "for better or worse," and, moved by some incomprehensible ideal of virtue, consecrate— that is not too big a word—consecrate their lives to that State in all single-heartedness and purity. Such men are few, but they exist today, and their names are great in lands where no Englishman travels. Again, the listener hears tales of grizzled diplomatists of Rajputana-Machiavellis who have hoisted a powerful intriguer with his own intrigue, and bested priestly cunning and the guile of the Oswal, simply that the way might be clear for some scheme which should put money into a tottering Treasury, or lighten the taxation of a few hundred thousand men— or both; for this can be done. One tithe of that force spent on their own personal advancement would have carried such men very far.10

Such men are not motivated by fame or money, but by their devotion to service. They feel that they are a bulwark to the people or cause that they are serving.

The supreme exemplification of the authoritarian principle is the job of ruling. Kipling's idea of the good government is based on the abstraction that each man works at his own job coordinating it with the work of other men for the benefit of the whole. At the head of the effort is a strong man ruling alone. This idea has to be achieved piece-meal and gradually by hints and negations, and when it is fully assembled it is not inclusive, but reveals gaping holes and glaring flaws. The organ-

10 Kipling, From Sea to Sea, Part I pp. 146-148.
ism of good government pervades many stories whether about a ship, a bee-hive, or the wolf-pack. It is not difficult to portray good government in terms of these abstractions, but good government in the actual state of human affairs is something else.

In the matter of governing colonies, for example, there is no over-all pattern of procedure, but rather a few spotty ideas in the form of stories that show what must not be done.

The reader is conscious that there is another propelling force, perhaps the most potent, in Kipling's philosophy. It is known as The Law and he so names it in "Recessional." It is a larger principle than the idea of work or the hierarchy of good government, for it is universal and must be kept by all nations if civilization is to be maintained. Edward Shanks has a fine comment on The Law and he even makes a definition of it. At the same time he admits the danger of reducing any man's theories to a formula.

"The Law" means that arrangement of life under which the common man is enabled to do the best which is in him for himself, his family and the rest of the world, including the generations yet to come. So far as civilization has gone, that does not yet mean quite enough for everybody to eat. Under what we call civilization, most people had more to eat than they formerly had and fewer children are killed by famine and other avoidable disasters. We ought to advance from that point, but it is even more important to make sure that we do not recede from it. We have reached it with many pains and we hold it precariously. The human race has before reached almost as high a level as we and has fallen back. We are in danger of a similar
Kipling would say something in the same vein. He was so con­
scious of the continuity of civilization and the pitfalls con­
nected with it that he never hesitated to give any warning that
he felt was necessary.

"The Mother Hive," appearing in *Actions and Reactions*, is a
powerful warning. It is an allegory showing what could happen
to Great Britain if certain socialistic practices are not elimi­
nated. It is told in the language of the apiary and begins with
a slur on the Islanders who are "too thick on the comb." The
active, normal bee-hive becomes undermined by the Wax-moth and
her vicious habits until the whole hive is festering with ab­
normal bees, "oddities," and new circular cells - and is, in
fact, ruined. The remaining, normal bees escape with their
princess to form a new, healthy, hive. They can see the remains
of the old hive being destroyed by the bee-keeper with his sul­
phur candle. Kipling is saying that the hive prospers as long
as the bees toil, support the queen, and keep the Law. The Wax­
moth represents those people who seek to break The Law. Such
people are always vigilant in seeking out the unwitting people
who, by their very trusting ignorance, offers protection.
Kipling satirizes these dupes in "The Mother Hive."

When he first arrived in England as a young writer he no­
ticed a group of people who, if left to their own resorts, he

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believed would lead the nation to degeneracy. He speaks of them in his autobiography.

They were overly soft-spoken or blatant, and dealt in pernicious varieties of safe sedition. For the most part they seemed to be purveyors of luxuries to the 'Aristocracy' whose destruction by painful means they loudly professed to desire. They de­rided my poor little Gods of the East, and asserted that the British in India spent violent lives 'oppressing' the Native. ---

The more subtle among them had plans, which they told me, for 'snatching away England's arms when she isn't looking - just like a naughty child - so that when she wants to fight she'll find she can't. (We have come far on that road since.) Meantime, their air was peaceful, intellectual penetration and the formation of what to-day would be called 'cells' in unventilated corners. Collaborating with these gentry was a mixed crowd of wide-minded, wide-mouthed Liberals, who darkened council with pious but disin­tegrating catch-words, and took care to live very well indeed. Somewhere, playing up to them, were various journals, not at all badly written, with a most enviable genius for perverting or mistaking anything that did not suit their bilious doctrine.---12

Kipling's supreme exemplification of the workings of The Law are the Jungle Books. There was The Law of the pack and the Law of the jungle. Mowgli learned The Law from his patient teachers -- Baloo, the great bear, and Bagheera, the black pan­ther. The man-cub came into the pack at the Council Rock in the manner provided by Law. He learned to give the magic words of the different beasts when it became necessary to invade their hunting-grounds for food. He learned the danger of following

12 Kipling, Something of Myself for my Friends Known and Unknown, pp. 91-92.
the monkey people, the Bandar-log, the people without a Law. The boy was fascinated by them, by their playfulness, their bragging and boasting, their games and pranks, and by the way in which they flattered him. But Baloo warned him that the Bandar-log were vile, shameless, and without leaders - the outcasts of the jungle. They almost succeeded in kidnapping the little boy, but Kaa, the wise old rock python, saved him. To Kipling the Bandar-log personified a liberty-loving people without any fixed duty, and therefore, outcasts with no place in the scheme of things.

The poem "The Law of the Jungle" cites all creatures to obey The Law. It is in part:

Now this is the Law of the Jungle - as old and as 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.

Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and mighty are they; But the head and hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is - Obey! 13

Actually Kipling has but one story to tell: the triumph of order over anarchy. It is through law and obedience that disorder is made into order. The idea is well brought out in the story "Her Majesty's Servants." 14 In this story the Amir of

Afghanistan has come to India with an accompaniment of men to pay a visit to the Viceroy. The two rulers review the British troops, a parade of 30,000 soldiers. It was an impressive, almost frightening spectacle. At the end an old Central Asian chief questioned a native officer about it.

"Now," said he, "in what manner was this wonderful thing done?"

And the officer answered, "There was an order, and they obeyed."

"But are the beasts as wise as the men?" said the chief.

"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 3 regiments, and the brigadier his general, who obeys the Viceroy, who is the servant of the Empress. Thus it is done."

"Would it were so in Afghanistan!" said the chief; "For there we obey only our own wills."

"And for that reason," said the native officer, twirling his moustache, "your Amir whom you do not obey must come here and take orders from our Viceroy."

In this we grasp Kipling's thought in its purest and simplest form. Those who cannot provide themselves with a leader of their own will be subject to the leaders of others. Freedom, according to Aristotle, consists of ruling and being ruled. Races who refuse to be ruled forfeit the right of self-rule. Kipling is not hostile to liberty, but he believes its conditions are strict and binding. That Law of which he speaks so often is, in

15 Ibid., p. 225
his eyes, the natural outcome of the age-old wisdom of the races. It could not spring from the talky-talk of an assembly, nor from the vote of a crowd. It is.

Kipling's dictum regarding the ruling of colonies is simply that the men trained in this work should be allowed to do it. This is the theme of "Little Foxes,"16 an allegory that deals with the ruling of an African colony. It is the theme of the man of action set against the man who talks. It tells how the rulers of a certain province engage in fox-hunting while they sail the river examining the lands of their people. The present rulers had wrested the province from the oppressors, and had settled the confusion about the ownership of the lands. The governors examined the crops and looked for evidence of the presence of the devasting fox. If a fox was killed on a man's land, that man was rewarded. If neglected earths were found, however, the fox was known to be near and the owner of the land was beaten. A native would not shun his beating, because it proved that he alone was the owner of the land.

One of these ruling Englishmen had to return to England to buy new hounds for the fox-hunting. There he met a man who talks, who showed a keen interest in the unique methods used to govern the African province. He aroused government interest to

16 Kipling, Actions and Reactions.
the point of appointing a commission to study conditions in the far-away colony, and he was the head of the commission. The man who talks arrived filled with pity and compassion for the natives whom, he believed, the British were mistreating. His one encounter with the natives was most unfortunate, and ended in their ridiculing him.

Kipling detested such meddlers and his revenge on them was always swift and savage. He thought it harmful that electors in England should legislate for India. The point is that the heroes who administer these provinces will pass over their duties only to the other men of action, who, after training and apprenticeship, will be capable of doing the work. Men who are thousands of miles away cannot possibly have anything sensible to say about the matter. They only ask questions, create confusion, and take better men away from their more important jobs. These heroes who are giving their lives to rule the Empire for England will probably die at their jobs. Rarely will Kipling let them escape to the more desirable life in England. He did grant this privilege to the Brushwood Boy who appreciated it deeply and said, "Perfect! Perfect! There's no place like England - when you've done your work."17

In another story Kipling steps out from behind the role of the anonymous story-teller and delivers a bitter exposition of another phase of colonial rule, this time in India. "The Lost Legion"\(^{18}\) is a story of the border wars between the Afghan tribesmen and the Indian people. It tells how, at one time, a mutinied Indian regiment had been ambushed and murdered by the Afghans. Many years later when the incident had been almost forgotten, the government of India decided that something must be done to put an end to the banditry and pillaging perpetrated upon the peaceful Indians by some savage Afghans. After much deliberation in the manner of most governments when they must teach the annoying "little fellow" a lesson, it was decided that a party should go into the enemy territory, take one enemy murderer and thief, and then hope for peace once more on the border. This was done, and the British had an easy task of it because the enemy watchers believed that these were the ghosts of the men who had been murdered by them so brutally many years before.

The Afghans are represented by Kipling as clever thieves and opportunists who fought the British to get their rifles, boots, and gear, and then turned the whole thing as though they were protecting their lands against the invaders. Kipling grows quite furious when he considers that the Indian government

must serve two masters: maintaining peace in India, and attempting to satisfy the prevailing policies of the government in England.

Some of the tribes knew to one corpse how far to go. Others became excited, lost their heads, and told the Government to come on. With sorrow and tears, and one eye on the British taxpayer at home, who insisted on regarding these exercises as brutal wars of annexation, the Government would prepare an expensive little field-brigade and some guns, and send all up into the hills to chase the wicked tribe out of the valleys, where there was nothing to eat. The tribe would turn out in full strength and enjoy the campaign, for they knew that their women would never be touched, that their wounded would be nursed, not mutilated, and that as soon as each man's bag of corn was spent they could surrender and palaver with the English Generals as though they had been a real enemy. Afterwards, years afterwards, they would pay their blood-money, driblet by driblet, to the Government and tell their children how they had slain the redcoats by thousands. The only drawback to this kind of picnic-war was the weakness of the redcoats for solemnly blowing up with powder their fortified towers and keeps. This the tribes always considered mean.19

In his colonial stories Kipling is saying, in effect, that it is much better to leave the government in the hands of those colonials who have been trained to do it. The job will be difficult enough, but untrained supervision and meddling from afar is disastrous.

The ideal state is pictured in "With the Night Mail,"20

19 Ibid., pp. 205-206.

20 Kipling, Actions and Reactions.
a story of 2000 A. D. It is Utopia working in harmony. The world, having left off war many years before, is depicted pursuing its main business of transportation. This planet is operated by the Aerial Board of Control, a small group of men and women from several nations. The Mark Boat is the agent of the A B C and is responsible only to it. Its business is to direct all transportation in the air and on the sea, and its orders must be obeyed. The story is simple: it tells of an airship's course from London to Quebec carrying the mail. The machinery is described in great detail. The various air-craft of the other nations can be seen, each proceeding on its assigned air-levels. One accident and one storm are encountered, but the Mark Boat already had warned of both. The trip is otherwise uneventful.

In fact, the story is uneventful. There is very little narrative. The long accounts of machinery and technical devices that never have been invented and probably never will be, may be gripping to some minds, but it will be painfully boring to more.

The reports appended to the story provide a better idea of Utopia than the main account. There is the account of Crete which has been a mecca for tourists because it was the last remaining example of democracy on our planet. Finally, in the
year 2000, it has thrown aside its local self-government and asked for annexation to the A B C.

Under Correspondence are two interesting items: first, that "War, as a paying concern, ceased in 1967," and second, that, "It is not etiquette to overcross an A B C official's boat without asking permission. He is one of the body responsible for the planet's traffic, and for that reason must not be interfered with. You, presumably, are out on your own business or pleasure and must leave him alone. For humanity's sake don't try to be 'democratic.'" 21 This story is considered as a framework for the later one, "As Easy as ABC," 22 an account of Utopia in anarchy.

It tells that the ABC has been called to Chicago to quell an uprising of the people. This is accomplished by the use of a series of painful lights and sounds, but it is not overdone as the ABC doesn't wish to injure the people permanently. The mayor of Chicago, when he has recovered sufficiently, tells what has happened. Certain "Serviles" in the city, who lived in flats and hotels and had little else to do, started it all. They liked to talk, and when people take to talking as a business, anything can happen. They started haranguing the crowds about rights, and about the way in which their city was being

21 Ibid., pp. 161-165.
managed. The mayor and his councilmen stood by, hoping to catch one or two good men for city work. Then, one orator spoke of the wonders of democracy. The mayor reports on his speech:

---It appeared that our Planet lay sunk in slavery beneath the heel of the Aerial Board of Control. The orator urged us to arise in our might, burst our prison doors and break our fetters (all his metaphors, by the way, were of the most medieval). Next he demanded that every matter of daily life, including most of the physical functions, should be submitted for decision at any time of the week, month, or year, to, I gathered, anybody who happened to be passing by or residing within a certain radius, and that everybody should forthwith abandon his concerns to settle the matter, first by crowd-making, next by talking to the crowds made, and lastly by describing crosses on pieces of paper, which rubbish should later be counted with certain mystic ceremonies and oaths. Out of this amazing play, he assured us, would automatically arise a higher, nobler, and kinder world, based - he demonstrated this with the awful lucidity of the insane - based on the sanctity of the Crowd and the villainy of the single person. In conclusion, he called loudly upon God to testify to his personal merits and integrity---

The A B C listened and waited. Suddenly the people of Chicago realized what was happening. The "Serviles" were trying to lure them back to the ghastly days of democratic government. They appealed to the Board to remove the "Serviles" in order that the saner people could return to normalcy. It was then arranged with a theatrical producer that the "Serviles"

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Ibid., p. 29.
should be sent to London, given an amphitheatre, and allowed to
talk and elaborate on democracy at will. Thus, they would pro-
vide a unique burlesque for the Londoners and also provide an
insight into the horrible era when The People ruled the earth.

In the ideal state as Kipling has depicted it in these two
stories, the inhabitants are busy and content. They are taller,
healthier, and live to be much older than their ancestors. They
do not believe in forming crowds, for crowds are dangerous to
the health and to the state of mind. Even the large cities are
shown as spreading out over great distances. Kipling depicts
the world as very much satisfied under the rule of the ABC. Hu-
manity, he argues, is just lazy enough to push the job of gov-
ernment off on somebody else.

On one important point, Kipling is obscure. He has never
shown clearly how the rulers are to be chosen. Their task is to
be a lifetime one. Presumably and ideally in the world where
Kipling's doctrine would prevail, such men must choose them-
selves. In the story "As Easy as ABC," however, the mayor of
Chicago himself complains of the lack of good men for such
tasks. He speaks of hoping to "catch" a few good men for city
work. Men do not seek positions of authority; more often than
not they shirk them. Therefore, the ideal state could go to
ruin while individuals follow their personal desires.

Again, completeness is missing here as it is in all of Kipl-
ling's abstract theories of government. Nowhere has he given
the reader a conclusive story about good government in the
world of men. His satires on democracy and on colonial rule cannot be considered as showing any completed theories. The stories of the government in the animal and machine worlds, while they are excellent, are more in the nature of wish-fulfillments.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

Rudyard Kipling died January 18, 1936, ending a career that had a peculiar position in English life and literature. This work has, in part, sketched the development of that career from its beginnings to the time of diminishing influence after the Boer War. Critical comment on him began to drop off at that time. "Children still read his children's books, college students still read his poetry, and men and women of his own generation still re-read his early works. But, in a sense, he has been dropped out of modern literature. More serious-minded young people do not read him; critics, usually do not take him into account."1

Because he wrote and preached much that was objectionable, many have not sought the works that were fine. Possibly because he had the misfortune to be set, while he was still very young, in a particular mold, many were loathe to let him change character. Edward Shank's excellent study2 is an attempt to trace Kipling's entire development, and T. S. Eliot's essay and selection of poems3 may help to bring balance to the study of the poetry.

1 Wilson, Op. Cit., p. 105
Any writer who praises the manly virtues of clean living, discipline, and devotion to duty, must be commended. His personal integrity cannot be questioned. During the period when he might have had the highest honors that his government could bestow upon him, he accepted none. He wanted to be free to criticize that same government at all times. Shanks refutes the popular theory that he was denied the position of poet laureate because of his slighting reference to the Queen as the "Widder o' Windsor." In fact, Kipling attacked whatever he disliked, whether an individual or a system.

It is obvious that his theories of government are incomplete. The hugeness of the Indian Civil Service must have frightened him, for he had little to say about ruling India except to say that British rule was the best for her. He is at his best when he is in the abstract. A civilization of jungle creatures provides handy pegs for the setting up of his theories. But life itself inspired no great plan - only admonitions, criticisms, and satire. He lacked the poetic insight, the quality of the seer, which was supposed to belong to poets. With all his genius, he could not lift, he could not inspire, he could not transcend the chains of mediocrity that obscured his spiritual vision.

He either could not, or would not, look forward. Some negative force held him earth-bound. He could not come to grips with a problem. Critics cite his inability to write a good novel on the grounds that he could not show large social forces struggling with one another. "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot" was his first and last attempt to portray the city dwellers of England. It is a sordid sketch of the slums - a story of drunken, brutal husbands and their shrewish, child-bearing wives. A clergyman engaged in helping these people permits the strong-willed Badalia Herodsfoot to assist him. She is to dispense money and medicine by the week. She does this efficiently and keeps a record of her accounts in a book. One night her faithless husband returns for this money. When Badalia denies him, he beats her to death. This is a picture of a phase of London life, but, the point is - it is without a message of hope for these people. Shanks offers a guess:

---that his one dip into the slums rather flummoxed him. He could think of nothing to be done with slum-dwellers so long as they continued to dwell in the slums. And the only way out he could see at that time was, for men alone, the way into the army. This was a sterile answer so he turned his eyes elsewhere. It gives a key to what is wanting in his first maturity that he came so close to this essential problem and then left it.

5 Rudyard Kipling, Many Inventions.
Again in *Kim* he will not face the inevitable: the blending of East and West. Kim and the Lama each gets his respective victory, but each on his own plane. Kim must exploit his knowledge of native life to prevent native resistance to the British, and Kipling never doubts that Kim has chosen wisely. Kipling did not dramatize any fundamental conflict because he would never face one.

When a nation or race of people constituted a problem in his mind, he treated the matter in a similar way. The Negro, the Chinese, and the Irish (on some occasions) - he tried to shove into oblivion. He could not convince the Chinese that they should commit mass suicide. He could not slur the Negro into non-existence. His attitude toward the Irish is more complex. As long as they are loyal to England, he shows the liveliest appreciation of Irish recklessness and the Irish sense of mischief. His typical British soldier - Mulvaney - is Irish, and Kim is half Irish. But the moment they display these same qualities in agitation against the English, they become infamous assassins and traitors. And what he probably believed was his crowning insult to the United States, the exposition of democracy as it is practiced in San Francisco - is, actually a penetrating indictment of his own political and social views.

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7 Kipling, *From Sea to Sea* Part I, pp. 341-342.
His great talent had no great faith to support and augment it. His gods were too trivial; in his spirit's great struggles they could give him no answer. In his later, bitter years, he could find no answer to the riddle of things. He was close to it in his theme of the continuity of England's soil. But he was still holding too close to a political structure and thereby, losing sight of humanity at large. "The God of Things as They Are ---"10 is not sufficient inspiration.

Kipling would be more puzzled in the world of today. The earth is not now, and never was, the property of the British Empire. Peoples like those of the Phillipines whom he believed to be incapable of self-government or even of living together peacefully - are now on the brink of complete independence, and India is probably well on the way toward that same goal. This attitude is further explained in "The Man Who Was."

---That was unsatisfactory, because Asia is not going to be civilized after the methods of the West. There is too much Asia and she is too old. You cannot reform a lady of many lovers, and Asia has been insatiable in her flirtations aforetime. She will never attend Sunday-school or learn to vote save with swords for tickets.11

Today men are seeking to understand one another; Kipling offered only prejudice. Today countries have set themselves to recognize other ways of living with the purpose of peaceful co-

10 Kipling, "The Judgment of Dungara, "In Black and White."
11 Kipling, Soldiers Three and Military Tales, Part II, p. 395.
operation; Kipling could only turn away and sneer at what was alien and strange.

Some of these things were seen by critics as early as 1900. It is deplorable that such a talent should be fettered by so many limitations - moral and artistic. Whatever of lasting worth future criticism finds in the work of Rudyard Kipling will be sought from an angle other than the political.
A list of Kipling's works used in this thesis according to the dates of first publication:

1886--Departmental Ditties
1888--Plain Tales from the Hills
1888-90--Soldiers Three
   The Story of the Gadsbys
   In Black and White
   Under the Deodars
   Wee Willie Winkie
   The Phantom 'Rickshaw
1891--The Light That Failed
   Life's Handicap
1892--Barrack-Room Ballads
1893--Many Inventions
1894--The Jungle Book
1895--The Second Jungle Book
1896--The Seven Seas
1898--The Day's Work
1899--From Sea to Sea
1901--Kim
1903--The Five Nations
1904--Traffic's and Discoveries
1909--Actions and Reactions
1917--A Diversity of Creatures
1937--Something of Myself for my Friends Known and Unknown
1942--Rudyard Kipling's Verse, definitive edition
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(Books)


(The Books of Rudyard Kipling Which Were Used in This Thesis)

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-----. From Sea to Sea Part II. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

(Encyclopedia Articles)

(Periodical Articles)


The thesis submitted by Miss Wendelle M. Browne has been read and approved by three members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

June 7, 1946  
James J. Young  
Signature of Adviser