

# ABSTRACT

Author: Shamsul Islam

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Of Life

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The complex of ideas which Kipling called the Law provides the key to much of his work. The full and exact determination of this master idea of Kipling has, however, remained an unsolved problem hitherto; this is mainly responsible for the general misinterpretation of Kipling. Kipling's Law may be understood as a principle of order on both social and individual levels. It is composed of interrelated elements: moral values, the Imperial Idea, and the Doctrine of Action. It is with this code of life that Kipling heroically opposes the Dark Powers. This study of the Law attempts to weave the complex web of Kipling's thought into a unity, showing that he is not a crude propagandist of British Imperialism, but a writer of depth and vision.

KIPLING'S "LAW": A STUDY OF HIS PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Shamsul Islam, B.A. Hons., M.A. (Punjab and McGill)

Department of English,  
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research,  
McGill University

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I must also thank Mrs. J. McG. Stewart for permission to consult the material in the Stewart Private Kipling Collection, Halifax. Thanks are also due to the special librarian at the Kipling Room, Dalhousie University, for her assistance.

## COPYRIGHT NOTICE

No letter, or excerpt from a letter, in the Kipling private correspondence used in this thesis may be published or quoted in any form without the permission of Mrs. George Bambridge and her literary executors. Further permission would be required from Mrs. McGregor Stewart.



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## Chapter I

### SOURCES AND APPROACHES

(a) Biographical Sketch

Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay on December 30, 1865 in a family which had notable connections in the fields of religion, politics, and art. His great-grandfathers, on both his father's and mother's side, were well-known Wesleyan ministers. Alice (Macdonald) Kipling, his mother, had ambitious sisters who married men who became eminent. Thus, three of Kipling's uncles are noteworthy: Sir Edward Burne-Jones, one of the most celebrated painters of the age and at whose house Kipling came to know such figures as William Morris, Robert Browning, Christina Rossetti, and Swinburne; Edward Poynter, a painter of less significance, but famous in his time, and a President of the Royal Academy; and Alfred Baldwin, a wealthy iron-master, whose son Stanley Baldwin, Kipling's favourite cousin, became a British Prime Minister.

John Lockwood Kipling, Rudyard's father, was a scholar and an artist, who went to Bombay soon after his marriage in 1865 to teach architectural sculpture at the Bombay School of Arts. Alice Kipling, Rudyard's mother, was a woman of great charm and wit, and in India, she moved, along with her husband, in the circle of the Viceroy himself.

After a happy infancy at Bombay which was largely spent in the care of a native ayah (nurse), the five-and-a-half-year-old Kipling along with his younger sister Alice (affectionately called Trix) was sent to England for schooling in 1871. The children were put in the care of a family at Southsea where Kipling spent six painful years which had a permanent effect on his personality and art.

It was in 1878, when he was twelve, that he went to school, being then entered at the United Services College, Westward Ho!, North Devon, a public school taking chiefly Anglo-Indians. He did not excel either in studies or in athletics, though he was a good swimmer; but here he took his very first steps in letters, editing The United Services College Chronicle, the school magazine, for a while and placing some verses with a local paper. The lively book, Stalky and Co., depicts his school-days.

His school journalism led to professional journalism when in 1882, at the age of seventeen, he returned to India to work on the staff of the Lahore Civil and Military Gazette. Meanwhile, his father had come to Lahore as principal of the Mayo School of Arts and curator of the Lahore Museum. Thus, Kipling was able to live with his family in Lahore,

and he remained fairly close to his family circle throughout his seven years in India.

After five years of service on the Civil and Military Gazette at Lahore, Kipling was promoted to that of the Pioneer at Allahabad, a paper with a national circulation. Here Kipling was at the listening post of the Indian Empire, at once in touch with the affairs of both the government and the natives. Curious by nature, he indefatigably explored Indian life and customs both at Lahore and Allahabad. The transfer to Allahabad also meant a move from Muslim to Hindu India, so that Kipling came to understand both sides pretty well. Furthermore, as a newspaper correspondent for both the Civil & Military Gazette and the Pioneer, Kipling had an ample opportunity to travel and survey the Indian scene at first hand, an experience which he used effectively in his books.

Early in his journalistic career, Kipling began to contribute short stories and verses to the Civil and Military Gazette and the Pioneer. In 1886, he issued, at Lahore, his first collection of poems which had appeared in the Gazette, as Departmental Ditties. This volume, a satirical commentary on Anglo-Indian life, proved an instant success. Later, in 1888, Kipling published Plain Tales From

the Hills, a collection of short stories, as "turnovers" from the Gazette. In the same year the stories which he had written for the Pioneer weekly magazine were collected and published in six volumes by the India Railway Library: Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black and White, Under the Deodars, The Phantom Rickshaw and Other Tales, and Wee Willie Winkie.

By this time Kipling was recognized as a celebrity in India. In 1889, he decided to bid farewell to journalism and adopt literature as a serious profession. In the same year Kipling returned to England by way of Rangoon, Malaya, Japan, San Francisco, and New York -- his impressions of his travels in and beyond India were later collected and published as Letters of Marque (1891) and From Sea to Sea (1899). In London, he soon produced his first novel, The Light that Failed (1891), which was in itself rather a failure. In the following year, Kipling collaborated with a young American Wolcott Balestier, in writing another full-length book, The Naulahka, a Novel of East and West. The year 1892 also saw the issue of Barrack Room Ballads, perhaps his best-known book, which made him popular overnight. In the same year, he married Wolcott's sister, Caroline Starr Balestier of Vermont, and he lived in Vermont for some four years,

during which time two daughters were born to him. At Vermont, Kipling wrote busily -- Many Inventions (1893), The Jungle Books (1894-95), The Seven Seas (1896), and Captains Courageous (1897) were all written there.

Returning to England in 1896 after a quarrel with his brother-in-law, Beatty Balestier, Kipling settled at Torquay. A cruise with the Channel Fleet produced a brilliant piece of reportage, A Fleet in Being (1898). It was in the period beginning with 1897 that Kipling started earning for himself a new kind of public status. He assumed the role of tribal bard, offering his admonishments and encouragements to his compatriots through the medium of poems published in The Times. During the six months before the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, in 1897, The Seven Seas had introduced the public to this new solemn note in Kipling, and this was confirmed by the poem "Recessional" published on Jubilee Day.

A visit to New York early in 1898 was disastrous, Kipling's elder daughter dying and he himself narrowly escaping death from double pneumonia. In 1900, at the time of the British reverses in the South African War, Kipling wrote "The Absent-minded Beggar" to raise subscriptions for the welfare of the British soldiers, a cause for which he collected a quarter of a million pounds. Then he dashed to South Africa



to see the war at first-hand, acting as associate editor to The Friend, of Bloemfontein, for which he wrote "King Log and King Stork" and other pieces of worth. Kim, his masterpiece, was published in 1901; it presented a vivid picture of Indian social life, character, custom, and religion.

After the South African War, Kipling made his home first at the seaside village of Rottingdean, near Brighton, and later at a house called "Bateman's" at the village of Burwash, also in the county of Sussex. He had a great love and appreciation for the rolling green downland of this region. In the period prior to the First World War of 1914-18, Kipling involved himself with highly controversial political issues, such as conscription and women's suffrage, the former of which he supported and the latter opposed. He came to be considered the embodiment of the more truculent form of British imperialism, so much so that in 1907 he was cartooned by Max Beerbohm as taking out his "girl", Britannia,<sup>1</sup> for a date on Hampstead Heath in London. Yet for all the bitter controversy over his political views, there was a general favourable consensus of opinion about his literary

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Max Beerbohm, The Poets' Corner (London, 1943), p. 24.

craftsmanship.

During the War, Kipling was very active as a propagandist. Two books, The New Army in Training (1914) and France at War (1915), were devoted to the Allied cause; as well as The Irish Guards in the Great War, which he edited in 1923. In this regiment his only son, John, had fallen in action. Kipling was one of the first public men to be "co-opted" to the Imperial War Graves Commission, and was responsible for the obituary phrase used for war dead: "Their Name Liveth Forevermore." His later books included Debits and Credits (1926), Thy Servant a Dog (1930), Limits and Renewals (1932), and an autobiography, Something of Myself (1937).

Public honours were heaped on Kipling despite his aversion to titles and offices. In 1895 and again in 1913, he was considered for the poet-laureateship, and had it not been for his antipathy to official recognition, there was no doubt that he would have been appointed. It was again because of this very reason that Kipling did not become the poet-laureate in 1930. Twice, in 1899 and 1903, he refused the offer of a knighthood. Academic recognition came to him as early as 1899 when McGill University at Montreal offered him an honorary doctorate. The degree was conferred on

him on 16 June 1899 in absentia, for he could not come to Canada on account of bad health. His later decision to revisit Canada and address the students at McGill (23 October 1907) may perhaps be related to a visit at "Bateman's" by the distinguished McGill professor, Stephen Leacock, in May 1907. Later on Kipling was awarded honorary degrees by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Durham, Athens, Paris, and Strasbourg; he valued his two French doctorates most of all. In 1907 Kipling became the first Englishman to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. He was Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews from 1922 to 1925, and in 1933 he was elected a foreign associate member of the French Académie des Sciences et Politiques. The highest of all awards, the Order of Merit, he refused, but in 1926 he was given the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature, which only Scott, Meredith, and Hardy had received before him.

Kipling died in London on January 18, 1936. His body was cremated, and his remains buried in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey, between those of Dickens and Hardy.

## (b) Kipling's Works in Phases and Varieties

It is difficult to define the stages of Kipling's literary development, for the growth of his work was accretive and casual rather than strictly logical, and therefore only the very broadest chronological divisions can be suggested. In making this statement, I am perhaps more conscious of the difficulty in defining the stages of the development of his thought than his art, for by about 1890 he had worked out a broad philosophy of life which underwent no radical change later. Moreover, Kipling's recurrent nostalgic returns and repetitions frustrate the critic's attempt at a neat classification of Kipling's works.

One is faced with greater difficulty in grouping his verse than his prose, and the self-styled "Definitive Edition" of Kipling's verse, based on his own revision of the last "Inclusive Edition," is in some ways a most unsatisfactory volume.<sup>2</sup> A mere glance at this volume will reveal the extraordinary

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Andrew Rutherford, "Some Aspects of Kipling's Verse," The Proceedings of the British Academy, LI (1965), 375-402.

disorder of Kipling's collected verses -- here one finds chronological units, blocks of prophecy opposed by verses lamenting that the poet's message remains unheeded; and verses acknowledging Woman either in her most beneficent or her most malignant aspects, and so on. Thus Kipling himself has mixed the chronological approach with another grouping based on subjects rather than dates, which may result in some confusion.

The task of classifying Kipling's work is further complicated by its immense variety; this aspect of Kipling's works particularly hampers a classification according to subjects. Kipling was a great experimenter in both form and subject-matter. "Few authors of any age or any country," says Hilton Brown, "could have written both 'Recessional' and 'Fuzzy Wuzzy'; few authors could have written both 'They' and 'The Taking of Lungtungpen' -- and these would have been unlikely to add 'The Gadsbys' or Captains Courageous or Stalky. Immense unbounded incalculable variety -- this must be acknowledged as a facet, perhaps the facet, of Kipling's<sup>3</sup> genius."

However, some sort of classification is perhaps

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Hilton Brown, Rudyard Kipling (London, 1945), p. 164.

necessary for a systematic study of Kipling, and even if there is no clear line of development in Kipling's works, there must be a line of change at least, and from this point of view it may be of interest to survey an arrangement of Kipling's works based on chronological order. If the reader keeps the above considerations in mind, Kipling's major works<sup>4</sup> may be divided into the following broad phases.

1. THE INDIAN PHASE (1886-1891 approximately).

This period begins with the publication of his collection of light-hearted vers de société in the volume called Departmental Ditties (1886) in the established Anglo-Indian mode, and goes through the episodic Plain Tales From The Hills (1888) to the production of such masterly and artistic stories as "The Courting of Dinah Shadd," "The Man Who Was," "Without Benefit of Clergy," and "On Greenhow Hill," all of which appeared in the collection, Life's Handicap (1891). Much of Kipling's interests and artistry is clear in this early phase, which also saw the publication of Soldiers Three (1888-89), The Phantom Rickshaw (1888), and Wee Willie Winkie (1888).

2. THE LONDON PHASE (1891-1893 approximately).

This is a period of new and bold experiments.

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The dates of a given phase cover the works written during that particular period though they may have been collected at a later time.

Kipling now tried his hand at the novel, and to his disappointment he failed rather miserably. The Light That Failed (1891) and The Naulahka (1892), which he wrote in collaboration with the American Wolcott Balestier, proved that the "three-decker" novel, at this stage at least, was not his métier. The short stories of this period were collected in the volume Many Inventions (1893); here also one finds him experimenting with new things, for example, the first of the obscure pieces -- "The Children of the Zodiac," and the first of the fully-developed farces, "Brugglesmith," appear in this volume. In the field of poetry, Kipling now turned to the living tradition of music-hall singing and produced Barrack-Room Ballads (1892), which established his reputation as a verse writer.

### 3. THE AMERICAN PHASE (1893-1901 approximately).

This is one of the most productive periods of his writing. In this phase of his career, Kipling turned more and more towards literature for children, but that does not necessarily mean that the writings belonging to this period are lacking in profundity -- the obvious examples are The Jungle Books (1894-95), which work on more than one level of meaning simultaneously. The other products of this period are: Captains Courageous (1897), a long short story or novella;

The Seven Seas (1896), a collection of verse; The Day's Work (1898), a collection of short stories written mainly in 1893 to 1897; Stalky & Co. (1899), a fictional record of his school-days; and Just So Stories (1902), a collection of stories for children written during 1897-1901.

#### 4. SUSSEX -- PRE-WAR PHASE (1901-1913 approximately).

The publication of Kim in 1901 begins a new phase in Kipling's literary career. This novel is regarded by many as his masterpiece. The period is also marked by Kipling's passionate desire to identify himself with England and especially with Sussex -- Puck of Pook's Hill (1906), Rewards and Fairies (1910), A History of England (1911), written in collaboration with G. R. L. Fletcher, -- all are distinguished by Kipling's concern with England's past history in general and with that of Sussex in particular. Other works of this period are: The Five Nations (1903), a collection of verse; Traffics and Discoveries (1904) and Actions and Reactions (1909), which are collections of short stories.

#### 5. SUSSEX -- THE WAR PHASE (1914-1918).

During the war days Kipling wrote propagandist literature for the war and also produced several psychological studies of war. The writings belonging to this period are as follows: The New Army in Training (1914), France at War (1915),



Sea Warfare (1916), A Diversity of Creatures (1917), only three tales included in this volume were actually published during the war, and The Years Between (1918), a collection of verse.

#### 6. SUSSEX -- THE LAST PHASE (1919-1936).

After the War, Kipling seems at first sight more productive in poetry than in prose. The collected verses of 1919, 1921, 1927, and 1933 bear witness to this fact. However, it is in his prose that one sees him as having attained a maturity of technique. A growing interest in the esoteric and the occult is also apparent at this stage. The last two collections of short stories -- Debits and Credits (1926) and Limits and Renewals (1932) -- are not easy reading; they demand close attention, but they reward it. Besides these, Kipling also wrote Thy Servant a Dog (1930) and an autobiographical sketch, Something of Myself, published posthumously in 1937.

In terms of genre one may broadly classify Kipling's principal works as follows:

VERSE: Departmental Ditties, 1886; Barrack-Room Ballads, 1892; The Seven Seas, 1896; Recessional and Other Poems, 1899; Collected Verse, 1912, 1919, 1921, 1927, 1933.

SHORT STORIES: Plain Tales From the Hills, 1888; Soldiers Three, 1888; The Story of the Gadsbys, 1888; Under the Deodars, 1888; In Black and White, 1888; The Phantom Rickshaw, 1888; Wee Willie Winkie, 1888; Life's Handicap, 1891 (this volume included the stories collected the same year in Mine Own People, 1891); Many Inventions, 1893; The Day's Work, 1898; Traffics and Discoveries, 1904; Actions and Reactions, 1909; A Diversity of Creatures, 1917; Debits and Credits, 1926; Limits and Renewals, 1932.

CHILDREN'S STORIES: The Jungle Book, 1894; The Second Jungle Book, 1895; Captains Courageous, 1897; Stalky & Co., 1899; Just-So Stories, 1902; Puck of Pook's Hill, 1906; Rewards and Fairies, 1910.

NOVELS: The Light That Failed, 1891; The Naulahka; A Story of West and East, 1892 (with Wolcott Balestier); Kim, 1901.

TRAVEL SKETCHES: Letters of Marque, 1891; From Sea to Sea, 1899; Letters of Travel, 1920.

ARTICLES, SPEECHES, ETC.: The New Armies in Training, 1914; The Fringes of the Fleet, 1915; France at War, 1915; Sea Warfare, 1916; A Book of Words, 1928.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY: Something of Myself, 1937.

(c) The Stewart Kipling Collection: Some notes on its significance

The James McGregor Stewart Collection of the works of Rudyard Kipling, which is contained in the Kipling Room at Dalhousie University, Halifax, is one of the finest Kipling Collections in existence. It was bequeathed to Dalhousie University by J. McG. Stewart shortly before his death on February 11, 1955. During his lifetime, J. McG. Stewart, C.B.E., Q.C., graduate of Dalhousie and noted corporation lawyer, devoted more than forty years to the collecting of the writings of Kipling, but little was known about it until Dalhousie University's announcement of the gift.

J. McG. Stewart's love for Kipling's works went together with a scholarly interest in Kipling bibliography; for over twenty years he was busy compiling Rudyard Kipling: A Bibliographical Catalogue, published posthumously in 1959. This book remains the definitive and comprehensive bibliography of the works of Kipling, the majority of which are represented by items in his own library.

J. McG. Stewart was Kipling's junior by twenty-four years. This was an advantage, for a definitive collection

is more likely to be built a generation or so following a writer's lifetime than during it. One particular advantage that this gap in time brings to the collector is that sufficient time will have elapsed for scholars to have brought out bibliographies to aid the specialized collector in building his library. Publications of bibliographical data, critical review by scholars and the reading public, and even attack upon accepted positions must have passed before the facts of any author's printing history become clear. The point is of special importance if the author collected is obscure or if his works are more than ordinarily voluminous. With Kipling these considerations become startling: the student of Kipling bibliography is immediately struck by the size of the task. Kipling's publishing career extended over sixty years (1881-1944). Nearly four thousand separate printed volumes comprise his total published works, while his publications are spread, in a literal sense, over six continents. His printings in India, England and the United States are of major importance; those of South Africa, South America, New Zealand, and Australia are less so.

Secondly, nearly all great collections are formed by amalgamating smaller ones; this can happen only when the

early collectors place their holdings in the market. The Stewart Collection thus includes important material that came out of the dispersed libraries of earlier Kipling collectors: Ellis Ames Ballard, George Barr McCutcheon, Archibald Firestone, John Quinn, E.W. Martindell, Frank Brewer Bemis, and Rudolph August Witthaus.

The main features of the Stewart Collection are as follows:

1. Periodicals and Magazines: The Collection tries to present every link from the author's manuscript down to the last revised text published during the author's lifetime. Consequently, the collection has more magazine publications than exist in any other library. Loss through bomb damage in the periodical section of the British Museum makes many rare and out-of-print English periodicals in the Stewart Collection unique.

The Stewart Collection contains a complete run of the uncollected Kipling items from Indian newspapers and periodicals as listed by Ellis Ames Ballard and E. W. Martindell. They exist in no other American library.

Nearly five hundred Kipling periodical items form a part of the collection.

2. Newspapers and Newspaper Clippings (approximately 300 items):

No library, and this includes the British Museum, possesses anything like complete files of the four Indian newspapers to which Kipling contributed -- The Civil and Military Gazette, The Pioneer, The Pioneer News, and The Week's News. The Stewart Collection is unique in having complete files of The United Services College Chronicle, and<sup>5</sup> relatively complete files of the Indian newspapers.

3. Books: This segment of the collection is very rich and contains items of the greatest rarity. Nearly twelve hundred first editions and association copies are represented. These comprise roughly ninety per cent of the items in the known Kipling bibliography, and correspondingly, represent the bulk of the collection.

The collection is particularly important for its holdings of special copyright issues. These items represent the first published text in England and in the United States of many Kipling works produced after 1891, the date of the

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The Civil & Military Gazette is, however, missing from the collection at the university as well as from Mrs. Stewart's house where a small portion of the collection still remains. Mrs. Stewart has, nevertheless, told me that she is positive that her husband bought Kipling's personal file of the Gazette which was donated to the Red Cross by Mrs. Kipling during the Second World War.

adoption of the International Copyright Law. Both the Library of Congress and the British Museum have complete files for their respective countries of these special Kipling copyright printings, but no library has complete files of both. These materials do not overlap, and the two files are vastly divergent in content. The Stewart Collection is the only library that comes near to completing both series. Over one hundred such special printings are in the collection, some eighteen of which represent English copyright issues: some of the rarest printed items in the whole of Kipling bibliography.

4. Collected Works: The collection contains all the editions of the collected works of Kipling.

5. Kipling Manuscripts (both published and unpublished): The collection has approximately 90 items. Each of these is unique and of rarest value.

6. Kipling Letters: The collection has approximately 900 items. These likewise are of the rarest value.

The collection contains 350-400 Kipling letters to the Baldwin family -- Stanley Baldwin, his mother and his



father. These are family letters of prime importance which contain biographical information not to be found anywhere else, but with present copyright restrictions cannot be published. There is another run of 299 Kipling letters to H. A. Gwynne.

7. Miscellaneous: There are roughly three hundred volumes devoted to Kiplingiana, bibliography, and biography. There is a comprehensive group of the many U.S. piracies, as well as the many unauthorized English printings. In round numbers, some two hundred volumes are devoted to Kipling items in translation--French, German, Russian, Czech, and Scandinavian language versions being the most common. There are approximately one hundred Kipling songs and musical settings. Similarly the collection contains about one hundred Kipling portraits and drawings. It also possesses a complete run of the Kipling Journal.

(d) Kipling Criticism Today: Various  
Approaches

Although Kipling was the most popular writer of his time, his literary reputation has followed an uneven course. There was a variety of Kipling criticism right from the start, but it was after the South African War that Kipling suffered from a violence of attack which is unparalleled in English literary history. At the turn of the century his critics often admired him for his craftsmanship, but they judged him on moral grounds without caring to read between the lines, and they generally dismissed him as a jingo imperialist and a superficial writer. To the serious detriment of Kipling's reputation, this negative view of Kipling became widely accepted.

This early negative attitude toward Kipling is best typified by the frequently quoted essays of Francis Adams and R.W. Buchanan. In his Essays in Modernity: Criticisms and Dialogues (London, 1899), Adams praises Kipling for his artistry, but at the same time he calls attention to Kipling's "smartness and superficiality, jingoism and aggressive cocksureness, rococo fictional types and overloaded pseudo-prose" -- and then he goes on to dismiss Kipling as

an "ill-educated, promiscuously receptive, little-brained, second-rate journalist, with all his sickening egotism and vanities." In a similar fashion, Buchanan in his essays in The Voice of "The Hooligan": A Discussion of Kiplingism (New York, 1900) disparages Kipling as follows: "The most extraordinary feature at this moment is the exaltation to a position of almost unexampled popularity of a writer who in his single person adumbrates, I think, all that is most deplorable, all that is most retrograde and savage, in the restless and uninstructed Hooliganism of the time."

It was because of these and similar critical pronouncements, which were generally accepted, that after his death in 1936 he was almost forgotten, and during the first two decades after 1936, very little was written about him. In 1941, T.S. Eliot took a bold step by publishing A Choice of Kipling's Verse with an introduction, which ranged perceptively over both verse and prose. In this essay, emerging from a later Britain at war, T.S. Eliot defended Kipling against the charges of racialism and jingo imperialism,

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F.W.L. Adams, Essays in Modernity: Criticisms and Dialogues (London, 1899), pp. 185-216.

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R.W. Buchanan and Sir Walter Besant, The Voice of "The Hooligan": A Discussion of Kiplingism (New York, 1900), p. 7.

and he made a plea for a re-assessment of Kipling. Eliot's plea, however, aroused a reaction among reviewers which amounted to consternation.<sup>8</sup>

The same year also saw the publication of Edmund Wilson's article, "The Kipling That Nobody Read," in The Atlantic Monthly; although in balance not a sympathetic study, this essay directed attention to the remarkable development of Kipling's art in the later stories. Eliot's plea for a reconsideration of Kipling coupled with Edmund Wilson's essay led to a revival of interest in Kipling as a prose artist. Hilton Brown's 1945 biography of Kipling, Rudyard Kipling: A New Appreciation, was, as the title suggests, another attempt to revive interest, but perhaps an unconvincing one. In 1948 Rupert Croft-Cooke published his study of Kipling's short stories, which is, however, a superficial survey only.

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For example, Lionel Trilling, reviewing it in The Nation, CLVII (Oct. 16, 1943), 436, found it was "verbose in evasion." Boris Ford, in Scrutiny, XI (1942), 33, felt that "Eliot should never have lowered himself." George Orwell writing in Horizon, V (Feb., 1942), 111-125, observed that Eliot defended Kipling "where he is not defensible." Marjorie Faber, in her review of Kipling's article published in New York Times Book Review, 26 September 1943, dismissed it as unconvincing. In his review of A Choice of Kipling's Verse, Anand Mulk Raj, an Indian, accused Eliot of neglecting the implications of Kipling's Weltanschauung. This review appeared in Life and Letters Today, XXII (March, 1942), 167-70.

The next decade brought signs of a change.

In 1951, Bonamy Dobrée wrote a pamphlet in which he analyzed Kipling's thought; he went on to conclude that while Kipling was not a first-rate writer, he was "a very great craftsman indeed."<sup>9</sup> In 1955 C. E. Carrington published his official biography of Kipling: for the first time substantial information concerning Kipling's private life was made available. The efforts at a rehabilitation of Kipling as a consummate artist culminated in 1959 with the publication of Professor J.M.S. Tompkins's book, The Art of Rudyard Kipling, which remains the most perceptive scholarly study of Kipling's fiction to date. More recently Professor C. A. Bodelsen has also written on some aspects of Kipling's fiction in his Aspects of Kipling's Art (1964). To these may be added La Poétique de Rudyard Kipling, by Francis Léaud, published in 1959 in Paris, which is a subtle and a scholarly investigation of Kipling's works. For his early development, Kipling in India (1966), by Louis L. Cornell is to be recommended. J.I.M. Stewart's Rudyard Kipling (1966) is also a judicious survey of Kipling's life and art.

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Bonamy Dobrée, Rudyard Kipling (Number 19 in the series "Writers and their Work," London, 1951). p. 32.

With Dr. Tompkins's study, Kipling's reputation as a first-rate literary artist may be said to have been firmly established. However, Kipling continues to be attacked for immaturity of ideas, though in the recent past several able defences of Kipling's thought and vision have been made. Bonamy Dobrée started the fight as early as 1927 with an essay "Rudyard Kipling," Criterion, VI (Dec., 1927), 499-515, later reprinted in The Lamp and the Lute: Studies in Six Modern Authors (1929). In this article Dobrée analysed Kipling's philosophy of action in an objective manner; he called attention to the fact that Kipling's concept of the Empire has a moral side to it. Dobrée again wrote on Kipling in 1951 in the series "Writers and their Work," and recently he has brought out a full length study of Kipling, Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist (1967), which however does not add much to what he has previously said on Kipling's philosophy of life.

Other important studies of Kipling's philosophy are as follows:

1. Lionel Stevenson, "The Ideas in Kipling's Poetry," University of Toronto Quarterly, I (July, 1932), 467-89.
2. Michael Edwards, "Rudyard Kipling and the Imperial Imagination," Twentieth Century, CLIII (June, 1953), 443-54.

3. Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas," Victorian Studies, III (June, 1960), 323-48.
4. Richard Faber, The Vision and the Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims (London, 1966), with a chapter on Kipling.
5. Alan Sandison, "Rudyard Kipling: The Imperial Simulacrum," The Wheel of Empire (New York, 1967):

All of these studies, not necessarily favourable to Kipling, have one thing in common: they point out that Kipling's philosophy of life and its relation to the Imperial Idea is much more complex than has been realized, and that there is a need for a dispassionate re-appraisal of Kipling's thought. This is a welcome change in Kipling criticism, and the essays collected in Kipling's Mind and Art, edited by Andrew Rutherford in 1964 as well as Kipling and the Critics (1965), edited by Elliot L. Gilbert, give a fair impression of this gradual shift in Kipling's position in the literary world since his death.

The voices in the opposite camp, however, are not silent. N.S. Bushnell in his article "Kipling's Ken of India," University of Toronto Quarterly, XXVII (Oct., 1957), 62-78, maintains that Kipling is narrow-minded and that he is guilty of racialism. The Indians who have written on

Kipling have invariably accused him of the oft-repeated charges of chauvinism, racialism, and jingo imperialism.

A. R. Sarath Roy, in an article for the North American Review "Rudyard Kipling Through Hindu Eyes," considers Kipling to be a British propagandist engaged in slighting the Indian character, with no understanding of India.<sup>10</sup> In a brief essay in Lippincott's Magazine by "An Indian Student,"<sup>11</sup> the writer criticizes Kipling for his lack of insight into Indian life. Bhupal Singh, in A Study of Anglo-Indian Fiction,<sup>12</sup> has come to the same conclusion. Nirad C. Chaudhuri is, however, to some extent an exception. In his article, "The Finest Story About India -- in English," Encounter, VII (April, 1957), 47-53, Chaudhuri makes apperceptive study of Kim, and he credits Kipling with having written about India with insight and understanding. More recently, K. Bhaskara Rao has published an elaborate study, Rudyard Kipling's India (Oklahoma, 1967), in which he claims to have examined Kipling

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A. R. Sarath Roy, "Rudyard Kipling Through Hindu Eyes, " North American Review, CXIV (February, 1914), 274.

<sup>11</sup>

"Kipling's Conception of India," Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, XCIV (August, 1914), 177.

<sup>12</sup>

A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction (London, 1934), pp. 68-74.



without getting emotionally involved with the subject, but I am not sure whether Mr. Rao has succeeded in translating his purpose into reality, for he continues to repeat the old charge that Kipling's vision of India was a boy's vision.

Thus, we see that after a long period of eclipse, Rudyard Kipling has certainly come into his own. He has been rehabilitated as a first-rate literary artist, but criticism has yet to come to terms with his philosophy, which, as we shall see, is one closely tied up with politics, history, and sociology.

## (e) Approach used in this thesis

The foregoing survey of Kipling criticism indicates that a study of Kipling's philosophy of life is in many ways still an open field. Kipling scholarship in the past decade, as it has been suggested in the last section, has, however, established a few guidelines that an investigator must follow in his enquiry about Kipling's thought. These guidelines may be summarised as follows:

- 1) Kipling is a writer of depth and vision.
- 2) Kipling's relation to the Imperial Idea is far from a simple matter of jingo politics; to view it from a mere political point of view is misleading, since the real nature of the idea for him is much more profound and much more central to his artistic vision than has been suggested.
- 3) An investigation of Kipling's ideas must be based on a close study of his works in their totality, and not on a few isolated pieces used as crutches for projecting one's pre-conceived notions about him.

This study is in keeping with the modern trend in Kipling scholarship. It aims at an investigation of Kipling's

philosophy, which he terms "Law", on the lines indicated above. Law, a word which runs like a leitmotiv in his works, is not limited by the legal connotations of the word "law", but is, as a matter of fact, a much wider and rather fluid concept, denoting the code of life projected by Kipling in his writings. Kipling's vision of the universe, as will be made clear in the course of this study, is rather bleak. At every nook and corner, he confronts the nameless, shapeless Powers of Darkness, Disorder, and Chaos. However, instead of submitting himself to the sway of these negative forces or falling into the escapism of the debauched Simla society or that of the opium dens of the slums of Lahore, Kipling opposes the Dark Forces heroically with what he terms "Law".

Nevertheless, Kipling never defines what exactly he means by Law. Perhaps a precise statement of such a wide concept is impossible, and besides, one must keep in mind that Kipling is not a philosopher in the strict sense of the term. This lack of a definition of Law is mainly responsible for the general misinterpretation of Kipling, for a superficial reader, as most critics of Kipling still are, can easily identify Kipling's Law with the Queen's Law, and that will provide him with another proof of Kipling's racism as well

as of his die-hard, jingo imperialism. A careful perusal of Kipling's works will, however, show that his master-thought, vaguely defined though it may be, is very different. The following selection of references to the word Law from his works will support such a view, and at the same time, these quotations will underline the difficult problem of adducing an accurate interpretation of the nature of Kipling's Law.

In "A Song of the English" (1893), England advises her children -- the member nations of the Empire -- in these words:

Keep ye the Law -- be swift in all obedience --  
Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford.  
Make ye sure to each his own  
That he reap where he hath sown;  
By the peace among Our peoples let men know we serve the Lord!

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The members of the Empire pledge their loyalty to Mother England and England answers:

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 . . . .  
And the Law that ye make shall be law after the rule  
of your lands . . .  
The Law that ye make shall be law and I do not press  
my will,  
Because ye are Sons of The Blood and call me Mother still.  
(DE, 178. Italics mine,)

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The Definitive Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Verse (London, 1954), p. 170. Subsequent references to Kipling's verse, unless otherwise indicated, will be to this edition, which will be referred to as DE.

The difference in the nature of the Law in these two quotations is evident. In the first passage, England explicitly enjoins upon her Sons the duty of keeping the Law, which she defines as eradication of evil, public works, peace, justice, and so forth; but in the latter passage, she is flexible enough to allow her Sons to modify certain types of specific Law in accordance with their own traditions and local customs.

The ambiguity of the word Law becomes apparent in The Jungle Books (1894-95), in particular where we are told that there is a Law of the Jungle, which is, however, not the one that we generally associate with the term "Law of the Jungle." Akela, the wolf, cries from his rock: "Ye<sup>14</sup> know the Law -- ye know the Law. Look well, O Wolves!" Later on, Bhagheera throws some light on the Law of the Jungle -- he tells Mowgli:

All the Jungle is thine and thou canst kill everything that thou art strong enough to kill; but for the sake of the bull that bought thee thou must never kill or eat any cattle, young or old. That is the Law of the Jungle. (VII, 16. Italics mine.)

Further on in The Jungle Books, we learn that the Law does not extend to all animals of the jungle, for Baloo, the old teacher of the Law, advises Mowgli as follows:

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"Outward Bound" Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Works (New York, 1897-1937), 36 Vols., VII, 10-11. Subsequent references to Kipling's prose works, unless otherwise indicated, will be to this edition.

'Listen, Man-cub,' said the Bear, and his voice rumbled like thunder on a hot night. 'I have taught thee all the Law of the Jungle for all the peoples of the Jungle -- except the Monkey Folk who live in the trees. They have no Law. They are outcasts. (VII, 41. Italics mine.)

These words of Baloo recall the well-known controversial line from "Recessional" (1897): "Or lesser breeds without the Law--" (DE, 329. Italics mine.)

In "Dray Wara Yow Dee" (1888), the fierce Pathan has his own notion of the Law; thus he sneers at the narrator: "Your Law! What is your Law to me?" (IV, 9)

In "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894), Sir Purun Dass, once a Prime Minister of an Indian state and now a sanyasi (mystic, holy man) going about with a begging bowl, passes through a busy Simla street on his way to his hermitage; he is stopped by a policeman who reprimands him for obstructing the traffic, and "Purun Bhagat salaamed reverently to the Law, because he knew the value of it, and was seeking for a Law of his own." (VIII, 181. Italics mine.)

Similarly, the Lama in Kim (1901) is a follower of the Law as he himself affirms: "I follow the Law-- the Most Excellent Law" (XIX, 53. Italics mine.) However, the Law followed by Purun Bhagat or the Lama is very different from the Law which Georgie Porgie is trying to establish

in Burma when the reader is told that where "the Queen's Law does not carry, it is irrational to expect the observance of other and weaker rules." (IV, 233)

One recurrent note in Kipling's writings is that the Law must be obeyed. This message is thus summed up in "McAndrew's Hymn" (1893) as he addresses his engines: "Now, a' together, hear them lift their lesson --their's an' mine:/ 'Law, Orrder, Duty an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline!" (DE, 126) Similarly in the poem "The Law of the Jungle" which follows the story "How Fear Came" (1894), we are told:

Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and  
mighty are they;  
But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch  
and the hump is --Obey! (DE, 560)

Nevertheless, there are certain occasions on which the Law ought not to be invoked since the breach of it represents a more profound justice. This is illustrated by the poem "The Land", which appears along with the story "Friendly Brook" (1914) in the collection A Diversity of Creatures (1917). The poem tells the story of an estate symbolic of Britain as a whole, which is conquered and owned successively by Julius Fabricius, that is the Romans, Ogier the Dane, and Duke William of Warenne, that is the Normans; then this land passes on to the narrator in the reign of

George the fifth. He is armed with "title-deeds, attested, signed and sealed" which guarantee his complete rights over this land. However, all through history, the real person who has used this piece of land is Hobden, the Briton: he and his sons have tilled it. The problem as to whom this land really belongs comes to the fore when the landed proprietor thinks aloud:

I have rights of chase and warren, as my dignity requires.  
 I can fish -- but Hobden tickles. I can shoot -- but Hobden wires.  
 I repair, but he reopens, certain gaps which, men allege,  
 Have been used by every Hobden since a Hobden swapped a hedge.  
 (DE, 603)

Hobden is guilty of poaching, and the proprietor can summon him "to judgement", but he checks his anger:

His dead are in the churchyard -- thirty generations laid. . . .  
 And the passion and the piety and prowess of his line  
 Have seeded, rooted, fruited in some land the Law calls mine. . . .  
 He is bailiff, woodman, wheelwright, field-surveyor, engineer,  
 And if flagrantly a poacher -- t'ain't for me to interfere.  
 (DE, 603. Italics mine.)

Similarly this attitude can extend to the orders of a military authority. In "A Centurion of the Thirtieth" (1906), included in Puck of Pook's Hill, Parnesius, a young officer, refuses to obey the order of the great general Maximus:

"Kill him now," he [Maximus] said. "He will not move a limb."  
 "No," I said. "You've taken my men out of my command. I should only be your butcher if I killed him now." (XXIII, 156)



These examples prove the fluidity of Kipling's concept of Law, and one can multiply these examples indefinitely. However, one thing which is quite clear is that the man-made Law (the law of the land, military law, constitutional law, and so forth) can be modified, changed, disregarded, and disobeyed in deference to a higher Law, which remains permanent and which must be kept at all costs in all circumstances. Another point which is apparent is that this higher Law is a necessity for the progress of civilization and the maintenance of the dignity of man. Dick Helder, in The Light that Failed (1891) says that the Nilghai "might have condensed the whole of his lumbering nonsense into an epigram: 'Only the free are bond, and only the bond are free.'" (IX, 68-69) In the wolf-pack, after Akela has been deposed, there is anarchy; but in due course, at the meeting of the pack, one wolf cries out: "Lead us again, O Akela! Lead us again, O Man-cub, for we be sick of this lawlessness, and we would be the Free People once more." (VII, 134) In a later tale in The Jungle Books, Akela exhorts the young wolves: ". . . follow the Law, and run under one head, as befitted the Free People." (VII, 220)

Critics are in general agreement on the point that the Law is a positive force, and that the final view

of Kipling must be based on a correct understanding of his Law. Nevertheless, the full and exact determination of the nature of Kipling's Law remains an unsolved problem: so far as I am aware, no systematic and detailed study of this extremely important aspect of Kipling has yet been undertaken.

A careful perusal of Kipling's works reveals that his Law, the positive force with which he opposes the Dark Forces, is composed of three main interrelated ingredients, namely, moral values, the Imperial Idea, and the philosophy of disinterested suffering and positive action. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the above-mentioned three ingredients of Law in order to determine the nature, value, and validity of this particular code of life; thereby, this study aims at filling a gap in Kipling research. My solution may not be the best answer to the problem. It will, however, interrelate various subthemes of Kipling's work, which have been explored separately before, and it will attempt to weave the complex web of Kipling's thought into a new unity.<sup>15</sup>

One may attack the problem of analysing an artist's philosophy in two ways. First, one may base one's

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I must acknowledge that I am indebted to Dr. J. M. S. Tompkins for many invaluable insights into Kipling in general and Kipling's Law in particular.

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investigations solely on the primary sources isolated from the writer's biography as well as the milieu in which these works are produced. This is perhaps the modern new-critical technique. The second is a much older method, namely, the historical technique, which combines the study of the primary works with the background that goes into the shaping and production of the works under examination.

Both techniques have value. However, in the case of Rudyard Kipling, a writer endowed with what T. S. Eliot calls "historical imagination,"<sup>16</sup> and who "composed", according to the tribute paid by The Times on Kipling's death, "at a crucial period in the history of our race,"<sup>17</sup> the historical approach is perhaps necessary if we are to arrive at a judicious understanding of his mind and art.

However, by proposing to adopt the historical approach in this study, I do not mean to uncover social, political, historical, or biographical details each time that I refer to Kipling's works. Simply, I intend to place Kipling in the context of his times in order to view him

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<sup>16</sup>

T. S. Eliot, ed., A Choice of Kipling's Verse (London, 1941), paperback edition, pp. 30-31.

<sup>17</sup>

The Times, January 20, 1936.

from a proper perspective. Therefore, in the course of this investigation, in addition to an examination of Kipling's works, I will touch upon those factors which contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formulation of Kipling's philosophy of Law.

## Chapter II

### ASPECTS OF ORDER AND LAW IN KIPLING'S LIFE

"Yes . . . I will be a Burra Sahib Bahadur ( a very big man indeed )" -- "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" (VI, 327)

(a) "A Very Young Person": Bombay and Southsea  
(1865-1878)

Kipling was born in Bombay in 1865 -- a time when the British Empire in India was at its zenith. The Indo-Pakistani struggle for independence of 1857, which is referred to as the Mutiny by English historians, was successfully quelled, and the Afghan wars, at least for the time being, were over. The country was going through a period of relative peace which it had not seen for centuries. Kipling's father, John Lockwood Kipling, enjoyed a secure prestige in official British India as Professor of Architectural Sculpture at the Bombay School of Art endowed by a public-spirited Parsee Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.

"My first impression," writes Kipling in Something of Myself, (1937), "is of daybreak, light and colour and purple fruits at the level of my shoulder. This would be the memory of early morning walks to the Bombay fruit market with my ayah [nurse] . . . ." (XXXVI, 3) The tender memories of the Bombay childhood spent "between the palms and the sea" are easily discernible from his highly reticent autobiography. Little Ruddy was literally smothered by the love and affection of his father's Indian servants, especially Meeta and his ayah, a Goanese woman. The Indian influence was so deep that Hindustani or Urdu was "the vernacular idiom that one thought and dreamed in" and Ruddy spoke English "haltingly translated out of the vernacular idiom." (XXXVI, 4)

Kipling's Bombay childhood is of immense importance in the development of his mind. In these six formative years he learnt and saw things which left an indelible mark, and the later days were only to feed and water these half-formed ideas. One inevitable result of this period was the establishment of a tender bond between Kipling and India. No matter how radically his views about India might have changed later on, this childhood bond never broke, and one can always perceive this sub-surface current of emotional involvement underneath his most<sup>1</sup> bitter diatribes against India or the Indians.

The second impression left on his personality by his Bombay childhood, later strengthened by what Kipling calls "Seven Years' Hard" in India, was what I may term "Sahib consciousness." Kipling was a precocious child; he knew that he belonged to the ruling class; and he also knew what authority meant -- authority which assumes so significant a role in his philosophy later on. An early glimpse of little Ruddy, mentioned by J.I.M. Stewart, illustrates this point:

A yet earlier glimpse of Ruddy shows him 'eating his supper intently watched by three dogs to which he administers occasional blundering blows with a little whip and much shouting.' That had been back in Bombay, his birthplace, where the sun shone, servants behaved respectfully even to the smallest and youngest sahib.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kipling's attitude to India shows a curious ambivalence. Along with his sombre pictures of India one can also see loving memories of the country and its people in his writings; it is here that the unconscious childhood bond comes to the fore.

<sup>2</sup> J.I.M. Stewart, Rudyard Kipling (London, 1966), p. 13.

André Chevrillon, one of Kipling's French admirers, paints the following imaginative but true picture of little Ruddy:

Doubtless the child learns other things at Bombay, which leave a lasting impression. He sees the fine soldiers of the Queen; he sees the sepoys presenting arms to Europeans. He sees in the bazaars, around the temples and sacred ponds, the dark, half-naked crowd, making way for the Englishman's horse. He sees the salaams, the hands laid on heart, lips, and bending brow. Surely the child is aware that he belongs to the ruling race -- his nurse or his bearer must have told him that he is a sahib. And maybe he has already formed some idea of the duties and the honour of a sahib.<sup>3</sup>

Many of Kipling's stories present this image of himself as a "child of the Dominant Race"; strong-willed, imperious, and conscious of a profound sense of responsibility. For example, "Wee Willie Winkie" (1888) is the story of six-year-old Willie, who was also "an officer and a gentleman"; (VI, 287) He understood "what Military Discipline meant" (VI, 287), he had been brought up to believe that tears were the depth of, unmanliness" (VI, 298), and he possessed all the qualities of a sahib -- authority, honour, heroism, loyalty, respect for law and order, and a sense of superiority.

When Miss Allardyce, the girl-friend of Coppy, a subaltern in his father's regiment and a friend of Willie, rides toward the river beyond which lay the free tribal territory, young Willie gallops to her succour. He overtakes her near the river where they are encircled by the fierce Pathans. Willie is not

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André Chevrillon, Three Studies in English Literature (New York, 1923), pp. 6-7.



afraid? "Then rose from the rock Wee Willie Winkie, child of the Dominant Race, aged six and three-quarters, and said briefly and emphatically, 'Jao!' [go]" Ultimately the Pathans disappear into the hills; the regiment of Willie's father comes in search and Coppy exclaims: "You're a hero, Winkie -- a pukka [true] hero!" (VI, 304)

The Bombay years were indeed a pleasant way of life for a child, and Kipling returns to them nostalgically in several of his stories. Tods in the story "Tods' Amendment" (1887) is shown as "the idol of some eighty jhampanis [porters], and half as many saises [grooms]. . . . It never entered his head that any living human being could disobey his orders." (I, 218)

In "Baa Baa, Black Sheep (1888) we have the following scene of a leave-taking between young Kipling and his Indian servants which underlines his sahib-consciousness:

'Come back, Punch-baba,' said the ayah.  
'Come back,' said Meeta, 'and be a Burra Sahib (a big man).'  
'Yes,' said Punch, lifted up in his father's arms to wave good-bye.  
'Yes, I will come back, and I will be a Burra Sahib Bahadur (a very big man indeed)!' (VI, 327)

And, as Louis L. Cornell remarks, Kipling never completely outgrew the innocence of his Bombay childhood: in a sense, the loyal and affectionate servant remained for him the prototype of the  
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admirable Indian native.

The golden period at Bombay terminated all too soon. Kipling and his younger sister Trix, who were then about

six and three years old respectively, were sent to Southsea, England, as paying guests in the home of a retired naval officer whose name had been obtained from an advertisement in a newspaper and who seemed to have satisfactory references!

The five years' sojourn at Lorne Lodge, Southsea, left unhealed scars upon the spirit of Kipling; one may form a vague notion of his experiences at "The House of Desolation" from Something of Myself, "Baa Baa, Black Sheep"(1888), and the first chapter of his novel, The Light that Failed (1890). The following excerpt from his autobiography tells something of the miseries and hardships which he underwent at the hands of the religious tyrant, Mrs. Holloway:

It was an establishment run with the full vigour of the Evangelical as revealed to the Woman. I had never heard of Hell, so I was introduced to it in all its terrors --I and whatever luckless little slavey might be in the house, whom severe rationing had led to steal food. Once I saw the Woman beat such a girl who picked up the kitchen poker and threatened retaliation. Myself I was regularly beaten. The Woman had an only son of twelve or thirteen as religious as she. I was a real joy to him, for when his mother had finished with me for the day he((we slept in the same room) took me on and roasted the other side. (XXXVI, 7-8)

"Baa Baa, Black Sheep" is a bitter work. The child Kipling suffered an agonizing dislocation-- he was torn away from the whole world of "daybreak, light and colour and purple fruits." At an age when children need constant reassurance that their world is stable, things fell apart:

When a matured man discovers that he has been deserted by Providence, deprived of his God, and cast without help, comfort, or sympathy, upon a world which is new and strange to him, his despair, which may find expression in evil living, the writing of his experiences, or the more satisfactory diversion of suicide, is generally supposed to be impressive. A child, under exactly similar circumstances as far as its knowledge goes, cannot very well curse God and die. It howls till its nose is red, its eyes are sore, and its head aches. Punch and Judy, through no fault of their own, had lost all their world. (VI, 333)

The effects of these painful years at Lorne Lodge have, however, been unduly exaggerated and often misconstrued. To say, as for example Edmund Wilson does, that as a result of them "the whole work of Kipling's life is to be shot through with hatred" is quite unwarranted.<sup>5</sup> One should read Kipling's comments on the effects of these sad experiences with care in order to form a judicious opinion of the impact of these years on his personality and art. In "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" Kipling states: "When young lips have drunk deep of the bitter waters of Hate, Suspicion, and Despair, all the Love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge; though it may turn darkened eyes for a while to the light, and teach Faith where no Faith was." (VI, 368) In Something of Myself he goes on to say: "In the long run these things, and many more of the like, drained me of any capacity for real, personal hate for the rest of my days. So close must any life-filling passion lie to its opposite." (XXXVI, 17) These are

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Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling That Nobody Read", Atlantic Monthly, CLXVII (February, 1941), 201-14; *ibid.*, (March, 1941), 340-54; reprinted in The Wound and the Bow (Boston, 1941), pp. 105-81.

complementary statements in which Kipling makes two points: first, his early knowledge of hatred, suspicion, and despair; secondly, the resultant incapacity for any personal feeling of hate and a preoccupation with the opposite of hate, that is, pity and love. As a matter of fact, Kipling, whose imagination was attuned to Elizabethan art and drama, feels quite at home in making masterly studies of revenge and hatred, although the theme of revenge goes together with the theme of healing in his works.<sup>6</sup>

One consequence of the young Kipling's exile was that it made him value family ties as the greatest good in life. "The Family Square" at the Brompton Road house in Lahore later became for him the greatest source of solace and comfort which confirmed his views regarding family affection as a solution to personal problems. It was on the strength of the bond of love between himself and his sister Trix that he could dismiss Mrs. Holloway as a "Kuch-nay, a Nothing-at-all", "of such low caste as not to matter."<sup>7</sup> His capacity to live in a world of his own left an indelible mark on his writings. This has led C.S. Lewis to find

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<sup>6</sup> For a full treatment of this point see J.M.S. Tompkins, The Art of Rudyard Kipling (London, 1959), pp. 119-185.

<sup>7</sup> Alice M. Fleming, "Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling," Chambers's Journal, ser. 8, viii (March, 1939), 169. A copy of this journal is kept in the Kipling Room at Dalhousie University.

the key to Kipling's thought in the idea of the "inner ring"<sup>8</sup>  
 and W. H. Auden to call him "the poet of the encirclement."<sup>9</sup>

Another result of these five years at Southsea was that Kipling now saw authority from a different angle. The child Ruddy who wielded authority in India and who was petted and loved by his Indian servants was now bullied and ordered about by a religious tyrant. The circle was thus completed, and the bitter lesson of obedience to authority was driven home.

(b) "The School Before its Time": United  
 Services College (1878-82)

The four years (1878-82) which Kipling spent at United Services College, popularly known as Westward Ho!, further contributed to the development of the basic elements of his philosophy of Law. United Services College was established by the Army officers as a cheap training ground for their sons who were assumed to be gentlemen, and who were qualifying for entrance

<sup>8</sup>

C.S. Lewis, "Kipling's World," Literature and Life, Addresses to the English Association, 1948; reprinted in his collection They Asked for a Paper (London, 1962), pp. 72-92.

<sup>9</sup>

W. H. Auden, "The Poet of the Encirclement," New Republic, CIX (1943), 579-81.

to the imperial service. An interesting advertisement in The Illustrated London News of January 23, 1875 says the following about the school:

The object of the United Services Proprietary College at Westward Ho is to provide for the sons of the officers of the Army and navy an inexpensive education of the highest class and of a general nature. It is also to prepare them for the military, naval, and civil examinations, or for the universities, or for the liberal professions, or for mercantile and general pursuits. 10

The following excerpt from the "Editorial Notes" of The United Services College Chronicle throws further light on the end to which the school was directed:

In July next, the College comes of age, and we confidently call on all her sons, past and present, to make the year 1895, a memorable one in the annals of the school. In twenty years the College has made its way in the school world, and earned a place among the Public Schools of England. We hope that the year will be marked by successes in the class rooms, and on the playing fields, and that we may continue to turn out, in the words of Lord Roberts, quoted by Mr. Rudyard Kipling, "a good, efficient and trustworthy type of officer." 11

School life was ordered, masculine, and directed to the ends of the Empire.

The English public schools of the time were, generally speaking, geared to this very end, namely, the turning out of the officers for the Empire with qualities of courage, endurance, firmness of character, strength of will, sense of

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10

A cutting from the periodical is in the Stewart Kipling Collection, Dalhousie University.

11

Rare copies of the Chronicle are in the Stewart Kipling Collection, Dalhousie University, Halifax. See The United Services College Chronicle, No. 58, Vol. II, December 17, 1894.

superiority of the English over others, and so forth. The Ten Commandments of the public schools, a semi-satirical decalogue quoted by H. B. Gray, give a general idea of the pupil's frame of mind:

There is only one God; and the Captain of School is His Prophet.  
 My school is the best in the world.  
 Without big muscles, strong will, and proper collars there is no salvation.  
 I must wash much and in accordance with tradition.  
 I must speak the truth even to a master, if he believes everything I tell him.  
 I must play games with all my heart, with all my soul and with all my strength.  
 To work outside class hours is indecent.  
 Enthusiasm, except for games, is in bad taste.  
 I must look up to the older fellows and pour contempt on newcomers.  
 I must show no emotion and not kiss my mother in public. 12

While at school, Kipling did not shine in athletics, but he edited the college magazine and was active in the "Literary and Debating Society", which was formed in November 1881 with Kipling as secretary. Dunsterville ("Stalky"), one of his intimate friends, was elected President. There were readings from poetry and prose: Dickens, Tennyson, Bret Harte, and others, debates on such questions as "the present Government is unworthy of the confidence of the country" (Gladstone was in power at that time); "the advance of the Russians in Central Asia is hostile to the British Power"; "total abstinence is better than the moderate use of alcohol"-- and so on: Kipling being invariably for the motion. 13

12

H. B. Gray, Public Schools and the Empire (London, 1913), pp. 172-73.

13

United Services College Chronicle: Nos. 7-9, 5 December 1881, 20 March 1882, 3 June 1882.

The spirit infused by the United Services College in Kipling and other students is well reflected by "Ave Imperatrix!" --a poem which Kipling wrote on the occasion of the attempt to assassinate Queen Victoria in March 1882:

One school of many made to make  
 Men who shall hold it dearest right  
 To battle for their ruler's sake,  
 And stake their being in the fight,  
 Sends greeting humble and sincere --  
 Through verse be rude and poor and mean --  
 To you, the greatest as most dear --  
 Victoria, by God's grace Our Queen!

Such greeting as should come from those  
 Whose fathers faced the Sepoy hordes,  
 Or served you in the Russian snows,  
 And, dying, left their sons their swords.

And some of us have fought for your  
 Already in the Afghan pass --  
 Or where the scarce-seen smoke-puffs flew  
 From Boer marksmen in the grass;

And all are bred to do your will  
 By land and sea --wherever flies  
 The Flag, to fight and follow still,  
 And work your Empire's destinies. 14  
 (DE, 169)

In Stalky & Co. (1899), Kipling painted an exaggerated and rather distorted picture of his school days at Westward Ho!, but from this book one can form some impression of the spirit and atmosphere of life in a public school in the late Victorian period. All the ingredients of a public school system are there in Stalky & Co. -- flogging, bullying, and fagging -- and above all the

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14

The poem first appeared in The United Services College Chronicle, No. 8, March 20, 1882.



Proosian Bates, the Jehovah-like Victorian headmaster who doles out justice and punishment. The drill-sergeant is another part of this school system. The atmosphere of the book is charged with violence and over-statement. Stalky, the superman, is projected as the ideal product of this system, a man for whom frontier skirmishes become worthy ends not so much for the sake of the Empire but more perhaps for the qualities which these campaigns seem to inculcate in the Empire-builder. Frontier-soldiering becomes a ritual, and a philosophy of action is strongly advocated:

Out of Egypt unto Troy --  
 Over Himalaya  
 Far and sure our bands have gone --  
 Hy-Brasil or Babylon,  
 Islands of the Southern Run,  
 And cites of Cathaia! . . .

This we learned from famous men,  
 Knowing not its uses,  
 When they showed, in daily work --  
 Man must finish off his work --  
 Right or wrong, his daily work --  
 And without excuses. . . .

This we learned from famous men  
 Teaching in our borders,  
 Who declared it was best,  
 Safest, easiest, and best --  
 Expeditious, wise, and best --  
 To obey your orders.

(XVIII, viii-ix)

It may not be out of place to note that Kipling began to write about Beetle, Stalky, and M'Turk in the spring of 1897. He had left Vermont the previous summer and was entering a period of his life marked by strong patriotism and a concern

for England's lack of military preparedness. In an interesting letter of this period, addressed to S.W. Edwards, Kipling speaks about this very subject:

We want more men down there to sit on those same block-houses, and, being a nation of comprehensive fools, we've neglected to train more in the past ten years. I don't know how you feel about some form of compulsory service for the home defence, but all the chaps who've done their whack in S.A. seem to me pretty red-hot on the subject of conscription. What would you have given, when you went out, for a sound working knowledge of rifle-shooting and extended order drill put into you from your twelfth to your fifteenth years, instead of a hasty and inadequate team run through in a month? <sup>15</sup>

This letter highlights Kipling's deep concern for discipline and military training of the young so that they may shoulder the responsibilities of the Empire efficiently later on.

"Recessional" (1897) and "The Islanders" (1902) bear witness to the new sombre mood of Kipling. The Stalky stories were, in fact, largely designed to show the English how a certain kind of public school training could produce capable and efficient young men for safeguarding and extending the British Empire.

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15

The letter is dated 10 December 1902. Printed with the permission of Mrs. Bambridge in The Kipling Journal, XXIII (December 1956), p. 13.

## (c) "Seven Years' Hard": India (1882-89)

A tablet in Kipling's Lahore office asserts that "here I 'worked'", and in Something of Myself he goes on to add "And Allah knows that is true also!" (XXXVI, 74) "Seven Years' Hard" -- the title of the chapter on his Indian period in his autobiography -- is another indication of some aspects of his life in India which are of particular relevance to this study of Kipling. Hard, ceaseless work seems to be the keynote of his youthful years in India:

I never worked less than ten hours and seldom more than fifteen per diem; and as our paper came out in the evening did not see the midday sun except on Sundays. I had fever too, regular and persistent, to which I added for a while chronic dysentery. Yet I discovered that a man can work with a temperature of 104, even though next day he has to ask the office who wrote the article. . . . From the modern point of view I suppose the life was not fit for a dog, but my world was filled with boys, but a few years older than I, who had lived utterly alone, and died from typhoid mostly at the regulation age of twenty-two. As regarding ourselves at home, if there were any dying to be done, we four were together. The rest was in the day's work . . . (XXXVI, 40-41)

This hard, rigorous work in difficult circumstances is the theme of one of the earliest letters he wrote on arrival in Lahore. The letter is addressed to one of his teachers at Westward Ho! and is dated November 17, 1882:

For the last two hours I have been putting together the bulk of our paper and correcting proofs of all kinds. . . . Besides this there is a lot of work out of office hours, telegrams come to my house at any time of the day and night. These have to be seen to. . . . One of the first things a subeditor has to learn is to altogether give up original writing. I have not written three words of original matter beyond reports and reviews since I have joined the staff. . . . Some thirty papers go through my hands daily-- Hindu papers, scurrilous and abusive beyond everything, local scandal weeklies, philosophical and literary journals written by Babus in the style of Addison. Native Mohammedan, sleepy little publications, all extracts, Indigo papers, tea and coffee journals . . . and official Gazettes. All have to be disembowelled if they are worth it. Moreover I am responsible for every scrap of the paper except the first two pages 16

On the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore, Kipling worked under Stephen Wheeler, the two comprising the entire editorial staff of a paper that kept 160 native compositors at work. 17

On his transfer to the Pioneer of Allahabad in 1887, the pressure of work did not diminish, for then he alone was responsible for the editing and writing of the Pioneer Mail and the Week's News, two off-print papers of the Pioneer.

Kipling's devotion to work was partly inspired by the example of his father, John Lockwood Kipling. Lockwood Kipling was no imperialist; he was a solid, genial, practical, hard-working craftsman who had been "turning the artisans of Bombay into artists." 18 He was a man of parts with an

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16

The letter is in the Stewart Kipling Collection, Dalhousie University, Halifax.

17

A. P. Cooper, Rudyard Kipling (Garden City, 1936), p. 6 .

18

Hilton Brown, Rudyard Kipling (London, 1945), p. 45 .

encyclopaedic knowledge of many aspects of Indian life.

It was because of the good work he had done at Bombay that in 1872 he was promoted as curator of the Lahore Museum and principal of the then newly founded Mayo School of Arts, Lahore. (The grey-bearded curator of the Lahore Museum in Kim is modelled after Lockwood Kipling.)

At this stage, Kipling also realized that in work alone lay the salvation of the Anglo-Indian community. The India of 1871 was very different from that of 1882. The 1857 struggle for independence was the last gesture on the part of the Indian aristocracy, which was replaced by an English-educated middle-class intelligentsia. Education made the Indians more critical of the British rule--they aspired to establish a new order. There was considerable agitation for increased Indian participation in the affairs of their own country. In a sense it is correct to say with Professor Noel Annan that Kipling found upon his arrival in India "a society which politically, nervously, physically, and spiritually quivered on the edge of a precipice."<sup>19</sup> The storm was to gather full force only later; but Kipling with an artist's keen perceptions, was quick to assess the emergence of the new forces. He hastened to oppose the nationalist movement in India for, rightly or wrongly, he felt that (a) Indians could not stand on their own feet, at that time at least, and (b) Indians were in greater need of basic facilities than of democracy. Thus,

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19

Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas," Kipling's Mind and Art (London, 1964), edited by Andrew Rutherford, p. 102.

he advocated that the Anglo-Indians must do hard, selfless work in order to justify their presence in India and elsewhere.

Kipling's conviction about the need for practical work in India rather than abstract discussions regarding democracy was based on his intimate knowledge of India and its problems. Journalism gave him ample opportunity to examine the Indian scene closely, an experience which is crucial in the development of his philosophy of Law. This is how he describes the kind of work he was engaged in at Lahore:

I was sent out, first for local reportings. . . . Later I described openings of big bridges and such-like, which meant a night or two with the engineers; floods on railways--more nights in the wet with wretched heads of repair gangs; village festivals and consequent outbreaks of cholera or small pox; communal riots under the shadow of the Mosque of Wazir Khan, where the patient waiting troops lay in timber-yards, . . . visits of Viceroy to neighbouring Princes on the edge of the great Indian Desert, . . . reviews of Armies expecting to move against Russia next week; receptions of an Afghan Potentate, with whom the Indian Government wished to stand well, . . . murder and divorce trials. . . . (XXXVI, 43-44)

This passage gives an idea of the range of Kipling's movements and activities as a journalist. He acquainted himself with people from almost all walks of life--soldiers at Mian Mir Cantonment; engineers, doctors, civil servants, planters, and merchants at the Panjab Club; and "Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, and members of the Arya and Brahmo Samaj" at the Masonic Lodge. As regards the Anglo-Indian life, Simla gave him profound insight into the social life of his own people--the people who controlled the "naked machinery" of the Indian Government. The problems of the country were therefore understood by him in a way not done

before by any other Western artist writing about India. Instead of painting a hackneyed romantic picture of India, he presented the real India-- that vast chaotic country crawling with life--so much of which was diseased or decaying--torn with racial hatreds and racked with ear-splitting discords. It seemed to him that only cool and dispassionate people of his race were capable of bringing order out of this chaos. In the Empire he perceived traces of the Imperial Idea and a universal empire; a glimpse of "the naked machinery of the Great Indian Government, stripped of its casings, and lacquer, and paint, and guard-rails" (I,122), made him understand how order was created out of disorder. Hence, any notion of the crumbling of this magnificent machinery and return of power to the Indians meant a return to chaos as far as he was concerned. This point will be fully illustrated in the pages to follow; here I will confine myself to giving a few examples from his journalistic writings of the period.

In 1888 Kipling was sent to Calcutta by the Pioneer. Here he was forced to take notice of the rising Indian middle class. He expected to find "a real live city", an Indian counterpart to London, but all he could think of at first was the stench that permeated every corner of the town. It seemed to him that an efficient English municipal government would have made short work of the sanitary problem; but Calcutta was experimenting with local self-government, so that Kipling readily found an excuse for attacking the clerisy: "In spite of that stink, they allow, even encourage, natives to look after the place! The damp, drainage-soaked soil is sick with the teeming life of a hundred years, and the Municipal

Board list is choked with the names of natives--men of the  
 breed born in and raised off this surfeited muckheap!"<sup>20</sup>

His anger was increased by a visit to a meeting of the Bengal  
 Legislative Council. Traces of the "Big Calcutta Stink" drifted  
 into Writers' Buildings, and yet the Indians who sat there debating  
 municipal business seemed to take no notice of it. They talked  
 at length about democratic ideals with quotations from J. S. Mill  
 and about matters Kipling does not appear to have understood. All  
 he could think of was cleaning up the city: "Where is the criminal,  
 and what is all this talk about abstractions? They want shovels,  
 not sentiments, in this part of the world."<sup>21</sup>

"Shovels, not sentiments" adequately sums up Kipling's  
 rejection of the Indian middle class and its ideals. At the same  
 time, "shovels, not sentiments" gives the key to Kipling's attitude  
 of mind. He was not a racist: though he was susceptible to theories  
 of race characteristics that were in the air at the time, he rec-  
 ognized merit where he found it. But for orators who relied on  
 "principles" and "precedents" he had nothing but contempt. Two  
 sketches on this subject--"The Tracking of Chuckerbutti" (Pioneer,  
 1 March 1888) and "A Free Gift" (19 March)--ridicule the pretensions  
 of an inflammatory Indian journalist; in other pieces he satirizes, in  
 passing, the British and Anglo-Indian liberals who were in sympathy with  
 Chuckerbutti and his fellows.

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<sup>20</sup>

"A Real Live City", Pioneer, 2 March 1888.

<sup>21</sup>

"The Council of the Gods", Pioneer, 18 February 1888.



A long essay on the 1888 meeting of the Indian National Congress, then in its third year, leaves no doubt about his point of view.<sup>22</sup> Kipling here repeats arguments that were current in Anglo-Indian circles: that Congress did not represent the Indian masses; that the delegates had no clear purpose; that they were incapable of conducting an orderly meeting; let alone the affairs of a subcontinent. In an important letter to his friend H. A. Gwynne written toward the end of his life, he tells the reason why he was opposed to the Congress:

Within one year of the establishment of any sort of unchecked "national" administration there will be suttee again, dacoity there is already in full flow. Very few of the political movements and hartals [strikes] are unaccompanied by robbery, house breaking or murderous assaults. . . . I only want to save as many lives as are possible. 23

In another letter to Gwynne, he speaks on the same subject:

A large proportion of the "educated" Hindus would accept some form of "westernized" government to save their "face". The outcome of that, of course, would be oppression, extortion, and the sale of justice rather more than at present, and an even greater collapse of municipal administration than exists today. 24

These examples show Kipling's practical approach to the Indian problems: he was more concerned with taking prompt action in order to alleviate the lot of the man in the street than giving him the right to govern himself. Thus all the hero-worship he had given to his friends at Westward Ho! went to such men as Findlayson

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22

"A Study of the Congress: By an Eye Witness", Pioneer, 1 January, 1889.

23

This letter is dated 26 November 1930. It is part of the Gwynne Correspondence in the Stewart Private Kipling Collection, Halifax, N.S.

24

Dated July 25, 1933. Stewart Private Kipling Collection.

who toiled in remote corners of the Empire. The poem "The Galley Slave" (1890) is a good indication of Kipling's attitude to the role of the English in the Empire. It projects India as a galley, with her merchandise of goods, brown and naked humanity, her perpetual famines and maladies. The galley slave, that is the Anglo-Indian, works hard all his life to keep the boat sailing. However, this slave, instead of celebrating his freedom, looks back on his servitude with nostalgia and regret:

It may be that Fate will give me life and leave to row  
 once more--  
 Set some strong man free for fighting as I take awhile his  
 oar.  
 But today I leave the galley. Shall I curse her service then?  
 God be thanked! Whate'er comes after, I have lived and toiled  
 with Men! (DE, 75)

A profound sense of moral responsibility, need of hard, selfless work, and faith in the Empire are the direct results of his experiences in India. It was during the "Seven Years' Hard" in India that consciously or unconsciously Kipling formed the sympathies which developed into a creed that he termed the Law.

(d) Wanderings, Wars, and Roots  
(1889-1936)

In March 1889, Kipling left India for ever, and he was to spend the greater part of the rest of his life as a gypsy wandering all over the world. Of the 70 years of his life, Kipling spent only 13 in India, but the fact remains that those 13 left a deeper mark on his mind and art than the 57 years spent in England, the United States, South Africa, and France. These 57 years only confirmed the views that he had formed during his stay in India: strong beliefs in positive action, in law and order, and in the Empire remain the keynotes of his post-Indian career.

Kipling the globe-trotter returned to England by way of Rangoon, Malaya, Japan, San Francisco, and New York. If, from Kipling's loose, slight, and gay impressions of his travels for the readers of the Pioneer, we are to deduce anything about his views, it is his respect for work, order, and law that comes to the fore. He praised Japan for its craftsmanship and cleanliness, and he earnestly hoped for an end to western political corruption in Japan. In Japan he felt himself to be in the American sphere, and approached the coast of California with his critical faculties sharpened.

California, sixty-five years ago, was still the "Wild West." Kipling, fresh from the gravity and efficiency of the Indian Administration, immediately saw the chaos that was rampant in the United States. Within a fortnight, at San Francisco,

he encountered two crimes of violence. It was lawlessness, the custom of carrying a pistol in the pocket, the contempt for legal niceties, that drew his attention.

His introduction to "the American Eagle screaming for all it was worth" sickened him with American politics--not a difficult matter since all politics sickened him:

Scores of men have told me that they would as soon concern themselves with the public affairs of the city or State as rake muck. Turn now to the august spectacle of a Government of the people, by the people, for the people, . . . This mass of persons whose vote is divided into two parties--Republican and Democrat. . . . The Democrat as a party drinks more than the Republicans; and when drunk may be heard to talk about a thing called the Tariff, which he does not understand, but which he conceives to be the bulwark of the country or else the surest power for its destruction. Sometimes he says one thing and sometimes another, in order to contradict the Republican, who is always contradicting himself. (XVI, 60)

It was a different matter when he crossed the border to law-abiding British Columbia. Years later when in the autumn of 1907 he came to Canada, the same old contrast between the disorderly "Wild West" and the orderly Dominion was in his mind:

Always the marvel--to which the Canadians seemed insensible--was that on one side of an imaginary line should be Safety, Law, Honour, and Obedience, and on the other frank, brutal decivilisation; and that, despite this, Canada should be impressed by any aspect whatever of the United States. (XXXVI, 192) (Also see Chapter IV.)

Yet, in spite of these diatribes, Kipling did not hate America; he only hated the system prevalent there. He loved and married an American girl, Caroline S. Balestier, with whom he lived in Vermont for some four years (1892-96). In Caroline,

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Kipling found a devoted wife, one who provided the domestic atmosphere that was conducive to work. In Kipling's spacious study in "Naulakha", his house at Brattleboro, Vermont, one can still read the text inscribed on the chimney-piece by Kipling's father in 1893: "The Night cometh when no man can work." This Biblical text (John 9:4) echoes some aspects of his life in Vermont. It is therefore not surprising that the Vermont period was the most productive of his career.

During his stay in the U. S. A. , Kipling made many friends. Of these, his friendship with Theodore Roosevelt is particularly noteworthy. Kipling met Roosevelt in 1895 when Roosevelt, as head of the Civil Service Commission, was engaged in introducing sounder standards into the public service. Roosevelt was not much older than Kipling and, like him, had made a name before his thirtieth birthday as an uncompromising champion of manliness and efficiency. There was a natural sympathy between Kipling and Roosevelt. Though they rarely met again, they corresponded intermittently, as friends, a relationship that had a bearing on both Kipling's philosophy and on Roosevelt's political career. On the eve of the American occupation of the Philippines in 1898, Kipling sent the first copy of "The White Man's Burden" to Roosevelt who had just been elected Vice-President of the United States. Five years passed before Rudyard could estimate the effect of his words upon American policy. At the end of Roosevelt's first term as President, he wrote to Kipling about his attempt to take up the White Man's Burden;

it was on this record that he stood, and was elected, for a second term.

Theodore Roosevelt to Rudyard Kipling

1 November 1904

I have done a good many things in the past three years. . . . It is natural that some people should have been alienated by each thing I did, and the aggregate of all that have been alienated may be more than sufficient to overthrow me. Thus, in dealing with the Philippines I have first the jack-fools who seriously think that any group of pirates and head-hunters needs nothing but independence in order that it may be turned into a dark-hued New England town-meeting, and then the entirely practical creatures who join with these extremists because I do not intend that the islands shall be exploited for corrupt purposes.

I have accomplished certain definite things. I would consider myself a hundred times over repaid if I had nothing more to my credit than Panama and the coaling-stations in Cuba. So that you see my frame of mind is a good deal like that of your old Viceroy when he addressed the new Viceroy. 25

In 1896 Kipling left Vermont and settled in Sussex, England though he continued to travel throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. These extensive travels heightened his awareness of the Empire stretching from Canada through Africa and Asia to Australia; a new note of patriotism and sense of moral responsibility became the distinguishing feature of his verse of this period; and he came to be accepted as the people's laureate.

His trips to South Africa are of particular significance in the development and strengthening of his imperial views. South Africa was to provide him the fourth corner-stone in the edifice of his material life. India, New England, Sussex, South Africa, east and west, north and south, were the four lands in which this world-observer struck root.

In South Africa Kipling met two prominent Empire-builders, Sir Alfred Milner and Cecil Rhodes, who were to have a great influence on Kipling's mind. Milner had recently arrived as the Queen's High Commissioner, bearing instructions from Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, to bring the two Boer Republics to a settlement with the British Empire. He was entirely straightforward and devoted to efficiency, almost unaware of emotional considerations in politics, patient, hard-working, and distrustful of rhetoric. He was thus a statesman to whom Kipling could give his approval.

The other statesman at the Cape was Cecil Rhodes, an Oxford man, but quite different from Milner in character and temperament. A self-made millionaire, he seemed careless of money; he lived in a fantastic world of dreams:

I'd not give way for an Emperor,  
 I'd hold my road for a King--  
 To the Triple Crown I would not bow down--  
 But this is a different thing.  
 I'll not fight with the Powers of Air,  
 Sentry, pass him through!  
 Drawbridge let fall, 'tis the Lord of us all,  
 The Dreamer whose dreams come true!  
 ("The Fairies' Siege," DE, 520-21)

In March 1898 Rhodes sent Kipling up-country to visit his province of Rhodesia newly pacified after the Second Matabele War and now made accessible by railway. This trip convinced Kipling of the progress which was being made in Rhodesia after its occupation. Rhodes was fully engaged in agricultural reforms at the Cape, with railway construction in Rhodesia, and



with land-settlement. Rhodes, immersed in plans for material progress rather than in politics, was the leader Kipling adhered to.

The South African War broke out in 1899.

When the British embarked upon this campaign, they fought with an enthusiasm that is not easily explained away by economic catch-words. The petty corrupt tyrannies of the Boers in the Transvaal were felt by the English to be unworthy obstacles in the way of progress. The same was true of the American action against the Spaniards in Cuba. With a cry of dismay, in both countries, the intellectuals of the left wing denounced these aggressive wars against weaker nations, fought, as they supposed, for the benefit of industrialists and exploiters. The Mackays at Oxford and the Nortons at Harvard alike deplored the woeful events that their friend Rudyard celebrated with such gusto.

After learning of the British reverses in South Africa, Kipling the man of words transformed himself into Kipling the man of action. On 20th January 1900 he reached Cape Town. During the next fortnight Kipling occupied his time visiting the military hospitals, where he was doubly welcome, first as the soldiers' poet, secondly as the purveyor of all the comforts provided by the Absent-minded Beggar Fund. In the middle of the battle of Paardeberg, one of the main battles of the war, Kipling went up with an ambulance train to the rail-head at Modder River, and returned with a train-load of wounded, his first experience

of the realities of war. For a while he edited the army newspaper, The Friend of Bloemfontein. His hardest work was reading and editing the numerous contributions offered by soldiers, all of which he examined with care and many of which he printed.

The First World War confirmed his theory of the difference between those who are within the Law and those who are without the Law. The bandar-log, the forces of lawlessness, had once again invaded the world in the shape of "The Huns." For years Kipling the propagator of the Law had kept a close watch on the movements of the forces of disorder and anarchy. And he hastened to warn his nation of the approaching storm:

"For All We Have And Are"  
(1914)

The Hun is at the gate!  
Our world has passed away,  
In wantonness o'erthrown.  
There is nothing left to-day  
But steel and fire and stone!  
    Though all we know depart,  
    The old Commandments stand:--  
    "In courage keep your heart,  
    In strength lift up your hand."

Once more we hear the word  
That sickened earth of old:--  
"No law except the sword  
Unsheathed and uncontrolled."  
Once more it knits mankind,  
Once more the nations go  
To meet and break and bind  
A crazed and driven foe. . . .

No easy hope or lies  
Shall bring us to our goal,  
But iron sacrifice  
Of body, will, and soul.  
There is but one task for all--  
One life for each to give.  
What stands if Freedom fall?  
Who dies if England live? (DE, 329-30)

Again he preached the doctrine of action with all the vehemence at his command. He not only preached his gospel, but himself acted in accordance with it: he sent his only son John, barely 17 years old, to the war, in which he was soon killed in action. Kipling accepted his loss with singular courage:

Rudyard Kipling to Brigadier L. C. Dunsterville

12 November, 1915

Our boy was reported 'wounded & missing' since Sep. 27-- the Battle of Loos and we've heard nothing official since that date. But all we can pick up from the men points to the fact that he is dead and probably wiped out by shell fire. However, he had his heart's desire and he didn't have a long time in trenches. The Guards advanced on a front of two platoons for each battalion. He led the right platoon over a mile of open ground in face of shell and machine-gun fire and was dropped at the further limit of the advance, after having emptied his pistol into a house full of German m.g's. His C.O. and his Company Commander told me how he led 'em and the wounded confirmed it. He was senior ensign tho' only 18 yrs and 6 weeks, and worked like the devil for a year at Warley and knew his Irish to the ground. He was reported on as one of the best of the subalterns and was gym instructor and signaller. It was a short life. I'm sorry that all the years' work ended in that one afternoon but--lots of people are in our position--and its something to have bred a man. 26

The war dead presented their own problems. For the remaining eighteen years of his life Kipling was a diligent member of the War Graves Commission, active in all its practical decisions. He inspected many cemeteries and appeared at many functions on behalf of the Commission. And he continued to keep a vigil on dangerous developments after the War: he could perceive the rise of the forces of disorder and chaos well before

the start of the Second World War. As early as 1932 he issued a sombre warning:

This is the midnight--let no star  
Delude us--dawn is very far.  
This is the tempest long foretold--  
Slow to make head but sure to hold.

Stand by! The lull 'twixt blast and blast  
Signals the storm is near, not past;  
And worse than present jeopardy  
May our forlorn to-morrow be. ("The Storm Cone", DE, 824)

After Kipling's death, a destroyer was named after him, which his daughter, Mrs. George Bambridge, launched at Greenock just before World War II. There is an epic story, Mrs. Bambridge records, of the Kipling's heroic rescue of the survivors of the Kelly during the battle off Crete, of her terrible four-hundred-mile journey, crowded with wounded, listing heavily and ceaselessly attacked by German bombers, of her arrival at Alexandria with the rescued men, wounded, and exhausted, lined up on deck, to be greeted by a great roar of cheers echoing across the harbour. "All this might have been one of my father's own stories," Mrs. Bambridge adds.

27

(e) Summary

Thus, we see that the foundation of Kipling's philosophy of Law was laid in the first twenty-five years of his life. The Bombay Childhood (1865-71) was directly responsible

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Epilogue to Carrington, p. 519.

for what I have termed sahib-consciousness--an awareness that one belonged to the ruling class, belief in authority, and a sense of responsibility. The painful years at Southsea (1871-78) made him see authority from a different angle. During these years he learnt the bitter lesson of obedience to authority. A strong patriotism, enthusiasm for the Empire, discipline and respect for authority were inculcated in him during his stay at United Services College, Westward Ho! (1878-82). The next seven years which he spent in India as a journalist were crucial to the development of his ideas. His profession provided him a unique opportunity to understand India, its problems, and the way these problems were handled by British rulers. And it was on the basis of his experiences in India that he became a firm advocate of a moral code, the Imperial Idea, and the doctrine of action--the three bases of "Law". His later years spent as a wanderer throughout the Empire and the United States only confirmed his belief in Law that he had formed in his earlier years.

Chapter III  
THE MORAL ORDER

"This matter of creeds is like horse-flesh. The wise man knows horses are good--that there is a profit to be made from all. . . . Therefore I say in my heart the Faiths are like horses. Each has merit in its own country." (XIX, 234)

(a) Groundwork in Religion

Realisation of a moral order is postulated by Kipling as the first step in the struggle against the Forces of Chaos and Disorder. In fact, his vision of a moral order, consisting of such universal values as discipline, devotion to work, positive action, suffering, love, forms the very basis of his philosophy of Law.

This conception of a universal moral order was largely a result of his experiences in India--the land of diverse castes and creeds. It was here that he was exposed to various religious and philosophic systems, and he realised that they were all concerned with one common object, namely, the moral and spiritual well-being of man. This perception of a common denominator among diverse religions confirmed his faith in the hidden and veiled Power that is working against the Dark Powers in its own mysterious ways. So he would naturally respect all religions, whether Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, or Buddhist, as in the poem "Buddha at Kamakura (1892):

O ye who tread the Narrow Way  
 By Tophet-flare to Judgement Day,  
 Be gentle when "the heathen" pray  
 To Buddha at Kamakura! . . .

And who so will, from pride released,  
 Contemning neither creed nor priest,  
 May feel the soul of all the East  
 About him at Kamakura. . . .

The poem ends with a satirical gesture at the materialistic  
 European tourist:

A tourist-show, a legend told,  
 A rusting bulk of bronze and gold,  
 So much, and scarce so much, ye hold  
 The meaning of Kamakura?

But when the morning prayer is prayed,  
 Think, ere ye pass to strife and trade,  
 Is God in human image made  
 No nearer than Kamakura?

(DE, 92-93)

Even the worship of Hanuman should be respected: the moral of  
 the story "The Mark of the Beast" (1890) is "Don't trifle with  
 the beliefs of other people." Mahbub Ali put this message  
 succinctly for Kipling when he said to Kim: "This matter of  
 creeds is like horse-flesh. The wise man knows horses are good--  
 that there is a profit to be made from all . . . Therefore I  
 say in my heart the Faiths are like the horses. Each has merit  
 in its own country." (XIX, 234)

In this chapter I propose to examine the influence  
 of various religions on Kipling in order to understand the  
 background that led to the formulation of his vision of a universal  
 moral order. No discussion of Kipling's philosophy of Law can be  
 complete without a consideration of the impact of diverse religions  
 on him, for the moral side of Kipling's Law is related to the moral



codes recommended by different religions. Kipling was familiar with the great religions of the world. I shall endeavour to trace out, in this chapter, the particular moral or ethical values which he derived from diverse religious sources.

(b) The Judaeo-Christian Tradition in  
Kipling's Work

One of the most striking aspects of Kipling's work is his constant quotation from the Bible, allusion to its stories, and use of its language. This intimacy with the Bible was perfectly natural for him since both his grandfathers had been Wesleyan ministers and he must have heard much Biblical reference at home. The influence of the religious tyrant--Mrs. Holloway--at the House of Desolation must also be taken into account. Afternoons upstairs with the Collects or portions of the Bible to memorize provided him with an endless fund of texts upon which to draw. (XXXVI, 12) And then there were the services at school. With his sensitivity for language, he remembered and repeated Biblical words and phrases.

A mere glance at his titles proves the point.  
<sup>1</sup> Many Inventions, <sup>2</sup> Thy Servant a Dog, <sup>3</sup> "Bread upon the Waters,"

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<sup>1</sup>  
Ecclesiastes 7:29.

<sup>2</sup>  
II Kings 8:13.

<sup>3</sup>  
Ecclesiastes 11:1. The Day's Work.

"The Prophet and the Country,"<sup>4</sup> "The Church that was at Antioch,"<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>6</sup> "Delilah," <sup>7</sup> "The Sons of Martha," and so forth. Apart from book  
 and story titles, Kipling's works are full of Biblical quotations  
<sup>8</sup> and allusions. The wording is rarely exact, but the source is  
 unmistakable. Here are a few examples: -

"Gentlemen Rankers": "The curse of Reuben holds  
 us." (DE, 425)--The actual curse is: "Unstable as water, thou  
 shalt not excel." (Genesis 49:4) "Rhyme of the Three Sealers":  
 "Yea, skin for skin and all that he hath a man will give for  
 his life." (DE, 116)--"Skin for skin, yea, all that a man  
 hath will he give for his life." (Job 2:4) "Islanders": "No  
 doubt but ye are the people." (DE, 301)--"No doubt but ye are  
 the people." (Job 12:2) "McAndrew's Hymn": "Better the sight  
 of eyes that see than wanderin' o' desire!" (DE, 123)--"Better  
 is the sight of the eyes than the wanderings of the desire."  
 (Ecclesiastes 6:9)

So one might go on. Kipling draws from almost  
 every one of these books of the Bible; there is hardly any incident  
 in the Gospels which is not referred to in his works. Job, the

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<sup>4</sup> Matthew 13:57. Debits and Credits.

<sup>5</sup> Acts 13:1. Limits and Renewals.

<sup>6</sup> Judges 16:4.

<sup>7</sup> Luke 10:38 ff.

<sup>8</sup> For information on the Biblical allusions and quotations in  
 Kipling's works, I am indebted to the following sources:  
 Anne M. Weygandt, Kipling's Reading and Its Influence on His Poetry  
 (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 159-165.

Anonymous, "Kipling and the Bible," The Kipling Journal, No. 21  
 (March, 1932), 26-27.

The Rev. Robert B. Gibson, "The Bible, the Prayer Book and Rudyard  
 Kipling," The Kipling Journal, XXI (April, 1954), 3-6.

Psalms, and Isaiah were his preferred readings among the poetical books, and all the books of wisdom--Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Apocryphal Ecclesiasticus--are frequently cited. Although proportionately the books of the law and the minor prophets are not so often referred to as the lyrical and proverbial parts, altogether Kipling's writings reveal a deeper influence of the Old Testament spirit than that of the New Testament. Out of some 671 allusions which have been traced to chapter and book in Kipling's works, 418 are to the Old Testament, 253 to the New; moreover, there are numerous passages in which Kipling falls into biblical language, and here his cadences are generally those of the Old Testament, the Authorized Version (King James, 1611).

The concept of divine law, so important in the literature of the Old Testament, definitely contributed to the formulation of Kipling's philosophy of Law. While the Jewish sacred writings were divided into three parts known respectively as the law, the prophets, and the writings, it was the first of these, or what came to be known as the Book of the Law, that took precedence over the other two groups. The Law was regarded not only as the most important but as the most inspired of all the Old Testament writings. It was for this reason that the Hebrew

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Weygandt, p. 160, note 10.  
It may, however, be noted that the Old Testament is more than three times as bulky as the New Testament.

religion has frequently been characterized as legalistic: it is highly moral and prescriptive.

Yahweh, the source of all law, is an all-powerful and rather angry deity whose command is conceived in an active and dynamic way by analogy with the command which a general exercises over his army. The primary purpose of this law is to regulate the life of the community and order the relationship of the community with God. The Old Testament law has therefore a larger purpose than a mere fulfillment of rules and regulations. The emphasis in the Biblical law falls heavily upon order, authority, discipline, responsibility, and a primitive kind of justice.<sup>10</sup> When the individual transgresses the limits imposed upon him by God, then it is decreed that "life be given for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." (Exodus 21:23 ff.)

The law of Yahweh is conveyed to man through the medium of the Prophet Moses. Other Hebrew prophets, too, are regarded as the media of Toroth--that is, instructions, laws; their main activity appears in their preserving, expanding, and spiritualizing the law. The prophets were primarily reformers concerned with the guarding of the long inherited religious and moral ideals of the community. They spiritualized the law by the emphasis which they laid upon religion and morality as the all-important guides for human life.

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Heinz-Horst Schrey, Hans Herman Walz and W.A. Whitehouse, The Biblical Doctrine of Justice and Law (London, 1955), pp. 74-75.

The impact of the Biblical law on Kipling is well reflected in Kipling's attitude towards life and especially in the nomism of The Jungle Books (See Chapter VI). However, Kipling's view of morality cannot be dismissed as legalistic, for he does postulate an end to be realised rather than merely a law to be fulfilled. This end is, of course, the destruction of the Forces of Disorder and Darkness (See Chapter I).

Christian ethics, alike in its Protestant and in its Catholic form, has always upheld the conception of law, and rejected antinomianism, that is the doctrine that the moral agent who has attained to maturity has no need of external ordinances. On the other hand, Christianity has made a special effort to guard against what may be called positive legalism, which forgets that law and obedience are merely the form of the moral life, and not its substance.

In the Christian tradition, the Wesleyan doctrine of vocation may have exercised some influence on the development of Kipling's philosophy of life for he had a nonconformist background. Wesleyan Methodism exalted work as the distinguishing feature of moral character. Therefore, it was pointed out, "Every man that has any pretence to be a Christian will not fail to" school himself rigorously to "the business" of his calling, "seeing it is impossible that an idle man can be a good man, --  
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sloth being inconsistent with religion." Wesley advanced the

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John Wesley, The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., 14 vols. (London, 1872), VII, 31.

dogma that "without industry we are neither fit for this<sup>12</sup> world, nor for the world to come."

This exaltation of the virtue of industriousness derived its force from the larger ideal of an austere personal life. "We do not find any other body of people," boasted Wesley in a pamphlet addressed to the "people called Methodists," who "abstain from fashionable diversions, from reading plays, romances, or books of humour, from singing innocent songs, or talking in a merry, gay, diverting manner."<sup>13</sup> "To show all possible diligence", declared Wesley, "is one of our standing rules; and one, concerning<sup>14</sup> the observance of which we continually make the strictest inquiry." This glorification of work is a keynote of a comprehensive attitude.

Idleness was actually ranked with the most heinous crimes. The business of life was a serious affair, for no section of it lay outside the divine purpose. There was real identity between civic and religious aims. The Wesleyan movement almost invariably addressed<sup>15</sup> itself to practical problems. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Kipling's doctrine of action and his moral earnestness are related to his nonconformist background. (See Chapter V for a full discussion of Kipling's gospel of work.)

The Christian values of suffering and love find expression in Kipling's later works in particular. The protagonists

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<sup>12</sup>

Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>13</sup>

Ibid., VIII, 354.

<sup>14</sup>

Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>15</sup>

For a full treatment of this subject see W. J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (London, 1930).

of the two important fables--"The Children of the Zodiac" (1891) and "Cold Iron" (1909)-- come down to earth from heaven and fairy-land, identify themselves completely with suffering humanity, and take upon their shoulders the mundane work and burdens of mankind out of sheer love in order to alleviate the lot of man. (Also see Chapter V, Section a.)

The poem "Cold Iron", which accompanies the story of the same title, brings out explicitly the values of suffering and of sacrificial love. The poem tells of a Baron (who seems to represent Man), taken prisoner for rebellion against the King, apparently Christ. The Baron blames Cold Iron, which is symbolic of stern necessity or fate, for his fall, and he asserts that the King does not know what Cold Iron means. Then the King tells the Baron how he himself experienced Cold Iron when he went down to earth to redeem fallen Man:

"See! These Hands they pierced with nails, outside My  
city wall,  
Show Iron--Cold Iron--to be master of men all. . . .

I forgive thy treason--I redeem thy fall--  
For Iron-Cold Iron--must be master of men all!" (DE, 509)

The reference here is obviously to the Crucifixion. Through this powerful Christian symbol, the poem sets forth the value that Kipling places on disinterested suffering and sacrificial love.

The same message is conveyed in "A Carol", which accompanies the story "The Tree of Justice" (1910), where Harold of England is shown, still alive following the Norman Conquest, a broken old man even as the tree is broken in the poem:

Our Lord Who did the Ox command  
 To kneel to Judah's King,  
 He binds His frost upon the land  
 To ripen it for Spring--  
 To ripen it for Spring, good sirs,  
 According to His Word. . . .

When we poor fenmen skate the ice  
 Or shiver on the wold,  
 We hear the cry of a single tree  
 That breaks her heart in the cold--  
 That breaks her heart in the cold, good sirs,  
 And rendeth by the board. . . .

Her wood is crazed and little worth  
 Excepting as to burn,  
 That we may warm and make our mirth  
 Until the Spring return-- (DE, 510±11)

The single tree, a victim of the frost, whose individual tragedy may seem meaningless, is an unavoidable sacrifice to the great good of preparing the land for spring: in the same way the young and noble Harold becomes a broken, old man, sacrificed to the greater good of preparing for the growth of a mighty nation.

Another story in which the Christian note is unmistakable is "The Gardener" (1926), the last story in Debits and Credits; the fact of its being last indicates the emphasis that Kipling wished to place on it. Here, Helen Turrell has had an illegitimate son, Michael, whom she passed off as her nephew. Michael is killed in the war, and at the end of the story, Helen visits the war cemetery where he is buried. She is, however, unable to locate the grave, and looks around for help:



A man knelt behind a line of headstones--evidently a gardener, for he was firming a young plant in the soft earth. She went towards him, her paper in her hand. He rose at her approach and without prelude or salutation asked: "Who are you looking for?"

"Lieutenant Michael Turrell--my nephew," said Helen slowly and word for word, as she had many thousands of times in her life.

The man lifted his eyes and looked at her with infinite compassion before he turned from the fresh-sown grass toward the naked black crosses.

"Come with me," he said, "and I will show you where your son lies."

When Helen left the Cemetery she turned for a last look. In the distance she saw the man bending over his young plants; and she went away, supposing him to be the gardener. (XXXI, 449-50)

The story will make its full impact only if we recognize the reference to St. John's Gospel (20:15), in which Mary Magdalene goes to the tomb to find the body of Jesus, and a man who is there speaks to her: but "She, supposing him to be the gardener. . . ." This story indicates, as Professor Dobrée remarks, that Kipling's hope of, if not faith in, infinite mercy, was one of the supports  
16  
by the aid of which he lived.

Similarly, the light-hearted fantasy "On the Gate" (1926) is a vision of mercy, not judgement. Here we see St. Peter holding the keys of Heaven, and dedicating himself to an endless exercise of mercy. He is entirely concerned with compassionate forgiveness for mankind so that they may enter Heaven rather than be consigned to the "Lower Establishment" (Hell). The story is, however, touched with satire. It is set in Heaven, which is described in terms of the

16

Bonamy Dobrée, Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist (London, 1967), p.46  
Hereafter referred to as Realist and Fabulist.

machinery of an earthly Government Department, for "the Order Above" is "but the reflection of the Order Below." Peter appears as an efficient civil servant; he is administratively preoccupied with allotting people to their various categories: "Good!" St. Peter rubbed his hands. "That brings her under the higher allowance--G.L.H. scale--Greater love hath no man--".<sup>1</sup>" (XXXI, 361) While this story brings out Kipling's disbelief in dogmatic Christianity, it also brings the Christian teaching down to earth and translates it into realistic practical concerns.

Kipling, it must be remarked, was not strictly speaking, a professing Christian. Though responsive to Christian ethical ideals, and imaginatively responsive to such things as village churches, characters of saints, and so forth, though he uses Christian symbols seriously (in "Cold Iron", "The Gardener", etc.), though his work is full of Biblical quotations and allusions, there is, in fact, very little evidence anywhere in Kipling's writings of an adherence to articles of Christian belief.<sup>17</sup> "The Gardener" is the only story which has a positive reference to Christ. Indeed, there is much to show that no formal religion would have satisfied him.

In an early letter (9 December 1889) to Caroline Taylor, the daughter of a clergyman to whom Kipling paid court while he was visiting the United States of America, he confesses:

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Leading Kipling scholars such as Professor J.M.S. Tompkins, Bonamy Dobrée, Alan Sandison, and J.I.M. Stewart are all in agreement on this point.

Your slave was baptised in Bombay Cathedral into the Church of England, which you call Episcopalian, was brought up as you have read in that church, and confirmed by the Bishop of Exeter in Bideford Church, in '80 or '81. Does that satisfy that I am not a veiled adherent of the Church of Rome? . . . I believe in the existence of a personal God to whom we are personally responsible for wrong-doing--that it is our duty to follow and our peril to disobey the ten ethical laws laid down for us by Him and His prophets. I disbelieve directly in eternal punishment, for reasons that would take too long to put down on paper. On the same grounds I disbelieve in an eternal reward. As regards the mystery of the Trinity and the Doctrine of Redemption, I regard them most reverently but I cannot give them implicit belief. 18

In another letter ( 16 October 1895) he expresses his dissatisfaction with Christianity and Christians:

It is my fortune to have been born and to a large extent brought up among those whom white men call 'heathen'; and while I recognise the paramount duty of every white man to follow the teaching of his creed and conscience as "a" debtor to the whole law', it seems to me cruel that white men, whose governments are armed with the most murderous weapons known to science, should amaze and confound their fellow creatures with a doctrine of salvation imperfectly understood by themselves and a code of ethics foreign to the climate and instincts of those races whose most cherished customs they outrage and whose gods they insult. 19

In the early stories he is content to imply that Christianity could well be explained simply as a stage in evolution and no more. 20 And frequently his attitude towards Christianity is irreverent, to say the least: "On the Gate", (See above, p.86), is a ready example. Another instance is in Ortheris's reference to the "hanging" prayer: "The Lord giveth an' the Lord taketh away,--

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Quoted by Carrington, p. 138.

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Quoted by Carrington, p. 361.

20

Alan Sandison, The Wheel of Empire (New York, 1967), p. 87.

Heasy with that there drop!--Blessed be the naime  
 o' the Lord." (II, 181) Or again by implication: "Bennett  
 [the Anglican chaplain] looked at him [the Lama] with the  
 triple-ringed uninterest of the creed that lumps nine-tenths  
 of the world under the title of 'heathen'!" (XIX, 144)

Thus, we see that Kipling makes much use of the Bible, especially the Old Testament, and is influenced by the Biblical Law, but he shows little adherence to formal Christianity and is in fact quite sardonic in his references to the Christian religion in practice.

#### (c) The Islamic Tradition in Kipling's Work

Kipling's works are interspersed with references to Islam, Allah, the Prophet Mohammed, the Quran, Islamic ethics, and Muslim literature and folklore. For example, the Introduction to the "Outward Bound Edition" of his collected works begins with the well-known Quranic verse: "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful." (Quran, I,1) This Introduction is in the form of a letter from the owner of the merchandise (that is, Kipling) to the Nakhoda (Persian for "skipper") of the vessel, which is carrying the rich cargo (that is, Kipling's works) to the Western ports. The writer prays to Allah for the success of this venture: "On Bhao Malung we pray before the voyage; at the Takaria Musjid we give thanks when the voyage is over." (I, x) Similarly, he begins

his autobiography, his final book, in the name of Allah:  
 "Therefore, ascribing all good fortune to Allah the Dispenser  
 of Events, I begin:-" (XXXVI, 3)

The story "The Enemies to Each Other" (1924)  
 has a distinct Islamic atmosphere. Here the narrator, Abu Ali  
 Jafir Bin Yakub-ul-Isfahani tells the story of the creation of  
 Adam. When the Archangel Jibrail went to bring from the earth the  
 substance that would make Adam, the earth "shook and lamented and  
 supplicated," and Jibrail being moved by the laments, refrained,  
 as did the Archangel Michael. But the Archangel Azrael tore out  
 the necessary sands and clays. When asked why he did not spare,  
 he answered: "Obedience (to Thee) was more obligatory than Pity  
 (for it)." Whence it was ordained that Azrael should become the  
 Angel of Death. Azrael was further ordered to mix the clays and  
 sands and lay them to dry between "Tayif and Mecca" till the time  
 appointed. And when the Soul unwillingly went through the agony  
 of entering the body, and the event was accomplished, "the Word  
 came: 'My Compassion exceedeth My Wrath.'" These words recall  
 "The Lord is quick in retribution, but He is also Oft-forgiving,  
 Most Merciful." (Quran, VII, 168-69) The story is a good example  
 of Kipling's use of Islamic tradition.

Kipling's special use of Muslim literature and  
 history is illustrated by several poems and stories. For instance,  
 he refers to Saadi, a famous Persian mystic and poet, in "One

View of the Question" (1890):

And ye know what Saadi saith:-

"How may the merchant westward fare  
When he hears the tale of the Tumults there?" (VI, 284)

"The Rupaiyat of Omar Kal'vin" (1886) and "Certain Maxims of Hafiz" (1886) indicate his familiarity with Omar Khayyam (at first no doubt through Fitzgerald's translation) and Hafiz Shirazi--two of the most celebrated classical Persian poets. There are also numerous references in his works to The Arabian Nights. Two chapters in Stalky & Co. (1899), for instance, are entitled "Slaves of the Lamp Pt. I and Pt. II", which is an indication of his knowledge of the corresponding tale from The Arabian Nights. This is further established by a pantomime entitled "The Aladdin Company", which is played by Stalky and other boys. As regards Muslim history, there are many references to Moghul emperors in particular. "Akbar's Bridge" (1930) and "The Amir's Homily" (1891), which introduces Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, are ready examples.

Kipling's attitude towards Islam may be gathered from an early story "The City of Dreadful Night" (1885). Here Kipling paints an impressionistic picture of Lahore on a hot and humid night in August. He approaches the city from a distance and gradually focuses his lens on the objects of his special interest. We get a bird's eye view of the city--the roof-tops, as far as one can see, are crammed with restless men, women, and children and the sleepers by the roadside, who look like corpses in the eerie moonlight. The entire city seems to be in the grip of the Dark Powers whose evil

influence is ultimately broken by the call of a Muezzin (Muslim crier who calls the hour of daily prayers):

"Allah ho Akbar"; then a pause while another Muezzin somewhere in the direction of the Golden Temple takes up the call--"Allah ho Akbar." Again and again; four times in all; and from the bedsteads a dozen men have risen up already.-- "I bear witness that there is no God but God." What a splendid cry it is, the proclamation of the creed that brings men out of their beds by scores at midnight!. Once again he thunders through the same phrase, shaking with the vehemence of his own voice; and then, far and near, the night air rings with "Mahomed is the Prophet of God." It is as though he were flinging his defiance to the far-off horizon, where the summer lightning plays and leaps like a bared sword. (IV, 42-43)

In "Egypt of the Magicians" (1913), a record of his impressions of his visit to Egypt, he writes:

Christian churches may compromise with images and side-chapels where the unworthy or abashed can traffic with accessible saints. Islam has but one pulpit and one stark affirmation--living or dying, one only--and where men have repeated that in red-hot belief through centuries, the air still shakes to it. (XXVIII, 274)

Speaking about Islam in general, Kipling declares:

Some men are Mohammedan by birth, some by training, and some by fate, but I have never met an Englishman yet who hated Islam and its people as I have met Englishmen who hated some other faiths. Mussalmani awadani, as the saying goes--where there are Mohammedans, there is a comprehensible civilisation. (XXVIII, 274)

Describing his impressions of Al Azhar--the thousand-year-old University of Cairo--he comments on the Quran-oriented curriculum of the university:

The students sit on the ground, and their teachers instruct them, mostly by word of mouth, in grammar, syntax, logic; al-hisab, which is arithmetic; al-jab'r w'al muqublah, which is algebra; at-tafsir, commentaries on the Koran; and last and most troublesome, al-ahadis, traditions, and yet more commentaries on the law of Islam, which leads back, like everything, to the Koran once again. (For it is written, "Truly the Quran is none other than a revelation.") It is a very comprehensive curriculum. (XXVIII, 275)

Kipling felt at home in the Muslim world: the Panjab, where he spent five youthful years, was predominantly a Muslim area. "My life had lain among Muslims," he writes in his autobiography, "and a man leans one way or other according to his first service." (XXXVI, 68) The 1913 visit to the East was for him a renewal of the sights, smells, and sounds of the familiar Islamic world:

Praised by Allah for the diversity of His creatures and for the Five Advantages of Travel and for the glories of the Cities of the Earth! Harun-al-Raschid, in roaring Bagdad of old, never delighted himself to the limits of such a delight as was mine, that afternoon. . . . And I found myself saying, as perhaps the dead say when they have recovered their wits, "This is my real world again." (XXVII, 273-74. Italics mine.)

The Muslims who appear in his writings give an indication of what attracted him to Islam. Almost all the Muslim characters in Kipling's works are men of action. Gunga Din ("Gunga Din") lays down his life in the discharge of his duties as a water-carrier in the Indian Army. Kamal ("The Ballad of East and West"), the Pathan freebooter, wins the admiration of the Colonel's son for his courage, heroism, and sense of honour. The Sudanese Fuzzy-Wuzzy ("Fuzzy-Wuzzy") are worthy fighters. Khoda Dad Khan ("The Head of the District") is portrayed as an honest, strong-willed, and brave person. Mahbub Ali (Kim), the horse dealer of Lahore, stands for the life of action as opposed to the life of contemplation represented by the Lama. It is thus the Islamic stress on positive action, devotion to duty, discipline, and order that seems to have



impressed Kipling. On the subject of Islamic emphasis on order, he makes a very explicit statement in Something of Myself:

It is true that the Children of Israel are "people of the book," and in the second surah of the Koran Allah is made to say: "High above mankind have I raised you." Yet, later, in the fifth surah, it is written: "Oft as they kindle a beacon-fire for war shall God quench it. And their aim will be to abet disorder on the earth: but God loveth not the abetors of disorder," Israel is a race to leave alone. It abets disorder. (XXXVI, 215)

We find therefore that Kipling was deeply aware of Islamic literature and religion, and that he made frequent use of these sources. The practical character of Islamic law, also, may have helped to define his own realistic approach to moral problems. Though not as pervasive as the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the Islamic tradition has its place in Kipling's intellectual background.

#### (d) Hinduism and Hindu Society in Kipling's Work

Kipling's reaction to Hinduism, generally speaking, was negative. This negative attitude may partly be explained by the antipathy that a person belonging to a monotheistic school of thought feels towards polytheism. Kipling, who sought unity and design in the universe, was baffled by the intricacies of Hindu mythology and the abstractions of Hindu thought. Moreover, it seemed to Kipling that the Hindu attitude towards life was negative or escapist since Hinduism sees the world as maya (illusion)

--we exist only in the dream of Brahman. It is therefore understandable that Kipling, as an exponent of law, order, discipline, and a philosophy of action, reacted strongly against Hinduism.

Thus, Kipling often refers to Hindu gods as malignant beings who send only affliction to humanity at large. "It is otherwise in Hind," says Kim dryly. "Their gods are many-armed and malignant. Let them alone." (XIX, 83) This is amply borne out by the story "The Bridge Builders" (1893) in which we see Shiva the Bull, Ganesha the Elephant, Hanuman the Ape, Kali the Tigress, Bhairon the Buck, Sitala the Ass, and Gunga the Crocodile at a panchayat (meeting). The gods have assembled to consider the plea of angry Gunga that the Kashi bridge, which is being built over her, be destroyed. In opposing human progress and civilization, symbolised by bridge-building, the Hindu gods reveal their essential nature. Thus Shiva, the principle of destruction in the Trimurti (Hindu Triad), speaks out:

'Greater am I than Gunga also. . . . Who smote at Pooree, under the Image there, her thousands in a day and a night, and bound the sickness to the wheels of the fire-carriages, so that it ran from one end of the land to the other? Who but Kali? . . . The fire-carriages have served thee well, Mother of Death. But I speak for mine own altars, who am not Bhairon of the Common Folk, but Shiv. Men go to and fro, making words and telling talk of strange Gods, and I listen. Faith follows faith among my people in the schools, and I have no anger; for when the words are said, and the new talk is ended, to Shiv men return at the last. (XIII, 40)

Kipling's negative attitude toward Hinduism may further be gathered from The Smith Administration (1891), a series of

sketches of an Anglo-Indian establishment and life in India.

For instance, "The Bride's Progress", which originally appeared in The Pioneer Mail on 8 February 1888 and in The Week's News, No. 6, on 11 February 1888, describes the visit of a newly-married English couple to Benares, the holy city--"Benares of the Buddhists and the Hindus--of Durga of the Thousand Names--of two Thousand Temples, and twice two thousand stenchs." (XVI, 520) As the couple wanders through the narrow streets, "the symbols of a brutal cult" become apparent:

Hanuman, red, shameless, and smeared with oil, leaped and leered upon the walls above stolid, black, stone bulls, knee-deep in yellow flowers. The bells clamoured from unseen temples, and half-naked men with evil eyes rushed out of dark places. . . . (XVI, 521)

After witnessing "the horrors of a burning-ghat" (the place where the Hindu dead are cremated), the couple dives for the second time into the heart of "the city of monstrous creeds":

The walls dripped filth, the pavement sweated filth, and the contagion of uncleanness walked among the worshippers. There might have been beauty in the Temple of the Cow; there certainly was horror enough and to spare; but The Bride was conscious only of the filth of the place. She turned to the wisest and best man in the world, asking indignantly, "Why don't these horrid people clean the place out?" "I don't know," said The Bridegroom; "I suppose their religion forbids it." (XVI, 525)

The Bride cannot stand Benares any more, for "at every turn lewd gods grinned and mouthed at her, the still air was clogged with thick odours and the reek of rotten marigold flowers, and disease stood blind and naked before the sun." (XVI, 526) Thus early next morning, the couple flees from Benares, and as they catch the last glimpse of the city from their

boat, they hear a muezzin defying the Hindu gods!

In the silence a voice thundered far above their heads: "I bear witness that there is no God but God." It was the mullah, proclaiming the Oneness of God in the city of the Million Manifestations. The call rang across the sleeping city and far over the river, and be sure that the mullah abated nothing of the defiance of his cry for that he looked down upon a sea of temples and smelt the incense of a hundred Hindu shrines. (XVI, 526-27)

Kipling's dislike of Hinduism was partly based on his deep awareness of the social evils and especially the rigid caste system of Hindu society. The caste system, it may be noted, is not simply an economic phenomenon, but an integral part of Hindu religion. In The Smith Administration, Kipling sardonically writes about the caste system:

Those who say that a mehter has no caste, speak in ignorance. Those who say that there is a caste in the Empire so mean and so abject that there are no castes below it, speak in greater ignorance. The arain says that the chamar has no caste; the chamar knows that the mehter has none; and the mehter swears by Lal Beg, his god, that the od, whose god is Bhagirat, is without caste. Below the od lies the kaparia-bawaria, in spite of all that the low-caste Brahmins say or do, A Teji mehter or a Sundoo mehter is as much above a kaparia-bwaria as an Englishman is above a mehter. (XVI, 487)

Moreover, his father's negative impression of Hindus in general had a great deal to do with Kipling's attitude towards Hinduism. Lockwood Kipling's reaction to Hindus and Hinduism may be gathered from his book Beast and Man in India: A Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations With People (London, 1891), a source book for the later Jungle Books. Here is, for example, a comment on Hindu historians:

There are many lies in history, but Hindu writers are remarkable for having deliberately and of set principle ignored all the facts of life. All is done, however, with such an air of conviction and pious purpose that we must use Dr. Johnson's kindly discrimination and say that they are not inexcusable, but consecrated liars. 21

And yet, in spite of Kipling's disapproval of Hinduism, Hindu mysticism did make some impact on his mind. This may be seen in the story "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894). Here, Kipling shows great respect for Sir Purun Dass, a high-caste Brahmin and a Prime Minister of a native state, who becomes a yogi (mystic), and meditates in the Himalayas for ananda (peace) and nirvana (salvation, release from the Wheel). It may be noted that action was still the redeeming feature of the mystic's life in this story. (For a full discussion of this story, see Chapter V, Section C.)

Moreover, Kipling was also interested in the Hindu concept of samsara (continual incarnation). The most striking use of rebirth is in "The Finest Story in the World" (1891). Here Charlie Mears, a young bank clerk, is able to go back in the past and recollect the happenings of his previous lives as a galley slave and as a ship-mate of one of the Norse explorers of America. Charlie is, however, unaware of this fact; he thinks that his half memories of the past are just dreams or notions. On the other hand, the narrator knows that he "was dealing with the experiences of a thousand years ago, told through

the mouth of a boy of today." (V, 128) The narrator, nonetheless, fails to get a full account of the previous cycles of life from Charlie, so he turns to the Hindu student Grish Chunder for assistance. And Grish Chunder answers in a philosophic vein: "Lekin darwaza band hai. (Without doubt; but the door is shut.)" (V, 134)

Kipling, we see therefore, was unsympathetic to the Hindu religion on the whole, yet some specific aspects of Hindu belief appealed to him--and he made use of them in his work.

#### (e) Buddhism and the Lama in Kipling's Work

Buddhism, with its middle way, appealed to Kipling greatly. This is amply borne out by Kim (1901), which is dominated by the figure of the venerable Teshoo Lama, the abbot of Suchzen monastery in Tibet. The Lama seems at times to be a mouthpiece for Kipling himself. The followers of the "middle way" projects a vision of brotherhood and love for mankind, none having monopoly over Truth: "To those who follow the Way there is neither black nor white, Hindu or Bhotiyal. We be all souls seeking escape." (XIX, 7) It is therefore not surprising that Kipling, who was continuously searching for order and design, was attracted to the synthesising power of Buddhism.

Kipling evokes the world of Buddhism by reference to some of its well-known symbols. The most noted is the Bhavacakramudra or "Wheel of life." Here is how Kipling describes the Wheel, rich in philosophic symbolism:

He [the Lama] drew from under the table a sheet of strangely scented Chinese paper, the brushes, and the slab of India ink. In cleanest, severest outline he had traced the Great Wheel with its six spokes, whose centre is the conjoined Hog, Snake, and Dove (Ignorance, Anger, and Lust), and whose compartments are all the heavens and hell, and all the chances of human life. Men say that the Bodhisat Himself first drew it with grains of rice upon dust, to teach His disciples the cause of things. Many ages have crystallised it into a most wonderful convention crowded with hundreds of little figures whose every line carries a meaning. (XIX, 314-15)

The Buddhist faith is divided into two sects, the Hinayana and the Mahayana. The Lama, being a Tibetan, belongs to the Mahayana group, to whom two ways are open to gain nirvana. One is Sutra, the exoteric course, and the other Tantra, the esoteric course. The esoteric course is mainly concerned with matters of ritual, magic formulae and enchantments, diagrams and talismans, and the symbolism of gestures. 22

The Lama in Kim, as Rao points out, has followed 23 the esoteric course. His search for the River of the Arrow is a "mystical and magic" way of attaining nirvana. In the past, he had been a master hand at casting horoscopes. He chants the mantra

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Fosco Maraini, Secret Tibet (New York, 1952), p. 83.

23

K. B. Rao, Rudyard Kipling's India (Oklahoma, 1967), pp. 123-59.

(magic formula) "Om Mani Padme Hum" (Hail O jewel in the flower of the lotus).

The Lama illustrates the two most important paths of the Eightfold Path, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration in his search for the River of the Arrow. The River of the Arrow is, however, only a symbol: it represents the Lama's inner desire to reach the Truth behind the maya (illusion). With this devout aim, the Lama comes to India. At Lahore the English curator (modelled after Lockwood Kipling) helps the Lama with his scholarship; he gives the Lama a map indicating the wanderings of Buddha. With single-mindedness, the Lama is going to retrace the steps of Buddha in order to attain enlightenment. Ultimately, he gives up his physical search for the River of the Arrow; in doing so, the Lama follows the last path of the Eightfold Path, Right Concentration. And now he sees the reality behind the illusion, which leads him to his nirvana: "For the merit that I have acquired, the River of the Arrow is here. It breaks forth at our feet, as I have said." (XIX, 472)

Thus we see that Kim reveals Kipling's deep knowledge and appreciation of the philosophic aspects of Buddhism.



## (f) Freemasonry and Kipling

On April 5th, 1886, being at that time less than twenty-one years of age, Kipling was admitted to the Order at the Lahore Masonic Lodge, which is referred to as the Jadoo-Gher (Magic House) at the beginning of Kim, under a dispensation<sup>24</sup> from the District Grand Master. This is how he describes his initiation in his modest autobiography:

In '85 I was made a Freemason by dispensation (Lodge Hope and Perseverance 782 E.C.), being under age, because the Lodge hoped for a good Secretary. They did not get him, but I helped, and got the Father to advise, in decorating the bare walls of the Masonic Hall after the prescription of Solomon's Temple. Here I met Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, members of the Araya and Brahmo Samaj, and a Jew tyler, who was priest and butcher to his little community in the city. So yet another world opened to me which I needed. (XXXVI, 51-52)

On his transfer to Allahabad, he joined Lodge Independence with Philanthropy there. After his departure from India in 1889, Kipling's Masonic activities become difficult to trace. No doubt this was in part due to the author himself, on account of his well-known dislike of personal publicity.

However, thanks to the labours of Bro. Albert Frost,<sup>25</sup> Norfolk Lodge, Sheffield, we can learn a few particulars. It seems fairly certain that he joined the Authors' Lodge in London and says

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Although Kipling states that he was made a Freemason in 1885, it is established by the Minutes of Kipling's Mother Lodge that he was admitted on the 5th April 1886. The proposition was probably made in the previous year. See Basil M. Bazley, Past Master, Cordwainer Ward Lodge, "Freemasonry in Kipling's Works", The Kipling Journal, XVI (December, 1949), 13-15 and XVII (April, 1950), 7-11.  
25

Albert Frost, "R.K.'s Masonic Allusions," The Kipling Journal, XIII (October, 1942), 16-18.

Bro. Frost, he was present at its Consecration in 1910. We are told that "he was also a member of the Motherland Lodge and a Rosicrucian . . . He was advanced a Mark Mason in Fidelity Lodge in Lahore and a Royal Ark Mariner of Mount Ararat Lodge attached to the same Lodge. He was an honorary member of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge No. 2, Edinburgh, of which the poet Burns was also an honorary member."

Freemasonry is an oath-bound fraternal order of men; it draws its name and many of its symbols from the building trade. It admits men of every nationality, religion, colour, and political persuasion. It claims to be based upon those fundamentals of religion held in common by all men, and it endeavours to inculcate, through allegories and symbols connected with the art of building, a lofty morality laying particular stress upon benevolence. The essential teachings of Masonry are few and simple, such as belief in a Supreme Being, brotherhood of man, and the desirability of following a moral code. For example, Anderson's Constitution stipulates:

A Mason is oblig'd, by his Tenure, to obey the Moral Law; and if he rightfully understands the Art, he will never be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine . . . 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them [masons] to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves; that is, to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguished.

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Ibid.

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Quoted by Ray Baker Harris, "Freemasonry", Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1966), 24 vols., IX, 840-844.

Kipling's works contain many interesting Masonic allusions, but he is best known to Members of the Craft for two stories and two poems. In the former category we have "The Man who would be King" (1888) from Wee Willie Winkie and "In the Interests of the Brethren" (1918) included in Debits and Credits; the two poems are "The Mother Lodge" (1895) included in The Seven Seas and "Banquet Night," this last being a foreword to the second of the above-named stories.

"The Man who would be a King" is a story of two masons, Brother Peachy Carnehan and Brother Daniel Dravot, who found a kingdom in Kafiristan on the North West Frontier. The Masonic note is struck right at the beginning when the narrator asks one of the brothers in the train: "Where have you come from?" And the mason replies: "From the East and I am hoping that you will give him the message on the Square . . . " In Kafiristan, they see the similarity between the pagan cults of Kafirs and the rituals of Freemasonry, which helps them in gaining control over the people.

In "In the interests of the Brethren" we see the perfection of Masonic literature outside the Ritual, so this story gives a clue to Kipling's attraction to Freemasonry. Men from all walks of life, whose only practical creed since childhood has been Masonry--"The Fatherhood of God, an' the Brotherhood of Man; an' what more in Hell do you want"-- find their way to the Lodge of Instruction, "Faith and Works 5837", where they find solace in

fellowship and ritual. "All ritual is fortifying," says Brother Burges, "Ritual's a natural necessity for mankind. The more things are upset, the more they fly to it. I abhor slovenly Ritual anywhere." (XXXI, 68) The Lodge of Instruction, we are further told, is mainly a "parade-ground for Ritual."

Ritual plays an important role in "The Janeites" (1924), which begins in the same setting as that of "In the Interests of the Brethren". Here the members of an English battery in Flanders keep a grip on themselves by elaborating a convention of ceaseless allusive reference to Miss Austen's novels: this serves its purpose, for they hold out until the battery is destroyed and most of them are killed.

"Fairy-Kist" (1927), included in Limits and Renewals, also deals with "Lodge Faith and Works 5837", a name which suggests that Kipling's memory had strayed back to his Mother Lodge at Lahore. This story concerns a man of the 1914-18 war, suffering from nerves; he is a keen gardener. Owing to an accident, he is suspected of causing the death of a girl who has been killed by a passing lorry. A demonstration on the road at the scene of the accident proves his innocence, and the narrator and Dr. Keede go to interview him. As soon as they tell him they are on the Square, he tells his side of the story and is completely cured of his nerve-trouble.

In "The Mother Lodge" he paints a picture of the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Lodge, where the barriers

of caste, colour, and creed break down and men join together  
in true fellowship:

We'd Bola Nath, Accountant,  
An' Saul an' Aden Jew,  
An' Din Mohammed, draughtsman  
Of the Survey Office too;  
There was Babu Chuckerbutty,  
An' Amir Singh the Sikh,  
An' Castro from the fittin'-sheds,  
The Roman Catholick! . . .

Full oft on Guv'ment service  
This rovin' foot 'ath pressed,  
An' bore fraternal greetin's  
To the lodges east an' west,  
Accordin' as commanded,  
From Kohat to Singapore,  
But I wish that I might see them  
In my Mother-Lodge once more!

I wish that I might see them,  
My Brethren black an' brown,  
With the trichies smellin' pleasant  
An' the hog-darn passin' down;  
An' the old khansamah snorin'  
On the bottle-khana floor,  
Like a Master in good standing  
With my Mother-Lodge once more. (DE, 445-46)

Thus, Freemasonry confirmed Kipling's faith in  
the fraternity of mankind as well as the desirability of follow-  
ing a common moral code. Moreover, Freemasonry reveals his  
trust in ritual, for ritual, after all, is an imposition of  
order that leads to an understanding of a greater order behind  
the chaos of this material life.

#### (g) Mithraism in Kipling's Work

In the Roman stories of Puck of Pook's Hill (1906)  
and in "The Church that was in Antioch" (1929) Kipling mentions

Mithraism. Parnesius and Valens are both followers of Mithras. Mithras was a Persian god, whose worship spread over the Roman world during the second and third centuries after Christ. He is invoked along with Ormuzd, the sovereign of good, on whose side Mithras always fights. Mithras appears as the god of light, purity, moral goodness, and knowledge, engaged in a continual struggle against the power of evil. Victory in this battle can be attained only by sacrifice and probation, and Mithras is conceived of as always performing the mystic sacrifice through which the good will triumph.

The Mithraic faith, personal in character, and applying the processes of the struggles and regeneration of nature to the case of the human soul, had in it much to satisfy real moral needs. Throughout, stress is laid on the constant struggle between good and evil. The defeat of evil calls for moral rectitude. Given that rectitude, however, victory is assured both in this world and the world to come, since Mithras the unconquered is ever on the side of the faithful.

Mithraism provided Kipling with proof of similarities between diverse religious traditions. He was delighted to find analogies between Mithraism and Christianity and between Mithraism and Masonry. Though religious scholars believe that the similarities between Christianity and Mithraism (belief in a divine Lord by whose deeds man was assured of salvation, belief in a sacramental meal, a ritual of baptism, a moral code, and so forth) have their roots in a common Eastern

origin, rather than in any borrowing by the one from the other, it is entirely in keeping that Valens should say to his uncle: "that there isn't a ceremony or symbol that they [the Christians] have~~nt~~ stolen from the Mithra ritual." (XXXIII, 97) Similarly, the analogy between Mithraism and Masonry is underlined when in the Puck stories Parnesius says that he and Pertinax were raised to the "Degree of Gryphons" together.

Moreover, the philosophy of action advocated by Mithraism was in keeping with Kipling's line of thinking. Kipling must have been pleased to discover that Mithraism was particularly popular in the Roman armies, and that a soldier of Mithras had to be upright and morally pure: as Lucius Sergius, the head of the urban police, said to his nephew, "It's a soldier's religion, even though it does come from outside." (XXXIII, 97)

#### (h) Summary

Thus, we see that though Kipling was brought up as a Christian, he did not conform to that or any other orthodox religion. Nevertheless, he was familiar with the major religions of the world, and he was attracted by their essential spirit rather than external forms. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the Biblical law and the values of sacrifice, suffering, and love influenced him greatly. Similarly, the Islamic emphasis on positive action, law and order seems to have impressed him. His reaction towards Hinduism was, however, negative, for it appeared to him that the Hindu attitude towards life was escapist and its

social structure too rigid. Nonetheless, Buddhism, a reformed version of Hinduism, appealed to him. Freemasonry confirmed his faith in a universal moral order as well as the brotherhood of mankind. He also admired Mithraism for its emphasis on moral conduct and made it a touchstone for some of his own particular views. It is clear, therefore, even from a brief survey such as this, that diverse and divergent religious traditions entered into the shaping of Kipling's moral and ethical views and helped to solidify his conception of law.



## Chapter IV

## THE IMPERIAL ORDER

"Mary, Mother av Mercy, fwat the devil possist us to  
take an' kape this melancholious counthry? Answer  
me that, sorr."

--Private Mulvaney in "With the Main Guard." (II, 150)

(a) Historical Background

The root idea of empire in the ancient and medieval world was that of a federation of states, under a universal law and a hegemony, covering the entire known world, such as was held by Rome under the so called pax Romana. With the fall of Rome, this conception of a single empire wielding authority over the world did not disappear--it survived all the fluctuations of the Holy Roman Empire. In later ages, this dream of a universal empire animated the policy of Peter the Great, Catherine, and Napoleon. The idea of a universal empire was, however, not confined to the West alone. The Chinese empire and the Byzantine empire prove this point amply. The general discussion of this notion is further borne out by the fact that political philosophers in many ages, Confucius, Dante, Machiavelli, Vico, Kant, have speculated on an empire as a hierarchy of states under one law.

A universal empire, though founded by conquests and bloodshed, is based on a philosophy of peace, secure order, discipline, and internationalism. Seen in these terms, the universal empire becomes an antithesis of disorder, chaos, and anarchy, and satisfies the deep-seated human desire for unity rather than division. With this mission, the universal empire raises a vision of utopia justifying power as well as the possibility of a solution for the woes of mankind.

This positive Imperial Idea fascinated Kipling, and it forms one of the most important factors in the shaping of Kipling's mind, art, and vision. Kipling has, however, been equated with the rather vague term "imperialism", and he has been seen as a prophet of the British Empire: these are gross over-simplifications of his complex relation to the Imperial Idea. As we shall see, Kipling's ideal of empire was based on the philosophic concept of empire as a positive force that imposes a pattern of order on chaos, and he admired the British Empire because he perceived that the true Imperial Idea did manifest itself in certain aspects of the Empire. Kipling sang of those aspects. He was not the only one to notice the positive principle behind certain aspects of the Empire; an imperial ideal was very much in the air at the end of the nineteenth century. At this stage, it will be useful to go through some of the idealistic aspects of the British Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to understand the imperial philosophy of Kipling.

Generally speaking, it was during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that a new mood of imperialism became prevalent in England. Historians have shown in detail how much of this new imperialistic mood was activated by the reaction against the separatist tendencies which had

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 been very strong during the middle of the nineteenth century.  
 About 1830, a small but vocal group of Radicals and Whigs  
 calling themselves Colonial Reformers made its appearance  
 on the British scene. The Colonial Reformers may be regarded  
 as the forerunners of modern imperialism. Their main aim was  
 the preservation of the unity of the Empire. They contributed  
 two important ideas to the colonial policy of the time: system-  
 atic colonization and responsible self-government. The  
 Colonial Reformers were, however, soon replaced by a different  
 school of thought, the Manchester School, which became a strong  
 force in the 'seventies. The leading figures of the Manchester  
 School were Cobden and Bright with Professor Goldwin Smith as  
 its literary exponent. The main tenets of this group were a  
laissez faire economic policy, a thorough revision  
 of the financial side of colonial relationships with Britain,  
 a disregard for sentimental ties with overseas dependent colonies,  
 and a strong anti-military conviction.<sup>2</sup> Goldwin Smith even<sup>3</sup>  
 advocated that Britain should rid herself of the colonies.

The climax of the separatist influence occurred  
 around 1870, and then, with curious suddenness, came the

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1  
 See C. A. Bodelsen, Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism  
 (Copenhagen, 1960).

2  
Ibid., pp. 32-59.

3  
Ibid., p. 57.

beginnings of that utterly different school of thought we call imperialism. In 1868 a number of private individuals formed a non-political body, the Royal Colonial Institute, "for the purpose of promoting in England a better knowledge of the colonies and of India."<sup>4</sup> The group was later termed "The Colonial Society", and its motto was "United Empire." From 1870 onwards a stream of articles appeared in contemporary magazines, especially Fraser's Magazine, in which a new note is discernible--J. A. Froude attacks the government for its alleged lack of interest in the colonies and Edward Jenkins protests against the dissolution of "this<sup>5</sup> marvellous empire." In the beginning of 1871 the imperialist movement entered upon a new phase with the emergence of the idea of imperial federation. The Federationists recommended the adoption of an imperial constitution with an imperial parliament and an imperial cabinet for imperial affairs. This idea became very popular and was instrumental in creating a favourable climate of opinion about imperialism.

In 1872 Benjamin Disraeli, then leader of the opposition, committed the Conservative party to the imperial cause in his famous Crystal Palace speech. He angrily attacked

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Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1959), p. 26. Hereafter referred to as Cambridge History.

5

Ibid., p. 27.

the Liberal party for its part in the disintegration of the Empire; his speech ended with an exhortation which, forgetting the colonies, concentrated on the emotional aspect of the name Empire:

The issue is not a mean one. It is whether you will be content to be a comfortable England, modelled and moulded upon Continental principles and meeting in due course an inevitable fate, or whether you will be a great country, an Imperial country, a country where your sons, when they rise, rise to paramount positions, and obtain not merely the esteem of their countrymen but command the respect of the world. 6

"That," says Buckle, Disraeli's biographer, "is the famous declaration from which the modern conception of the British Empire largely takes its rise."<sup>7</sup>

In 1874 when Disraeli and the Conservatives came into power, his policies proved what he had stated two years before, namely, the possession of an empire on which the sun never sets. At this stage, awareness of the Empire and especially of the Indian Empire grew, in that under the Royal Titles Act of 1876 the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India.

Meanwhile, the literature of imperialism appeared. In 1883 John Robert Seeley, professor of history at Cambridge, emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of imperialism with the publication of his book, The Expansion of England. Seeley, like Froude, maintained that the colonies

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6

Selected Speeches of Lord Beaconsfield (London, 1882), 2 vols., II, 523.

7

Quoted by W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli (London, 1910-20), 6 vols., IV, 335.

offered the key to Britain's history: he offered moral rather than mercenary arguments for imperialism.

By the 'eighties Empire had become the symbol of two aspirations: a desire to strengthen the bonds between the colonies and the mother country, and a belief in the providential destiny of the English race to bring civilization to Asia and Africa. The imperial mood then prevalent was given royal sanction in the Queen's Speech at the end of the parliamentary session in September 1886: ". . . There is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practical way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire." To be called an "imperialist" in 1886 was a compliment, not abuse.

The missionary zeal or the so-called "White Man's Burden", played a very important role in this change of attitude towards imperialism; and for a study of Kipling's thought, it is particularly relevant to underline these idealistic aspects of the imperial movement.

The missionary motive played its part from the beginning. According to Hakluyt's Voyages Edward Hay, who accompanied Sir H. Gilbert in his voyage to the New World in 1583, thought that "the discoverie and planting" of remote countries could only succeed if their chief aim was the sowing of Christianity. Later missionaries worked--in the spirit of

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<sup>8</sup>  
Quoted by Richard Koebner and Helmut Dan Schmidt, Imperialism: The Story and Significance of a Political Word, 1840-1960 (Cambridge, 1964), p. 185.

<sup>9</sup>  
Ibid., p. 186.

Livingstone--to bring honest trade and the Word of God to "heathen" peoples. Their influence was most marked in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, when there was a stronger proselytizing element in British Imperialism than at any other time.

Towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, the emphasis shifted from an effort to convert people to Christianity to a greater concern for the eradication of social evils, education, better means of communication, and other works of public welfare. This change in missionary emphasis is related to changes in Christian thinking: there was a growing lack of certainty about some basic religious matters, and there was also the emergence of a new theology called the "social gospel". One can cite F. D. Maurice and his Christian socialism. In India the tone was set by Macaulay who served as a law member on Bentinck's council. The tradition of British rule in India was with the Lawrences: to preserve the peasant from oppression--an aim Cromer carried over to Egypt--then to improve his lot by irrigation and famine control. Eradication of the slave trade was an important object of the English rule in East Africa: according to his daughter this was Salisbury's "only crusading impulse." An unusually thorough attempt was made, after the annexation of Burma, to turn it into a modern state. These were the days when the ancient roads were to be



matched by a burst of railway activity: Salisbury pushing on with the line to Uganda, and Chamberlain supporting the three railway systems in West African territories. Cecil Rhodes, whom Kipling greatly admired, in his chastened mood after the failure of the Jameson Raid, was fully occupied with agricultural reform at the Cape, with railway construction in Rhodesia, with land-settlement, with the Cape-to-Cairo telegraph and railway. On Rhodes' death, Kipling wrote:

Dreamer devout, by vision led  
 Beyond our guess or reach,  
 The travail of his spirit bred  
 Cities in place of speech.  
 So huge the all-mastering thought that drove--  
 So brief the term allowed--  
 Nations, not words, he linked to prove  
 His faith before the crowd. (DE, 209)

It was the "White Man's Burden" which appealed to Kipling and the new British imperialists. Chamberlain, speaking at a Royal Colonial Institute dinner in 1897, regretted the bloodshed involved in imperial conquests, in bringing "these countries into some kind of disciplined order," but he added: ". . . it must be remembered that that is the condition of  
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 the mission we have to fulfil." Milner, for example, believed the Pax Britannica to be "essential to the maintenance of civilized conditions of existence among one-fifth of the human race" who lacked "the gift of maintaining peace and order for themselves." 11

10

Quoted by Richard Faber, The Vision and the Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims (London, 1966), p. 62.

11

Ibid., p. 62.

It may be borne in mind that behind these missionary motives lay the evolutionary philosophy current at the time; talk of race had for some time been fashionable, Perhaps Froude gave the most complete expression to these sentiments:

We have another function such as the Romans had. The sections of the men of this globe are unequally gifted. Some are strong and can govern themselves; some are weak and are the prey of foreign invaders and internal anarchy; and freedom which all desire, is only attainable by weak nations when they are subject to the rule of others who are at once powerful and just. This was the duty which fell to the Latin race two thousand years ago, In these modern times it has fallen to ours, and in the discharge of it the highest features in the English character have displayed themselves. 12

The writers and public figures of the period can be cited to show how widespread the imperial mood was in the 'eighties and the 'nineties:

To the English People in World History. . . There have been, shall I prophesy, two grand tasks assigned: Huge-loomng through the tumult of the always incommensurable Present Time, outlines of the two tasks disclose themselves: the grand industrial task of conquering some half or more of this terraqueous planet for the use of man; then secondly, the grand Constitutional task of sharing in some pacific endurable manner, the fruit of said conquest, and showing how it might be done. (Carlyle, Chartism) 13

There is a destiny now possible to us, the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. We are still undegenerate in race; a race mingled of the best northern blood. . . . This is what England must either do, or perish; she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men; . . . their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea. . . . (Ruskin, Inaugural Lecture at Oxford, 1870) 14

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12

J. A. Froude, The English in the West Indies (London, 1888), p. 182.

13

T. Carlyle, Chartism (London, 1839), p. 214.

14

John Ruskin, Works (New York, 1884-91), 20 vols., V, 29-30.

But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery' or applause or odium or abuse--it is so easy to have any of them in India--never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist--that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. (Lord Curzon, Speech in Bombay, 16 November 1905) 15

We happen to be the best people in the world, with the highest ideals of decency and justice and liberty and peace, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for humanity. (Cecil Rhodes) 16

These quotations give us a feeling for the imperially charged atmosphere of the times. The Empire was a living reality; but imperialism of the late Victorian period went deeper than any political action or theory: it was a subjective feeling rather than a policy; its foundations, at least from the British point of view, were humanitarian and moral rather than completely mercenary. At this stage, imperialism had become, as Cecil Rhodes put it, a philosophy of "philanthropy plus five per cent." 17 As shown above, imperialism formed an essential part of the sensibility of the English at this time particularly; even Gladstone had to admit that the sentiment of empire "may be called

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Cited by George Bennett, ed., The Concept of Empire: Burke to Atlee 1774-1947 (London, 1953), p. 105.

16

Quoted by Faber, p. 64.

17

Cambridge History, III, 159.

innate in every Briton. If there are exceptions, they are  
 like those men born blind or lame among us. It is part of  
 our patrimony: born with our birth, dying with our death. . . . " 18

Kipling has too often been condemned for being an imperialist, but put in the context of his times, I do not see how one can expect a writer, endowed with a most sensitive eye and ear, to be blind and deaf to the ideas current at his particular moment in history. Furthermore, it was perfectly natural that Kipling should have felt the impact of the Empire and the Imperial Idea more tangibly than other writers in England, since he himself explains: "And what should they know of England who only England know?" (XI, 143) Kipling proudly acknowledges that the Imperial Idea was central to his work. In a well-known passage in his autobiography, Something of Myself (1937), he says:

Bit by bit my original notion grew into a vast, vague, conspectus --Army and Navy Stores List if you like--of the whole sweep and meaning of things and efforts and origins throughout the Empire. I visualised it, as I do most ideas, in the shape of a semi-circle of buildings and temples projecting into a sea of dreams. (XXXVI, 87-88)

At another place in his autobiography he speaks of the Sussex stories as " . . . a sort of balance to, as well as a seal upon, some aspects of my 'Imperialistic' output in the past." (XXXVI, 182)

However, Kipling's imperialism, as it will be shown in the following pages, cannot be identified with British imperialism alone, and in fact, it is a much larger concept that can be traced more generally to the idea of a universal empire based on principles of law, order, service, and sacrifice.

(b) A Case for Kipling

Despite Kipling's statement that the Imperialist message was central to his work, to read him solely in terms of politics or history or journalistic reportage is hardly just. Such an approach would be very superficial indeed, and it would not take us beyond the surface meaning of Kipling's work. No one, of course, can deny the intimate relationship between Imperialism and Kipling, and there are, as a matter of fact, some stories of obvious political and propagandist nature--"The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." (1890) and "The Head of the District" (1890) are ready examples. However, stories of this type are very few, and to read these stories merely in terms of the surface pattern is to lose sight of what Noel Annan has called "the riddle of Kipling."

For instance, "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P." is not simply a vigorous defence of Anglo-Indian domination of India, it is also a part of Kipling's study of social realities. In this story, Pagett, a Liberal M.P., comes to India on a fact-finding mission to assess the extent of Indian aspirations for independence. Orde, the Deputy-Commissioner of Amara and an old friend of Pagett, shows him around and tries to convince him that the average Indian has not even heard about the Congress and that the English rule is in fact beneficial for India. At Orde's office, Pagett meets a cross section of Indian society, and all of them, with the sole exception of the young Indian student Dinanath, express indifference to or ignorance of the Indian National Congress. One must concede that there is a great deal of truth in what Kipling has to say in this story.

The first real Indian whom Pagett meets at Orde's office is a Punjabi Sikh in the character of Bishen Singh, a carpenter by profession. The picture of the Sikh appears to be authentic:

He began with laboured respect to explain how he was a poor man with no concern in such matters; which were all under the control of God, but presently broke out of Urdu into familiar Punjabi, the mere sound of which had a rustic smack of village smoke-reek and plough-tail, as he denounced the wearers of white coats, the jugglers with words who filched his field from him, the men whose backs were never bowed in honest work; and poured ironical scorn on the Bengali. (IV, 352-53)

The Sikh's hatred of the Bengali prompts Orde's remark: "Pride of race, which also means race-hatred, is the plague and curse of India and it spreads far." Orde goes on to elaborate his statement:

There's the Afghan, and as a highlander, he despises all the dwellers in Hindustan--with the exception of the Sikh, whom he hates as cordially as the Sikh hates him. The Hindu loathes Sikh and Afghan, and the Rajput--that's a little lower down across this yellow blot of desert--has a strong objection, to put it mildly, to the Maratha, who, by the way, poisonously hates the Afghan. Let's go North a minute. The Sindhi hates everybody I've mentioned. Very good, we'll take less warlike races. The cultivator of Northern India domineers over the man in the next province, and the Behari of the North-West ridicules the Bengali. (IV, 354)

Any one who knows the sub-continent will agree with Orde that racial prejudice was and is still the root trouble in India.

Kipling's references to the opposition to the Congress by many Indian groups are not spurious either. The Indian Muslims, generally speaking, were suspicious of the Hindu-dominated Congress and ultimately they parted ways from the Congress and formed the Muslim League which led to the formation of Pakistan. Thus, Rasul Ali Khan, the old Muslim landed gentleman who impresses Pagett with his "distinction of manner and fine appearance", expresses genuine scorn for the Congress, and Orde explains why Khan does not like it:

When you are sure of a majority, election is a fine system; but you can scarcely expect the Mahomedans, the most masterful and powerful minority in the country, to contemplate their own extinction with joy. . . . They say little, but after all they are the most important faggots in the great bundle of communities, and all the glib bunkum in the world would not pay for their estrangement. They have controlled the land. (IV, 357-58)

Orde's explanation is perfectly true, and it gives the common Muslim point of view vis-à-vis the Congress. Later in the story, even Dinanath has to admit that Muslims and Christians are not enthusiastic about the Congress:

Next comes old Jelloo, the Jat Farmer, who is drawn with great realism and sensitivity:

His strongly marked features glowed with russet bronze, and his bright eyes gleamed under deeply set brows, contracted by lifelong exposure to sunshine. His beard and moustache, streaked with gray, swept from bold cliffs of brow and cheek in the large sweeps one sees drawn by Michael Angelo, and strands of long black hair mingled with the irregularly piled wreaths and folds of his turban. The drapery of stout blue cotton cloth thrown over his broad shoulders and girt round his narrow loins, hung from his tall form in broadly sculptured folds and he would have made a superb model for an artist in search of a patriarch. (IV, 362)

The farmer's sentiments about the native police are also not incredible, for the corruption of Indian police is an open secret: "the police were rather worse than small-pox and criminal tribes put together," Jelloo remarks. As far as the Congress is concerned, Jelloo has never heard of it; this is quite probable, for the Indian farmer was worried about keeping body and soul together, and less concerned about lofty idealism. In an early poem, Kipling presents a realistic picture of the Indian farmer:

And the Ploughman settled the share  
More deep in the sun-dried clod:-  
"Mogul, Mahratta, and Mlech from the North,  
And White Queen over the seas--  
God raiseth them up and driveth them forth  
As the dust of the ploughshare flies in the breeze;  
But the wheat and the cattle are all my care,  
And the rest is the will of God." ("What The People Said",  
1887, DE, 67)

Moreover, stories like "The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." should be viewed in the context of Kipling's thought. Viewed from this perspective, the remarks of Edwards, an old friend of Pagett, become significant: "There are no



politics, in a manner of speaking, in India. It's all work." (IV, 350) Edwards' statement is confirmed by the passionate rhetoric of the American doctor, Eva McCreery Lathrop, chief of the new Women's Hospital in Amara:

Well, what's the matter with this country is not in the least political, but an all-round entanglement of physical, social, and moral evils and corruptions, all more or less due to the unnatural treatment of women. You can't gather figs from thistles, and so long as the system of infant marriage, the prohibition of remarriage of widows, the lifelong imprisonment of wives and mothers in a worse than penal confinement, and the withholding from them any kind of education or treatment as rational beings continues, the country can't advance a step. Half of it is morally dead, and worse than dead, and that's just the half from which we have a right to look for the best impulses. It's right here where the trouble is, and not in any political considerations whatsoever. (IV, 380)

Dr. Lathrop's statement may not be entirely accurate, but there is a great deal of truth in it if it is seen in the context of its time, the end of the nineteenth century. Her enumeration of social evils in India may be right or wrong, but what is more important is that such statements show the way in which Kipling's mind works. One can see that Kipling is thoroughly pragmatic and utilitarian; the standard by which the morality of an idea was to be judged was the practical result which the idea would have when applied in action. Kipling's eyes, like the eyes of Leo in "The Children of the Zodiac" (1891), were always on the ground and there he saw India's mass of "raw, brown, naked humanity" more in need of basic facilities than abstract democratic theories.

Similarly, critics have strongly objected to another story "The Head Of The District" on the grounds that it presents the thesis that Indians are incapable of governing

themselves. This may be true in so far as Kipling did believe that Indians could not stand on their own feet at that point in history at least, but I do not think that this is the precise thesis of the story. The story is about a very capable Bengali Hindu Grish Chunder De, M.A., who is "more English than the English". He was a member of the Bengal Civil Service and was quite a successful administrator: "He was cultured of the world, and, if report spoke truly, had wisely and, above all, sympathetically ruled a crowded district in South-Eastern Bengal." (IV, 175)

It is, however, when Grish Chunder De is transferred on Orde's death, to the turbulent North West Frontier Province that the trouble starts. The reason offered by Kipling is that the warlike Muslim Pathans who inhabit the North West Frontier bordering Afghanistan refuse to submit to a Bengali Hindu Babu; this is very convincing. Khuda Dad Khan thus questions Tallantire, Orde's assistant: "But, O Sahib, has the Government gone mad to send a black Bengali dog to us? And am I to pay service to such an one? And are you to work under him? What does it mean?" And he goes on to explain: "All the people of the earth have harried Bengal. It is written. Thou knowest when we of the North wanted Women or plunder whither went we? To Bengal--where else?" (IV, 184)

The thesis of this story is not that an Indian cannot be a good administrator, for Grish Chunder De was certainly a successful and capable civil servant; the point of the story which ends in the murder of Grish Chunder's brother and his own

flight is that Muslims cannot tolerate Hindus as their masters even though they may be well qualified for the job. This is a valid point indeed, for Muslims had ruled India for almost one thousand years, and though the Moghul Empire was lost to the British, the haughty Muslims still could not reconcile themselves to Hindu domination. Moreover, Hindus and especially Bengali Hindus led India in education and therefore they acquired most of the positions reserved for Indians in the civil service. And this was naturally resented by Muslims. Thus, Sir Sayyid, one of the most prominent Muslim leaders of the sub-continent, and the then member of the Viceroy's Council, strongly opposed the demands of the Congress for recruitment of Indians in the Civil Service through competitive examinations:

. . . He [Sir Sayyid] maintained that, in the conditions then existing in India, compliance with the demands made by the Congress would injure the state. Competitive examinations, though suitable in English conditions, would in India lead to the selection of officials whose origin would make them unacceptable to the strongly conservative Indian with his pride in ancestry. . . . The Bengalis, who were likely to gain most of the posts, would not be submitted to by Muslims and Rajputs with their warlike traditions. 20

Most probably this speech of Sir Sayyid, delivered in 1887, gave Kipling the material for "The Head of the District" (1890).

Thus we see that "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P." and "The Head Of The District" cannot be dismissed as sheer propaganda; moreover, stories of this type (see page 123 above) are very few.

Another point which Kipling makes in stories of an obvious political nature is that an understanding of India is not possible in a short time, and therefore the "six month expert" from England is not qualified to judge what is going on in India. Thus in "Pagett M.P." (1886) Kipling ridicules Pagett who attempts to speak about India after a brief tour of the sub-continent:

And I laughed as I drove from the station, but  
 the mirth died out on my lips  
 As I thought of the fools like Pagett who write  
 of their "Eastern trips"  
 And the sneers of the travelled idiots who duly  
 misgovern the land,  
 And I prayed to the Lord to deliver another one  
 into my hand. (DE, 27)

Kipling had nothing but scorn for the globe-trotters who do "kingdoms in days and write books about them in weeks." (XV, 3)

In From Sea to Sea (1899) we find a picture of the globe-trotter outlined with contempt:

These eyes have seen him do it--master in five minutes the intricacies of the Indian Bradshaw, and tell an old resident exactly how and where the trains run. Can we wonder that the intoxication of success in hasty assimilation should make him overbold, and that he should try to grasp . . . ? But the full insolence of the globe trotter must be reserved. He is worthy of a book. (XV, 4)

Moreover, one must keep in mind that Kipling is basically an artist and that he is not a political philosopher in the strict sense of the term. As an imaginative artist, he has every right to present his own view or version of things with which one may or may not agree. The point is that one cannot expect a dispassionate, balanced, consistent, and comprehensive view of society from an artist. One must distinguish between the truth of fact and the truth of imagination.

## (c) India: Kipling's Vision of Chaos

The central character of Kipling's Indian writings is the "great, grey, formless India" which, like Nature in Hardy's novels, remains the permanent, relentless, malignant, and indefinable Being that broods over this little world of ours. And India attracts and repels Kipling simultaneously. On the one hand, the tender childhood bond between Kipling and this mysterious Being India--the land of "light and colour and golden and purple fruit" (XXXVI, 3)--draws him irresistibly toward her, and on the other hand, the mature Kipling who is preoccupied with ideas of order and discipline is baffled by this strange land where he cannot discover any well-defined pattern. Through *Kim*, Kipling confesses that his attitude towards India is ambivalent:

Something I owe to the soil that grew--  
 More to the life that fed--  
 But most to Allah Who gave me two  
 Separate sides to my head. (XIX, 214)

Although it is particularly in *Kim* (1901) that Kipling's love for India comes to the fore, on the whole India remains the "great Sphinx of the Plains" (IV, 305) whose riddle of ambivalence cannot be solved. India overwhelms and crushes one in every respect. One's own values and definitions blur and diffuse themselves into meaninglessness just as they did for Forster's Mrs. Moore. At one place in A Passage to India,

Forster writes: "India is the country, fields, fields, then hills, jungles, hills, and more fields. . . . How can the mind take hold of such a country? Generations of invaders have tried, but they remain in exile. . . . She calls 'Come' through her hundred mouths, through objects ridiculous and august. But come<sup>21</sup> to what? She has never defined." At the end of her visit to India, Mrs. Moore journeys to Bombay in order to take a boat for home; at that stage she wants to "disentangle the hundred Indias<sup>22</sup> that passed each other in its streets," and the thousands of coconut palms bid her farewell in these words: "'So you thought an echo was India; you took the Marabar caves as final?' they laughed. 'What have we in common with them, or they with Asirgarh? Good-bye!'"<sup>23</sup>

Kipling's Mrs. Mallowe has, in fact, similar flashes of perception. Speaking to Mrs. Hawksbee in "The Education of Otis Yeere" (1888), she remarks: "Surely twelve Simla seasons ought to have taught you that you can't focus anything in India. . . . We are only little bits of dirt on the hillsides--here one day and blown down the khud [hillside] the next." (VI, 9-10) There is a strange want of atmosphere in India that contributes to the blurring of vision:

One of the many curses of our life in India is the want of atmosphere in the painter's sense. There are no half-tints worth noticing. Men stand out all crude and raw, with nothing to tone them down, and nothing to scale them against. (I, 322)

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<sup>21</sup>

E. M. Forster, A Passage to India (London, 1924), p. 135.

<sup>22</sup>

Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>23</sup>

Ibid., p. 205.

Kipling's symbol for this lack of clarity in India is the duststorm, a symbol used effectively in "False Dawn"(1888). This story tells how Saumarez gives a moonlight riding party at an old tomb beside the bed of a river in an out-of-the-way station in order to propose to the elder Miss Copleigh. Everything is fine until supper is ready, and then suddenly:

. . . the moon went out and a burning hot wind began lashing the orange-trees with a sound like the noise of the sea. Before we knew where we were, the dust-storm was on us and everything was roaring whirling darkness. . . . It was a grand storm. The wind seemed to be pitching it to leeward in great heaps; and the heat beat up from the ground like the heat of the Day of Judgment. (I, 60-61)

In the topsy-turvy created by the storm, Saumarez proposes to the wrong girl; the mistake is rectified only when the storm abates. The duststorm is a symbol of India's confusion.

Mention has already been made about Kipling's complaint of a lack of atmosphere in India--India's brightness is dazzling in that the blazing sun, ironically enough, becomes an instrument of blindness rather than sight. India goes dead by day, and she comes to life only in darkness. Thus, one can understand Kipling's preoccupation with night, dark gullies (streets) in the walled areas of an Indian city, dark divans (halls) of old castles, chandoo-khanas (opium houses) in a gully near the Mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore, ghosts, and grave-yards. After his office hours, young Kipling loved to roam around the walled city of Lahore at night:

Often the night got into my head as it had done in the boarding-house in the Brompton Road, and I would wander till dawn in all manner of odd places--liquor shops, gambling and opium dens, which are not a bit mysterious, wayside entertainments such as puppet-shows, native dances; or in and out about the narrow gullies under the Mosque of Wazir Khan for the sheer sake of looking. . . . One would come home, just as the light broke, in some night-hawk of a hired carriage which stank of hookah fumes, jasmine-flowers, and sandalwood; and if the driver were moved to talk, he told one a good deal. Much of real Indian life goes on in the hot weather nights. (XXXVI, 52-53. Italics mine.)

Despite his frequent night prowls, Kipling's India remains inscrutable:

You'll never plumb the Oriental mind,  
And if you did it isn't worth the toil.  
Think of a sleek French priest in Canada;  
Divide by twenty half-breeds. Multiply  
By twice the Sphinx's silence. There's your East,  
And you're as wise as ever. ("One Viceroy Resigns," 1888, DE, 69-70)

Nevertheless, India also manifests herself as evil and cruel, a malignant or negative force in Kipling's works. The first and foremost of the negative traits is the adverse and hostile Indian climate which, in Kipling's hands, becomes a sinister force destroying all aliens and making India the "grim step mother" and "the land of regrets." Private Simmons's tragedy in the story "In the Matter of a Private" (1888) and Dicky Hatt's motive for committing suicide in "In the Pride of his Youth" (1887) are largely due to the intense heat of India. "The City of Dreadful Night" (1885) gives a "feel" for the "dense wet heat" which hangs over Lahore:

The dense wet heat that hung over the face of land, like a blanket, prevented all hope of sleep in the first instance. The cicadas helped the heat; and the yelling jackals the cicadas. It was impossible to sit still in the dark, empty, echoing house and watch the punkah beat the dead air. (IV, 35)



It is especially in the outposts of India that the Indian weather can be seen at its most active in its relentless war against the aliens. This point is brought out in detail in "At the End of the Passage" (1890). The story is about four lonely Anglo-Indians who are stationed in isolated places in the Indian Empire away from home and civilization. Mottram of the Indian Survey, Lowndes of the Civil Service, and Spurstow of the Medical Department get together at Hummil's house to relax for a few hours. However, cruel India cannot tolerate any aliens--it has already killed Hummil's assistant--and now it is Hummil's turn. India makes it very obvious that Europeans are not welcome:

The atmosphere within was only 104° , as the thermometer bore witness, and heavy with the foul smell of badly-trimmed kerosene lamps; and this stench, combined with that of native tobacco, baked brick, and dried earth, sends the heart of many a strong man down to his boots, for it is the smell of the Great Indian Empire when she turns herself for six months into a house of torment. . . . The night-light was trimmed; the shadow of the punkah wavered across the room, and the 'flick' of the punkah-towel and the soft whine of the rope through the wall-hole followed it. Then the punkah flagged, almost ceased. The sweat poured from Spurstow's brow. Should he go out and harangue the coolie? It started forward again with a savage jerk, and a pin came out of the towels. When this was replaced, a tomtom in the coolie-lines began to beat with the steady throb of a swollen artery inside some brain-fevered skull. (V, 345)

And Hummil does die of heat-apoplexy in the end.

Death, decay, and disease going hand in hand with heat in India are further signs of her malignancy. The Anglo-Indian community is as vulnerable to India's destructiveness as Indians themselves. In Something of Myself (1937), Kipling writes;

Death was always our near companion. . . . The dead of all times were about us--in the vast forgotten Muslim cemeteries round the Station, where one's horse's hoof of a morning might break through to the corpse below; skulls and bones tumbled out of our mud garden walls, and were turned up among the flowers by the Rains; and at every point were tombs of the dead. Our chief picnic rendezvous and some of our public offices had been memorials to desired women; and Fort Lahore, where Ranjit Singh's wives lay, was a mausoleum of ghosts. (XXXVI, 41-42)

This is what Orde tells Pagett in "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P.": "We work on the refuse of worked-out cities and exhausted civilizations, among the bones of the dead." (IV, 385)

One is always conscious of the presence of death in Kipling's Indian stories. It claims the only son of poor Imam Din, it makes Lispeth an orphan by killing her parents through cholera, it snatches away little Tota--that bond of love between Holden and Ameera--through seasonal fever, it takes away five children of McKenna at Jhansi, it takes the form of a furious revenge in "Dray Wara Yow Dee" (1888), and it lays waste entire villages and towns. While reading these tales, one can imagine that familiar Western medieval figure--black-robed Death--fast at work in India:

India . . . is not a golden country, though poets have sung otherwise. There men die with great swiftness, and those who live suffer many and curious things. ("The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney", 1889, II, 42)

These words sound like a Greek chorus lamenting the fate of man. In his autobiography, Kipling comments:

Heaven knows the men died fast enough from typhoid, which seemed to have something to do with water, but we were not sure; or from cholera, which was manifestly a breath of the Devil that could kill all on one side of a barrack-room and spare the others; from seasonal fever; or from what was described as 'blood-poisoning.' (XXXVI, 55)

It is small wonder then that people in the Club take a regular stock of their losses:

Everybody was there and there was a general closing up of ranks and taking stock of our losses in dead or disabled that had fallen during the past year. It was a very wet night, and I remember that we sang 'Auld Lang Syne' with our feet in the Polo Championship Cup and our heads among the stars, and swore that we were all very dear friends. ("The Mark of the Beast", 1890, V, 171)

Here is a picture of a famine striking South India:

Here the people crawled to the side of the train, holding their little ones in their arms; and a loaded truck would be left behind, men and women clustering round and above it like ants by spilled honey. Once in the twilight they saw on a dusty plain a regiment of little brown men, each bearing a body over his shoulder; and when the train stopped to leave yet another truck, they perceived that the burdens were not corpses, but only foodless folk picked up beside their dead oxen by a corps of irregular troops. ("William The Conqueror," 1895, XIII, 238)

India is perhaps a place where the dead are more real than the living, and thus in Kipling's Indian stories one meets ghosts, witches, and evil spirits haunting every nook and corner of the vast Empire. This is another manifestation of India's malignant and destructive character:

There are, in India, ghosts who take the form of fat, cold, pobby corpses, and hide in trees near the roadside till a traveller passes. Then they drop upon his neck and remain. There are also terrible ghosts of women who have died in childbed. These wander along the pathways at dusk, or hide in the crops near a village, and call seductively. But to answer their call is death in this world and the next. Their feet are turned backwards that all sober men may recognise them. There are ghosts of little children who have been thrown into wells. These haunt well-curbs and the fringes of jungles, and wail under the stars, or catch women by the wrist and beg to be taken up and carried. ("My Own True Ghost Story," 1888, V, 304)

In "Haunted Subalterns" (1887), for example, the ghosts force Tesser to leave the place, and his friend Horrocks comments: "It stands to reason that such a beastly country should be full of fiends of all sorts." (I, 114)

The negative character of India is further revealed in the chaos and confusion that is rampant there. For Kipling, India is a cruel deity which promotes disorder rather than harmony among the people who are doomed to live under her sway. This disorder usually takes the form of religious and linguistic riots--a ritual through which the people in India have to go periodically. Mention has already been made of Orde's perceptive comment that racial and religious prejudice is the curse of India, and this is fully illustrated in the story "On the City Wall" (1888).

"On the City Wall" is set in the house of Lalun, a dancing girl of Lahore, where men of all faiths and all walks of life come to hear her songs on the sitar:

In the long hot nights of latter April and May all the City seemed to assemble in Lalun's little white room to smoke and talk. Shiahhs of the grimmest and most uncompromising persuasion; Sufis who had lost all belief in the Prophet and retained but little in God; wandering Hindu priests passing southward on their way to the Central India fairs and other affairs; Pundits in black gowns, with spectacles on their noses and undigested wisdom in their insides; bearded headmen of the wards; Sikhs with all the details of the latest ecclesiastical scandal in the Golden Temple; red-eyed priests from beyond the Border, looking like trapped wolves and talking like ravens; M.A.'s of the University, very superior and very voluble--all these people and more also you might find in the white room. (IV, 309)

Wali Dad, a young educated Muslim and the chief admirer of Lalun, tells the narrator: "Outside of a Freemason's Lodge I have never

seen such gatherings." (IV, 309) Lalun starts singing old songs and Wali Dad quotes from Persian poets while the audience listens with rapt attention.

However, this little scene of mirth, gaiety, and fellowship is not tolerated by the gods of India who only enjoy sending affliction to humanity at large. So this happy picture of harmony is set within a contrasting framework. The city of Lahore is engulfed in a tense communal atmosphere for Muharram, the great mourning-festival of Muslims (more properly, the Shi'ah), is close at hand. All the day the Muharram drums beat in the city, and deputations of tearful Hindus besiege the Deputy Commissioner for assurance of their safety. "'Which', said the Deputy Commissioner in confidence to the Head of Police, 'is a pretty fair indication that the Hindus are going to make 'emselves unpleasant.'" (IV, 324)

It is on the night of Muharram procession that the above-mentioned picture of harmony within the four walls of Lalun's house is painted. Suddenly the cries of "Ya Hasan, Ya Hussain" fill the air and the people look down from the window of Lalun's room:

The drums were beating fresh, the crowd were howling "Ya Hassan! Ya Hussain!" and beating their breasts, the brass bands were playing their loudest, and at every corner where space allowed Muhammadan preachers were telling the lamentable story of the death of the Martyrs. . . . As the first tazia, a gorgeous erection ten feet high, was borne aloft on the shoulders of a score of stout men into the semi-darkness of the Gully of the Horsemen, a brickbat crashed through its talc and tinsel sides. (IV, 326)

That is the start of the trouble, and soon there is general fighting:

The tazias rocked like ships at sea, the long-torches dipped and rose round them, while the men shouted: "The Hindus are dishonouring the tazias! Strike! Strike! Into their temples for the Faith!" The six or eight Policemen with each tazia drew their batons and struck as long as they could, in the hope of forcing the mob forward, but they were overpowered, and as contingents of Hindus poured into the streets the fight became general. (IV, 327)

One gets another glimpse of communal riots in "His Chance in Life" (1887):

Never forget that unless the outward and visible signs of Our Authority are always before a native he is as incapable as a child of understanding what authority means, or where is the danger of disobeying it. Tibasu was a forgotten little place with a few Orissa Mohammedans in it. These, hearing nothing of the Collector-Sahib for some time and heartily despising the Hindu Sub-Judge, arranged to start a little Mohurum riot of their own. But the Hindus turned out and broke their heads; when, finding lawlessness pleasant, Hindus and Mahommadans together raised an aimless sort of Donnybrook just to see how far they could go. They looted each other's shops, and paid off private grudges in the regular way. It was a nasty little riot, but not worth putting in the newspapers. (I, 88-89)

In "Namgay Doola" (1891) a cow's tail is cut off, setting the mood for violence:

Next morning the Kingdom was in uproar. Namgay Doola, men said, had gone forth in the night and with a sharp knife had cut off the tail of a cow belonging to the rabbit-faced villager who had betrayed him. It was sacrilege unspeakable against the Holy Cow. The State desired his blood, but he had retreated into his hut, barricaded the doors and windows with big stones, and defied the world. (IV, 28)

The action in "The Head of the District" takes place in the small district of Kot-Kumharsen. Kipling seems to imply that what happens in this small district may happen all over India. In the district, fierce rivalry exists between two men, Khoda Dad Khan and the Blind Mullah of Jagai, over the issue of tribal leadership. The rivalry is under control only because of the presence of the British. But with Orde's death, followed

by De's appointment, violence breaks out, resulting in murder and looting.

The forces of disruption, chaos, and lawlessness have complete sway over India; they reveal the real nature of the country. India, the embodiment of disorder, extends her baneful influence even beyond her borders. "Georgie Porgie" (1888) is set in the wildernesses of Burma where the Law is rendered ineffective by dacoits (robbers).

Similarly in "A Conference of Powers" (1890) the subalterns now gathered in London recall how one of them was engaged in enforcing law and order in daku (dacoit) infested Burma:

The Burmese business was a subalterns' war, and our forces were split into little detachments, all running about the country and trying to keep the dacoits quiet. The dacoits were having a first-class time, y' know--filling women up with kerosine and setting 'em alight, and burning villages, and crucifying people. (III, 574-75)

This lawlessness which is promoted by the cruel goddess India takes many shapes. Besides riots, one of the forms in which these forces of disorder manifest themselves is devotion to the primitive code of honour and revenge which the modern civilized man fails to understand. In "Dray Wara Yow Dee" (1888), written in the form of a Browningsque dramatic monologue, we see this primitive force in the insatiable thirst for vengeance of a fierce Pathan who is pursuing his wife's lover through deserts, isolated hamlets, flooded rivers, and humming cities. He does not care for the Englishman's law; he is following his own code sanctioned by the spirit of India that has already allowed him to mutilate his wife's body:

And she bowed her head, and I smote it off at the neck bone so that it leaped between my feet. Thereafter the rage of our people came upon me, and I hacked off the breasts, that the men of Little Malikand might know the crime, and cast the body into the water course that flows to the Kabul river. (IV, 8)

And then the elderly Pathan frankly expresses his attitude to the Englishman's law:

Your Law! What is your Law to me? When the horses fight on the runs do they regard the boundary pillars; or do the kites of Ali Musjid forbear because the carrion lies under the shadow of the Ghor Kuttri? The matter began across the Border. It shall finish where God pleases. Here, in my country, or in Hell. All three are one. (IV, 9-10)

Similarly in "The Limitations of Pambé Serang" (1889), the Malay serang who "does not forget anything" hunts a Zanzibar stoker half way across the world; he does not rest until his victim is delivered into his hands.

Here it may not be out of place to mention that besides India, the United States of America is also for Kipling a symbol of anarchy and lawlessness. The American defiance of the Copyright Law and Kipling's quarrel with his brother-in-law which later resulted in a lawsuit against him are certainly related to his conception of America as an embodiment of chaos, in direct contrast to neighbouring Canada. This picture of America comes out very sharply in his record of his travel to the United States published in From Sea to Sea. In the boat, a candid American confesses:



They call us a Republic. We may be. I don't think it. . . . Politics in America? There aren't any. The whole question of the day is spoils. That's all. We fight our souls out over tram-contracts, gas-contracts, road-contracts, and any darned thing that will turn a dishonest dollar, and we call that politics. No one but a low-down man will run for Congress and the Senate--the Senate of the freest people on earth are bound slaves to some blessed monopoly. (XVI, 27-28)

In the same conversation, the theme of hooliganism, riotings, murders, and general disorder that is prevalent in the United States is underlined by the same gentleman:

The more power you give the people, the more trouble they will give. With us our better classes are corrupt and our lower classes are lawless. There are millions of useful, law-abiding citizens, and they are very sick of this thing. We execute our justice in the streets. The law courts are no use. (XVI, 30. . . Italics mine,)

In the Chinese quarter of San Francisco, Kipling is himself a witness to a murder committed in broad daylight. Democracy is a farce and becomes another version of lawlessness. Votes are bought and sold; tbughhgangs are used to influence people in casting their votes. Likewise, the public offices are distributed according to political leanings, and thereby officials become incapable of enforcing any regulations which may be contrary to the interest of their voters:

The Commissioner of Police has been helped to his post very largely by the influence of the boys [that is, gangs of hooligans] at such and such a saloon. He may be the guardian of city morals, but he is not going to allow his subordinates to enforce early closing or abstention from gambling in that saloon. (XVI, 61)

Kipling, thus, has mixed feelings for the poor American who possesses a vote:

He may not know how to run his own business, control his wife, or instil reverence into his children, may be pauper, half-crazed with drink, bankrupt, dissolute, or merely a born fool; but he has a vote. (XVI, 58)

The forces of lawlessness are very deep-rooted in the United States--they even penetrate American family life. Kipling feels pity for the American man who is condemned to a matriarchal society. The American girl, Kipling concedes, may be clever, knowledgeable, and self-possessed, but he can only regard her with a mixture of amusement and criticism:

She is--I say it with all reluctance--irreverent, from her forty-dollar bonnet to the buckles in her eighteen-dollar shoes. She talks flippantly to her parents and men old enough to be her grandfather. She has a prescriptive right to the society of the Man who Arrives. (XVI, 69)

In another section of his travel sketches, Kipling talks about the disorder that is rampant in the States in memorable words:

So long as they [that is, Americans in general] do not absolutely march into the District of Columbia, sit on the Washington statues, and invent a flag of their own, they can legislate, lynch, hunt, negroes through swamps, divorce, railroad, and rampage as much as they choose. They do not need knowledge of their own military strength to back their genial lawlessness. (XVI, 191. Italics mine.)

Further on he remarks that the Americans are "Cocksure . . . lawless and as casual as they are cocksure," and he goes on to elaborate:

Their Government is provisional; their law's the notion of the moment; their railways are made of hair-pins and match-sticks, and most of their good luck lives in their woods and mines and rivers and not in their brains; but for all that, they may be the biggest, finest, and best people on the surface of the globe! (XVI, 207-208)

India and America are therefore akin in their spirit of anarchy and disorder to which Ireland may also be associated. The relationship among the three is skilfully brought out in "The Mutiny of the Mavericks," (1891). The

story is about a plot which is hatched in an "unsavoury quarter" of San Francisco by the Third Three of the I.A.A.-- an underground movement for sabotaging the British Empire. They send Mulcahy, an Irishman, over to India in order to incite the Mavericks, an Irish regiment, to rebellion, and though the plot fails miserably yet the bond of anarchy between the States, India, and Ireland is cleverly suggested.

Besides her adverse weather, death, decay, disease, darkness, ghosts and evil spirits, and disorder, India makes one feel her hostility and malignancy in more subtle ways which crush one completely. The first of these is the utter isolation to which it condemns its victims, especially, the English. The loneliness of the four young men in "At the End of the Passage" is a ready example:

They were lonely folk who understood the dread meaning of loneliness. They were all under thirty years of age,--which is too soon for any man to possess that knowledge. (V, 330)

In the story "The Judgement of Dungara" (1888) there is another pertinent comment on the loneliness of Europeans:

There is only the isolation that weighs upon the waking eyelids and drives you perforce headlong into the labours of the day. There is no past, there is no one of your own colour to speak to, there are no roads: there is, indeed, food to keep you alive, but it is not pleasant to eat; and whatever of good and beauty and interest there is in your life, must come from yourself and the grace that may be planted in you. (IV, 47)

Malignant India, moreover, makes it impossible for Anglo-Indians to establish human relationship with the natives. Wali Dad's remarks to the narrator in the story

"On the City Wall" are very pertinent:

I might wear an English coat and trouser. I might be a leading Muhammadan pleader. I might be received even at the Commissioner's tennis-parties, where the English stand on one side and the natives on the other, in order to promote social intercourse throughout the Empire. (IV, 321)

There is something in the very air in India, Kipling seems to suggest, that poisons all efforts at communication with Indians, and this evil influence of India is particularly seen in the love affairs between Englishmen and Indian girls which always end in tragedy. Lispeth's affair with the young Englishman comes to nought, and with tears in her eyes, she says to the Chaplain's wife:

I am going back to my own people. . . . You have killed Lispeth. There is only left old Jadeh's daughter--the daughter of a pahari and the servant of Tarka Devi. You are all liars, you English. (I, 8)

Perhaps, one might claim, in this particular case, the young man did not love Lispeth. However, in "Beyond the Pale" (1888), we have a genuine love affair between Trejago, an Englishman, and Bisesa, a young Hindu widow, whom he meets in a fairytale-like atmosphere. The relationship has to be kept a secret; it results in the cutting off of the girl's hands and the stabbing of Trejago. This particular theme is treated with great sensitivity in "Without Benefit of Clergy" (1890). The highly moving tragedy of Holden and Ameera is played out against a background, not of riots and rifle shots as in "On the City Wall", but of India's silent malignant power that appears in the grim shape of cholera. The title refers, of course, to an illicit relation, but as Alan

Sandison points out, "benefit of Clergy" is also a technical phrase originally alluding to the exemption of ecclesiastics from secular jurisdiction.<sup>24</sup> It is thus made clear that there is to be no exemption here either--even for the lovers, for all the purity of their emotions. At the birth of their child, Ameera rejoices that there is "a bond and a heel-rope between us now that nothing can break", but this bond snaps rather abruptly as Tota dies of "the seasonal autumnal fever." Later on, cholera breaks out and snatches away even Ameera from Holden's arms. Dr. Tompkins comments:

Enclosing everything is the India of swarming life and terrifying epidemics, generating the menace and finally the certainty of separation. . . . It is only at the end, when the hostility of nature has broken into the house, that we see its desolation in the daylight. The tragic forces in the tale are impersonal; no malice or even callousness is involved, though John Holden, in his anguish, calls himself a brute. The brief and beleaguered tenure of human happiness is made more apparent by the difference between the lovers, and the secrecy and irony that arise from it. 25

This complex vision of India is perhaps most effectively suggested in a brief episode in "At the End of the Passage". When Hummil dies, one can see that "in the staring eyes was written terror beyond the expression of any pen." Hummil has been "seven fathom deep in hell" and has there met despair and horror of which there can be no rational account. This story has the uncanny power of Conrad's Heart of Darkness.

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24

Sandison, p. 82.

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J. M. S. Tompkins, The Art of Rudyard Kipling (London, 1959), pp. 115-116.

(d) Kipling's Solution: Empire  
Based on Service and Sacrifice

Thus India, an entity separate from Indians, is seen by Kipling as a monstrous being, restless and bewildering, an embodiment of Darkness, Chaos, and Disorder which remains a constant challenge to the positive forces of Light, Order, and Law. With his historical imagination, Kipling seems to argue that the Aryans first conquered this land but they were subjugated by the Dark Forces; then came the Greeks, but even Alexander the Great failed to affix any pattern on India; the Muslims struggled with these negative forces for almost ten centuries without much success; and now it is the turn of the Anglo-Saxons to perform the God-given duty of making order prevail:

We were dreamers, dreaming greatly, in the man-stifled town;  
We yearned beyond the sky-line where the strange roads go down.  
Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the Need,  
Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent us to lead.  
("The Song of the Dead", 1893, DE, 172)

As Dobrée points out, one must note that the Power was lent, not given, to the English to lead the world.<sup>26</sup> This is a very important observation, for Kipling was acutely conscious of a deeper purpose behind the Empire: he never failed to warn that the English would be deprived of this trust the moment they forgot that they were only agents in the hands of a higher power which was using them for the promulgation of the Law.

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26

Dobrée, Realist and Fabulist, p. 82.

This view of Britain and her destiny under the Law was no mere theory to Kipling. The Empire was a practical living fact, The development of colonies was not a sordid question of spheres of influence, but a solemn undertaking beneath the Law. Nobody would suggest that the British Empire was completely based on altruistic ideals, yet the fact remains that the British did prove to be agents of progress in the world. Kipling saw that the British flag brought with it law, literacy, communications, and useful arts. This is what he applauded, not the enlargement of frontiers. The true justification of the Empire was not a narrow-minded national pride but "a humble and a contrite heart":

Keep ye the law--be swift in all obedience,  
Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford,  
Make ye sure to each his own  
That he reap where he hath sown,  
By the peace among our peoples let men know we serve the Lord!  
 ("A Song of the English, 1893; DE, 170)

The Law that the Empire Builders is commanded to keep is an equivalent of peace, order, justice, and public works. In an early comment from New York in "Across a Continent"(1892) Kipling says: "In a heathen land the three things that are supposed to be pillars of moderately decent government are regard for human life, justice criminal and civil, as far as it lies in a man to do justice, and good roads." (XXVIII, 20) "Judson and the Empire" (1893), for instance, expresses scorn for the --unnamed--Portugese Empire in East Africa:

They had built no roads. Their towns were rotting under their hands; they had no trade worth the freight of a crazy steamer; and their sovereignty ran almost one musket-shot inland when things were peaceful. (III, 530)

In India he saw that the British were driving the road and bridging the ford--something which was very dear to his heart:

Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting-line, which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die, or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death, or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one, and men are willing to die for it, and yearly the work of pushing and coaxing and scolding the country into good living goes forward. (IV, 305-306)

In Egypt of the Magicians (1913), he talks about his impressions of the British work in the Sudan:

The men who remember the old days of the Reconstruction--which deserves an epic of its own--say that there was nothing left to build on, not even wreckage. Knowledge, decency, kinship, property, title, sense of possession had all gone. The people were told they were to sit still and obey orders; and they stared and fumbled like dazed crowds after an explosion. . . . And little by little, as they realized that the new order was sure and that their ancient oppressors were quite dead, there returned not only cultivators, craftsmen, and artisans, but outlandish men of war, scarred with old wounds and the generous dimples that the Martini-Henry bullet used to deal--fighting men on the lookout for new employ. (XXVIII, 322)

In Canada this work of regeneration takes a different shape:

"Asphalt streets and concrete sidewalks came up a few years ago," said our host as we trotted over miles of it. "We found it the only way to fight the prairie mud. Look!" Where the daring road ended, there lay unsubdued, level with the pale asphalt, the tenacious prairie, over which civilisation fought her hub-deep way to the West. And with asphalt and concrete they fight the prairie back every season. (XXVIII, 202-203)



The battle and building imagery of these passages is worth noticing. Kipling speaks of the English Civil Servants in India--the upholders of the Imperial Idea--as the first fighting line against the Dark Forces, which bring death, sickness, famine, and war to humanity at large. Towards the end of the second passage above (IV, 305-6), the emphasis shifts from fighting to reconstruction of the country. In the passage about the Sudan (XXVII, 322), the same concern with heroic struggle against the negative forces and the rebuilding of order out of disorder is underlined by the words evoking battle and reconstruction. For example, epic, explosion, outlandish men of war, scars, old wounds, and bullets conjure up the heroic fight against the forces of nada (Spanish for "nothing"). On the other hand, the process of reconstruction is suggested by building, the new order, cultivators, craftsmen, and artisans. It is especially in the last quotation above (XXVIII, 202-3) that the twofold nature of the Imperial Idea, namely, battle against the negative forces and the establishment of a new order, is skillfully suggested through the imagery of battle and building. The tenacious and muddy prairie symbolises the Dark Powers. These Powers are opposed by the upholder of the Law that includes the Imperial Idea. The struggle is represented through the imagery of road-building with which the Empire-builder fights the prairie back every season.

The driving of the road and the bridging of the ford is so absorbing a duty that one can hardly have any time

to think about philosophical problems. Thus we are told  
in "The Conversion of McGoggin" (1887):

Life, in India, is not long enough to waste in proving that there is no one in particular at the head of affairs. For this reason, the Deputy is above the Assistant, the Commissioner above the Deputy, the Lieutenant-Governor above the Commissioner, and the Viceroy above all four, under the orders of the Secretary of State who is responsible to the Empress. If the Empress be not responsible to her Maker--if there is no Maker for her to be responsible to--the entire system of Our administration must be wrong. Which is manifestly impossible. (I, 127-128)

In the story "On the City Wall", Kipling goes on to assert:

Were the Day of Doom tomorrow, you would find the Supreme Government "taking measures to allay popular excitement" and putting guards upon the graveyards that the Dead might troop forth orderly. The youngest Civilian would arrest Gabriel on his own responsibility if the Archangel could not produce a Deputy Commissioner's permission to "make music or other noises" as the license says. (IV, 306)

In the same story, Wali Dad admits: "Thanks to your Government, all our heads are protected, and with the educational facilities at my command, . . . I might be a distinguished member of the local administration." (IV, 312 -313)

These statements along with Kipling's conviction of the British right to rule in India and elsewhere prompt the question whether he asserted the superiority of the British race. The element of national pride is certainly very obvious in Kipling, but it is not blind nationalism and never degenerates to racism. Perhaps the question whether the Indians were unfit to rule themselves was irrelevant for Kipling. He would answer the question only by a statement--it was the mission of the British to rule and serve--a necessity imposed upon England by some organic determinism.

Fair is out lot--O goodly is our heritage!  
. (Humble ye, my people, and be fearful in your mirth!)  
For the Lord our God Most High  
He hath made the deep as dry,  
He hath smote for us a pathway to the ends of all the Earth! (DE, 170)

And the satisfaction of fulfilling the Law is sufficient reward in itself. There is, however, a touch of complacency and arrogance in these lines--~~sins~~ against which he is himself warning his people. The God Kipling is addressing is essentially a tribal deity who "hath smote for us a pathway." Nevertheless, this pride is tempered with the strong sense of duty, service, and humility which comes out more sharply in the fourth stanza (which has already been quoted on page 148) above.) The pursuit of this duty often involves absolute self-sacrifice:

We must feed our sea for a thousand years,  
 For that is our doom and pride,  
 As it was when they sailed with the Golden Hind,  
 Or the wreck that struck last tide--  
 Or the wreck that lies on the spouting reef  
 Where the ghastly blue-lights flare.  
 If blood be the price of admiralty,  
 If blood be the price of admiralty,  
 If blood be the price of admiralty,  
 Lord God, we ha' bought it fair! ("The Song of the Dead", DE, 174)

This devotion to an ideal of service and sacrifice gives Kipling cause to feel proud of the Anglo-Saxon race which is entrusted with a divine mission at this particular moment in history. In Puck of Pook's Hill, Kipling speaks about this mission in these terms:

It [i.e., the Sword] is not given  
 For goods or gear  
 But for The Thing. ("The Runes on Weland's Sword", 1906, DE, 670)

Thus it is The Thing, that is the spreading of the Law, an idea greater than worldly glory for which one could sacrifice everything, that lies behind Kipling's concept of Empire.

The well-known poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899) is worth close examination for the way in which it explicitly sets forth Kipling's views on the role of the Empire-builder in the world. This poem was not the product of a wayward impulse but the result of careful thought, for Carrington tells us that the poem was in Kipling's mind full eighteen months before he sent the completed verses to Theodore Roosevelt on the eve of the annexation of the Philippines in November 1899.

The phrase "White Man's Burden" has now become so hackneyed that it has lost the original meaning with which Kipling used it. In this connection, it should be kept in mind that Kipling habitually wrote verses in contemporary colloquial language, and in the eighteen-nineties, the phrase, "a white man," Carrington suggests, did not only mean a man with a white skin, it had a secondary symbolic meaning: "a man with the moral standards of the civilized world." Thus in the often quoted ballad "Gunga Din" (1890), he gives a cockney soldier's comment on an Indian water-carrier, "the finest man I knew", and the soldier's words are as follows:

An' for all ' is dirty 'ide  
'E was white, clear white, inside. (DE, 407)

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27

Carrington, p. 258.

28

Carrington, pp. 275-276.

These words sound offensive today, but they were perfectly intelligible at that time as complimentary language of the man in the street.

Kipling firmly believed that it was the responsibility of the leading nations to shape the destiny of "fluttered folk and wild". They undertook the task not as a supreme authority, but under the supreme authority of God. It was a burden involving sacrifice:

Take up the White Man's burden--  
Send forth the best ye breed--  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captive's need. (DE, 323)

The task demanded qualities of patience, humility, and benevolence:

Take up the White Man's Burden--  
In patience to abide,  
To veil the threat of terror  
And check the show of pride;  
By open speech and simple,  
An hundred times made plain,  
To seek another's profit  
And work another's gain. (DE, 323)

The role of the conqueror was not one bringing pomp and glory but toil and drudgery:

Take up the White Man's burden--  
No tawdry rule of kings,  
But toil of serf and sweeper--  
The tale of common things. (324)

It is a task to be done without the promise of a material reward, without even certainty of success:

Take up the White Man's burden--  
 And reap his old reward:  
 The blame of those ye better,  
 The hate of those ye guard-- . . .  
 And when your goal is nearest  
 The end for others sought,  
 Watch Sloth and heathen Folly  
 Bring all your hope to nought. (324)

The only satisfaction that the Empire builder can have is that perhaps the deed is worth doing for its own sake:

Have done with childish days--  
 The lightly proffered laurel  
 The easy, ungrudged praise.  
 Comes now, to search your manhood  
 Through all the thankless years,  
 Cold-edged with dear-bought wisdom.  
 The judgement of your peers! (324)

There are, however, certain tones in this poem which, as in "The Song of the English", suggest that Kipling was proud of the White Man's achievements, but there would appear to be nothing wrong with having a sense of pride in something which is worthy and noble. The description of the natives--"new-caught, sullen peoples, / Half devil and half child"--is rather rash in its sweeping generalisation, seeming to give the key to native character and in fact telling nothing at all. The poem is concerned with the definition of the task of the upholder of the Imperial Idea in areas where the people are under the sway of the Dark Powers. Consequently, these people, and they do not have to be coloured, will be "sullen, . . . / Half devil and half child." The main burden of the verses shows an enlightened view of colonialism.

"Recessional" (1897), published some eighteen months earlier than "The White Man's Burden" but written at about

the same time or possibly slightly later for the Diamond  
 29  
 Jubilee, shows similar features. The poem, with its  
 solemn movement, the organ sonority, and psalm echoes  
 which distinguish the best hymns, has a conscious humility  
 and an unconscious arrogance. Kipling addresses the "Lord  
 of our far-flung battle-line," the adjective "far-flung"  
 implying the vastness of the British Empire, an impression  
 strengthened by the sweeping "dominion over palm and pine."  
 The palm which stands for the tropics, and the pine, calling  
 up Canada in particular, together suggest an empire of world-  
 embracing bonds. But the emphasis is on humility not pride,  
 awe not arrogance, a sense of transience of worldly glory  
 not a sense of permanence, and a prayer that we should never  
 lose our sense of obligation to God and the Law:

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. (DE, 329)

The line "Or lesser breeds without the Law" has

been often used by Kipling's critics to prove that Kipling is a narrow-minded imperialist, but there is no justification in supposing that "lesser breeds" refers to subject native races or even coloured races. The syntax of these lines proves the point that "lesser breeds" cannot refer to subject races for the lesser breeds are those nations who boast with wild tongues having been drunk with sight of power. Moreover, the frequency with which natives are made to command respect in his stories makes it highly unlikely that "lesser breeds" had this association in his mind. Even though the European is often represented as a wise and benevolent leader of the world, there is rarely any suggestion of contempt for the native. The meaning of the first two words is completed by the last three, the breeds are "lesser" because they are "without the Law". There is room for all within the Law, which sees no breed which has accepted it as greater or lesser than another. Those who hold the Law-- that is, those who by disciplined effort are furthering the cause of civilization and are therefore trying to fulfil the world-purpose-- are superior to those who are outside the Law. In other words, the "lesser breeds" are any races, irrespective of colour, caste, or creed, who lack humility and an understanding of this discipline and purpose of life, and who, in arrogance and vainglory, ignore the common good in the pursuit of selfish ends.

Moreover, it must be kept in mind that "Recessional" appeared in 1897 on the occasion of the second jubilee. It was Britain's proudest moment in history and Kipling shared this



feeling with the majority of the English. It is a tribute to his honesty of purpose that he could make a call to humility at this particular time. In Something of Myself, Kipling confides that the spirit of self-confidence displayed by the English at the Diamond Jubilee disturbed him. He therefore wrote these lines as a "nuzzur-wattu" (Punjabi word for an averter of the Evil Eye). (XXXVI, 141)

Nothing is therefore farther from the truth than to accuse Kipling of fascism, racism, or jingo imperialism. He was capable of recognising that the English were not without imperfections--"Tod's Amendment" (1887), is a clear example. In this story, Kipling candidly writes about the Indian Government's ignorance of the condition of its subjects. The Legal Member would have passed a bill which would have adversely affected the local population had it not been for young Tod who had a perfect understanding of the natives' point of view. In "The Masque of Plenty" (1888) Kipling bitterly criticized the British Government for setting up committees to investigate Indian conditions. They were official and formal, interested only in speeding up the enquiry and then hurrying off to cool Simla:

What is the state of the Nation? What is its  
occupation?

Hi! Get along, get along, get along--lend us  
the information, (DE, 35)

but the condition of the poor Indian farmer does not change a bit despite all these investigations:

At his heart is his daughter's wedding,  
 In his eye fore-knowledge of debt.  
 He eats and hath indigestion,  
 He toils and may not stop;  
 His life is a long drawn out question  
 Between a crop and a crop. (DE, 39)

Similarly, his picture of the debauched social life of Anglo-Indians in Simla is certainly not complacent. Kipling's Anglo-Indians world was in many ways a sordid and monotonous world: it was a place where one could see little tingsods in their human frailty.

Kipling also realised that the East had in some ways a better religion than the West: it was for this reason that he was strongly opposed to Christian missionary work in India. Kipling perhaps shared Mahbub Ali's attitude to religion when the horse-dealer said to Kim: "This matter of creeds is like horseflesh. . . . Therefore I say in my heart the Faiths are like horses. Each has merit in its own country." (Kim, XIX, 234) Kim shows a great respect for the faith of the Lama, but in the same book Kipling speaks scornfully of the Protestant parson, Bennett, who called non-Christians "heathen". The conversion of the pagan worshippers of Dungara comes to a disastrous end in "The Judgment of Dungara" (1888). We see this again in "Lispeth" (1886), where the heroine is unfeelingly treated, and shockingly lied to by the Chaplain of the Kotgarh Mission and his wife, who seemed to have no sympathy or understanding. "It takes a great deal of Christianity," Kipling comments sardonically, "to wipe out uncivilized Eastern instincts,

such as falling in love at first sight." (I,1) The epigraph of this story shows Kipling's attitude to Christianity in India:

Look, you have cast out Love! What Gods are these  
 You bid me please?  
 The Three in One, the One in Three? Not so!  
 To my own Gods I go.  
 It may be they shall give me greater ease  
 Than your cold Christ and tangled Trinities. (The Convert, I, 1)

Similarly Kipling was capable of recognising the worth of the natives, and at times he frankly admitted their superiority over the English. Gunga Din was a better man than the average Tommy; and the Sudanese Fuzzy Wuzzy were worthy of admiration as excellent fighters. In "The Ballad of East and West" (1899), Kipling sings of the nobility and heroism of Kamal, a fierce Pathan freebooter, whose son becomes a blood brother of the Colonel's son:

They have looked each other between the eyes, and there they  
 found no fault.  
 They have taken the Oath of the Brother-in-Blood on leavened  
 bread and salt;  
 They have taken the Oath of the Brother-in-Blood on fire and  
 fresh-cut sod,  
 On the hilt and the haft of the Khyber knife, and the Wondrous  
 Names of God. (DE, 237)

And Kipling goes on to comment that there is no difference between two strong men when they meet face to face:

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall  
 meet,  
 Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgement  
 Seat;  
 But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor  
 Birth,  
 When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from  
 the ends of the earth! (DE, 236)

Sir Purun Dass, K.C.I.E., the Prime Minister of a native state who appears in the story "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894), is represented as being a discreet, firm, and tactful administrator. Similarly Mr. Grish Chunder De was quite successful in his own district of Bengal. These examples disprove the point that Kipling condemns all Indian natives as unfit to rule.

Kipling was, indeed, a severe critic of the British Government. And yet his case for the presence of the British regime in India and elsewhere was that, with all its imperfections, it was the best system that the undeveloped countries had or were likely to have. As suggested earlier, this conviction was based on the reconstruction done by the English in the colonies.

Kipling was conscious of the fact that the Empire was not eternal, and that, as we have said, the English would lose it the moment they neglected their moral duty. "The Man who would be King" (1888) illustrates the point amply. Daniel Dravot dreams of an empire, founds one in Kafiristan, a remote area on the North West frontier, and proves to be a beneficent ruler for a while. However, the conception of the Empire gets too big for him, and he "cracks". His demands for a wife result in the destruction of Dravot's superhuman image, and he loses both his head and the kingdom. The moral of the story is that what can happen in Kafiristan may happen to pax Britannica. The duty assigned to the Empire builder may be beyond human powers; yet

the Empire builder must try to fulfil this divine mission to the best of his ability: otherwise he will meet Dravot's fate.

Moreover, Kipling envisaged something similar to "the Commonwealth" as the future shape of the Empire: a number of independent nations bound together by a community of purpose and advanced means of communications. Speaking to the Canadian Club at Toronto in 1907, he told them:

I have, I confess it now, done my best for about twenty years to make all men of the sister nations within the Empire interested in each other. Because I know that at heart all our men are pretty much alike, in that they have the same aspirations, and the same loves, and the same hates; and when all is said and done we have only each other to depend upon. (XXXII, 37-38)

In 1925 he said, at a Chamber of Shipping dinner:

Everywhere time and space are coming to heel round us to fetch and carry for our behoof, in the wilderness or the market. And that means that it will be possible for us now, as never before, to fuse our Empire together in thought and understanding as closely as in the interchange of men and things. (XXXII, 288)

In two stories of the future written in his middle period, "With the Night Mail" (1910) and "As Easy as A.B.C." (1912), the organisation of transport and traffic is the only defined function of an effective government on which all other activities depend. They picture the world under the ultimate control of an international body, the Aerial Board of Control. The light-hearted story "With the Night Mail" is set in A.D. 2000. Here he explains that the A.B.C. is:

that semi-elected, semi-nominated body of a few score persons of both sexes, that controls this planet. 'Transportation is Civilisation,' our motto runs. Theoretically we do what we please so long as we do not interfere with the traffic and all it implies. Practically, the A. B. C. confirms or annuls all international arrangements and, to judge from its last report, finds our tolerant, humorous, lazy little planet only too ready to shift the whole burden of public administration on its shoulders. (XXVI, 3)

Crete, it seems, had been "the sole surviving repository of 'autonomous institutions', 'local self-government', and the rest of the archaic lumber devised in the past for the confusion of human affairs." But at last the islanders got tired of "playing at savages for pennies" and they forced the A.B.C. to annex them, which it did. (XXIV, 160)

"As Easy as A. B. C." shows the A. B. C., with its personnel picked from different countries, intervening in Northern Illinois, in A.D. 2065, to forestall riots. The people are mad at the would-be democrats or "Serviles" who have been agitating for a return to democratic methods of old days. The danger is summed up by a woman who exclaims: "Crowds make trouble. They bring back the old days. Hate, fear, blackmail, publicity, 'The People' . . . " (XXVI, 34) In the end the "Serviles" are taken to London and handed over to an impressario.

The world pictured in these stories is not altogether attractive, but Kipling seems to present the A. B. C. as a reasonable solution to the world's complex problems. This international body is in a way an objectification of the idea of Empire for it has brought the entire globe into discipline and order under a universal law.

Thus we see that Kipling's concept of Empire is a much deeper concept than is generally recognised. Essentially Empire stands for the forces of law, order, and discipline which are engaged in a constant struggle against the negative forces of chaos, confusion, and disorder. So Kipling's imperial drama assumes the proportions of a morality play in a non-theological sense. This

pattern is well illustrated by "The Bridge-Builders" (1893). The dusky goddess India, as suggested in section (c) above, symbolises the Dark Powers. Empire means the Forces of Light. The struggle is for the possession of Indians who stand for humanity at large.

The struggle between the Good and Evil Forces in "The Bridge-Builders" is symbolised by the bridge-building over the Ganges that has been going on for three years in spite of every conceivable obstruction. Incessant toil at last makes the black frame of the Kashi Bridge rise plate by plate, girder by girder, and span by span. Old Peroo knows that Mother Ganga cannot take this bridling any more, and sure enough Gunga wakes up in all her fury. The great flood comes, and Findlayson and Peroo are drifted to a little island where they rest near a Hindu shrine. Both men are drugged; at this stage the tale passes into the trance of these men. They witness a punchayet (meeting) of the Indian gods.

Mother Gunga starts speaking with the complaint: "They have chained my flood, and my river is not free any more. . . . Deal me the justice of the Gods!" Indra does not like the impatience of Gunga: "The deep sea was where she runs but yesterday, and tomorrow the sea shall cover her again as the Gods count that which men call time. Can any one say that their bridge endures till tomorrow?" Gunga repeats: "They have changed the face of the land--which is my land. They have killed and made new towns on my banks." Ganesha tries to calm

her down by arguing: "It is but the shifting of a little dirt. Let the dirt dig in the dirt if it pleases the dirt." Hanuman adds: "Ho! Ho! I am the builder of bridges indeed--bridges between this and that, and each bridge leads surely to Us in the end. Be content, Gunga. Neither these men nor those that follow them mock thee at all." Once again Indra sums up the case in these words: "Ye know the Riddle of the Gods. When Brahm ceases to dream the Heavens and the Hells and the Earth disappear. Be content. Brahm dreams still. The dreams come and go, and the nature of the dreams changes, but Brahm still dreams. . . . The Gods change, beloved--all save One."

This is the riddle. All is maya (illusion)--nothing remains. The toil and trouble of the men working for sweetness and light come to nought in the ultimate analysis. The Kashi Bridge may be spared by the gods today, but tomorrow it will be washed away by angry Gunga:

Cities and Thrones and Powers  
 Stand in Time's eye,  
 Almost as long as flowers,  
 Which daily die:  
 But, as new buds put forth  
 To glad new men,  
 Out of the spent and unconsidered Earth  
 The Cities rise again.

This season's Daffodil,  
 She never hears  
 What change, what chance, what chill  
 Cut down last year's;  
 But with bold countenance,  
 And knowledge small,  
 Esteems her seven days' continuance  
 To be perpetual.



So Time that is o'er-kind  
 To all that be,  
 Ordains us e'en as blind,  
 As bold as she:  
 That in our very death,  
 And burial sure,  
 Shadow to shadow, well persuaded saith,  
 "See how our works endure!" ("Cities and Thrones and Powers",  
 DE, 487)

Such is the mystery of this world, However,  
 in spite of an awareness of final defeat, Kipling exhorts men  
 to accept the challenge and put up a heroic fight against  
 the forces of nada ("nothing" ). The odds may be against  
 him, but the final result does not matter. Man's victory  
 lies in the struggle which he puts up against darkness, chaos,  
 and dísorder. In the ultimate analysis, Kipling's message is  
 a very positive message.

(e) Kipling and Contemporary Writers  
 on the Empire

Imperialism, as shown in section (a), formed  
 an essential part of the sensibility of the English in the late  
 Victorian period. The Empire was a living reality; but the  
 imperialism of the period went deeper than any political

action or theory--it had become a subjective feeling. The writers and public figures of the Victorian and Edwardian periods can be cited to show how widespread was this mood, which was best voiced by Kipling. (See section a, pages 118-120 above,) Kipling has perhaps an even more important place in social history than in the history of literature. He, if any writer, belonged peculiarly to his time and race, and expressed and affected the mood of his nation at a crucial period.

Several other contemporary writers gave expression to the imperial mood of the times with varying degree of success. These are, principally, W. E. Henley, H. Rider Haggard, Joseph Conrad, John Buchan, and E. M. Forster. Like Kipling, all of these men, with the exception of Forster, had come to maturity and published works before the end of the nineteenth century, and all, at one time or another, had lived, worked and written within the context of empire in its hey-day. In this section I propose to make a brief examination of Kipling's relation to the above-mentioned writers in terms of the Imperial theme. 30

It has been shown above that Kipling is not a crude propagandist of British Imperialism and that his ideal of empire is a much larger concept that can be traced to the idea of a universal empire based on the principles of law, order, service, and sacrifice. It has also been suggested that the Imperial Idea

is only a part of Kipling's complex vision; it does not constitute his total view of life. Moreover, it may be observed that the Imperial Idea in itself is not essentially creative though it can certainly be used as a medium for the expression of one's artistic vision. This is precisely what Kipling has done, although this fact is generally passed over by his critics and readers. A profound awareness of the onslaught of the Dark Powers, man's helplessness before these negative forces, and his compulsive need to defeat them create the essential tension in Kipling's work. The Imperial Idea is one of the means through which Kipling articulates this tension. Hence, in Kipling's works the Imperial Idea is not only a means of establishing the Law on the external level, but it also becomes an instrument of the realisation of the self.

Conrad (1857-1924), we find, is engaged in a somewhat similar task, but with a shift of emphasis from society to the question of the individual's isolation and identity within the context of the Imperial theme. Kipling is certainly aware of the inner struggles that an upholder of the Imperial Idea has to go through in his battle against the Dark Powers, but Conrad uses this and the ethnic conflict inherent in the Imperial theme to explore the process of alienation much more fully than Kipling. While for Kipling the Imperial Idea is an instrument of order on both social and individual levels, for Conrad, the Imperial Idea is, fundamentally, a symbol of man's isolation and his utter

failure to communicate with his fellow human beings. Conrad thus focusses his lens on the negative side of imperialism, on the germs of corruption and moral disintegration inherent in it: it can destroy both conquered and conqueror. This twofold destruction is the theme of most of Conrad's novels and stories. Unlike Kipling Conrad offers no solution by means of the Imperial Idea, although he does imply that pursuit of an ideal must always strengthen individual integrity. Kipling talks about the ideals of duty, service, and sacrifice, but Conrad, the greater artist, speaks of only one ideal--  
 31  
 fidelity to oneself.

John Buchan (1875-1940) is also concerned with the problem of the realisation of the self as well as social order. And like Kipling, he sees the Imperial Idea as a means of achieving these objectives. Kipling's concept of empire has a strong moral side to it; Buchan also spiritualises the Imperial Idea: Imperialism of the sort that fails to recognise that the white man has a burden indeed is wholly repugnant to Buchan. He approaches the idea of empire with a greater religious fervour than Kipling. He shares with Kipling a strong belief in action  
 32  
 as an essential part of the code of the empire builder. Like

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 31

It may be noted that involvement is implicit in this ideal of fidelity to oneself. Like Kipling, Conrad regards involvement as a necessity if one wants to get out of the limbo of nothingness. It forms the subject of Victory (1915) where any chance of defending one's integrity through complete withdrawal from society is shown to be hopeless. The same attitude is conveyed in Lord Jim (1900).

32

For example, this message is conveyed in The Half-Hearted (1900) where Lewie makes his soul in a desperate engagement on the battle-line of empire.

Kipling, Buchan concentrates on the practical realisms of  
 33  
 imperialism. However, Buchan's creed, unlike Kipling's,  
 is strongly tinged with racism and chauvinism.

W. E. Henley (1849-1903) shows a close  
 resemblance to Kipling in his treatment of the Empire. Kipling  
 proclaims the British as the chosen people with a mission to  
 promulgate the Law on earth. Henley is no less explicit. He  
 too subscribes to the idea of the righteous sword, the sword of  
 civilization, a concept typical of Victorian imperialism. He  
 34  
 too has a vision of the Imperial destiny of the British. If  
 he sings at all it is in order to pay homage to his gods--  
 dangerous life, adventure, and the sacred battles of the Anglo-  
 Saxon race. Like Kipling, Henley has the temperament of imperi-  
 alism. It is only in some parts of his poems that he celebrates

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33

In A Lodge in the Wilderness (1906), for instance, he proposes  
 the establishment of imperial colleges for the training of efficient  
 administrators for the Empire.

34

For example, in "To R.F.B." (1898), Henley says:

We are the Choice of the Will; God when he gave the word  
 That called us into line, set in our hand, a sword.  
 . . . Set us a sword to wield none else could lift and draw  
 And bade us forth to the sound of trumpet of the law.

--Poems, (London, 1898), p. 211.

The use of the word "law" is significant. It seems to bear a meaning  
 similar to Kipling's usage. Henley continues:

East and West and North, wherever the battle grew,  
 As men to a feast we fared, the work of the will to do.  
 Marching, building, sailing, pillar of cloud or fire,  
 Sons of the Will, we fought the fight of the Will, our Sire.

--Ibid., p. 211.

This is very close to Kipling's Old Testament "Lord God of Hosts."

and worships the Empire; but the magnetism of its presence is always upon him. However, unlike Kipling, Henley's imperialism approaches jingoism.<sup>35</sup>

The work of H. Rider Haggard (1856-1925) offers an informative contrast. In search of order and design in the universe, Kipling is led to the discovery of a Law and Providence which orders things, but Haggard concentrates on the flux and change of life. This awareness of lack of absolutes in the universe gives Haggard his humanity and humility that has a direct bearing on his attitude to the Empire. On occasion he is, of course, to be found subscribing to a belief in Britain's imperial destiny. But there are very few traces of racial prejudice or pride to which so many of his contemporaries succumbed. For example, while Kipling talks about the white man's burden, Haggard, generally speaking, repudiates the whole arrogant notion of the civilizing mission of the West. Intensely aware of the evolutionary process, he is frequently driven to rebuke his fellow-countrymen for their presumptuous talk of "civilization."<sup>36</sup>

With the novels of E. M. Forster (1879- ) the full tide of the liberal humanist tradition is encountered. In

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<sup>35</sup> For England's Sake (1900) contains militantly patriotic verse evoked by the South African War, with "England, My England" perhaps the most rabid conviction in verse that fate has ordained England to rule and to obliterate all adversaries.

<sup>36</sup> In his African stories and novels, for example, King Solomon's Mines (1885), The Witch's Head (1885), Nada the Lily (1892), and Marie (1912), the cultural identity is always that of the Zulu, and the point of view as much his as the white man's.

his novels and short stories we find the deepest reaction against the things that Kipling stood for. Each has a distinct scale of values. Both, however, are typical of the Edwardian period. For Forster, Kipling's world is the useless outer world. For him the things of importance are the inner things, and particularly important are those emotions which spring from what we have come to call "the personal relation." In Forster's novels, therefore, we feel as we do not feel in Kipling's, that a philosophical mind is at work. Forster is interested in human behaviour in so far as it presents us with moral problems; not with the problems which can be solved in an obvious and heroic way, by embracing a cause, or joining an army, or going to some distant country as a missionary, but with the problems of everyday life, such problems as whether we have been kind to our neighbours, whether we are judging them by the same standards as we judge ourselves, and so forth. A Passage to India (1924) is thus not so much a study of imperialism as of human relationships among people of diverse ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds. As regards the imperial theme, A Passage to India is a firm rejection of imperialism in any form.

37

Forster does not see any justification for perpetuating an alien domination of India:

[Ronny says] "We're out here to do justice and keep the peace. Them's my sentiments. India isn't a drawingroom."

"Your sentiments are those of a god," she [Adela] said quietly. . . . Trying to recover his temper, he said, "India likes gods."

"And Englishmen like posing as gods." A Passage to India (London, 1924) p. 152.

Forster's rejection of Ronny is in a way a rejection of Kipling's efficient civil servant.

Thus we see that the literary milieu of imperialism of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods was chiefly represented by Kipling, Henley, Conrad, Buchan, Haggard, and Forster. The central figure asserting the imperial mood of the times was Rudyard Kipling. The nineteenth century ends with a flourish of trumpets on the Kipling note. However, by the Edwardian period, the mid-Victorian self-confidence and exuberant vitality was gone; the imperialism of Kipling and his followers had become out of date; and the way was being prepared for something very different. Forster is a good example of the changing spirit of the Edwardian age. So Kipling and Forster represent two of the most important aspects of the period--imperialism and the reaction against it.



## Chapter V

### THE DOCTRINE OF ACTION

"First a man must suffer, then he must learn his work,  
and the self-respect that that knowledge brings."--"The  
Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes". (V, 214)

## (a) Suffering and Action

In his address to the students of  
McGill University delivered on 23 October 1907, Kipling  
told them:

There is a certain darkness into which the soul of the  
young man sometimes descends--a horror of desolation, abandon-  
ment, and realised worthlessness which is one of the most real  
of the hells in which we are compelled to walk.

I know of what I speak. . . . But I can tell you for your  
comfort that the best cure for it is to interest yourself, to  
lose yourself, in some issue not personal to yourself--in  
another man's trouble, or, preferably, another man's joy. . . .  
In other words, take anything and everything seriously except  
yourselves. (XXXII, 24-25)

Almost the whole of Kipling's philosophy can be discussed from  
this text: realisation of the meaninglessness of life, disinterested  
suffering, and the need for positive action form the crux of  
Kipling's thought. As shown in the previous chapter, Kipling's  
imperial drama revolves around this very doctrine of suffering  
and action, so that his imperial theme takes on a secondary  
importance only.

Kipling's universe, as indicated by his vision  
of India, is essentially indifferent or hostile towards man.  
There is a deity, Kipling seems to suggest, hidden somewhere  
in the clouds, but we cannot see it, and perhaps that is good  
for man:

A veil 'twixt us and Thee, dread Lord,  
A veil 'twixt us and Thee:  
Lest we should hear too clear, too clear,  
And unto madness see! ("The Prayer of Miriam Cohen," DE, 614)

However, the fact remains that the Dark Powers reign supreme in this world; they frustrate man's every effort at putting an order and a pattern upon the existing chaos. At every turn Kipling encounters these dark, nameless, and shapeless powers, which throw him deep down into the abyss of nothingness:

A stone's throw out on either hand  
From that well-ordered road we tread  
And all the world is wild and strange;  
. . . Wherein the powers of Darkness range. (I, 159)

At the age of twenty, Kipling had, in what he describes as a "pivot" experience, the first serious encounter with the Powers of Darkness:

It happened one hot-weather evening, in '86 or thereabouts, when I felt that I had come to the edge of all endurance. As I entered my empty house in the dusk there was no more in me except the horror of a great darkness, that I must have been fighting for some days. I came through that darkness alive, but how I do not know. (XXXVI, 63-64)

Years later Kipling was seized with the same horror of darkness as he entered the house at Torquay on his return from the United States:

The other revelation came in the shape of a growing depression which enveloped us both--a gathering blackness of mind and sorrow of the heart. . . . It was Feng-shui--the Spirit of the house itself--that darkened the sunshine and fell upon us every time we entered, checking the very words on our lips. (XXXVI, 129)

It was here that Kipling felt a "brooding Spirit of deep, deep Despondency." (XXXVI, 130)

This mood of deep despondency is strongly reflected in Kipling's writings; the note of despair becomes more poignant in his later career. Through the narrator of "The House Surgeon" (1909), the last tale in Actions and Reactions,

Kipling speaks of how "my amazed and angry soul dropped gulf by gulf into that horror of great darkness which is spoken of in the Bible . . . despair upon despair, misery upon misery, fear after fear . . . ." (XXIV, 288) This mood of black despair often appears in Kipling's writings in the form of war neurosis and breaking strain, which remain his preoccupations till the very end of his career.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, Marden and Martin Ballart, who appear in two tales of his last volume, Limits and Renewals (1932), are examples of those men "whom the War had immobilised from the soul outwards." (XXXIII, 351) In "Miracle of Saint Jubanus" (1930), the narrator makes a succinct comment on the psychological effect of the War:

I saw them, after the War, split open! Some entered hells of whose existence they had not dreamed--of whose terrors they lacked words to tell. (XXXIII, 350-351)

Similarly, too much strain and pressure produce the same state of mind. In a very late poem, "Hymn of Breaking Strain" (1935), Kipling's heart goes out to the afflicted man whom the gods kill for their sport:

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In stating that the note of despair is more strongly felt in his later writings, I am conscious of the fact that Kipling does offer the solutions of fellowship, compassion, and mirth for the dark states, of mind with which he is preoccupied at this stage. Nevertheless, the solutions offered do not cancel the poignancy of his deep feelings on the plight of suffering humanity.

The careful text-books measure  
 (Let all who build beware!)  
 The load, the shock, the pressure  
 Material can bear.  
 So, when the buckled girder  
 Lets down the grinding span,  
 The blame of loss, or murder,  
 Is laid upon the man.  
Not on the Stuff--the Man!

But, in our daily dealing  
 With stone and steel, we find  
 The Gods have no such feeling  
 Of justice toward mankind.  
 To no set gauge they make us,--  
 For no laid course prepare--  
 And presently o'ertake us  
 With loads we cannot bear:  
Too merciless to bear. (DE, 384)

In Kipling's world, generally speaking, man and his works remain bits of dirt and shiftings of dirt which are blown down the khud (hillside) in no time. This is what Ganesh says in The Bridge Builders (1893)--all is maya--we exist in the dream of Brahman only. This amounts to philosophic nihilism on Kipling's part. Rider Haggard records that once when he was talking with Kipling, "I happened to remark that I thought this was one of the hells. He replied that he did not think, he was certain of it."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, these nihilistic tendencies do not lead Kipling to escapism; this is precisely what makes his thought so complex. Despite his acute awareness of the fact that the Forces of Darkness remain undefeated, Kipling believes in the existence of a greater Power--"the veiled and secret Power" (DE, 385)--that can provide an anodyne for the dark hours. Towards the end

of the poem "Hymn of Breaking Strain", Kipling turns to this "veiled and secret Power" for succour against the gods who "o'ertake us/With loads we cannot bear":

Oh, veiled and secret Power  
 Whose paths we seek in vain,  
 Be with us in our hour  
 Of overthrow and pain;  
 That we--by which sure token  
 We know Thy ways are true--  
 In spite of being broken,  
Because of being broken,  
May rise and build anew.  
Stand up and build anew! (DE, 385)

Suffering, defeat, and pain can make one, who knows the ways of this Power, take up the challenge and fight against the lesser gods with renewed energy. Thus man may rise and build anew. The emphasis, it may be noted, is on building, reconstruction, and ceaseless work, which may bring a sense of self-fulfilment to the already vanquished man.

The universe may be malignant and hostile, yet Kipling believes that man, and man alone, is responsible for his own destiny, and that he can make his own hell or heaven on this earth. This statement may sound self-contradictory, but it is precisely, as Professor Dobrée remarks, on such seemingly incompatible foundations that Kipling builds his philosophy of life.<sup>3</sup> Kipling seems to suggest that though man is ultimately destined to be defeated by the Dark Powers, he has two choices. Either he can let himself be devoured by the Dark Powers or he can, through suffering and action, bring himself out of the limbo

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Dobrée, Realist and Fabulist, p. 33.

of nothingness and thus preserve his individuality. Man, according to Kipling, has no reality beyond his own actions: man is what he does; there is no ideal or essence in man which exists independently of action, and work is not only a means of ameliorating man's existence in a hostile universe, but the very existence itself.

Perhaps the most complete statement of this philosophy is contained in "The Children of the Zodiac" (1891), the first of Kipling's multi-layered fables, and so a detailed analysis of the story is imperative.

"The Children of the Zodiac", which has echoes of Milton's Paradise Lost, and Keats's The Fall of Hyperion, is a myth of self-knowledge that comes through negative capability, disinterested suffering, and positive action. Kipling was, it may be noted, a great admirer of both Milton and Keats: M'Turk vouches for his interest in these two poets while he was at  
<sup>4</sup>  
 school.

The story introduces us to the god-like Children of the Zodiac--Leo, the Girl (Virgo), the Ram, the Bull, and the Twins--who at the beginning of the tale, and by implication at the beginning of the world, are incapable of understanding human emotions though they are worshipped by humanity at large. This is the attitude of those Children of the Zodiac who symbolise the Powers of Light.

Opposed to these Powers of Light are the remaining signs of the Zodiac, namely, the Archer, the Scorpion, the Crab, the Scales, the Waterman, and the Fishes, who symbolise the Dark Powers, and they are interested only "in killing men." This dualism in the universe, an idea which is recurrent in Kipling's writings, indicates Zoroastrian<sup>5</sup> influence on Kipling.

The Children of the Zodiac who represent Good remain indifferent to the human plight for "thousands of years by human reckoning," till, on a particular day a change takes place. Leo meets the Girl walking across the hill, and they both recognise that they have undergone "startling changes." Then "Leo kissed the Girl, and all Earth felt that kiss"--these lines recall Milton's "Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her Seat/Sighing through all her works gavessigns of woe/That all was lost."<sup>6</sup>  
(Paradise Lost, IX, 782-84)

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It is highly probable that Kipling was exposed to Zoroastrian and other esoteric systems through his connections with the Masonic Lodge at Lahore as well as through A. P. Sinnett, the editor of the Pioneer, who was a disciple of Madame Blavatsky. However, Kipling does not accept the Zoroastrian explanation of the mystery of this universe completely, for he believes in the existence of a greater Power: the signs of the Zodiac, for instance, are only agents of fate to which they themselves, despite their heavenly origin, are subservient.

6

John Milton. Paradise Lost, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York, 1962), paperback edition, pp. 223-24.



Through this fall, Leo and the Girl lose their god-like status as well as the state of blissful ignorance, but at this terrible cost they do gain knowledge. (The parallel to the Fall of Adam and Eve is quite obvious here.) Besides knowledge, the fall opens the door to human love--something which Leo and the Girl had never experienced before. Now Leo and Girl move to the next stage of their development--disinterested suffering--as they decide to taste death for the sake of humanity at large. The Children of the Zodiac, divested of the last vestiges of divinity, are now completely identified with mankind.

Along with knowledge and understanding, the change in their status brings fear to the Children of the Zodiac. They also feel that their lives are empty of meaning. Therefore, like men, all the Children of the Zodiac turn to work as the only way of controlling this fear and the only way of giving their lives any meaning whatever. Leo and the Girl wander through the country and see the Bull plowing a straight furrow, doing the best work of which he is capable before his death. The Ram permits himself to be exhibited to villagers who had never seen a perfect ram, and the Twins pose as foundling babies, amusing a woman who likes them. Leo and Virgo become singers, entertaining people and helping them to forget their fear. The main theme of Leo's songs is the glorification of work and courage in the face of heavy odds--this is the role of the artist as Kipling conceives it.

Another story, "Cold Iron" (1909) included in Rewards and Fairies (1910), bears close resemblance to "The Children of the Zodiac." This story tells of a boy who is carried by Puck to fairyland where he is brought up by Sir Huon and Lady Esclairmonde. The boy, however, does not lose interest in the people of the mortal world. The Boy's foster parents do not like his concern with human beings; they make him promise that he will never go near men. However, on a particular day the boy is required to find his own fortune on Puck's Hill. On this day, the boy finds the Cold Iron in the form of a slave ring, but not, as his foster parents had hoped, in the shape of a king's sceptre or a knight's sword. And Puck explains what the fortune means for the boy:

The virtue of the Ring is only that he must go among folk in housen henceforward, doing what they want done, or what he knows they need, all Old England over. Never will he be his own master, not yet ever any man's. He will get half he gives, and give twice what he gets, till his life's last breath; and if he lays aside his load before he draws that last breath, all his work will go for naught. (XXV, 31)

The Cold Iron is thus a symbol of a life of toil and trouble that is lived for the sake of others without expectation of reward. A total identification with the humble "folk in housen," disinterested suffering, and selfless work till the moment of death is the destiny of man under the Cold Iron.

In these two fables, the Zodiac and the Cold Iron symbolise stern necessity, another instrument of the Law. The Zodiac, which governs all the houses, good or evil, decrees

the course of action that Leo and the Girl must follow in order to bring amelioration to humanity at large. This decreed path involves complete identification with suffering humanity, love, and fearless action. Similarly, the Cold Iron signifies a life of toil and trouble that is lived for others without an expectation of reward. This ordained course of action or the Law is the only available means with which man may oppose the Dark Forces, and whereby he may attain a sense of self-fulfilment in a hostile universe.

This Law, as the very words the Cold Iron suggest, is perhaps impersonal, stern, and cruel. However, one is free to follow or not to follow the Law. Leo and the Girl come down to the mortal world of their own free will. Similarly, the boy, though he has found the Cold Iron, is free to throw it away and return to fairyland. However, the boy has realized the meaninglessness of life in fairyland, and like Leo, he decides to choose the Cold Iron, though he knows very well the implications of such a decision. It is therefore obvious from these two stories that three of the things that the Law requires for a meaningful existence in this indifferent universe are negative capability, suffering, and action.

## (b) Men of Action

Kipling is one of the first modern artists to write the epic of "Tools and Man". His world is chiefly composed of administrators, engineers, doctors, soldiers, railwaymen, and peasants busy at their job. Findlayson's frantic efforts to save the Kabhi Bridge, Srickland's measures to enforce law and order, William the Conqueror's relief work in famine-stricken Southern India, the over-worked crew of the Bolivar, the infantry columns "sloggin' over Africa," a lonely lighthouse keeper at his post on a foggy night, Gisborne in the forest, McAndrew standing watch, and a galley slave wearily rowing his boat--these are the characteristic figures and actions which one sees in Kipling's works. His writings are punctuated by the constant rhythms of everyday work. This is something which had been neglected by the literature of the past two centuries as an unworthy subject for art. And it was Kipling, as C. S. Lewis pointed out, who first reclaimed for literature this vast area of human activity.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore not surprising to learn that "the most popular modern British poet in Moscow is Kipling."<sup>8</sup>

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C. S. Lewis, "Kipling's World," Literature and Life, Addresses to the English Association, 1948; reprinted in The Kipling Journal, XXV (Sept. and Dec. 1958), 8-16 and 7-11.

8

Sunday Times (6 May 1962), p. 29.

"I like men who do things," declares William the Conqueror, one of Kipling's heroines. This remark is made to a man in the Educational Department, who was teaching the beauties of Wordsworth's "Excursion" to Indian students. Comparable with this is Kipling's acknowledgement of "the gulf that separates even the least of those who do things worthy to be written about from even the best of those who have written things worthy of being talked about." (XXXII, 3). He recognizes the importance of the craft and magic of words, but the duty of "the man with the Words" is to "wait upon the man of achievement, and step by step with him try to tell the story of the Tribe" (XXXII, 7)--a pronouncement which throws a good deal of light on his own artistic intentions.

I will now consider in some detail the types of men of action, whose "story" is recorded by Kipling, "the man with the Words".

#### (1) The Civil Servant

Kipling has been accused of a juvenile glorification<sup>9</sup> of the English civil servant in India. However, Kipling's attitude to the civil servant is not as uniformly approving as one is led to believe by his critics. "The Masque of Plenty" and "Tod's Amendment", to which references have been made in the foregoing chapter, support my contention. Another interesting example of Kipling's criticism of impersonality, red tape, and ignorance of

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For example see Hilton Brown, Rudyard Kipling (London, 1945), pp. 54-56, and George Orwell, "Rudyard Kipling," Horizon, V (Feb. 1942), 111-125.

the real problems on the part of the Anglo-Indian administration is "Pig" (1887). The framework of "Pig" is that of a revenge story, but it includes satire on the administrative conditions, which alone make such a revenge possible. This story tells of an "earnest" civil servant named Nafferton who informs the Indian Government that he has devised a scheme whereby a very large percentage of the British Army in India can be fed, at a very large saving, on pig. And therefore he requests the Government for "varied information necessary to the proper inception of the scheme." (I,240) The Indian Government instructs another "earnest" civil servant named Pinecoffin to furnish the required information to Nafferton. Pinecoffin prepares a scholarly essay running into twenty-seven foolscap sheets on the "Primitive Pig, the Mythology of the Pig, and the Dravidian Pig," which he sends to Nafferton. Nafferton now wants to know the distribution of the pig in the Panjab, and how it stands the plains in the hot weather. Pinecoffin makes labourious researches into these aspects, but before he can finish his enquiries, he is transferred on special duty to Kohat.

On his return from Kohat, Pinecoffin, who has now developed a pig theory of his own, sends a report of thirty-three folio pages on the pig to Nafferton. However, this process has taken about ten months, and at this stage Pinecoffin's interest in the "potential Piggery" dies down. Nafferton, nevertheless, is quite serious about his pig theory; he now bombards Pinecoffin with letters on "the Imperial aspect of the

scheme, as tending to officialise the sale of pork, and thereby calculated to give offence to the Mahommadan population of Upper India." (I,243) Pinecoffin replies that there is no such danger in his opinion at least. Nafferton now gets interested in "the possible profits to accrue to the Government from the sale of hog-bristles" (I,243), and he asks Pinecoffin to explore this possibility. Poor Pinecoffin visits Cawnpore factories and tanneries, and sends back a monograph of fifty-one pages on the "Products of the Pig." Nafferton now goes back to the second section of his fifth question: "How can the exotic pig be brought to give as much pork as it does in the West?" Pinecoffin replies: "Consult my first letter." This enrages Nafferton so much that he complains formally to the Government that he is not being given the required information. And the Government writes a stern letter to Pinecoffin telling him that "the Service was made for the country, and not the country for the Service, and that he had better begin to supply information about Pigs". (I,245)

The story is an obvious satire on the lack of constructiveness, impracticality, and mis-application of energy and resources on the part of the administration. Kipling comments rather sardonically on these seemingly "earnest" Anglo-Indian civil servants in these words:

I am not sure what real "earnestness" is. A very fair imitation can be manufactured by neglecting to dress decently, by mooning about in a dreamy, misty sort of way, by taking office-work home after staying in the office till seven, and by receiving crowds of native gentlemen on Sundays. That is one sort of "earnestness." (I, 240)

Similarly, in "The Bridge Builders" (1893), Kipling attacks the civil service for red tape and impracticality. The Kashi Bridge, for instance, was near completion when the Government of India added two feet to the width of the bridge, under the impression that bridges were cut out of paper, and so brought to ruin at least half an acre of calculations.

Another hint at this inefficiency and bureaucracy of the Government may be witnessed in "William the Conqueror" (1895). Scott, who is in charge of relief work in a certain section of famine-stricken South India, pays the labourers from his own pocket trusting that he will be re-imbursed later by the Government, for he knows that if he waits till the money comes from the state coffers, the work will suffer:

Theoretically, the Government should have paid for every shoe and linchpin, for every hand employed in the loading; but Government vouchers cash themselves slowly, and intelligent and efficient clerks write at great length, contesting unauthorised expenditures of eight annas. The man who wishes to make his work a success must draw on his own bank-account of money or other things as he goes. (XIII, 259)

Kipling is also aware of the fact that positions in the civil service are often secured through influence and not through merit. Mrs. Hawksbee, the socialite of Simla, tells Otis Yeere:



Look! There is young Hexarly with six years' service and half your talents. He asked for what he wanted, and he got it. See, down by the Convent! There's McArthurson, who has come to his present position by asking--sheer, downright asking--after he had pushed himself out of the rank and file. . . . Do you suppose men are chosen for appointments because of their special fitness beforehand? (VI, 28)

Then there is the case of Tarrion who gets a position in the civil service because of the maneuvers of Mrs. Hawksbee herself.

In the background of the Government lies the sordid Simla society with its social jealousies, midnight revelries, and illicit affairs. The bureaucrats at Simla are shown as inefficient: they are concerned only with preparing reports and setting up committees with no knowledge of what is going on in India, Kipling, as a clever young man, found it difficult to see any virtue in those at the top.

In an uncollected poem "Parturiunt Montes", which appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette on 26 April 1886 and in The Pioneer on 29 April 1886, Kipling draws a vivid picture of these good-for-nothing bureaucrats of Simla. The scene is laid in the Simla Offices, where the chorus of members, with their shirt-sleeves rolled up declares:

We are going to retrench! Yes! we're going to retrench.  
 In a rigid revolutionary style;  
 From the Judge upon his bench, on his costly-cushioned Bench  
 To the Babu and the Commissariat Bye!  
 . . . Let the fat Departments blench,  
 We are yearning to retrench  
 In a clip and cut skin-removing style! (Uncollected) 10

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10

This poem is included in the extremely rare edition of Rudyard Kipling's Uncollected Verse (1881-1922), pp. 31-33. This book was printed for private circulation only. A copy of this edition is in the Stewart Kipling Collection, Dalhousie University.

Then the President steps in and says:

And I shall evolve a Report  
 Shall write you a splendid Report;  
 And 'neath my direction each para and section  
 Shall sparkle with jewels of thought!  
 Ye Gods! it must be a Report  
 To set all the others at naught;  
 An elephant-folio, phototype-oleo;  
 Guttenberg-Caxton Report! 11

A motion of moving "in sign of unanimity" is carried, and "the Hon'ble  
W. W.--intones fortissimo through a paper trumpet":

Bring pens in sheaves and writing blocks in bales?  
 Pour out the ink-kegs into stable-pails!  
 Let blotting pads in bushels strew the floor!  
 Produce your office-boxes by the score!  
 Pile on statistics till the tables creak,  
 /E--t and I can sift 'em in a week/  
 Each to his place! Draw out your cleanest pen  
 Flourish it once, and--put it back again!  
 Drop down exhausted! Let the Public see  
 You're worth your salt! Now, taking time from me,  
 Wipe with one trembling hand a toil-worn brow--  
 Then, all together, make an awful row!  
 Turn to the Plains! What ho there! Pipes and tabors!  
 Tell them about our Herculean labours. 12

Then the full chorus sings in harmony:

We're a wonderful Committee; we deserve your praise and pity,  
 Ke--ind Christian fellow-citizens we hope you'll take the hint.  
 We are dying of exertion and the lack of all diversion;  
 And should value the insertion of these sentiments in print. 13

Kipling does not even spare the Viceroy. Here is  
 a jibe at the Viceroy in "The Bridge Builders":

"Ho! Ho! He is like the Burra Malum. He sleeps below while  
 the work is being done. Then he comes upon the quarter-deck  
 and touches with his finger, and says, "This is not clean!" (XIII, 1

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11  
Ibid., p. 32.

12  
Ibid., pp. 32-33.

13  
Ibid., p. 33.

These examples prove that Kipling is not guilty of unreserved adulation of the Anglo-Indian civil servant and that he does not make all of them heroes. The type of civil servant that Kipling admires is a man of strong character and honour who performs his responsibilities to the best of his ability under the most trying circumstances. He is a kind of man for whom his work assumes proportions larger than anything else, and consequently he does his job with complete devotion.

In the tale, "At the End of the Passage" (1890), we meet four civil servants--Mottram, Lowndes, Spurstow, and Hummil--who are scornful and sarcastic about every thing in heaven and earth, but each in his own way is doing an arduous duty in remote regions of the Empire which concerns the health and welfare of thousands, and despite the maddening heat, loneliness, and fear, none of them will leave his post.

Orde is another example of Kipling's admired type of civil servant. He appears in "Enlightenments of Paget, M.P." (1890) as the Deputy-Commissioner of a North-Western Province, which he administers with great sympathy and understanding. He can be approached by the humblest villager of his region without any difficulty. He is familiar with the real problems that are faced by the people; therefore he can afford to sneer at Pagett. Reappearing in "The Head of the District" (1890), Orde, as he is dying, gives directions to relieve the poor villagers and to accelerate the work which will make the place more prosperous:

"It isn't that I mind dying," he said. "It's leaving Polly and the district. . . . That reminds me, Dick; the four Khusru Khey1 villagers in our border want a one-third remittance this spring. That's fair; their crops are bad. See that they get it, and speak to Ferris about the canal. I should like to have lived till that was finished; it means so much for the North-Indus villagers--but Ferris is an idle beggar--wake him up. . . . Call the Khusru Khey1 men up; I'll hold my last public audience. Khoda Daḍ Khan!" (IV, 171-172)

The dying Deputy-Commissioner goes on to deliver his sermon to the villagers:

" . . . But you must be good men when I am not here. Such of you as live in our borders must pay your taxes quietly as before. I have spoken of the villages to be gently treated this year. Such of you as live in the hills must refrain from cattle-lifting, and burn no more thatch, and turn a deaf ear to the voice of the priests, who, not knowing the strength of the Government, would lead you into foolish wars, wherein you will surely die and your crops be eaten by strangers. And you must not sack any caravans, and must leave your arms at the police-post when you come in; as has been your custom, and my order. . . . I speak now true talk, for I am as it were already dead, my children,--for though ye be strong men, ye are children." (IV, 172-173)

Tallantire, Orde's assistant, follows in his footsteps. After Orde's death the district is plunged into chaos as a result of Grish Chunder De's appointment. Tallantire, however, is able to restore law and order in the turbulent district of Kot-Kumharsen because of his understanding of the regional problems and the personal interest with which he carries out his duties.

These examples show that Kipling was full of esteem for the civil servants who performed their duties silently in remote corners of the Empire. Gisborne of the Forest Department is another example of this class of civil servants. He is the warden of the great rukḥ (jungle), which he loves as well as his forest rangers:

. . . the forests took him back again, and he was content to serve them, to deepen and widen his fire-lines, to watch the green mist of his new plantation against the old foliage, to dredge out the choked stream, and to follow and strengthen the last struggle of the forest where it broke down and died among the long pig-grass. . . . His bungalow, a thatched white-walled cottage of two rooms, was set at one end of the great ruk and overlooking it . . . . the ruk swept up to his door, curled over in a thicket of bamboo, and he rode from his verandah into its heart without the need of any carriage-drive. (VII, 300-301)

When a ranger dies, Gisborne pays his widow from his own pocket "a sum that the Government of India would never have sanctioned for her man's death." (VII, 303) On another occasion, a forest-guard is killed by a tiger, and Gisborne, guided by Mowgli, goes alone to shoot the man-eating tiger, for he feels responsible for the safety of the people in the ruk.

Kipling's admiration for a job well done without any expectation of reward comes out sharply in his comments on the Forest Officers stationed in remote corners of the Empire:

Of the wheels of public service that turn under the Indian Government, there is none more important than the Woods and Forests. . . . Its servants wrestle with wandering sand-torrents and shifting dunes: wattling them at the sides, damming them in front, and pegging them down atop with coarse grass and unhappy pine after the rules of Nancy. . . . In the plains the chief part of their duty is to see that the belt-fire-lines in the forest reserves are kept clean, so that when drought comes and the cattle starve, they may throw the reserve open to the villager's herds and allow the man himself to gather sticks. They poll and lop for the stacked railway-fuel along the lines that burn no coal; they calculate the profit of their plantations to five points of decimals; they are the doctors and midwives of the hugh teak forests of Upper Burma, the rubber of the Eastern Jungles, and the gall-nuts of the South; and they are always hampered by lack of funds. (VII, 299)

In "The Tomb of his Ancestors" (1897), we are introduced to the Chinn family, which has produced capable civil and military officers for the province of Bombay. John Chinn the

First goes into the country of the wild Bhils, lives with them, protects them from leopards and tigers, and wins their confidence. "It was slow, unseen work, of the sort that is being done all over India today," Kipling comments: this remark supplies the key to the type of administrator that he admires. John Chinn dies serving the Bhils, but the people do not forget him: they worship him as a local god. Years later, John Chinn the Younger, who is an officer in the Bhil Regiment, has to use his ancestral image in order to persuade the Bhils to get themselves inoculated against small-pox.

Bakri Scott of the Punjab Civil Service lives up to the traditions of Kipling's ideal civil servant when he is placed on the disposal of the Madras Government for famine duty. Scott performs his task with such dedication and heroism that his boss expresses his impressions of Scott's achievements in these words:

Look at this, Lizzie, for one week's work! Forty miles in two days with twelve carts; two days' halt building a famine-shed for young Rogers (Rogers ought to have built it himself, the idiot!). Then forty miles back again, loading six carts on the way, and distributing all Sunday. Then in the evening he pitches in a twenty-page demi-official to me, saying that the people where he is might be "advantageously employed on relief-work", and suggesting that he put 'em to work on some broken-down old reservoir he's discovered, so as to have a good water-supply when the Rains come. (XIII, 259-60)

Similarly, Kipling's ideal police officer is Strickland, who is completely dedicated to his job and who knows "as much about the natives as the natives themselves." He can pass for a Hindu or a Muslim, he explores the native riff-raff,

he is initiated into the Sat Bhai at Allahabad, he knows the "Lizzard Song" of the Sanyasis and "the Halli-Hukk dance" of the mystics, and he masters the thieves'-patter of the changars (men of low caste). Often he takes leave for what he calls shikar (hunting), puts on the disguise that appeals to him at that time, steps down into the bazaar, and is swallowed in the brown crowd. Strickland seems to be modelled after the kotwal (chief police officer) of the Arabian Nights, in which the kotwal and Caliph Harun-al-Rashid often roam around the streets of Baghdad in disguise to acquaint themselves with the real condition of the people.

Perhaps Kipling's view of an ideal civil servant can be summed up in the following passage (already quoted in Chapter IV, page 149 above) on the expected role of civil servants.

Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first fighting-line, which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die, or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death, or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. (IV, 305-306)

## (2) The Soldier

Kipling's admiration for the soldier has led to the charge that he loves brutality, vulgarity, and violence for their own sake. Critics have repeatedly attacked him rather bitterly for his descriptions of the Tommy; they have quibbled and wrangled

over the Kiplingesque coarseness of the slang and they have held up their hands because he dares to give some barrack-room reflections about women. "I've 'ad my picking o' sweet'earts and four o' the lot was prime," says the Tommy in "The Ladies" (1896), and the epitome of the poem is given in the line, "The more you have known the others, the less will you settle to one." (DE, 442-43) As far as the charge of violence is concerned, the poem "Loot" (1890) is usually cited as proof:

(Chorus) Loo! loo! Lulu! lulu! Loo! loo! Loot! loot!  
 Loot!  
 Ow, the loot!  
 Bloomin' loot!  
 That's the thing to make the boys git up an' shoot!  
 It's the same with dogs an' men,  
 If you'd make 'em come again  
 Clap 'em forward with a Loo! loo! Lulu! Loot!  
 Whoopee! Tear 'em, puppy! Loo! loo! Lulu!  
 Loot! loot! loot! (DE, 410)

The sentiments expressed in these two poems are certainly deplorable. However, while it is true that Kipling, akin to the Elizabethans in many ways, had a psychological interest in violence, one cannot attribute these vulgar sentiments to the writer of these poems. He is simply presenting the Tommy in all of his varied aspects--good and bad. He hides nothing, glosses over nothing. The above-mentioned poems only indicate that he is aware of the level to which a soldier can degenerate: it does not mean that he is advocating brutality, violence, and anarchy. As a matter of fact, it would be ridiculous to accuse Kipling, the advocate of the Law, of championing Chaos and Disorder.



The dedication to Bafrack-Room Ballads (1892)

shows clearly why Kipling praises the soldier despite his vulgarity and coarseness. No matter what his faults may be, the soldier, in Kipling's eyes, is an instrument for the enforcement of the Law. For Kipling, military discipline is not merely a man-made expedient, but a reflection of a larger order, namely the Law: hence his admiration for the soldier. The Ballads are dedicated to these unknown instruments of the Law: "The Strong Men ranged thereby/ Who had done his work and held his peace and had no fear to die," and "They know of toil and the end of toil; they know God's Law is plain." (DE, 84) It would appear from the dedicatory poem that their struggle against lawlessness and the Dark Forces does not end even in heaven, which is under constant attack from Evil:

'Tis theirs to sweep through the ringing deep where  
Azrael's outposts are,  
Or buffet a path through the Pit's red wrath when  
God goes out to war,  
Or hang with the reckless Seraphim on the rein of a  
red-maned star. (DE, 84)

"Danny Deeever" (1890), the first poem in the Ballads, is worth noticing for the way it presents the crime of a soldier, not as an offence only against the Queen's law or even the laws of civilized man, but against the Law of the universe of which he is a part. The ceremonial execution of Danny Deeever seems to symbolise the ruthless rejection of one who is not man enough to keep the Law. It is interesting to note that he lacks courage--"For 'e shot a comrade sleepin'--" and was "a sneakin',



shootin' hound." (DE, 397)

The universe has no place for the coward in Kipling's view, although it must be stressed that Kipling would be the last person to call a man a coward because he felt afraid. The unpardonable sin is the kind of spiritual cowardice which characterized Tomlinson, who was not man enough to enter heaven or hell. At the behest of Satan the little devils go to "husk this whimpering thief that comes in the guise of a man" and they report:

"The soul that he got from God he has bartered clean away.  
 "We have threshed a stock of print and book, and winnowed  
 a chattering wind,  
 "And many a soul wherefrom he stole, but his we cannot find.  
 "We have handled him, we have dandled him, we have seared him  
 to the bone,  
 "And, Sire, if tooth and nail show truth he has no soul of his  
 own." (DE, 364)

The devil is compassionate (as also in a later story "Uncovenanted Mercies" [1932]) and sends him back to earth:

"Ye are neither spirit nor spirk," he said; "ye are neither  
 book nor brute--  
 "Go, get ye back to the flesh again for the sake of Man's repute.  
 (DE, 365)

The worst sins are not the conventional ones: what is essential is to be positive; it is the indispensable basis of all valuable actions. Kamal ("The Ballad of East and West") and Abdur Rahman ("The Amir's Homily") are not exactly worthy characters, and yet Kipling considers them in some respects admirable because they are true to themselves. Tomlinson and Danny Deever are the most unhappy souls because they lack the courage to be men.

"A Conference of Powers"(1890) provides a good indication of the basis for Kipling's admiration of the soldier. The story presents three subalterns on leave from Asia who are now assembled in London. Their role is not readily understood by the novelist Eustace Cleever, though the soldiers can appreciate his art. The Infant makes the novelist understand the kind of job the subalterns are doing by narrating the story of war in Upper Burma:

"The dacoits were having a first-class time, y'know--filling women up with kerosine and setting 'em alight, and burning villages, and crucifying people."  
 The wonder in Eustace Cleever's eyes deepened. He could not quite realise that the cross still existed in any form.  
 "Have you ever seen a crucifixion?" said he.  
 "Of course not. 'Shouldn't have allowed it if I had; but I've seen the corpses. . . ." (III, 575)

Maintenance of law and order is thus defined as one of the main tasks of the soldier. Furthermore, Kipling is here concerned with the qualities of the soldiers who are involved in the enforcement of law and order more than with the enlargement of frontiers. A confrontation with the Dark Powers leads to a sharpening of the qualities of discipline, loyalty, courage, sense of duty, and obedience, which are essential for the upholder of the Law. In Stalky and Co. (1899), for instance, frontier-soldiering becomes a ritual not so much for the sake of the Empire as for the qualities which these campaigns seem to inculcate in the Empire-builder.

The two cockney drummer boys in the well-known story "The Drums of the Fore and Aft" (1888) display the above-

mentioned qualities when their regiment is ready to break ranks and flee. Jakin and Lew are no supermen. The boys are about fourteen, and drink, swear, and fight viciously between themselves and against others. However, an engagement with the enemy brings out their latent heroic qualities. The men of the Fore and Aft break and bolt. Two tried regiments on either flank--one Highland, the other Gurkha--look on in horror and indignation. And then, between this routed force and the advancing Afghans, Jakin and Lew appear, marching side by side, and summoning their comrades to retrieve their honour. Soon an Afghan volley drops both boys dead, and the story ends. Although no doubt the boys are slightly drunk, it is still their training and rigid discipline that makes them perform their duty well:

But some say, and among these be the Gurkhas who watched on the hillside, that that battle was won by Jakin and Lew, whose little bodies were borne up just in time to fit two gaps at the head of the big ditch--grave for the dead under the heights of Jagai. (III, 525-526)

The finest expression of the virtue of a steady, unspectacular, and even unrecognized performance of duty is seen in the character of a Gurkha soldier representing the Indian Armies at the King's funeral in London. Immobile, head bowed, choked by his high stiff collar, he keeps his place by the king's bier for three and a half hours (the British soldiers cannot endure even one hour), watching the endless procession of mourners' feet. The Gurkha acts out of a sense of personal integrity rather than a hope for recognition. This

episode seems to imply that failure to do one's duty is more to be feared than either pain or death. This note of the drill-sergeant breathes in every line of Kipling's verse and prose. And in Soldiers Three (1888), he has done his best to revive the dying faith in discipline. Despite their roughness, Privates Ortheris, Mulvaney, and Leoroyd are the best products of a sound drill-book training.

The most explicit statement of Kipling on the role of a soldier is contained in the story of Parnesius, included in Puck of Pook's Hill (1906). Parnesius, a Centurion of the Thirtieth Legion, is assigned the duty of defending the Wall against the onslaughts of the Picts and the Winged Hats. The Wall, which separates civilization from savagery, is an obvious symbol of the Law. The Picts and the Winged Hats stand for the Dark Powers. The task of Parnesius is further complicated by the conflict between Maximus, Parnesius' General, and Theodosius: the defence of the Wall under these circumstances is almost beyond any hope. However, Parnesius will stand guard no matter what happens: "It concerns us to defend the Wall, no matter what Emperor dies or makes die." (XXIII, 211)

## (3) The Skilled Worker

Kipling has been rightly hailed as the poet of modern machinery and technology. His work is so full of technical details about engines, bridges, and <sup>microscopes</sup>, that he was sometimes ridiculed. "The Ship that Found Herself" (1895) and "The Devil and the Deep Sea" (1895) are good examples of Kipling's fondness for technical details. The first story describes the maiden voyage of the Dimbula, a cargo-steamer of twelve hundred tons, of which her skipper says cautiously, "I'm sayin' that it takes more than christenin' to mak' a ship. . . . She has to find herself yet." Thus, throughout the voyage from Liverpool to New York, the different parts of the ship discuss their new experiences:

"It isn't distressingly calm now," said the extra-strong frames--they were called web-frames--in the engine-room. "There's an upward thrust that we don't understand, and there's a twist that is very bad for our brackets and diamond-plates, and there's a sort of west-north-westerly pull that follows the twist, which seriously annoy us. . . . " "I'm afraid the matter is out of the owner's hands for the present," said the Steam, slipping into the condenser. (XIII, 103-104)

It is the engines and screws which are most prominent in "The Devil and the Deep Sea":

The forward engine had no more work to do. The released piston-rod, therefore, drove up fiercely, with nothing to check it, and started most of the nuts of the cylinder-cover. It came down again, the full weight of the steam behind it, and the foot of the disconnected connecting-rod, useless as the leg of a man with a sprained ankle, flung out to the right and struck the starboard, or right-hand, cast-iron supporting column of the forward engine, cracking it clean through about six inches above the base, and wedging the upper portion outwards three inches towards the ship's side. There the connecting-rod jammed. Meantime, the after-engine, being as yet unembarrassed, went on with its work, and in so doing brought round at its next revolution the

crank of the forward engine, which smote the already jammed connecting-rod, bending it and therewith the piston-rod cross-head--the big cross-piece that slides up and down so smoothly. (XIII, 186)

Kipling's rapture over modern technology does not, however, make him lose human interest; the man behind the machine is more important than the machine. The reason why Kipling revels in machinery is that he sees the machine as an instrument which can be used for the advancement of the Law. This is skilfully suggested in the poem "The Secret of the Machines" (1911) where the machines sing:

We can pull and haul and push and lift and drive,  
We can print and plough and weave and heat and light,  
We can run and race and swim and fly and dive,  
We can see and hear and count and read and write! (DE, 729)

While it is a supreme song of the triumph of modern technology, the poem stresses the point that a proper use of the machine is essential for the progress of the Law; it is here that the importance of the man behind the machine becomes apparent:

But remember, please, the Law by which we live,  
We are not built to comprehend a lie,  
We can neither love nor pity nor forgive.  
If you make a slip in handling us you die! (DE, 730)

Among the men behind the machine, Kipling is particularly full of praise for the engineer. Findlayson of "The Bridge Builders" is one of the many engineers who appear in Kipling's works. Findlayson deserves our admiration for the spirit of dedication with which he is doing construction work on the Ganges. "McAndrew's Hymn" projects an ideal engineer in the character of McAndrew, a Scottish marine engineer. Old McAndrew looks back on the progress he has made from the young days of his debauchery to the time when he became a stern



believer in his "duty" and his "work":

Obsairve! Per annum we'll have heretwo thougand souls  
aboard--

Think not I dare to justify myself before the Lord,  
But--average fifteen hundred souls safe-borne fra'  
port to port--

I am o'service to my kind. Ye wadna blame the thought? (DE, 124)

His engines are the symbols of moral laws of the utmost vigour  
for he is a Calvinist. They exact the same kind of duty as  
his creed. And he goes on to talk of his beloved engines,  
praises Robert Burns, and sums up his philosophy of life in  
these words:

Lord, send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam!  
To match wi' Scotia's noblest speech yon orchestra sublime  
Wharrto--uplifted like the Just--the tail-rods mark the time.  
The crank-throws give the double-bass, the feed-pump sobs an'  
heaves,  
An' now the main eccentrics start their quarrel on the sheaves:  
Her time, her own appointed time, the rocking link-head bides,  
Till--hear that note?--the rod's return whings glimmerin' through  
the guides.  
They're all awa'! True beat, full power, the clangin' chorus goes  
Interdependence absolute, forseen, ordained, decreed,  
To work, Ye'll note, at ony tilt an' every rate o' speed.  
Fra' skylight-lift to furnace-bars, backed, bolted, braced an'  
stayed,  
An' singin' like the Mornin' Stars for joy that they are made;  
While, out o' touch o' vanity, the sweatin' thrust-block says:  
"Not unto us the praise, or man--not unto us the praise!"  
Now, a' together, hear them lift their lesson--their an' mine:  
"Law, Order, Duty, an' Restraint, Obedience, Discipline!" (DE, 126)

We meet the engineers again in "The Sons of  
Martha" (1907): they serve mankind to the best of their ability  
without any expectation of reward:

It is their care in all the ages to take the buffet and  
cushion the shock.  
It is their care that the gear engages; it their care  
that the switches lock.  
It is their care that the wheels run truly; it is their  
care to embark and entertain,  
Tally, transport, and deliver duly the Sons of Mary by land  
and main.

the  
 They say to <sup>the</sup> mountains, "Be ye removed." They say to the  
 lesser floods, "Be dry."  
 Under their rods are the rocks reproved--they are not afraid  
 of what which is high.  
 Then do the hill-tops shake to the summit--then is the bed of  
 deep laid bare,  
 That the Sons of Mary may overcome it, pleasantly sleeping and  
 unaware. (DE, 382)

They undertake grave personal risks in the discharge of their duties:

They finger death at their gloves' end where they piece  
 and repiece the living wires.  
 He rears against the gates they tend: they feed him  
 hungry behind their fires..  
 Early at dawn, ere men see clear, they stumble into his  
 terrible stall,  
 And hale him forth like a haltered steer, and goad and  
 turn him till evenfall. (DE, 383)

It is not for them to relax and enjoy: they are continuously busy  
 in the glorious work:

To these from birth is Belief forbidden; from these till  
 death is Relief afar.  
 They are concerned with matters hidden--under the earth-  
 line their altars are--  
 The secret fountains to follow up, waters withdrawn to  
 restore to the mouth,  
 And gather the floods as in a cup, and pour them again  
 at a city's drouth. (DE, 383)

They do not sit and pray to God for help as they know that God  
 helps those who help themselves:

They do not preach that their God will rouse them a little  
 before the nuts work loose.  
 They do not teach that His Pity allows them to drop their  
 job when they dam'-well choose.  
 As in the thronged and the lighted ways, so in the dark  
 and the desert they stand,  
 Wary and watchful all their days that their brethren's  
 days may be long in the land. (DE, 383)

At times the engineer has to lay down his life in the discharge of his duties and dies unnoticed and unsung:

Raise ye the stone or cleave the wood to make a path more  
fair or flat--  
Lo, it is black already with blood some Son of Martha spilled  
for that!  
Not as a ladder from earth to Heaven, not as a witness to any  
creed,  
But simple service simply given to his own kind in their common  
need. (DE, 383)

Besides the engineer, Kipling is also full of praise for the doctor. It is especially in his later career, when he was particularly concerned with the theme of healing, that the medical men figure in his work with great frequency. For example, we see the doctor at work in "An Habitation Enforced" (1905), "A Doctor of Medicine" (1909), "The Tender Achilles" (1929), and "Unprofessional" (1930). Speaking at the annual dinner of the Royal College of Surgeons in February 1923, he declared:

. . . He [the Surgeon] had found more wonders beneath his knife than earth or the planets had theretofore shown him. And that was barely ten generations ago! Once again, the Surgeon, as he had become, renewed his search, and once again sacrificed himself in the search his passion drove him. There is no anaesthesia so complete as man's absorption in his own job. (XXXII, 239-240)

#### (4) The Peasant

The peasant does not appear very often in Kipling's works, but whenever a reference is made to him, one can immediately see the great respect and admiration in which he is held by Kipling. In his Indian tales and verses, it is the Indian farmer who is treated with the greatest understanding and veneration because he represents a fully-integrated society which, however alien

to the Western way of life, has its roots in a civilization as old as any in the world. His dislike of the "university-trained hybrid" sprang from an instinctive distrust of the man who had deserted his own world for that of a stranger, and had ended up belonging to neither. There are many today who will agree that "westernization" is far from an unmixed blessing; and Kipling, as his liking for things genuinely Indian shows, tended to admire what was deep-rooted in the soil of the country and nurtured over many generations.

We have a glimpse of the Indian farmer, drawn with great sensitivity, in an earlier mentioned story "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P." (1890). In a brief portrait of the Jat, Kipling invests him with the simple, honest virtues of a man of the earth. The poem "The Masque of Plenty" (1888), mentioned in Chapter IV, brings out Kipling's deep concern with the welfare of "the sons of the soil." His heart goes out to the farmer who toils all his life and yet fails to get the returns which should be his due:

Our cattle reel beneath the yoke they bear--  
The earth is iron, and the skies are brass--  
And faint with fervor of the flaming air  
The languid hours pass.

The well is dry beneath the village tree--  
The young wheat withers ere it reach a span,  
And belts of blinding sand show cruelly  
Where once the river ran. (DE, 36)

The Government contents itself, Kipling seems to say, with making superficial enquiries about the peasant without doing

anything constructive to improve his lot; and the farmer's life remains a long-drawn question "between a crop and a crop."

Kipling's love of the country and the peasant is further seen in his settling in Sussex later in his life. In Kipling's time peasants and village craftsmen could still be found in Sussex; he studied them with great interest. He bought a small farm himself, which shows his love for the soil and for the tilling of the soil. Kipling had lived as a gypsy till the turn of the century but now felt himself rooted in the Sussex soil, and from then onwards the English landscape began to figure in his works. "An Habitation Enforced" (1905) is a hymn to the healing power of the soil which he himself then experienced. The story tells of George Chapin and his wife Sophie, who, after being broken by the sick hurry and divided aims of the materialistic American world, find health and peace in the quiet and fruitful life of the English countryside. The regenerative powers of the soil are admirably brought out in "A Charm" (1910), the opening piece in Rewards and Fairies. We are told to take a handful of English earth, and lay it upon the heart:

It shall sweeten and make whole  
Fevered breath and festered soul;  
It shall mightily restrain  
Over-busy hand and brain;  
It shall ease thy mortal strife  
'Gainst the immortal woe of life,  
Till thyself restored shall prove  
By what grace the Heavens do move. (XXV, 5)

Hence, it is understandable why Kipling admires a man rooted in the soil. Hobden, the English peasant in "The Land"--the poem that appears along with the story "Friendly Brook" (1914), illustrates his respect for the cultivator. "Friendly Brook" is purely a story of the country. Through the story of Jim Wickenden and his gratitude to the brook that drowns his blackmailer, Kipling introduces us to a survival in the Sussex of his day of the animistic beliefs that are found in all primitive agricultural communities. The story is told in a dialogue between Jim and another labourer, who relates the story as <sup>he</sup> ~~they~~ trim<sup>s</sup> a neglected hedge. Through these village labourers, Kipling presents to us the self-respect, the inherited skill, and the natural courtesy of the old countrymen of his day. Moreover, the story brings out, in an indirect way, the sterling qualities of the peasantry--simplicity, humanity, toughness of character, and a capacity to work hard.

(c) Kipling's Ideal Man--a balance of action and Contemplation.

The foregoing section shows the type of man Kipling admires. He appears in numerous disguises--as a truly primitive Afghan fighter, an engineer aboard an ocean freighter, an English civil servant stationed in the out-posts of the Empire, a doctor of medicine, or even a Sussex farmer. He is certainly an example of the best type in the group or the profession he represents, but he is no superman. He has his faults and shortcomings, but he commands our respect because of the following qualities:

- 1) He is a man of honour and strong character.
- 2) He knows his job in and out.
- 3) He is devoted to his job--his job assumes proportions larger than anything else in life.
- 4) He has a strong sense of responsibility. He performs his duty to the best of his ability in the most trying circumstances.
- 5) He is basically a man of action.
- 6) He is capable of love, suffering, and self@sacrifice.

Kipling's emphasis on action, however, should not be taken to mean that he slights a life of contemplation. In fact, in Kipling's view, the ideal man is both a man of action and a man of contemplation. However, Kipling is too much of a realist not to realise that Plato's ideal of a Philosopher-King is not easy to translate into reality. Moreover, living the life of detached contemplation is given to very few, and the question remains whether such a life is laudable. Hence, Kipling's message to the man in the street is an easily understandable message of positive action:

Heart may fail, and Strength outwear, and Purpose turn to  
Loathing,  
But the everyday affair of business, meals, and clothing,  
Builds a bulkead 'twixt Despair and the Edge of Nothing. (DE, 767)

Nevertheless, as stated above, Kipling does indicate the desirability of following the golden mean by striking a balance between action and contemplation. "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" (1894) and Kim (1901) seem to embody this idea.

"The Miracle of Purun Bhagat" introduces us to Sir

Purun Dass, a highly educated and enlightened Prime Minister of a native state in India. Under his administration schools, colleges, hospitals, and roads are built/through the length and breadth of the state. Consequently, the Indian Government honours him by conferring a knighthood on him, so that his name now stands Sir Purun Dass, K.C.I.E.

However, shortly after the award of a K.C.I.E., Sir Purun Dass returns the jewelled order of his knighthood to the Indian Government, resigns position, palace, and power, and takes up the begging bowl and ochre-coloured dress of a Sunnyasi (holy man, mystic). "He had been, as the Old Law recommends," Kipling explains, "twenty years a youth, twenty years a fighter, --though he had never carried a weapon in his life,--and twenty years head of a household. . . . he had taken honour when it came his way. . . . Now he would let those things go, as a man drops the cloak he no longer needs." (VIII, 178)

Thus Purun Dass changes into Purun Bhagat and wanders in search of "his dream of peace and quiet." Instinct leads him to the Himalayas--the old symbol of spiritual achievement. Beyond Simla, Purun Bhagat discovers a deserted shrine on a pass at an altitude of about twenty thousand feet. "Here shall I find peace," says Purun to himself and enters into deep meditation:



That day saw the end of Purun Bhagat's wanderings. He had come to the place appointed for him--the silence and the space. After this, time stopped, and he, sitting at the mouth of the shrine, could not tell whether he were alive or dead; a man with control of his limbs, or a part of the hills, and the clouds, and the shifting rain and sunlight. He would repeat a Name softly to himself a hundred times, till, at each repetition, he seemed to move more and more out of his body, sweeping to the doors of some tremendous discovery; but, just as the door was opening, his body would drag him back, and, with grief, he felt he was locked up again in the flesh and bones of Purun Bhagat. (VIII, 184-185)

Purun Bhagat's renunciation of the world does not, however, stop him from loving mankind and other creatures of God. His hermitage is open to all the animals of the Himalayas who now become his constant companions. Purun Bhagat calls them "my brothers", and his low call of "Bhai! Bhai!" [brother, brother] would draw them from the forest at noon if they are within earshot. The villagers in the valley come to know of Purun Bhagat's presence in the shrine, and they revere him as their patron saint.

Then the terrible rains come, and one night Bhagat realises that the mountain is falling. There is no time to lose. He rushes to the valley in order to warn the peasants of the landslide. In doing so, he loses his own life, but he saves the villagers. This last act of Purun Bhagat makes him assume his old role of Sir Purun Dass--a man of action--but there is no indication whatsoever that the life of renunciation which Purun had chosen is unworthy. It was perhaps this mystic negative way that awakened Purun to a deeper understanding of love, negative capability, and capacity for self-sacrifice, and led him to act positively. Moreover, the roles of a man of action and a man of contemplation are fused together in a single personality.

Thus Kipling seems to place a value on both ways of life, and makes a plea for striking a balance between the two.

This ~~theme~~ comes out more sharply in Kim.

There is no doubt that though Kim has many features of an adventure book for boys, and its central figure is a teenager, the novel has a spiritual aspect as well, which differentiates it from an ordinary boy's tale. What sets Kim off from almost all the other works of Kipling is that ~~here Kipling~~ probes the inner personality of Kim, who is not merely a type as Kipling's characters usually tend to be; he concerns himself with questions of self and identity. "Who is Kim--Kim--Kim?" is the crucial question that is posed by this novel.

The problem of determining his own identity is forced upon Kim's consciousness right from the beginning. Kim, the son of Irish parents, has grown up as an orphan in the streets of Lahore. The half-caste woman who has looked after him tells him of his father's prophecy that he will know his own identity when he meets a red bull on a green field. In fact, Kim has no personal identity at this stage. He is "The Little Friend of All the World," he finds the open Indian street his natural habitation, he is on intimate terms with policemen, beggars, and grocers, and he can easily pass for a Hindu or a Muslim.

It is when Kim meets the Lama in front of the Zamzamah that he is first troubled with a quest for knowing himself. The Lama, he learns, has a quest of his own: he is in search of "The River of the Arrow" that will bring him to

nirvana--deliverance from the Wheel and total absorption in the Brahman. In other words, the Lama is on a quest of total annihilation of the self and complete loss of identity, whereas Kim is in search of the self. Although Kim and the Lama have seemingly mutually exclusive goals before them, yet strangely enough they are bound together by the unbreakable guru-chela (master-disciple) relationship. "He has a search of his own," the Lama comments, "Norriver, but a Bull. Yea, a Red Bull on a green field will someday raise him to honour." However, both the Lama and Kim repeatedly assert that they could not have gone on their quests without each other's help. Thus, the Lama continues to tell his audience that Kim "was sent of a sudden to aid me in this search, and his name is Friend of all the World." As a matter of fact, the Lama even contends that a bond existed between them in previous lives:

Perhaps in a former life it was permitted that I should have rendered thee some service. May be ( he smiled ) I freed thee from a trap; or having caught thee on a hook in the days when I was not enlightened, cast thee back into the river again. (XIX, 116)

Similarly, Kim is so much attached to the old Lama that he would not leave him under any circumstances. At one stage in the novel he confesses that he has only two friends in the whole wide world--the Lama and Mahbub Ali.

Mahbub Ali, the Pathan horse-dealer of Lahore and a member of the Intelligence Service who loves the boy, presents another kind of world to him. The bustling Kashmiri Serai where the caravans from Central Asia unload their rich merchandise, the dancing girls of Lahore, the jingle of rupees, and the Great Game

of espionage, are all parts of Mahbub's world. His is the masculine world of power, glamour, and action. Kim is attracted to this world from the start, but he is equally attracted by the serene world of the Lama. Thus from the very beginning he moves between the opposing worlds of Mahbub Ali and the Lama.

However, it is important to note that Kim does not identify himself completely with either Mahbub Ali or the Lama. He places a value on both action and detached contemplation: this is why no choice is forced upon Kim. The Search and the Game exercise a double attraction for him; he goes through the novel with the Lama on the one hand and Mahbub Ali (with whom are soon associated Colonel Creighton, Lurgan, and Hurree Babu) on the other. He understands the Game more readily than the Search, but the Lama's gentle, selfless wisdom is more compulsive than the fascination of having a price on his head and a number instead of a name. These two worlds complement each other: the part in Kim which the Lama cannot satisfy gets its satisfaction in the activity of the Game.

Kim has therefore an ideal relationship with the Lama and Mahbub Ali. While the great Game makes him aware of the world of action, his spiritual and moral awakening is the direct result of the Lama's influence. From the playful boy that he is at the beginning, he develops into a mature individual by the end of the novel. When the Lama asks if he wishes to leave him,

Kim sternly replies, "No, I am not a dog or a snake to bite when I have learned to love." (XIX, 444)

While it is true that Kim adopts a life of action, by joining the secret service, in preference to the life of contemplation that the Lama represents, it should be noted that there is no real conflict in Kim's mind about the choice he makes, for the Lama himself approves of this choice. And Kim enters the "great game" not merely as one who knows the rules, but as an individual with a deeper understanding of the experience and meaning of life. To him, after his association with the Lama, the "great game" becomes not merely a proper career for a sahib, but one of responsibility, requiring human understanding. As a matter of fact, Kim rejects the least reference to his sahib-hood; what really matters is love, mutual help, and affection. "Thou leanest on me in the body, Holy One, but I lean on thee for some other things," Kim confesses to the Lama. When Mahbub Ali tells the Lama of Kim's desire to join the "great game", the Lama says:

To that end he was prepared. I acquired merit in that I gave alms for his sake. A good deed does not die. He aided me in my Search. I aided him in his. Just is the Wheel, O horse-seller from the North. Let him be a teacher. Let him be a scribe. What matter? He will have attained Freedom at the end. The rest is illusion. (XIX, 446)

Therefore, Kim has his master's complete approval in his new career.

So we see that the story of Kim, is, in a way, a parable of self-knowledge. Kim begins his quest for knowledge

of his own self; he learns that this goal can be achieved only by involvement in life; and since involvement must be purposeful, it is the Lama who proves most helpful in defining the purpose. The Lama's message is one of love and humanity. Though he has renounced the world, yet at the very moment of his nirvana, the Lama is concerned with love and human relationships, as is suggested by the creative images that Kipling uses to describe the Lama's release from the Wheel: "As the egg from the fish, as the fish from the water, as the water from the cloud, as the cloud from the thick air; so put forth, so leaped out, so drew away, so fumed up the Soul of the Teshoo Lama from the Great Soul." (XIX, 472)

Kipling's ideal Man, who combines action and thought within him, is perhaps best suggested by the well known poem "If--", which appeared along with the story "Brother Square-Toes" (1910). "If--", which belongs to the genre known as wisdom poetry or gnomic poetry, condenses the qualities of  
14  
Kipling's ideal Man. The qualities enumerated in the poem belong to both the worlds of action and thought; the ideal Man keeps a balance between these seemingly antithetical areas of human activity:

If you can dream--and not make dreams your master;  
If you can think--and not make thoughts your aim;  
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster  
And treat those two imposters just the same;  
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken  
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,  
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken,  
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools:

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If you can make one heap of all your winnings  
 And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,  
 And lose, and start again at your beginnings  
 And never breathe a word about your loss;  
 If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew  
 To serve your turn long after they are gone,  
 And so hold on when there is nothing in you  
 Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,  
 Or walk with Kings--~~among~~ these the common touch,  
 If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,  
 If all men count with you; but none too much;  
 If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
 With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
 Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
 And--which is more--you'll be a Man, my son!  
 (DE, 577. *Italics mine.*)

(d) The Doctrine of Action among late  
 Victorian Writers

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth form a single literary period. This implies that the relative unity of some prominent features is discernible. But the unity of the age consists in a unifying background of confusion that followed the breaking up of the Victorian equilibrium. To some this period is the heyday of British Imperialism. To others, it is the time of the growth of socialism. Yet others see it as an age of aestheticism and decadence.

If the age is surveyed, however, in a wider perspective, its inner disorder is simplified into some sort of progression. After 1900 the doctrine of action, preached so vehemently by Carlyle in the early Victorian period, reasserts itself. The assertion of action and energy is indeed a reaction



against the morbid elements of escapism, pessimism, and decadence of the aesthetes. This bracing up of moral energy, announced and proclaimed by its apostles, coincides in Britain with a very definite hardening of the national spirit. The defeat at Majuba (1881); the death of Gordon at Khartoum in 1885; Russia's threat to India; the young Kaiser's policy of aggression and bid for naval supremacy, openly avowed in 1890; Irish discontent; and the South African War (1899-1902), with its first reverses; its uncertainties: these were prospects enough to arouse the direct and primitive emotions of the nation. The generation that came to manhood after 1900 was bent on solving the problems of an undisciplined age through action. The main literary exponents of this mood of the nation were W. E. Henley, R. L. Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, and Henry Newbolt.

William Earnest Henley (1849-1903) was a spiritual heir to both Carlyle and Kingsley. He was a partisan in politics, a Tory of the new Imperialist school. The attachment between Henley and Kipling was but natural. The two were close friends and during the time Henley was editor of The National Observer, Kipling contributed many poems. Henley's "Song of the Sword" (1898) was dedicated to Kipling, and although the style is all Henley's the exuberance calls Kipling to mind. Henley expresses a zest and joy in being man, able to breathe defiance at the whole universe, an attitude quite close to Kipling's. It is summed up in "Invictus" (1875),

the best-known poem by Henley, where he idealises an undaunted spirit and agnostic defiance of fate:

It matters not how strait the gate  
How charged with punishment the scroll,  
I am the master of my fate;  
I am the captain of my soul. 15

All that is required is a sense of dedication and belief in a philosophy of action, an attitude shared by Kipling. Henley's moral being finds its central unity in an intense reaction against the unhealthy subtlety of an over-refined civilization; he knows the perils created by the weakening of national energy; he already possesses, and he discovers in himself, a remedy for this evil in the elementary and primitive virtue of action. So strong was the magnetic appeal of his simple message of energetic action in an age of moral confusion that his work and his manner attracted young talents. He was imitated, and exerted an influence.

Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) was also an upholder of the Tory school of thought and wrote about action and energetic life. Kipling greatly admired but never met him though they corresponded as friends. A close friend of Henley, though they later quarrelled, Stevenson was greatly encouraged by Henley. In 1878 Henley published The New Arabian Nights in his London Magazine. Long John Silver of Treasure Island (1882) was modelled after Henley. Like Kipling and Henley, Stevenson was out of sympathy with the movement we vaguely associate with

"the Nineties", though he does sometimes speak the language of that movement. He, like the rebels of the Nineties, was in revolt against contemporary bourgeoisie life, but it was a revolt in favour of a different kind of life, not of "art for art's sake." That different kind of life was the life of adventure and action which he pictured in his short stories and novels: it was the life of Treasure Island and the adventures of Prince Florizel in The New Arabian Nights.. Stevenson was always on guard against softness or mawkishness; he had a Kiplingesque sense of courage and virility; he won over disease and death, by means of an unceasing struggle, sixteen years of the most conscientious literary labour. Without any explicit profession, he gave his adhesion to anti-intellectualism, a philosophy of action and noble risks, the need of which he experienced, like many others about him. His novels, his poems, his critical studies or essays, have their unity there.

Sir Henry Newbolt (1862-1938) may also be said  
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 to belong to the Henley-Stevenson-Kipling circle. Although not of the stature of Kipling nor of the subtlety of Henley at his best, Newbolt enjoyed considerable popularity--probably

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Newbolt was known to both Henley and Kipling, though of course he was much younger than Henley. Kipling knew him better. Sir William Osler has, for example, preserved an account of a dinner at "The Club", London, in 1919, with John Buchan, Henry Newbolt, and Kipling among the company. See Carrington, p. 493.

because hæetoo shared the prevailing excitement in imperialism and was able to voice one particular aspect of it: the public school spirit and the practical qualities it bred into those who should have the responsibility of leading. To illustrate his simple message of discipline and heroic action it is only necessary to cite the poem once in the repertoire of every schoolboy:

There's a breathless hush in the Close tonight--  
 Ten to make and the match to win--  
 A bumping pitch and a blinding light,  
 An hour to play and the last man in.  
 And it's not for the sake of a ribboned coat,  
 Or the selfish hope of a season's fame,  
 But his Captain's hand on his shoulder smote--  
 "Play up! Play up! and play the game!" 17

The same cry rallies the ranks in the sodden sands of the desert with the jammed gattling and the dead Colonel, and we are told:

This is the word that year by year  
 While in her place the School is set  
 Everyone of her sons must hear  
 And none that hears it dare forget.  
 This they all with a joyful mind  
 Bear through life like a torch in flame,  
 And falling fling to the host behind--  
 "Play up! Play up! and play the game!" 18

Kipling would have agreed with Newbolt on the part the public schools played in the development of character. Both he and Newbolt accept without question the rightness of the philosophy of action.

The shadow of Carlyle, as mentioned earlier, looms heavily over all the above-mentioned exponents of action. Carlyle's

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"Vitai Lampada", Collected Poems of Henry Newbolt: 1897-1907  
 (London, 1912), p. 131.

18

Ibid.

influence, later reinforced by that of his disciple Ruskin, was in fact so prevalent in the Victorian age that few could remain untouched by his writings. Kipling's gospel of action in particular is strongly suggestive of Carlyle's impact upon him. Both men, for instance, firmly believed that a man could realise himself by total commitment to his work, and indeed, even the most ordinary job, well-performed in adverse circumstances, assumed for both of them heroic proportions. Kipling's ideal man bears striking resemblance to Carlyle's hero. And Kipling's Law is in a way an equivalent of Carlyle's "Order." And yet, in spite of these obvious parallels, direct indebtedness on Kipling's part is not easy to establish.

Thus we see that Kipling's doctrine of action does not stand out as an exception in its time; action is the main theme of Henley and his school, to which Kipling may also be said to subscribe. The Henley circle, in reacting violently against the decadence, escapism, and pessimism of the aesthetes, was representative of the mood of the nation at that particular point in history. Henley, Stevenson, and Newbolt, at the point in their work in which they make contact with Kipling, express an intense patriotism and a firm belief in the philosophy of action.

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## Chapter VI

## EDUCATION IN THE LAW IN FOUR CHILDREN'S BOOKS

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.

--"The Law of the Jungle" (DE, 558)

(a) Background: Children's books as educational manuals

In the foregoing chapters, I have presented three interrelated aspects of Kipling's Law: moral values, the Imperial Idea, and the doctrine of action. This master idea of Law is most fully expounded in four children's books--The Jungle Book (1894), The Second Jungle Book (1895), Puck of Pook's Hill (1906), and Rewards and Fairies (1910). The Jungle Books are concerned mainly with the exposition of moral values and the doctrine of action; the Puck books, with the Power of History and the Imperial Idea in particular.

The Jungle Books and the Puck books, while primarily children's books are secondarily educational manuals, and thirdly a mixture of unsustained allegory, fable, myth, history, and romance. The continual shift of perspective in these tales complicates the task of analysing them, but the main outlines of what Kipling is doing here are very clear to see. Here Kipling is a teacher of young children, didactic as well as entertaining, getting across a message in every case, much like the tradition of a series of school lessons through stories or parables or exempla. For the purpose of this study, it is convenient to consider these children's books as educational manuals.

In order to understand the background that goes into the making of Kipling's children's books, it will be helpful to



take a glance at the fable and the historical romance. The fable is one of the most primitive means of instruction as well as entertainment. The boundaries are extremely vague between the fable or apologue and cognate or derived forms in emblems, myths, parables, fabliaux, fairy tales and beast epics. The Latin fabula from which, through French fable, the name is derived could mean any kind of narrative including the plot of a dramatic piece, but the modern meaning is narrower: a short story, in prose or verse, whose characters are ordinarily, but not necessarily, animals and in which events lead to a 'moral' conclusion which is usually briefly stated. Human characters are not excluded and may be the only actors, nor are inanimate objects, but the animate creatures commonly employed are endowed with quasi-human characteristics to which their own salient traits are, or are taken to be, akin. Thus slyness and cunning are personified in the fox, nobility in the lion, timidity in the lamb. The fable must contain a narrative of events; it is thus distinguished from the emblem. The moral may be hortatory, prohibitory or exemplary; it is rarely ethical in a higher sense, but teaches 'worldly wisdom' based on observations of man's weaknesses and vices or the injustices of society.<sup>1</sup>

The historical romance, as the very term indicates, is the product of the combination of two distinct forms of narrative:

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Ronald Carlyle Johnston, "Fable," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1967), 24 vols., IX, 22-24. Also see Angus Fletcher, Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (New York, 1964).

history and romance. The historical narrative carries specific meaning, referring to actual individuals and events. History, biography, and autobiography do just that. It may, however, be noted that the diarist or chronicler may simply record specific data, but the autobiographer or historian seeks a pattern which drives him to some generalization. Nevertheless, in an empirically oriented culture, history tends to develop in the direction of 'scientific' accuracy of fact. The romance, on the other hand, is free from the bonds of empiricism. The world of romance is the ideal world, in which poetic justice prevails and there is no attempt at an illusion of historicity or at a representation of ordinary contemporary life. These are made-up stories which admit to being made-up.<sup>2</sup> The emphasis is on plot rather than on character, the strange rather than the familiar, and, though a deus ex machina may take a hand in the action, the focus remains on the human rather than the divine. The historical romance may therefore be considered as an attempt to correlate two opposing worlds: the fictional world created by the author and the 'real' world, the apprehensible universe.

Kipling was quite familiar with the long tradition behind children's literature; he particularly displays a deep knowledge of some of the prominent Victorian writers for children--especially Lewis Carroll, Robert Louis Stevenson, and H. Rider Haggard. In his childhood Kipling had absorbed Alice's

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See Robert Scholes and Robert Kellogg, The Nature of Narrative (New York, 1966), pp. 66-69, 154-159, and 208-9.

Adventures in Wonderland (1865) so completely that it was as much a part of him as the Bible or the Prayer Book. Haggard became his personal friend, and a phrase from Haggard's Nada the Lily (1892) helped crystalize his idea for the Mowgli stories. (XXXVI, 110) He also read Mrs. Ewing and E. Nesbit with great interest. Among the writers of tales for boys, he was particularly familiar with Ainsworth, Henty, Ballantyne,<sup>3</sup> and Dean Farrar.

Yet the Jungle and Puck books are not limited to children; they are meant for adults as well. It would be a shallow criticism of The Jungle Books to call them animal stories for children, though that is the way in which they first enthral readers. Like their great original, Aesop's Fables, or like the Jatakas, which the Kiplings knew so well, they impress themselves on the mind at more than one level. Sir Philip Sidney's reference in his Defence of Poesy to "a tale which holdeth children<sup>4</sup> from play and old men from the chimney corner" may well be applied to both The Jungle Books and the Puck books.

(b) The Law and Social Order in The Jungle Books

In November 1892 at the 'Bliss Cottage', Brattleboro, Vermont, Kipling had written "a wolf-story called 'Mowgli's Brothers'". We have his word for it that the impulse was derived

<sup>3</sup>

Ann M. Weygandt, Kipling's Reading (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 85-139.

<sup>4</sup>

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from a scene in Haggard's Zulu romance, Nada the Lily:

It chanced that I had written a tale about Indian Forestry work which included a boy who had been brought up by wolves. In the stillness, and suspense, of the winter of '92 some memory of 'the Masonic Lions of my childhood's magazine, and a phrase in Haggard's Nada the Lily, combined with the echo of this tale. After blocking out the main idea in my head, the pen took charge, and I watched it begin to write stories about Mowgli and animals, which later grew into the Jungle Books. (XXXVI, 110)

This was but the beginning of a train of thought. Soon after his father's return to England, there came an evening when Kipling confided to his wife that he had received an access of power, the "return of a feeling of great strength, such as he had when<sup>5</sup> he first came to London and met the men he was pitted against." Then, in 1890, he had been inspired but unhappy, and the fruit of his labour had been the Barrack-Room Ballads, The Light that Failed, and a set of powerful but gloomy stories. The new flow of genius produced the verses collected in The Seven Seas, the set of stories in the volume entitled The Day's Work, and the two Jungle Books.

An exposition of the nature of the Law is one of Kipling's main aims in The Jungle Books in general and the Mowgli stories in particular. One of the first few words that one hears in these stories is Law: "Oh, hear the call! --Good hunting all/ That keep the Jungle Law!": this is an excerpt from the "Night-Song in the Jungle" with which the collection opens. And the word Law runs like a leitmotiv through the entire volume.

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Caroline Kipling's diary, 11 November 1893. Quoted by Carrington, p. 209.

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in the Indian Jungle on the bank of Waingunga. The Jungle, symbolic of the world, is governed by the Law of the Jungle, which is "by far the oldest law in the world" (VII, 77), but this Law must not be confused with lawlessness as it has "arranged for almost every kind of accident that may befall the Jungle-People, till now its code is as perfect as time and custom can make it. . . . and it was Baloo who told him [Mowgli] . . . that the Law was like the Giant Creeper, because it dropped across every one's back and no one could escape." (VII, 77) This explains why Kipling refers to the Law, however perfect, as the Law of the Jungle, and not of the Garden. Being a realist, he knows that the Jungle (i.e. the world) can only tend towards the Garden; that the law of this world can only be "as perfect as time and custom can make it"; and hence it is only appropriate to call it the Law of the Jungle. From this it follows that the Jungle Law is meant to be a practical code rather than a utopian dream that can never be realised.

The Law of the Jungle is presented as a principle of order which has emerged out of lawlessness--one of the main sources of primitive law. Primitive law in particular is generated in disorder and dispute. Substantively, law determines which course of action posed by the disputants shall be allowed to prevail and which will be suppressed by legal authority. Rules of law emerge from a dispute; they rest on deep-lying assumptions concerning the nature of the universe and man, and concerning the nature of what is desirable and undesirable.



Kipling hints at the above-mentioned source of the Law in the tale narrated by Hathi on the day of the water-truce. This myth takes us back to the paradisaal state (before the Fall) when all the animals lived in perfect harmony in the Jungle under the benevolent eye of the god Tha, the first of the Elephants. Then Evil entered the Jungle and things changed. The flowers and fruits and trees withered away, the river Waingunga dried up, and the animals began to fight among themselves over food. The god Tha was apparently disturbed by this onslaught of Evil, but he was too "busy making new jungles and leading the rivers in their beds" to intervene personally in order to set things right in the old Jungle. Tha, however, appointed the First of the Tigers as his deputy and entrusted him with the task of maintaining peace in the Jungle.

One night there was a minor dispute between two bucks, and they came to the Tiger for a settlement. The Tiger, however, forgot that he was the deputy of Tha and the judge of the Jungle; he leaped upon one of the bucks and broke his neck. This was the first time that Death entered the Jungle. Seeing what he had done, the Tiger fled to the Marshes of the North, and the Jungle was left without a master. Consequently, a period of chaos returned to the Jungle, and all the animals fell to fighting among themselves. On hearing the noise, Tha came down and asked: "Who will now be master of the Jungle-People?" The Ape volunteered himself for the job, but he had no understanding of Tha's purpose: he only brought further confusion in the Jungle.

The god Tha could not tolerate any more disorder and chaos; hence, he created a comprehensive Law for the maintenance of harmony in the Jungle, telling the animals in a firm voice;

The first of your masters has brought Death into the Jungle, and the second Shame. Now it is time there was a Law, and a Law that ye must not break. (VII, 94)

The parallel between Hathi's narrative and the story of the Garden in Genesis is quite striking. Thus, Hathi's story makes us see God as the source of all law; the Law of the Jungle therefore assumes the proportions of divine positive law --the law given by God to man in addition to the natural law.

The Law of the Jungle is based on five essential elements: i) Reason, ii) the Common Good, iii) Ethical Values, iv) Law-making Authority and Promulgation, v) Custom and Tradition.

Reason. Since law is a rule and measure whereby man is induced to act or restrain from acting, it is evidently a product of practical reason. The will of the competent authority must also be present to set the lawmaking process in motion; but what is made must accord with some rule of reason to have the nature of the law. The will of the sovereign, for example, is the efficient cause of the law, while reason is its formal cause. Reason is intrinsic to law; will, however necessary genetically, remains nonetheless an extrinsic factor. Hence, the most important feature of the Law of the Jungle is that it is rational; it is the antithesis of "dewanee" (Urdu for "madness," "irrationality"), of which all the Jungle-People are afraid as it is "the most disgraceful thing that can overtake a wild creature." (VII, 2) The

rational basis of the Law is further shown by the reason why the Law of the Jungle forbids the killing of Man:

The Law of the Jungle, which never orders anything without a reason, forbids every beast to eat Man. . . . The real reason for this is that man-killing means, sooner or later, the arrival of white men on elephants, with guns, and hundreds of brown men with gongs and rockets and torches. Then everybody in the Jungle suffers. (VII, 4-5)

It is obviously the commonsense reason of self-preservation which is behind the clause that forbids man-killing.

Common Good. The common good is the final cause of law. In the case of eternal law, this is the good of the whole creation under the governance of divine providence. In the case of natural law, the common fountainhead of ethics and jurisprudence, it is man's ultimate happiness, which consists in the perfection of the human person, and mutual friendship between man and man. In the case of human law, it is the well-being of the people and the public welfare of the political community.

The Law of the Jungle is geared to the attainment of common good: ". . . the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack." (DE, 558) The rules of conduct stipulated by the Code of the Seeonee Wolf Pack underline the importance of the common good as the informing principle of the Law. For example, the Law strictly forbids needless warfare as it may weaken the community. "You will remember," Mowgli tells the quarreling wolves in "The Spring Running", "that the Law of the Jungle forbids fighting where the Pack can see." (VII, 270) Similarly, in the poem "The Law of the Jungle", which accompanies

the story "How Fear Came," we are told:

When Pack meets with Pack in the Jungle, and neither will  
go from the trail,  
Lie down till the leaders have spoken--it may be fair words  
shall prevail.

When ye fight with a Wolf of the Pack, ye must fight him  
alone and afar,  
Lest others take part in the quarrel, and the Pack be diminished  
by war. (DE, 558-59)

However, in case of danger to the community, the Law prescribes immediate offensive action in order to protect the society from disintegration. This message of positive action for common good is particularly illustrated by "Kaa's Hunting", "Red Dog", and "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi." In "Kaa's Hunting", the monkeys, the people "without the Law", intrude in the Jungle, and the followers of the Law take immediate action against them. In "Red Dog", the Jungle is invaded by the ferocious red Deccan dogs. On the advice of Mowgli and Akela, the pack decided to fight rather than surrender to the enemy, and ultimately the forces of disorder are defeated. Similarly, the young mongoose Rikki, in the story "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi", undertakes grave personal risk in fighting against the cobras, symbols of lawlessness, in order to restore the peace and harmony of the entire community.

Ethical Values. Since Plato and Aristotle most of the disputes about the meaning of law have also been disputes about the nature of both law and morality and about the relation of the two. The fact that ethics and law are both concerned with conduct, and refer to the natural law in formulating directions, has led to much confusion in jurisprudence. Theories of the

relationship extend from those who hold that law should implement ethical decisions by force to those who hold that law is entirely unrelated to ethics. A sharp distinction between law and morality is, in fact, neither possible nor desirable. The end of both law and ethics is to make man good, teaching him to practice virtue and refrain from vice. But ethics impels man through an internal principle, while law impels man through an external principle.

The Law of the Jungle is firmly based on moral and ethical values. This is amply borne out by its code of private and public conduct. Here are a few examples:-

1) Moderation: "drink deeply, but never too deep;/ And remember the night is for hunting, and forget not the day is for sleep." (DE,558)

2) Respect for elders: "Keep peace with the Lords of Jungle-- the Tiger, the Panther, the Bear;/ And trouble not Hathi the Silent, and mock not the Boar in his lair." (DE, 558)

3) Kindness to both young and old. The Law forbids attack on the young cubs until they have killed their first buck. (VII, 12) Similarly Baloo teaches Mowgli to take care of Akela in his old age. (VII, 145)

4) Fortitude--as exhibited by Father Wolf when Shere Khan the Tiger demands the return of Mowgli: "The Wolves are a free people. They take orders from the Head of the Pack, and not from any striped cattle-killer. The man's cub is ours--to kill if we choose," he tells the tiger. (VII, 7)

5) The Value of One's Word. For example, at the time of the attack of the red Deccan dogs, Mowgli tells Kaa of his determination

to fight the dholes along with the wolf pack--the Free People. "Free People," Kaa grunts, ". . . And thou hast tied thyself into the death-knot for the sake of the memory of dead wolves! This is no good hunting." Mowgli remains firm: "It ~~may my word which~~ I have spoken. The trees know, the river knows. Till the dholes have gone by my word comes not back to me." And Kaa has to agree with him: "Ngssh! That changes all trails. I had thought to take thee away with me to the northern marshes, but the word--even the word of a little, naked, hairless manling--is a word." (VII, 230)

6) The danger of Pride and the need for Humility: "If ye plunder his Kill from a weaker, devour not all in thy pride;/ Pack-Right is the right of the meanest . . . " (DE, 559) In another place, Bagheera advises Mowgli: "Make no bandar's boast of skill;/Hold thy peace above the kill," (VII, 294)

7) Devotion to vocation or work: "Let nor call nor song nor sign/Turn thee from thy hunting-line." (VII, 294) The same lesson is conveyed in "Quiqern", a story of the North, in which Kotuko, an Eskimo boy, and his dog save the whole community from starvation by their heroism and devotion to work.

There are two values--namely, love and justice--strongly advocated by The Jungle Books, which are yet not explicitly set forth in any clause of the code of the Seeonee Wolf Pack.

The importance of love in the code of values followed by the Jungle-People is amply exhibited by the relationship between Mowgli and the animals. Love as an action of sacrifice may

be seen in the way in which the animals and Mowgli put themselves in great danger for each other's sake. Baloo, Bagheera, and Kaa undertake grave risks to rescue Mowgli from the clutches of the Bandar-log. On Mowgli's return to the Jungle after his maltreatment at the hands of the villagers, the possibility of Mowgli's pursuit by the Man-Pack is considered by the animals. At that point, the Wolf Brothers prove their love for Mowgli by stressing that they will sacrifice their lives for the sake of Mowgli. Mowgli too has similar feelings for the animals of the Jungle; when the red dogs attack the pack, he decides to stay with the pack though he could have easily escaped from the Jungle along with Kaa.

Love as an emotion of grief at loss is amply illustrated by the jungle stories. At the time of Mowgli's departure from the Jungle, the animals lament:

Man goes to Man! Cry the challenge through the Jungle!  
 He that was our Brother goes away.  
 Hear, now, and judge, O ye People of the Jungle,--  
 Answer, who shall turn him--who shall stay?

Man goes to Man! He is weeping in the Jungle:  
 He that was our Brother sorrows sore!  
 Man goes to Man! (Oh, we loved him in the Jungle!)  
 To the Man-Trail where we may not follow more. (VII, 260)

And Gray-Brother speaks in highly moving words:

Man-cub--Master of the Jungle--Son of Raksha, Lair-brother to me--though I forget for a little while in the spring, thy trail is my trail, thy lair is my lair, thy kill is my kill, and thy death-fight is my death-fight. I speak for the three. (VII, 288)

The scene of Mowgli's final leave-taking from the Jungle-People is charged with emotion. "Hai-mai, my brothers," cries Mowgli, throwing up his arms with a sob. "I know not what I know! I would not go; but I am drawn by both feet. How shall I leave

these nights?" (VII, 291) However, having cast the skin, he cannot creep into it afresh. "It is hard to cast the skin," says Kaa as Mowgli "sobbed and sobbed, with his head on the blind bear's side and his arms around his neck, while Baloo tried feebly to lick his feet." (VII, 292) Love thus creates the bond between animals and Mowgli which is a pre-requisite for the establishment of an ideal tribal (and hence social) structure.

The importance of justice is set forth in many episodes in The Jungle Books. For instance, after Mowgli's expulsion from the village, Messua and her husband, who adopted Mowgli and called him Nathoo after the name of their dead son, are to be burnt at the stake on the charge of witchcraft; so they decide to go to the town of Khanhiwara to seek justice. "If we reach Khaniwara, and I get the ear of the English," says Messua's husband, "I will bring such a law-suit against the Brahmin and old Buldeo and the others as shall eat this village to the bone. They shall pay me twice over for my crops untilled and my buffaloes unfed. I will have a great justice." (VII, 162) Though Mowgli has never heard of the word "justice", he has his own notion of it: "I do not know what justice is, but--come thoughback next rains and see what is left," he replies. And short time afterwards, the beasts and especially elephants invade the village; they raze it to the ground as a vengeance against the villagers' mistreatment of Mowgli, Messua, and her husband. In a later story we are told that the execution of rough justice on the village made Mowgli feel good: "He had the good conscience that comes from paying



a just debt." (VII, 219) Further on, we are briefly told how he broke his knife on the back-plates of a vicious crocodile, and how he found a new and longer knife round the neck of a man who had been killed by a wild boar, and how he tracked that boar and killed him as a just and fair price for the knife. All these examples seem to underline the importance of justice in the Law of the Jungle.

The concept of justice in the Jungle stories may appear close to revenge, but this need not trouble the reader too much. One should remember that these stories are set in a primitive society and revenge is certainly one form of justice. In the Just So Stories (1902), moreover, we do see "just deserts" or "just rewards" in how things came to be as we know them; the elephant's trunk, the camel's hump, the whale's throat, and so forth. Again it should be noted that justice, like love, is essential for an ideal social order.

Law-making Authority and Promulgation. Authority is the efficient cause of law. The very existence of law implies the existence of a law-maker. God is the sole author of the eternal law, as also of the natural law, which He has ingrained in man's nature. All systems of human law thus contain, in varying proportions, a natural law element and a positive law element. The former is not made by man but only declared by him, whereas the latter is man-made.

The story of the coming of the Law, as narrated by Hathi, indicates that the Law of the Jungle has the authority

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of God behind it (See pages 231-234 above). This law is, however, not simply the divine law or natural law; it also includes elements of man-made law or positive law. This aspect of the Law is shown by the provision which allows the leader of the pack to make new rules and regulations for a situation not already dealt with by the Law: "Because of his age and his cunning, because of his gripe and his paw,/ In all that the Law leaveth open, the word of the Head Wolf is Law." (DE, 559) The Law cannot function without the authority of the leader. Thus, in "Tiger! Tiger!" , we see that the Free People have grown lawless for the lack of a leader. "Lead us again, O Akela," the wolves howl, "Lead us again, O Man-cub, for we be sick of this lawlessness, and we would be the Free People once more." (VII, 134)

Promulgation and enforcement constitute the material cause of law. The Law of the Jungle is enforced by the council of wolves. The form of command in which the Law is couched gives us an idea of the force with which it is promulgated: "Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and mighty are they;/But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is--obey!" (DE, 560)

Custom and Tradition. Law is generically similar to custom in that it also prescribes patterns of behaviour. It is a characteristic of human social life that what is done by the majority in a given situation takes on the quality of what ought to be done. The norm takes on the quality of the normative.

The inclusion of custom and tradition in the Law of the Jungle may be seen in the practice that if there is any dispute as to the right of a cub to be accepted by the Pack, he must be spoken for by at least two members of the Pack who are not related to him. (VII, 11) Similarly, the law stipulating that no animal has the right to change his quarters without due warning is based on custom. (VII, 3)

The Law of the Jungle is thus an instrument of establishing a harmonious social order. One of the fundamental questions with which Kipling seems to be preoccupied, as Noel Annan<sup>6</sup> points out, is: "What holds society (or an organisation) together?" And Kipling finds the answer in religion, custom, convention, morality, law--the forces of social control--which impose upon individuals certain rules which they break at their peril.

#### (c) Psychological Allegory in The Jungle Books

The Jungle Books are concerned not only with a study of order on the social level, but also with order on the individual level. The fables of The Jungle Books have both social and psychological implications, though of course it may be admitted that the social aspect of The Jungle Books, as suggested in the preceding section, is of primary importance. Kipling's sense of the importance of society has, nonetheless, been too heavily stressed; for however much he felt that man

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<sup>6</sup>  
Annan, p. 122.

should give himself to something greater than himself and lose himself in the giving, he felt also that man hankers after being himself--which perhaps he can be only after giving himself.

Before analysing the psychological allegory of The Jungle Books (it particularly appears in the Mowgli stories), it would be helpful to note that often the allegorical hero or rather the conceptual hero is not so much a real person as he is a generator of other secondary personalities, which are partial aspects of himself. These agents stand for abstract ideas and they give a sort of life to intellectual conceptions. Through this technique, the writer is able to project clearly what goes on in the mind of the protagonist. It would therefore appear that the Mowgli fables are concerned with a single person, that is, Mowgli. Mowgli himself, is, however, not an individual; the shadow of Adam looms heavily on him. He is actually referred to as Adam by the German forest officer in "In the Rukh":

This man haf lived, and he is an anachronism, for he is before der Iron Age, and der Stone Age. Look here, he is at der beginnings of der history of man--Adam in der Garden, und now we want only an Eva! (VII, 331-32)

Mowgli may therefore be taken to stand for the generic Man.

Apart from Mowgli, the main characters in the Jungle fables are animals through whom different aspects of Mowgli's personality are projected. We may note that it is only appropriate for Kipling to introduce beasts in these tales because a) his medium of fable usually requires beasts and b) animals are eminently suited for the personification of an abstract idea or a human trait as they can be easily associated with a single characteristic. Moreover, one may also bear in

mind that these fables are set in India where animals are frequently employed as symbols in religious iconographies. Let us now take a look at the beast symbolism in The Jungle Books.

Shere Khan, the lame tiger, represents the brute animal power which defies all restraints. The Bandar-log or monkeys symbolise lawlessness, flattery, lasciviousness, and maliciousness. Tabaqui, the jackal, is an objectification of one's desire to lead the life of a parasite. Considered as a whole, Shere Khan, Bandar-log, and Tabaqui stand for the Dark Powers that reside within one's heart.

The second group of animals represents the positive side of Man's mind. The wolves symbolise tenacity and firmness. Baloo, the bear, is an objectification of endurance and experience. Bagheera, the panther, is bravery, might, and swiftness of action. Hathi, the elephant, is a well-known symbol of intellect and wisdom. (In Hindu mythology, the elephant is an aspect of Ganesha, the god of wisdom.) Kaa, the python, stands for intelligence, prudence, and perhaps memory. (The Hindu naga symbolises every branch of learning.)

The symbolic action of the Mowgli stories thus concerns the inner conflict between the forces of Order and Disorder or Good and Evil that goes on in the mind of Mowgli. This particular symbolic action falls into two well-known patterns: these may be labelled battle and progress.

The allegorical progress may first of all be understood in the narrow sense of a questing journey, for example, Christian's journey to the Celestial City in Pilgrim's Progress. The progress need not, however, involve a physical journey. The whole operation can be presented as a sort of introspective journey through the self; Kafka's "The Burrow," with its ruminations, would be a good instance. This progress is always marked by an internal conflict of ideas and ideals, whose figurative base is nonetheless a technologicalmilitary one. It is therefore usually described as an actual conflict on a field of battle. Progress and battle in Kipling present an orderly or definite sequence of events which are often ritualised. The sequence of repeated elements is a kind of symbolic dance, to use Kenneth Burke's word.<sup>7</sup>

With this framework in mind, I wish to direct my attention to battle and progress in the fables of The Jungle Books. "Kaa's Hunting" is the best example of the recurrent battle that goes on within Mowgli's mind between the Forces of Order and Disorder, Law and Lawlessness, and Light and Darkness. In the beginning of this story, we see Mowgli leaning towards the evil within him, when the voice of experience (Baloo) admonishes him: "Thou hast been with the Monkey-People--the gray apes--the people without a Law--the eaters of everything. That is great shame." (VII, 38) The Dark side of Mowgli's mind, however, tries to rationalise his bent towards the Forces of Lawlessness:

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See Kenneth Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action (New York, 1957). p. 98.

'When Baloo hurt my head,' Mowgli says, 'I went away, and the gray apes came down from the trees and had pity on me. No one else cared. . . . And then, and then, they gave me nuts and pleasant things to eat, and they--they carried me in their arms up to the top of the trees and said I was their blood-brother except that I had no tail, and should be their leader some day.' (VII, 40)

Temptation is soon followed by seduction. Mowgli disregards the advice of experience and reason (Baloo), and he lets himself be abducted by the Bandar-log, who represent lawlessness. His journey on the green roads through the trees along which the monkeys take him to their city is an excellent objectification of Mowgli's state of mind at this particular stage:

Two of the strongest monkeys caught Mowgli under the arms and swung off with him through the tree-tops, twenty feet at a bound. Had they been alone they could have gone twice as fast, but the boy's weight held them back. Sick and giddy as Mowgli was he could not help enjoying the wild rush, though the glimpses of earth far down below frightened him, and the terrible check and jerk at the end of the swing over nothing but empty air brought his heart between his teeth. . . . So, bounding and crashing and whooping and yelling, the whole tribe of Bandar-log swept along the tree-tops with Mowgli their prisoner. (VII, 44-45)

Sick and giddy Mowgli being swept along the tree-tops conjures up the topsy-turvy state of his mind at this point. His arrival in Cold Lairs, the city of the Bandar-log, symbolises Mowgli's surrender to anarchy, disorder, and lawlessness within him. Again, the description of Cold Lairs is an apt representation of Mowgli's mental condition:

Some king had built it [Cold Lairs] long ago on a little hill. You could still trace the stone causeways that led up to the ruined gates where the last splinters of wood hung to the worn, rusted hinges. Trees had grown into and out of the walls; the battlements were tumbled down and decayed, and wild creepers hung out of the windows of the towers on the walls in bushy hanging clumps. . . . From the palace you could see the rows and rows of roofless houses that made up the city looking like empty honeycombs filled with blackness. (VII, 56-57)



Cold Lairs is aptly projected as a city in ruins. Images of death, decay, and darkness dominate this passage. For instance, "ruined gates," "decayed splinters of wood," "rusted hinges," "trees grown into and out of the walls," "decayed battlements," "roofless houses," and "the city looking like empty honeycombs filled with blackness" build up images of disease, barrenness, decay, and degeneration which characterise Mowgli's state of mind.

However, all is not lost as yet. Mowgli can still think, and the moment he does so, he realises the mistake that he has committed. While being dragged by the monkeys, he sees Chil, the kite, who symbolises thinking; he asks her to inform Baloo of his plight: "Mark my trail. Tell Baloo of the Seeonee Pack and Bagheera of the Council Rock." (VII, 46)

After Mowgli's realisation of his mistake, the Forces of Good gain strength. They muster their ranks and resolve to fight against the Dark Powers with renewed energy. "Haste! Oh haste! We may catch them yet!", Baloo, the voice of experience, tells others. Baloo and Bagheera are now more cautious in their estimation of the power of evil. Thus, they seek advice and help of Kaa, the symbol of memory. The encounter between Baloo, Bagheera, and Kaa is a good objectification of what goes on in one's mind when one rakes the memory for advice:

They found him stretched out on a warm ledge in the afternoon sun, admiring his beautiful coat. . . . darting his blunt-nosed head along the ground, and twisting the thirty feet of his body into fantastic knots and curves. . . . Kaa was not a poison-snake . . . his strength lay in his hug, and when he had once lapped his huge coils round anybody there was no more to be said. 'Good

hunting!' cried Baloo, sitting on his haunches. Like all snakes of his breed, Kaa was rather deaf, and did not hear the call at first. Then he curled up ready for any accident, his head lowered. (VII, 49)

The turns, twists, and coils of Kaa suggest the storehouse of past memories and experiences. Kaa's deafness, his slight indifference to Baloo at first, and his later alertness indicate the various stages in which memory works.

The Good Powers in Mowgli finally prepare themselves for a decisive battle against the Evil Powers within Mowgli. This internal conflict is objectified by the great battle that takes place in Cold Lairs between Bandar-log and Baloo, Bagheera and Kaa. In this battle, Bandar-log, the forces of lawlessness, are vanquished. And Mowgli emerges as a better man with self control and inner harmony. This is the progress that follows the battle in Cold Lairs.

The pattern of battle and progress recurs in several fables. It may be noted that in each battle Mowgli makes use of the experience gained in the previous one; thus, his struggles represent the cumulative progress that is made by him. So, the victory in "Kaa's Progress" yields rich dividends in "Tiger! Tiger!". Here, Mowgli is able to gain control over the evil within him with less difficulty. This is shown by the relative ease with which he kills Shere Khan, symbol of corrupt power within himself. The next significant battle takes place in "Red Dog." In this story, the Forces of Disorder and Lawlessness make a last ditch struggle to subjugate Mowgli.

These powers now appear in the shape of the ferocious red Deccan dogs--the people without the law. On hearing the news of the dogs' intrusion in the Jungle, Mowgli, because of the progress that he has made in the previous battles, loses no time in preparing for the fight, And ultimately the powerful enemy is vanquished.

The final achievement of Mowgli may be seen in his progress from a man-cub to the master of the Jungle. This seems to symbolise Mowgli's progress from the days when he was a prey to passions, disorder, and lawlessness to the stage of acquiring control over the jungle of passions and becoming a man with inner harmony. Mowgli's awareness of this progress is shown when Baloo, the old teacher of the Law, has to acknowledge Mowgli's great achievement: "Master of the Jungle, the Jungle is thine at call." "The Middle Jungle is thine also," says Kaa. (VII, 290) "Good hunting on a new trail, Master of the Jungle! Remember, Bagheera loved thee," adds Bagheera. (VII, 292)

Thus, we see that a psychological allegory in The Jungle Books, however intermittent, shows that Kipling is not blind to what goes on within the self in its struggle to realise itself, though it may be conceded that a probe into the human psyche is not his main concern.

#### (d) The Power of History in the Puck Books

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Autumn of that year sat down to a series of tales from English history. "You'll have to look up your references rather carefully," remarked his father, (XXXVI, 180) Something of the kind had been stirring his imagination for a couple of years. As early as 1897, he had consulted his uncle Sir Edward Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelite artist and a good medieval scholar, about the best source-books on the end of Roman and the beginning of Saxon Britain; and Burne-Jones suggested the last volume of Mommsen's History of Rome in particular.<sup>8</sup> Kipling's medieval studies led him to the Domesday Book, which inspired his allegorical story "Below the Mill Dam" (1902). These were the days when Kipling was rooted in Sussex, where his entire valley was full of historic memories:

Just beyond the west fringe of our land, in a little valley running from Nowhere to Nothing-at-all, stood the long, over-grown slag-heap of a most ancient forge, supposed to have been worked by the Phoenicians and Romans and, since then, uninterrupted till the middle of the eighteenth century. The bracken and rush-patches still hid stray pigs of iron, and if one scratched a few inches through the rabbit-shaven turf, one came on the narrow-mule-tracks of peacock-hued furnace-slag laid down in Elizabeth's day. The ghost of a road climbed up out of this dead arena, and crossed our fields, where it was known as "The Gunway," and popularly connected with Armada times. Every foot of that little corner was alive with ghosts and shadows. (XXXVI, 178)

Kipling intended to write, and may even have written and destroyed a story about the end of Roman rule and King Arthur. He certainly wrote one which he describes in Something of Myself as ". . . a story told in a fog by a petty Baltic pirate, who had brought his galley to Pevensey and, off

Beachy Head--where in the War we heard merchantships being torpedoed--had passed the Roman fleet abandoning Britain to her doom. That tale may have served as a pipe-opener, but one could not see its wood for its trees, so I threw it away." (XXXVI, 179)

The idea of writing about Roman Britain was suggested by his cousin, Ambrose Poynter, " 'Write a yarn about Roman times . . . about an old Centurion of the Occupation telling his experiences to his children.' 'What is his name?' I demanded, for I move easiest from a given point. 'Parnesius,' said my cousin; and the name stuck in my head.'" (XXXVI, 178)

But the real inspiration came from his children. During the summer of 1904, Mrs. Bambridge, Kipling's daughter records,

We children and my father acted scenes from A Midsummer Night's Dream. Our stage was an old grass-grown quarry, and there my brother as Puck, myself as Titania, and my father as Bottom, rehearsed and acted happily. . . . This was the beginning of the stories that afterwards became Puck of Pook's Hill. 9

By January 1905 Kipling was hard at work with the historical stories told by Puck to Dan and Una, which occupied his attention for the next five years. The Puck stories were issued in two series: Puck of Pook's Hill (1906) and Rewards and Fairies (1910). Never was his sense of dedication more clear:

. . . The whole thing set and linked itself. I fell first upon Normans and Saxons. Parnesius came later, directly out of a little wood above the Phoenician forge; and the rest of the tales

in Puck of Pook's Hill followed in order. The Father came over to see us, and hearing "Hal o' the Draft." closed in with fore-reaching pen, presently ousted me from my table, and inlaid the description of Hal's own drawing-knife. He liked that tale, and its companion piece "The Wrong Thing" (Rewards and Fairies), which later he embellished, notably in respect to an Italian fresco-worker, whose work never went "deeper than the plaster." He said that "judicious letting alone" did not apply between artists.

Of "Dymchurch Flit," with which I was always unashamedly content, he asked: "Where did you get that lighting from?" It had come of itself. Qua workmanship, that tale and two night-pieces in "Cold Iron" (Rewards and Fairies) are the best in that kind I have ever made, but somehow "The Treasure and the Law" (Puck of Pook's Hill) always struck me as too heavy for its frame. (XXXVI, 180-81)

In the Puck books, Kipling explores the dimension of time as in his previous days he explored the dimension of space. He now sees the Law in relation to history--England's history in particular--and he binds past and present together by the compelling magic of oak, ash, and thorn. As the reader listens to the stories of diverse races--British, Roman, Saxon, Norman, Jewish-- which are woven into the continuous texture of English history, we become aware of the continuity of past, present, and future as well as of the Power of History. Moreover, we realize that the real hero of these delightful tales is not Puck, not Dan, not Una, not Parnesius or Sir Richard Dalyngridge; the real hero is old Hobden, the peasant who carries the whole history and spirit of the valley in his bones:

His dead are in the churchyard--thirty generations laid.  
Their names were old in history when Domesday Book was made;  
And the passion and the piety and prowess of his line  
Have seeded, rooted, fruited in some land the Law calls mine. (DE, 603)

It is therefore not surprising to see that the figures of the past are as tangible as those of the present in the Puck books. Weland treads the grass as surely as old Hobden; Sir Richard's charger is as palpable as the water he drinks; old Puck is

as alive as Dan and Una; Parnesius, the young Roman Centurion, is as solid as Dan's catapult; and Queen Elizabeth is as full of vitality as Una. This note of continuity of history and generations is sounded right at the beginning of the series:

'If you mean old Hobden the hedger, he's only seventy-two. He told me so himself,' said Dan.  
'You're quite right,' Puck replied. 'I meant old Hobden's ninth great-grandfather. He was a free man and burned charcoal hereabouts. I've known the family, father and son, so long that I get confused sometimes. (XXIII, 23)

Through this important theme of continuity in history and generations, Kipling draws our attention to the fact that human nature does not appreciably change; and therefore, the theories, practices, and ideals of the past can be valid today. In other words, he sees history as a great instructor. Here it is interesting to observe that the idea of reincarnation was very much in Kipling's mind at the time he was writing the Puck stories; in the revised version of "The Sack of the Gods" which appeared in Songs From Books (1912) he added a new couplet:

They will come back--come back again--as long as the red  
Earth rolls.  
He never wasted a leaf or a tree. Do you think He would  
squander souls? (DE, 493)

In Puck of Pook's Hill and Rewards and Fairies historical evolution is fairly plain though the events are described neither chronologically nor accurately. "Weland's Sword" is nearly all romance, with a dash of imaginative etymology. This Saxon demi-god, originally a famous smith of Germanic legend and the Norse sagas, had his traditional forge on the Berkshire downs;



the story of his services to travellers is well told by Sir Walter Scott in Kenilworth.

The history of the tales begins with the Battle of Hastings: three stories of Pevensey are set immediately after this war. Deep study of the Domesday Book and Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest (1867-79) provided Kipling with most of the historical background.<sup>10</sup> The additional story to this series, "The Tree of Justice," which concluded Rewards and Fairies may be indebted to Freeman who devotes several pages to the legends of how Harold survived the Battle of Hastings.<sup>11</sup>

We may regard "The Treasure and the Law" as highly imaginative. The story turns on the idea that clause 40 of Magna Carta was originally drafted, "To no free man will we sell, refuse or deny right or justice," and that Kadmiel the Jew pays Langton to get the words "to no free man" altered to "none!" There is no historical basis for this.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless it is a faithful picture of the position of the Jews in medieval England.

"Hal o' the Draft" and "The Wrong Thing" are, says Scott-Giles, quite impossible from a historical point of view. Yet these two stories, in spite of historical flaws, are among the best, each in its own book, and give convincing pictures of the period concerned.

<sup>10</sup>

C.W.Scott-Giles, "Historical background of some 'Puck' Stories," The Kipling Journal, XXVII (June, 1961), 15-16.

<sup>11</sup>

Edward A. Freeman, The History of the Norman Conquest of England, 6 vols. (London, 1867-79), III, 515-17 and 758-63.

<sup>12</sup>

Scott-Giles, p. 20.

The history behind the Roman stories was accurate according to learned opinion of the time, though later historians doubt whether any part of the Wall was ever reoccupied after the rebellion of Maximus. The historical material about Queen Elizabeth I, King Henry VIII, Sir Francis Drake, and George Washington is quite accurate.

The important point to note, however, is that Kipling's interest in history is not that of a scholar but that of an imaginative writer. He takes many liberties with facts, dates, and places; he does so quite deliberately because his purpose is to appeal to the reader's imagination and present the whole pageant of English history from Anglo-Saxon days to Tudor times in particular. And he does succeed in this aim. With his "historical imagination," the quality for which T.S. Eliot admires Kipling, he has woven a number of tales and characters on a very thin thread of history--Sir Richard, Hugh, De Aquila, Rahere, Kadmil and others--which vividly, if not faithfully, reflect the spirit of their times. G. M. Trevelyan, one of the greatest historians of this century, declared in 1935 that he considered the Puck tales the best of all Kipling's stories:

He tells us tale after tale of the ancient history of England, as he imagines it, with a marvellous historical sense, I think. The language and psychology of Romans, Saxons, and Normans is frankly modern--"subalterns again", if you like--but as no one knows how the people of those far-gone ages thought or spoke, there is no good using "tushery", and Kipling's way of making them talk is as good as another. But we know a good deal about the historical and social surroundings in which they moved, and these Kipling has carefully studied and reproduced. Above all, the tales are alive and they are beautiful. The story about Drake called "Simple Simon", and the story about Harold called "The Tree of Justice" in Rewards

and Fairies are very striking. As a piece of historical imagination I know nothing in the world better than the third story in Puck called "The Joyous Venture", in which the Viking ship coasts Africa to find gold, and fight gorillas in the tropical forest. I can see no fault in it, and many a merit. 13

The Power of History in the Puck books is conveyed in several subthemes expressive of the Law. The most important of these themes is the Imperial Idea, which receives particular attention in Puck of Pook's Hill.

"Weland's Sword" introduces us to a magic sword bearing runes of prophecy, which is made by Weland, smith to the gods. Part of the inscription on the Sword is as follows:

To gather Gold  
At the world's end  
I am sent.

The Gold I gather  
Comes into England  
Out of deep Water.

Like a shining Fish  
Then it descends  
Into deep Water.

It is not given  
For goods or gear,  
But for the Thing. (XXIII, 133)

The Sword is made for a definite divine purpose--"the Thing." The gathering of Gold is only a stage before the Thing may be attained.

After making the Sword, Weland gives it to Hugh the Saxon, whom the old Abbot advises: "Take your sword, and keep your sword, and go with your sword, and be as gentle as you are strong and courteous." (XXIII, 30) In "Young Men at the Manor",

Hugh yields to Sir Richard the Norman because his Sword twists from his hand. The accident, however, results in generous impulses from the Saxon and the Norman, and creates a firm friendship between them. This is the first step in the welding together of the two races. The Sword is given by Hugh to Sir Richard and then Hugh receives it back before the journey South with Witta the Northman in "The Knights of the Joyous Venture." The men are bound to the purpose of the Sword. It is a destined weapon; it sings when Hugh receives it back, when he is captured by Witta, and before he fights the "dragon," who guards the treasure on the African shore. In this fight Hugh loses the use of his right arm and hands the Sword to Sir Richard. They return to England with the treasure, but the two men, made fearful by the possession of the treasure, bury it in a secret well at Pevensey with the approval of old De Aquila, the Norman chief. ("Old Men at Pevensey", XXIII, 103-138.)

The Sword has thus served part of its purpose by giving the Gold. The possession of Gold seems to strengthen the bond between Hugh the Saxon and De Aquila the Norman; thereby De Aquila's dream of a unified nation nears reality. Later on in the story "The Treasure and the Law" (1906), we see Gold leading to the birth of the Thing or the Law. King John is seeking Gold to finance his wars with France, and Kadmiel the Jew is instrumental in forcing the King to sign Magna Carta on the promise of supplying the required Gold. Kadmiel, however, himself a law-giver, casts back into the sea the hidden Gold with which Elias, his partner,

had intended to supply the king. Thus, John is without resources, and is forced to sign Magna Carta. In this way the treasure may be said to have given the Law.

The Sword may well be a symbol of the Imperial Idea, which leads to the establishment of the Empire and possession of Gold. The next step in this process of evolution is the establishment of the Thing or the Law.

The symbolism of Sword and Thing is readily understandable, but the function of Gold presents certain problems that bring out the inconsistency of the allegory in Puck of Pook's Hill. Although Gold is stated to be a definite part of the purpose of the Sword, yet it is destroyed by Hugh, Sir Richard, De Aquila, and Kadmiel. "Gold changes men althgether" (XXIII, 93) and "There can be no war without gold," (XXIII, 289) we are told in these tales. Nevertheless, the birth of the Law is said to be related to the gathering of Gold. Puck sums up the series: "Weland gave the Sword! The Sword gave the Treasure, and the Treasure gave the Law. It is as natural as an oak growing." (XXIII, 301) The connection between Sword, Gold, and the Thing, though shown as necessary in these stories, seems to be purely fortuitous. Gold and its function may, however, be understood in the following way. In itself Gold is good and worthy, but its possession can lead to destruction: hence, Hugh, Sir Richard, and De Aquila hide the treasure, and Kadmiel finally throws it away. A proper use of Gold can lead to a solution of the problems which the Sword may not always be able to resolve. This is shown by the way in which King John's

signature on Magna Carta is secured by Kadmiel and the barons. So, in these fairy romances, the Law is represented as something more subtle and mysterious than it has seemed to be so far. Puck says that it is "as natural as an oak growing"--an organic life is what Kipling intends.

In the Roman stories, however, Kipling makes a more explicit statement about the Imperial Idea. The scene remains the same, but the time changes: England is now part of the Roman Empire, Rome, standing for the Ideal of Empire, builds the Wall wherever she goes even if not always in masonry. The Wall, symbolic of the Law, divides civilization, however imperfect, from the barbarous and lawless world that lies outside the Wall. This Wall, we are repeatedly told, is the most wonderful sight in the Empire:

Old Men who have followed the Eagles since boyhood say nothing in the Empire is more wonderful than first sight of the Wall. . . . Thirty feet high is the Wall, and on the Picts' side, the North, is a ditch, strewn with blades of old swords and spear-heads set in wood, and tyres of wheels joined by chains. (XXIII, 171-72)

This massive Wall acts as a barrier between the "wonderful . . .  
 14  
 town behind it" and the dangerous jungle outside which is inhabited by the Picts and the Winged Hats, the people without the Law.

The Wall is adorned with a statue of Roma Dea: this seems to symbolise the relationship between the Law and the Imperial Idea. The Wall cannot exist without Rome. Thus in "A British-Roman Song (A.D. 406)", which appears with the story "A Centurion of the

Thirtieth", the soldiers defending the Wall in Britain invoke the help of Rome:

. . . Strong heart with triple armour bound  
           Beat strongly, for Thy life-blood runs,  
 Age after Age, the Empire round--  
           In us Thy Sons,  
  
 Who, distant from the Seven Hills,  
           Loving and serving much, require  
 Thee--Thee to guard 'gainst home-born ills  
           The Imperial Fire! (XXIII, 163)

It is worth noting that the Wall is defended not only by Romans but by many different nationalities: "Remember, also that the Wall was manned by every breed and race in the Empire. No two towers spoke the same tongue, or worshipped the same Gods." (XXIII, 174-75) Such internationalism underlies the concept of an universal empire (See Chapter IV, above). Moreover, the significance of Rome seems to lie in the idea that she embodies: although the Roman Empire is shown to be in a state of disorder, the Imperial  
 15  
 Idea remains imperishable. This is what the rebelling General Maximus learns near the moment of his death. He writes to his captains in Britain: "We have gambled very splendidly against the Gods, but they hold weighted dice, and I must pay the forfeit. Remember, I have been; but Rome is; and Rome will be." (XXIII, 214)

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Professor Tompkins has drawn my attention to the fact that the Roman tales are significantly set at the time of the disintegration of the Empire. This may be seen as an analogy of the state of British raj in India and elsewhere in the early twentieth century. It has also been pointed out that Hadrian's Wall against the Picts and the Winged Hats resembles the Khyber Pass on the North-West Frontier. However, one need not over-emphasize the political analogies in Puck of Pook's Hill, though they do exist in some of the stories.

A second subtheme in the Puck series is that of loyalty and service, two important values of the Law. Hugh in "The Tree of Justice", even in the presence of the grim King Henry, is not afraid to show his loyalty to Harold the Saxon who is discovered as an old and half-mad wanderer and dies on Hugh's breast. In the story "The Wrong Thing", Hal o' the Draft is loyal to his work and finds that loyalty enough for him so that he only laughs when he discovers that the king has knighted him because of the carefulness that has saved thirty pounds and not because he is a master craftsman. Parnesius and Pertinax, the captains of the Wall, remain steadfast in the discharge of their duty even though the chances of their success are very slim. "The Knife and the Naked Chalk" contains the most powerful expression of this theme of loyalty, service, and sacrifice. Here the Flint Man sacrifices an eye as the price of iron knives for his people to use against wolves. And worse than that, he has to submit to being regarded by his tribe as a god and beyond all human emotions and desires.

Another theme is that of conversion, blending together of different races in the growth of a nation. In "The Conversion of St. Wilfrid" St. Wilfrid, Archbishop and missionary, converts the South Saxons, though it is actually his own "conversion" that the title of the tale refers to. On the islet where he is shipwrecked, St. Wilfrid not only learns to value the faithfulness of Padda, the tame seal, but also the worth of Padda's pagan master, Meon. These conversions, however, do lead to the unification of the people and create the bond that is essential for the development of a stable society.



The subject of the growth of a nation is most fully treated in "Young Men at the Manor." In the Norman stories, the Normans are a conquering and occupying power. Sir Richard Dalyngridge, the Norman knight, finds himself alone after the battle at Santlache (i.e. the Battle of Hastings). He fights with Hugh the Saxon and spares his life. Next the Saxon saves Richard's life from a group of his own countrymen and takes him to his Manor. Hugh is, however, severely wounded; his sister, the Lady Aelueva, declares that if he dies Richard shall hang. The imprisoned Richard is rescued next day by De Aquila, the Norman chief, and he gives the Manor to Richard. Ultimately Richard marries the Saxon Lady Aelueva and rules his manor by Saxon custom, while Aquila gives her disinherited brother land. This is the first step in the blending of conquerors and conquered in one nation. At one stage in the story Hugh says to Richard: "Thou hast gone far to conquer England this evening", and Richard replies: "England must be thine and mine, then. Help me, Hugh, to deal aright with these people." And Sir Richard sings aloud:

I followed my Duke ere I was a lover,  
To take from England fief and fee;  
But now this game is the other way over--  
But now England hath taken me! (XXIII, 63)

(e) Summary

Thus, we see that The Jungle Books and the Puck books do project a fairly clear picture of the Law. In The Jungle Books, the Law is presented as a principle of order that

is essential for the establishment of an ideal social structure as well as inner harmony on an individual level. This ideal order is made possible by strict adherence to rules of conduct sanctioned by reason, morality, custom, tradition--the forces of social control which impose upon individuals a code which they break at their peril. The emphasis in The Jungle Books, it may be noted, falls heavily upon two basic ingredients of the Law: moral values and the philosophy of action. The treatment of the Law in the Puck books, one must admit, is not very consistent, because here Kipling is mainly concerned with the initiation of children into the history of England as well as the nourishment of their imagination through fiction and romance. His subject, however, leads him to the topic of the Power of History, which is expressive of various sub-themes of the Law. Of these the most important is the Imperial Idea, which is especially dealt with in Puck of Pook's Hill. The Imperial Idea is projected as an essential instrument of promulgating the Law. It is therefore obvious from this study of the above-mentioned four children's books that the Law is a positive force that is essential for the preservation of civilization, and is composed of interrelated elements--moral values, the philosophy of action, and the Imperial Idea.

At this point, I must admit that for the purpose of this study I may have over-emphasized the didactic element in the children's books. An equally important element of "education" is the nourishment of the imagination. All of these books educate

the youthful imagination in the sense of wonder, variety, distance, and depth. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the moral element is there, Kipling owns as much when he tells us that he had to contrive that Puck should be read by children first so that it might be read by grown-ups later:

Yet, since the tales had to be read by children, before people realised that they were meant for grown-ups . . . I worked the material in three of four overlaid tints and textures, which might or might not reveal themselves according to the shifting light of sex, youth, and experience. It was like working lacquer and mother o' pearl, a natural combination, into the same scheme as niello and grisaille, and trying not to let the joins show. (XXXVI, 182-83)

The Jungle and Puck books are undoubtedly meant to educate.

Kipling's whole habit of mind, all of his life, was didactic; he was frankly a preacher and a moralist.

## Chapter VII

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Bless and praise we famous men--  
Men of little showing--  
For their work continueth,  
For their work continueth,  
For their work continueth,  
Great beyond their knowing! (DE, 558)

The complex of ideas which Kipling called the Law had its origin in the circumstances of his early training in India in particular. The Bombay childhood (1865-71) infused in him what I have termed sahib-consciousness--an awareness that one belonged to the ruling class, belief in authority, and a sense of responsibility. The bitter lesson of obedience to authority was driven home during the painful years at Southsea (1871-78). A strong patriotism, enthusiasm for the Empire, discipline, and respect for law and order were inculcated in him while he was at United Services College, Westward Ho! (1878-82). The next seven years (1882-89) which he spent in India as a journalist were crucial to the development of his ideas. His profession provided him a unique opportunity to understand India, its problems, and the way these problems could be solved. An awareness of the threat posed by the Dark Powers and man's compulsive need to defeat these negative forces, profound sense of moral responsibility, devotion to work, and faith in the Imperial Idea were the direct results of his experiences in India. In fact, it was during the "Seven Years' Hard" in India that Kipling formed the sympathies and attitudes which later became organized into a general concept of Law that provides the key to much of Kipling's work.

Nevertheless, Kipling never defines what exactly his Law is. Perhaps a precise definition of such a wide concept is impossible. Moreover, it must be remembered that Kipling is not a philosopher; he is primarily an imaginative artist. Therefore, one

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cannot blame him for not giving us a clear-cut statement of his concept of Law. The general outlines of this master-thought, vaguely defined though it may be, are, however, clear to see if one studies his works as a whole. A careful perusal of his writings reveals that Kipling's Law is composed of three main interrelated elements, namely, moral values, the Imperial Idea, and the doctrine of action. It is with this code of life that Kipling opposes the Dark Powers which he encounters everywhere.

Realisation of a moral order is postulated by Kipling as the first step in the struggle against the Forces of Chaos and Disorder. In fact, his vision of a moral order, consisting of such universal values as discipline, devotion to work, positive action, suffering, love, forms the very basis of his philosophy of Law. Various religious and philosophic traditions entered into the shaping of Kipling's moral and ethical views and helped to solidify his conception of Law. In the Judaeo-Christian tradition, the Biblical law, the Wesleyan doctrine of vocation, and the values of sacrifice, suffering, and love influenced him greatly. Similarly, the Islamic emphasis on positive action, law and order seems to have impressed him. Freemasonry confirmed his faith in a universal moral order as well as the brotherhood of mankind. He also admired Mithraism for its emphasis on moral conduct and made it a touchstone for some of his own particular views. His reaction towards Hinduism was, however, negative, for it appeared to him that the Hindu attitude towards life was escapist. Nonetheless, he was attracted by the synthesising power of Buddhism, a reformed version of Hinduism. The

moral basis of Law may therefore be said to be directly related to the moral codes of the diverse religions to which Kipling was exposed.

The Imperial Idea, the second basis of Law, has been the source of much trouble for Kipling's critics and readers. Kipling has too often been condemned for being an imperialist. Put in the context of his times, I fail to see how one can expect a sensitive writer to be indifferent to the ideas current at his particular moment in history. While this study of Kipling's philosophy has not denied that he was a conservative and an imperialist, it has forced us to redefine those terms as they apply to his writing. It has been shown above that he was no crude propagandist of British imperialism and that his ideal of empire was based on a philosophic concept of empire as a positive force that imposes a pattern of order on chaos. Kipling's ideal of empire is thus a much larger concept than is generally recognised and it can be traced to the idea of a universal empire based on the principles of law, order, service, and sacrifice.

He never questioned the validity of England's civilizing mission because he perceived traces of the Imperial Idea in the British Empire. The Empire therefore, became another instrument of establishing the Law. Kipling was, however, conscious of the fact that the Empire was not eternal. Just as he believed that the individual matured in virtue under discipline, so did he believe that the colonies would mature. He envisaged something similar to the Commonwealth as the future shape of the Empire: a



number of independent nations bound together by a community of purpose and advanced means of communications.

Moreover, the Imperial Idea is only a part of Kipling's complex vision; it does not constitute his total view of life. Here it may be observed that the Imperial Idea in itself is not essentially creative though it can be used as a medium for the expression of one's artistic vision.<sup>1</sup> This is precisely what Kipling has suggested. A profound sense of the onslaught of the Dark Powers, of man's helplessness before these negative forces and of his need to defeat these formidable powers creates the essential tension in Kipling's work. The Imperial Idea is a means of articulating this tension. Hence, in Kipling's works the Imperial Idea is not only an instrument of establishing the Law on the external level, but it also becomes a sign of the realisation of the self, that is, the establishment of the Law on an inner level.

Disinterested suffering and positive action form the third essential element of Law. Kipling's universe, as indicated by his vision of India, is essentially indifferent or hostile to man. At every turn Kipling sees nameless, shapeless Powers of Darkness which throw him deep down into the abyss of nothingness. Nevertheless, these nihilistic tendencies do not lead him to escapism. The universe may be malignant and hostile, yet Kipling believes that man alone is responsible for his own destiny. Either

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<sup>1</sup>  
Sandison, p. 195.

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<sup>1</sup>  
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he can let himself be devoured by the Dark Powers or he can, through disinterested suffering and positive action, bring himself out of the limbo of nothingness and thus preserve his individual integrity. Man, according to Kipling, has no reality beyond his own actions: man is what he does, and work is not only a means of ameliorating man's existence in a hostile universe, but the very existence itself.

Kipling's world is thus chiefly composed of men of action--administrators, engineers, doctors, soldiers, railwaymen, and peasants busy at their job. His writings are punctuated by the constant rhythms of daily work. Kipling might have accepted the medieval scholastic's view of matter as that which is to be perfected. The whole purpose of the Law was the gradual perfecting of matter. It was process; it was action. Only by doing could the Law operate. Therefore he praised the men of action and saw man's finest achievement in the way he gave himself to creative work.

The Law can therefore be understood as a principle of order that is essential for the growth of both society and the individual. The nature and function of this master idea of Law is most fully expounded in the fables of The Jungle Books in which the Law appears in the form of the code of the Seeonee Wolf Pack. This code consists of rules of conduct that are determined by five basic elements: reason, the common good, ethical values, law-making authority and promulgation, and custom and tradition. In other words, the code is sanctioned by the forces of social control which impose upon individuals certain rules which they

break at their peril. It is only by strict adherence to this code that an ideal social structure can be evolved.

The Law is, however, not simply an instrument of the growth of society, but it is also a means of the realisation of the self. Kipling's sense of the importance of society has perhaps been too heavily stressed. His critics and readers have often failed to give due weight to the problem of the individual's isolation and identity with which Kipling is concerned as seriously as with society. The basic question in Kim, for example, is: "Who is Kim--Kim--Kim?" Similarly, the Mowgli stories have psychological implications that have not been noted hitherto. These fables can be said to be concerned with the questions of the self and identity: these tales externalise the inner conflicts that Mowgli undergoes in his struggle for the realisation of the self. The Law is therefore an equivalent of order on both social and individual levels. It may, however, be granted that Kipling seems to have given more weight to society because he realises that it is in society alone that the individual can be assured of his integrity. Perhaps Kipling should not have imposed this solution so forcefully; perhaps he should have left it as an unsolved conflict between the individual and society.

Professor Noel Annan, who has written brilliantly on Kipling, has, nonetheless, assumed that the Law is only concerned with the well-being of society, not the individual. For Annan the

question Kipling asks is "what holds society . . . together?"<sup>2</sup>  
 And he goes on to relate Kipling with Durkheim in finding the  
 answer to the above-mentioned problem in the forces of social  
 control. Professor Sandison has successfully refuted Annan's position  
 by calling attention to the fact that Kipling is also preoccupied<sup>3</sup>  
 with the problem: "what holds the individual together?" However,  
 Sandison goes to the other extreme when he links Kipling with  
 George Sorel in the anti-positivist tradition in his bid to prove  
 that Kipling is not at all worried about society. "He [Kipling] is  
 not in the least bit interested in society, or its particular  
 morality as absolutes in themselves, but only in so far as they  
 are essential to the self's existence."<sup>4</sup> Annan had made an exactly  
 opposite statement: "Kipling is, indeed, seldom interested in the  
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I believe that both Annan and Sandison, while  
 they have given us invaluable insights into the thought of Kipling,  
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<sup>2</sup>  
 Annan, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup>  
 Sandison, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup>  
 Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>5</sup>  
 Annan, p. 123.

question Kipling asks is "what holds society . . . together?"<sup>2</sup>  
 And he goes on to relate Kipling with Durkheim in finding the  
 answer to the above-mentioned problem in the forces of social  
 control. Professor Sandison has successfully refuted Annan's position  
 by calling attention to the fact that Kipling is also preoccupied<sup>3</sup>  
 with the problem: "what holds the individual together?" However,  
 Sandison goes to the other extreme when he links Kipling with  
 George Sorel in the anti-positivist tradition in his bid to prove  
 that Kipling is not at all worried about society.<sup>4</sup> "He [Kipling] is  
 not in the least bit interested in society, or its particular  
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<sup>2</sup>  
 Annan, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup>  
 Sandison, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup>  
 Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>5</sup>  
 Annan, p. 123.

sociologist; he was primarily an artist. And one cannot expect a logical and consistent philosophy from an imaginative writer. Logical inconsistencies, then, are to be expected, but it must be remembered that emotional attitudes are frequently at odds with reason and yet often they provide the source of a more rich and complete understanding of life. Kipling, as I have stated above, is concerned with both society and the individual; one cannot separate the one from the other. The Law is a means whereby the individual realises the self and society attains an ideal social order: the two processes are simultaneous and interrelated.

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