



*The*  
**KIPLING JOURNAL**

Published quarterly by the

**KIPLING SOCIETY**



**SEPTEMBER 1969**

VOL. XXXVI

No. 171

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## CONTENTS

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NEWS AND NOTES . . . . .	2
OUR NEW PRESIDENT. . . . .	5
HON. SECRETARY'S NOTES. . . . .	6
KIPLING'S IMPERIAL CONSPECTUS —	
Norman Mackenzie . . . . .	7
KIPLING'S USE OF INDO-PAKISTANI LANGUAGES —	
Shamsul Islam . . . . .	15
REPORT ON DISCUSSION MEETING OF FEB: 19th—	
P.W.I. . . . .	19
LETTER BAG . . . . .	24

## THE KIPLING SOCIETY

THE Society was founded in 1927. Its first President was Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I. (" Stalky ") (1927-1946),

Members are invited to propose those of their friends who are interested in Rudyard Kipling's works for election to membership. The Hon. Secretary would be glad to hear from members overseas as to prospects of forming a Branch of the Society in their district

The Subscription is : Home Members, 25/- ; Overseas Members, 15/- ; Junior Members (under 18, anywhere), 10/- ; U.S.A. Branch, \$3.50 per annum. These include receipt of *The Kipling Journal* quarterly.

### THE KIPLING SOCIETY ADDRESS —

18, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2. (Tel. 01-930 6733).

Be sure to telephone before calling, as the office is not always open.

# THE KIPLING SOCIETY

## Forthcoming Meetings

### COUNCIL MEETINGS

The next Council Meetings will be held at St. John House, 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I, on Wednesday, 17th September, 1969, after the Annual General Meeting, which starts at 2.30, and on Wednesday, 17th December, at 2.30.

### DISCUSSION MEETINGS

At the Royal Society of St. George, 4 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.I, at 5.30 for 6 p.m.

- Sept. 17 Lt.-Col A. E. Bagwell Purefoy 'The Second Jungle Book'—particularly "The King's Ankus" and "The Undertakers". Please come prepared to discuss your own favourite story.
- Nov. 26 G. H. Newsom, Esq., Q.C. Roman Britain, with particular reference to the Parnesius stories.

### ANNUAL LUNCHEON

The Annual Luncheon of the Kipling Society will be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London W.C.2, on Friday, 24th October, 1969. The Guest of Honour will be Roger Lancelyn Green, Esq., B.Litt., M.A., Editor of The Kipling Journal and author of "Kipling and the Children".

Application forms will be sent out in September.

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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Vol. XXXVI. No. 171

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## NEWS AND NOTES

### KIPLING'S WORST SLIP

Owing to the unfortunate delay in publication of the last number of the *Journal* (in which the Printers must share a little of the blame, though the Editor was mainly guilty), only two letters on this subject have arrived in time to be included here. Mr. Inwood makes the excellent point that the 'slip' must involve 'both the seaman branch and the engine-room'. But one fact seems to have been missed by all who have tried to solve the problem.

Kipling confessed to making his 'worst slip' when he wrote *Something of Myself* during the last year of his life, but there is no evidence that he only realized or discovered it just before writing the words in his reminiscences. Now, during that same year he was collecting and revising his complete works for *The Sussex Edition* — and in this he made a number of corrections. These have not all been collated yet, but he would surely have corrected the 'worst slip' — unless, which seems unlikely, it was so fundamental that the story or poem concerned depended on the mistake and could not exist in its present form if the 'slip' were set right.

Therefore the 'worst slip' must surely also be one which appeared in the ordinary editions but was put right in *The Sussex Edition* — and of those quoted in my last 'News and Notes', none were altered — not even the error found by Mr. Inwood on p. 124 of *Captains Courageous*, which is repeated word for word on p. 86 in *The Sussex Edition*, volume XX.

Indeed the 'correction' noted by Taylor Darbyshire as having been put right by Kipling himself raises a problem for seaman and researcher alike. Mr. Darbyshire maintained that 1,200 tons was too small for the *Dimbula* ['The Ship that Found Herself, *The Day's Work*, p. 78] and that Kipling altered it to 2,500. But it seems to be just the other way round. The story on its first appearance in *McClure's Magazine* (Vol. VI, page 328, March 1896) begins:—'It was her first voyage, and though she was only a little cargo steamer of two thousand five hundred tons, she was the very best of her kind . . . .' But both in *The Sussex Edition* (Vol. VI, page 83) and the 1942 reprint of *The Day's Work* in Macmillan's Pocket Edition (p. 78) it reads: ' . . . she was but a cargo steamer of twelve hundred tons . . . . '

Apparently this change took place in the 1915 and all subsequent editions, and has something to do with the difference between 'net tonnage' and 'gross tonnage': but a simple explanation for the lay-reader would be welcome.

**'THE BROKEN LINK HANDICAP'**

An interesting letter describing another slip not corrected in any edition has recently been published in Mr. Simon Nowell-Smith's delightful collection of *Letters to Macmillan* (1967), on page 213. It is from 'Rolf Boldrewood' (Thomas Alexander Browne, 1826-1915), the Australian novelist, best remembered for his *Robbery Under Arms* (1888). It is dated 20 July 1891, and runs:—

'I have just been reading your edition of *The Light that Failed*. In my humble opinion Mr. Rudyard Kipling is the strongest and most original writer in his own department since Dickens. That being so, he should not write about matters Australian, in which land he has (I take it) never set foot.

'It's a pity when charming writers "talk of things that they don't understand." In *Plain Tales from the Hills* there is a short story about a "waler" racehorse called Shackles and an impossible Melbourne jockey. In it he speaks of the "Maribyrnong Plate" (a *two-year-old* race) as a *dangerous steeplechase with jarrah logs for jumps* — which would have to be brought from Western Australia, 2,000 miles or so! He confuses the "smash" which so affected the boy's nerves with that of the Caulfield Cup, *also a flat race*. However, this mistake apart, I have nothing but a sincere admiration for him, prose and verse.'

Mr. Nowell-Smith notes that Kipling only paid his first visit to Australia three months after this letter was written, and adds: 'He learned that his *Plain Tales from the Hills* had been banned from the Melbourne public library for its impropriety, and he was invited, satirically perhaps, to report the Melbourne Cup for a local newspaper.'

If so, Kipling does not seem to have seen the joke, for he apparently took the invitation as a high compliment: 'The leading paper offered me the most distinguished honour of describing the Melbourne Cup, but I had reported races before and knew it was not in my line,' he wrote in *Something of Myself* (p. 97). But perhaps he too had his tongue in his cheek . . .

**'I SUSPECTED A "LEG PULL"'**

In Kipling's day the practical joke, the 'leg-pull' and the carefully engineered hoax were still popular both in fact and fiction. He did not commit himself to belief in the genuineness of the Corbridge Stone, and has been accused of being cognisant of, or at least, smoking, the Piltdown Man fake. The latter may have given him the idea for Manallace's elaborate forgery in 'Dayspring Mishandled'; and the lighter 'leg-pull' type of hoax is used spontaneously and without rancour in 'Little Foxes' where Mr. Groombridge, a humourless intellectual panting to exploit his doctrinaire liberalism, swallows the Inspector's tall story about the 'Mudir's Cranes', and suffers the amusing consequences.

Did Kipling himself use the same tactics when plagued with stupid questions about his stories? I have come across two instances which seem to point to such leg-pulls, started perhaps in moments of exasperation with the obtuseness or ignorance of his readers.

It is surely beyond doubt who the Gardener is in the story of that name, and Alexander Woollcott, the American critic, seems to have realised this plainly enough. Nevertheless he ends an article on the

story [*The New Yorker*, 13 Sept: 1930, page 38]:—'But who was the Gardener? All of us, I am sure, saw shining behind him a light not of this world. I think that most of us, a little blinded, perhaps, by the verse that ushers in the story, took him for some archangel standing guard by that sea of death. Others said that it was Christ walking the soil of Flanders Field. But Mr. Kipling intended something quite different. At least he told a friend of mine that the Gardener was Michael's father.'

From time to time, among 'the more cultivated portion of the ignorant,' questions are asked about the new kind of fairy called a 'Reward' (apparently pronounced 'Ru-ard') who appears in no dictionary, but shares the title of the sequel to *Puck of Pook's Hill*. That there is no such creature, nor ever was, and that the ordinary meaning of 'reward', i.e. 'recompense for good behaviour' is intended, as in Corbet's poem which begins "Farewell, rewards and fairies", from which the title of the book is taken, has been stated in print on the authority of Kipling himself, of his publisher, and of his daughter. (See *Journal* No. 133, pages 4-5, March 1960 for full discussion, with quotations; and No. 134, page 4 for the note by Mrs. Bambridge).

Nevertheless, during the last correspondence on the subject in the *Times Literary Supplement* Mr. Keith Henderson wrote (18 Dec: 1959):—'Kipling himself told his close friends Sir Fabian and Lady Ware that "a reward is another kind of fairy". He said that "the first syllable rhymes with blue". During Kipling's lifetime Lady Ware told me this. At the same picnic in a wood I was told the same thing by Sir Fabian.' It is open to doubt, of course, whether Kipling pulled Sir Fabian's leg, or Sir Fabian was pulling Mr. Henderson's leg—but it seems probable that Kipling's Puckish sense of humour got the better of him on this occasion.

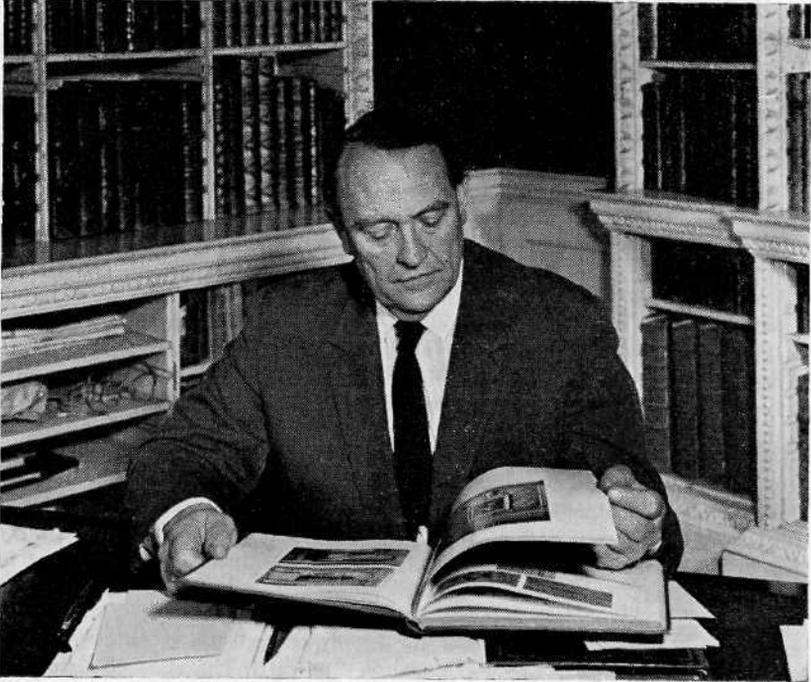
If, then, Kipling could hoax friends or acquaintances in this way when, like Lang's Prince Prigio, they tried to be 'too clever by half, one is tempted to wonder whether he ever played a practical joke on his readers\*.

At the risk of bringing a hornet's nest about my head, let me fling a ripe paw-paw into one by suggesting that the Second Tramp in 'Mrs. Bathurst' fits the bill very well. Certainly the more devious-minded readers have been trying to prove for years that the Tramp was Mrs. Bathurst in disguise—and thus turn a straightforward story into an exceedingly complicated and cryptic one.

And did not Kipling give a hint that it was a straightforward story to be taken simply at its face value when he went out of his way to note in *Something of Myself* (p. 101): 'a tale called "Mrs. Bathurst" slid into my mind, smoothly and orderly as floating timber on a bank-high river.'

R.L.G.

## OUR NEW PRESIDENT



All members of the Kipling Society will be proud to know that the Right Honourable Charles Lyttelton, 10th Viscount Cobham, has accepted the office of President of the Society. He succeeds Mr. R. E. Harbord, who has served us devotedly for eight years, and who has been honoured by being elected a permanent member of the Council.

Lord Cobham, born 1909, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He joined the Worcestershire Yeomanry Field Brigade, R.A., T.A., in 1933, and served in France during World War II. He may best be remembered as an outstanding Governor-General of New Zealand, 1957-62. We quote from *The Times* of 10 Sep. 62:—

He has appreciated that the correct performance of ceremonial duties and the observation of Vice-Regal protocol are not enough; it is as a generous-hearted gentleman and a wise counsellor of youth that he will long be remembered by New Zealanders.

He has been Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire since 1963, and in 1966 was appointed Her Majesty's Lord Steward, an unpaid post which, however, ranks second only to that of Lord Chamberlain. He married in 1942 Miss Elizabeth Alison Makeig-Jones, and they have four sons and four daughters.

A great sportsman in many fields, Henry Longhurst once referred to him as the longest hitter at golf he had ever seen, but he is even better known for his cricket. He was captain of Worcestershire 1936-39, and vice-captain of MCC's New Zealand tour 1935-36. President of MCC 1954, he was later described as the most progressively-minded President MCC has ever had.

Of special interest to us is the fact that he has been a Kipling lover all his life, admiring both the poems and stories, his special favourites being "Kim", "The Gardener" and "The Way through the Woods".

We welcome him indeed.

## HON. SECRETARY'S NOTES

*Presidents, etc.* An introduction to our new President appears elsewhere in this Journal. We wish here to express the thanks of the whole Society to our outgoing President, Mr. R. E. Harbord, who filled the office so enthusiastically and conscientiously for eight years, including untiring work throughout the Centenary. We are most honoured that he has accepted a permanent post on the Council — we would be lost without him!

A hearty welcome, too, to Lord Baldwin who, as everyone knows (or should know) is RK's cousin. Nobody who heard him will ever forget his speech at the 1967 Luncheon (see Journal 165), and we are so glad he has accepted a Vice-Presidency.

*Our Burwash Visit.* Press dates have prevented our reporting this earlier, but on May 2nd forty-four members and guests enjoyed one of the most delightful visits we have ever made. The day was fine, the lunch excellent, the house and gardens — as always — perfect. And there were two Exhibitions; the one upstairs of Kipling mementoes, which our Hon. Editor helped to arrange for the third year running, and, in the Oast House, an entirely new one of Iron Relics from the Weald, opened by Mr. Nigel Nicolson.

We are indeed grateful to Mrs. Betty Sutherland for letting us pay this delightful visit every year.

A.E.B.P.

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NEW MEMBERS. We are delighted to welcome the following :  
 U.K.: Messrs. W. A. Blackburne, H. T. Fawcett, J. M. Makower.  
 CANADA : Toronto Central Library; York University Library, Toronto.  
 U.S.A.: W. Brown Morton Jr.; Arizona State University Library, Tempe;  
 Brandeis University Library, Mass.; Mankato State College Library,  
 Minn. VICTORIA : P. Hughes.

though the Editor was mainly guilty), only two letters on this subject

## KIPLING'S IMPERIAL CONSPECTUS

By Norman Mackenzie

There has always been a question behind Kipling's stresses on service, self-awareness, discipline and work. Simply, why are the British (whatever the original reasons for occupying India) so bent on ruling according to demanding criteria? Kipling's answer is his cultural-historical theory of "the Law". He recognised the moral responsibility of administrators, he observed their devotion to the progress of India and he analysed their attitudes to their place in India.

Kipling reflected on British history and satisfied himself about the historical influences which shaped British government and notions of professional behaviour. The enlightenment of an entirely fresh perspective on the Empire had come to him when he lived in London: "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 effort and origins throughout the Empire." (*Something of Myself* pp. 90-91). The word "origins" is highly significant. His perspective became clearer throughout his life as his own projection into England's past, his association with rural life, and his love of England's soil waxed during his years in Sussex. Kipling felt more and more that because of a singularly profitable historical evolution Britain had been destined to play a leading, but highly responsible part in world affairs, political, social and technological. It is in relation to his "conspectus of the meaning of things and effort and origins throughout the Empire" that Kipling's concept of "the Law" can best be understood. Kipling's Law is composed of three strands.

First, and by far the most important, is the Law of the Jungle, applicable to every animal. "The free people" exercise freedom under numerous laws which wolf-boy Mowgli must supplement by experience. The jungle law, however, is flouted by one of the most powerful members of the jungle society — Shere Khan the lame tiger. By ignoring the law against indiscriminate killing of Man, Shere Khan endangers all jungle society and challenges that which has been proved and almost sanctified by time and custom. Altogether outside jungle law are the incoherent monkey people, who achieve nothing constructive, who mock organised society, who dissipate their energies in pointless pursuits, who lack powers of concentration, but who, by sheer numbers may prove highly dangerous in their perpetual challenges to coherent society. The Law of the Jungle requires persistent vigilance if it is to persist. It must always be upheld, otherwise chaos will overwhelm a stable, healthy way of life. The extension of the situation to human society and to international politics is, of course, implicit.

Noel Annan adduces an interpretation of Kipling's Law which is largely accurate. Annan sees Kipling asking himself what gives cohesion to social groups and finding the answer, "in the forces of social control."

**Annan writes:**

Then again his notion of the Law is not an ordinary idea; it is the same as the anthropologists' *culture*. The impression which his work as a whole gives is that of a man who sees human beings moving in a definable network of social relationships which impose upon them a code of behaviour appropriate to their environment. ("Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas", *Victorian Studies*, III, June, 1960, 327.)

Kipling clearly sets forth his idea in his "Dead Kings". Annan then claims correctly that Kipling shows punishment falling on those who break the rules and disaster overtaking those who do not know them (p. 331). Civilisation rests on knowledge of the Law which transcends all cultures (p. 335). Those who break the Law are beyond the pale of civilisation (p. 335). It is not a necessary conclusion that Kipling advocated the British pattern as the sole one for the Empire although he does believe that the British attitude to the Law has made British ruling methods and standards, generally speaking, superior to others in practical governmental service. Adaptability on the part of the British is a necessary feature if their rule is to be successful and Annan acknowledges the illustration of this adaptability when he states that one of Kipling's themes includes "a code of behaviour appropriate to their environment". We may find further illumination of "the Law" in the address "England and the English" (*A Book of Words, Works*, Doubleday Doran, 1941, XXIV, 160-163),<sup>1</sup> where Kipling reflects publicly both on the historical reasons for British adaptability and on the nature of the Law whose three strands — the law of the jungle, God's Law, and the law of the land — are interwoven in that controversial line in "Recessional". The Law is the accumulated practicable wisdom and morality distilled from the experience of a long and varied past to which Kipling adds a tendency to see an imperial mission enacting the moral purpose of the Almighty. There is no implication of race superiority but a personal analysis of history which reveals a pattern of experience that places Britain in a position of grave moral responsibility towards poor nations. Surely the point of the story "The Man Who Would Be King" is that the central figures, two adventurers, ignored the Law, being concerned merely with control and selfish gain. Without obedience to "the Law", laws and human existence lack moral purpose. "Lesser breeds" are so, therefore, because they are careless of the Law or else they defy the Law which Kipling recognises, from British history, as cardinal if statecraft is to rest on the morality which supersedes mere legal expediency.

On the other hand, Kipling is not so narrow-minded that he does not admit that there are disadvantages to bestowed modernisation in India. Life's mingled nature always occurs to Kipling no matter what aspect of it temporarily occupies his foreground. His empathy with the Indian scene makes its timelessness and its vast scale inescapable. Awareness of these factors forces him to take a very long view of the British presence in India. The general effects of the Rai are two. First, it introduces into a widely varied society a western uniformity of law and order; second, it saps much of the vitality of indigenous rulers and their societies ("Letters of Marque, XV, 25-26; 140-41.) In Burma,

for instance, Kipling relates that "the Supreme Government stepped in as soon as might be, with codes and regulations, and all but reduced Burma to the dead Indian level." ("Georgie Porgie") Local illegalities under native custom were once dealt with expeditiously but now they take longer to process because English law is invoked rather than "the lopping of a hand or foot". ("Namgay Doola"). For the British barbarism has been removed; in the Indian view authority has been weakened by inefficient western ways. Is, however, the tempo of traditional India deeply affected by the British presence? The tramway and the gasworks stand as memorials to a modern, technological civilisation while the older civilisation continues largely unaffected among the masses. The independent Indian state within India emphasizes the continuity of the past into the new era and somewhat puzzled Kipling: "It is a backwater of Anglo-Indian life — or is it the main current, the broad stream that supplies the motive power, and is the other life only the noisy ripple on the surface? You who have lived, not merely looked at, both lives, decide." ("Letters of Marque", XV, p. 148). In his story "The Man Who Was" he concludes that Asia will not be civilised after western methods or in the image of the West.

The point is that Kipling *has* lived both lives; he has moved in the fourth dimension. As a journalist he was fully aware of the variety of aspects to the British impression on India. There is no undiluted exultation in imperial innovations for he perceives that new forces are not wholly beneficent.

Probably the greatest hue and cry pursuing Kipling derived from the "lesser breeds without the Law" line in "Recessional" which acquired for him the reputation of a chronic racist. Let us consider this reputation with especial attention to Indians.

It is apparent in his writings that Kipling was highly critical of his own race in military, administrative and social affairs. Like every one of us he formed likes and dislikes of persons, but unlike many of us he did not generalize racially. He formed a distaste for some Americans, especially the super-patriots, but he liked Americans as a people and he married one. (*From Sea to Sea*, XV, XVI *passim*.) As an Anglo-Indian accused by the British intelligentsia of repressing Indians he was particularly interested in American treatment of Red Indians. He was startled by the frank American attitude to genocide. (Ch. 28, *From Sea to Sea*, XVI, p. 139). Scattered throughout his *From Sea to Sea* are anti-Semitic remarks, yet he values the artistic capacities which the Jew will bring to "The Man of the Future", the American produced by miscegenation.

The double standards of his own race provoke comments which reveal in Kipling a sympathy for human beings not bounded by prejudices of class or race. On board a liner he noted that a stewardess was treated by her compatriots as if she were a cur. (Ch. 6, *From Sea to Sea*, XV, 291). In London he observed that "through all the shifting, shouting brotheldom the pious British householder and his family bored their way back from the theatres, eyes front and fixed, as though not seeing" (*Something of Myself*, p. 87), while intellectuals and liberals condemn Anglo-Indians, asserting that "the British in India spent violent lives 'oppressing' the Native. (This in a

land where white girls of sixteen, at twelve or fourteen pounds per annum, hauled thirty or forty pounds weight of bathwater at a time up four flights of stairs!)" (*Ibid.*, p. 91).

Widely travelled as he is, Kipling is in a position to make a comparative study of civilisations. His outlook is cosmopolitan. He objects to Americans calling Hindus and Mahometans "heathen", "pagans" and "idolaters" just as he heartily dislikes the British officer who calls Indians "black vermin" or "niggers", which "besides being extreme bad form, shows gross ignorance". ("On the City Wall"). No doubt some readers, with Edmund Wilson, will object to Kim's "going sahib" ("The Kipling That Nobody Read") instead of "going native" and others will resent the stirring of white blood prompting the Eurasian to decision and responsibility in "His Chance in Life". Wilson's is a highly debatable artistic point which he makes entirely racial. Simultaneously, with the implied activation owed to the infusion of European blood, Kipling depicts the inter-racial twilight of the Eurasian, his double racial allegiance, his discriminatory attitude towards Indians, with intense verisimilitude, insight and sad sympathy. In the course of time, Eurasians, Kipling anticipated, could well become the only true racial reconcilers in India. "His Private Honour" envisages them as the pioneers and developers of British territories around India. Uninhibited racial interbreeding he saw as the solution to racialism. "Without Benefit of Clergy", "Georgie Porgie", "Lispeth" and "Beyond the Pale" deal unabashedly with inter-racial liaisons in a day when they were regarded as disgusting and involving white loss of caste. Except for "Without Benefit of Clergy", white men emerge as treacherous and sexually predatory. Just as he is open about emotional relationships between the races so he is open about the estrangements between British and Indians in his preface to *In Black and White*. Wali Dad in the story "On the City Wall" reveals a common, pitiable situation when, ironically, he casts himself in the rôle of Indian sahib :

I might wear an English coat and trousers. I might be a leading Mahommedan 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.

The address "England and the English" includes a reminder that the English themselves are the beneficiaries of multi-racialism. The racial tolerance that is part of his ethic is explicit in his poem "In the Neolithic Age" where he proclaims :

There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays

And — every — single — one — of — them — is right.

Similarly, to a Britain that wove a myth of moral superiority around itself justifying the despatch of an army of missionaries to the Empire's "heathen", Kipling warned in another poem, "Buddha at Kamakura", that there are more ways than one in which to organise society and the religious impulse. Within his broad imperial conspectus his treatment of the Indians of many tribes is imbued with understanding. In India the coloured and white gulf is not the only one. Hillsmen and plainsmen live in discord. The deepest empathy and the keenest observation

emerge from Kipling's treatment of the warrior hill-tribes. Considerations other than tribal or racial are what matter. Barbaric these highlanders may be to the Bengalis and the British, but what will always overcome all difference is respect for the inner character, a theme which Kipling expounds in "The Ballad of East and West". All too often one key stanza is misleadingly quoted in truncated form, and it is this one:

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, tho' they come from the  
ends of the earth.

In contradistinction to the hill warrior is the Bengali whose temperament generally speaking suits him for a mercantile or an official career. He is despised by the hillsmen because he is unwarlike. Another common Bengali characteristic is that once educated he becomes more English than the English. In adopting a western *persona*, however, he betrays his weakness in failing to be unashamedly Bengali. ("The Head of the District"). Like the Japanese, in Kipling's view, some Indians seem to be renouncing their heritage in order to become "modified Europeans". (Ch. 14, *From Sea to Sea*, XV, 388, 402). But Kipling is not expressing general contempt for Bengalis. After all, such a Bengali, Grish Chinder Dé won his degree in competition with English students and he was a good official. ("The Head of the District"). One of the heroes of *Kim* is the courageous Bengali, Hurree Chunder Mookerjee. Buried in remote Boondi, unacknowledged, he carries out at risk, service vital to British security. Both intimate knowledge and sympathy for Indians at all levels emerge from *In Black and White*, *The Naulahka*, "*City of Dreadful Night*", "*The Smith Administration*" and from *Kim*. Moreover, Kipling the alleged "racialist" it is who writes nostalgically in "The Master Lodge" of open inter-racial exchanges of ideas. Again, in "Letters of Marque" (Ch. 18, XV, 206-211), he stresses the utter dependence of a touring Englishman on Indians for survival and for companionship when in remote country.

As patriotic verse went out of fashion so Kipling was increasingly accused of narrow, violent chauvinism. It is folly to trump up excuses for Kipling's "A Song of the English" and his other compositions of this genre. It is, at the least, unfair to distort Kipling's conspectus and to say that patriotic enthusiasm predominates. It is fair, however, to consider Kipling's historical context. When one does so one forms a new respect for his balance. In British affairs the last quarter of the nineteenth century was an exhilarating time of Empire building, pioneer development and dramatic fortune making, the latter often the product of greed and guile, the seamy side of imperialism.<sup>2</sup> There was throughout British society, generally, an air of confidence, pride and excitement, both thoughtful and thoughtless. What is remarkable about Kipling, however, is the tight rein on his patriotic sentiment. Simple patriotism lacking purpose is not for him. He urges the most advanced industrial power of that brief period of high imperialism to set aside the

mindlessness of sheer possession and exploitation of resources. Share the benefits of the Empire, he exhorts, by developing it and in this way ensure the prosperity and security of all its components into the almost unknowable future. To sustain Empire more than huzzahs and durbars are required. Effort must be maintained and increased. These are challenging exhortations, for Kipling the Empire requires a *raison d'être* "beyond the heat of exercise". (*Something of Myself*, p. 89). The dangers to the Empire are the extremes of lack of interest and glib pride, "for We, even We who share the earth between us as no gods have ever shared it, we also are mortal in the matter of our single selves." (Ch. 36, *From Sea to Sea*, XVI, 252-54). Gradually, as time wears on into the first decade of this century sharp concern is mingled with sad observation: "There never was an Empire which offered such opportunities as ours, and I sometimes think there never was an Empire whose people took less advantage of these opportunities." (Letter to W. Lamb, Sept. 5, 1908. Quoted by V. K. Applin, "Kipling and Empire Union", *Kipling Journal*, June 1931, p. 43). On 1st October, 1907, before the Canadian Club, Toronto, he asked tactfully, this central question: "Are we not each a little too occupied with our immediate present, to take an interest in the potentialities of our neighbour's future?" (*A Book of Words*, p. 27). Again in October, 1907 before the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, Kipling stated that in view of this self preoccupation he had made it his purpose to widen awareness of imperial inter-relationships. (*A Book of Words*, p. 31).

The cynic who is inclined to say that the stress on inter-relationships was but a disguising of Kipling's desire for the continuation of British domination of imperial affairs, will be taken aback by this imperialist's political vision. In the 1880s he was sceptical about India's ability to stand alone as a unit and he was sceptical about the maintenance of administrative standards. ("On the City Wall"). On the other hand, during the same period, he did foresee an independent India with her own flag and much of her enterprise stemming from Eurasians. ("His Private Honour"). In the 1890s the vision is clearer. He foresees an Empire of independent states and the evolutionary process which will include a period of confusion for each state. (Ch. 5, *From Sea to Sea*, XV, 281). It is interesting to note that despite the pejorative connotations of "British imperialism" Kipling does not entertain a plan for a British controlled confraternity, nor does he stipulate that independence should be granted only on the attainment of fully developed economic and political systems. Rather than vaunting imperialism his is a far-reaching, unsentimental view.

The imperial ideal was endangered severely, however, by the Boer War and by divided opinion within Britain. As far back as 1897 as he tells us in *Something of Myself* (p. 147), events in South Africa worried him. His anxiety mounted as the Liberal Government, returned in 1906, showed that the Empire seemed to it to be more a danger than a responsibility, not territory to be developed, but an encumbrance to be discarded. The development and consolidation of the Empire is going to be a more prolonged struggle than Kipling previously anticipated. How he faces the facts of the political "winds of change" may be

examined in a letter of June 16, 1906, to H. S. W. Edwardes published in "Five Letters from Kipling", *Kipling Journal*, December, 1956, pp. 14-15.

It is little wonder that, after the Boer War, Kipling bitterly rebuked Britain's lackadaisical attitude to imperial affairs by writing the poem "The Islanders" instead of an imperial victory song. These are scarcely the lines of the rabid jingoist that propagandists even yet would have us believe him to have been:

Idle — except for boasting — and what is your boasting worth  
If ye grudge a year of service to the lordliest life on earth?

Ancient, effortless, ordered cycle on cycle set,

It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep.

Men, not gods, devised it. Men not gods must keep.

The translation of the imperial vision into reality depends upon sustained effort which goads men "To find, to fashion, and fulfil/The cleaner life, the sterner code." ("The Reformer"). But pure ideal, moral demands, the maintenance of effort and the profit from race memory have a practical end. Throughout his writings Kipling is highly conscious of the cycle of human life and of the cycles in history which have preceded contemporary progress. Civilisations rest upon layers of generations of human endeavour. Posterity depends on such as the three men commemorated in the poems, "The Reformer", "The Explorer" and "The Settler".

A quotation from the *Arabian Nights* prefaces Kipling's famous poem "The City of Brass" (1909) as if he perceives that it may well be the British Empire's epitaph: "Here was a people whom after their works thou shalt see wept over for their lost dominions: and in this palace is the last information respecting lords collected in the dust". It seems possible that the Empire as a power, and as a power for good, would be betrayed by those who, holding power, possessed no vision for it. "The City of Brass" presents Kipling's imperial perspective side by side with his bitter view of imperial iconoclasm in Britain.

In the volume of the *Pelican Guide to English Literature* called *From Dickens to Hardy* A. E. Rodway a severe and inaccurate critic of Kipling, writes that Kipling "often reminds one of a man cheering to keep his courage up", (p. 289). This may well be partially true in the post-Boer War period. When popular inertia was joined by Liberal Party (and later, Labour Party) antagonism to the concept of Empire, Kipling faced the redoubled difficulties opposing the translation of his imperial message into actuality. His private correspondence to his crony H. A. Gwynne of the *Morning Post* records his frustration. (Stewart Private Collection, Halifax, Nova Scotia). He detected a lowering of morale throughout the Empire and this he records in "The Road to Quebec" and in "A Conclusion".

With mounting concern Kipling watched Indian pressure for independence. In a letter to Gwynne (26/11/30) which, incidentally, reveals exceptionally well his intimacy with Indian life, he comments on the immediate problems of India with its diversity of society, race and religion once the detached control of the British is removed. A danger is the possibility of India's reversion to its ancient schismatic

condition, simultaneously destroying the intangible and the material benefits which, overall, Kipling believed, British administrators and technicians had, with dedication and real sacrifice, laboured to give to the people of the sub-continent. The result of apathy and distaste prophesied in "The City of Brass" in 1909 seemed in the 1930s to be round the corner. The abdication by the British from their moral responsibility to the Empire left Kipling deeply disappointed and sometimes embittered as his letters to Gwynne record. (E.g. Feb. 19/31 and July 25/33).

At the end of "The Riddle of the Empire" where he takes the cyclical view of history, Kipling makes the inevitable comparison between the rise and the fall of the Roman Empire and the future of the British Empire. From 1900 on he fears increasingly the likelihood of Roman decline. (In reaction to this dread it seems to me that Kipling's interest in machinery, reflected in his works, stemmed from his interpretation of technological inventions as symbols of the onward and upward growth of the physical Empire in contrast to the decadence he saw in political affairs). In 1913, therefore, he looked to the past and to the future: "It is a hard law but an old one — Rome died learning it, as our western civilisation may die — that if you give any man anything that he has not painfully earned for himself, you infallibly make him or his descendants your devoted enemies". How many times has this come to pass since these words were written? In the end, nine years after his death, as he prophesied, British governments were glad to expedite independence to territories whether or not it was premature, whether or not civilised standards and order were endangered. Like Wells, Orwell and Huxley, Kipling's prophetic powers could not take into account the unprecedented speed of change in international politics and in military developments. Today, his attitudes earn for Kipling, among others, the label of Conservative. Yet they are consistent with his not ignoble philosophy incorporating the morality recognised by all men, his concept of the Law, his emphases on effort, service and the ordering of chaos. Standards had to be achieved; they never could be lowered otherwise the results of endeavour would be weak and ephemeral. For those who held power in Britain his philosophy was too idealistic and unrelated to international political and economic realities.

Kipling was a man of a wide and uncanny, almost prophetic, vision. He was no mindless, hysterical upholder of an established imperial order, the hooligan of R. W. Buchanan,<sup>3</sup> but a man of deep intelligence which he exercised on the realities of a wide experience. Consequently, he sought for the long-term purpose of the Empire and he tried to predict its changing shapes and ultimate form. The result, in his mind, was the concept of what we now call Commonwealth, to which we give as little thought as did the majority of Kipling's contemporaries to the old Empire, however much we pay it lipservice. In his mind's eye he saw emergent nations enduring adolescent difficulties. As a polyglot group the independent states of the Commonwealth would bridge political, racial and economic gulfs and provide a global power which would discourage international wars. He urged the taking of the first steps with a minimum of talk but a new milieu devalued his ideals.

He was practical, moralistic, stoical, imaginative, shrewd, sympathetic—and unwaveringly honest, to the misfortune both of his public reputation and of his imperialism whose moral values remained steadfast throughout decades of shifting values. He never explained. He did not need to, for all that he was and all that he propounded survives to be rediscovered in his writings.

- 1 Apart from *A Book of Words, Works*, (Doubleday Doran, 1941, XXIV), and *Something of Myself*, (Macmillan, 1937), references are to Scribner's *The Writings in Prose and Verse* (New York: 1897-1920), 28 volumes.
- 2 Some of the more thoughtful and concerned anti-imperial writings of the period appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, e.g. Archdeacon Farrar, "Africa and the Drink Trade," July 1887, LII, 39-54; Meredith Townsend, "Will England Retain India?," June 1888, LUI, 795-813; R. Wallace (MP), "The Seamy Side of Imperialism," LXXV, 782-99. Unsigned, "The Anglo-Indian Creed," August 1899, LXXVI, 272-81; J. A. Hobson, "Capitalism and Imperialism in South Africa," January 1900, LXXVII, 1-17.
- 3 R. W. Buchanan and Sir W. Besant, *The Voice of the Hooligan: A Discussion of Kiplingism*, (New York: Tucker, 1900).

(Toronto, Canada)

## KIPLING'S USE OF INDO-PAKISTANI LANGUAGES

By Shamsul Islam

Kipling had a good spoken knowledge of Urdu or Hindustani—the *lingua franca* of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent—and besides that, he was familiar with Panjabi. As a matter of fact, Kipling knew Urdu long before he learnt to speak English properly. We have Kipling's own word for it. In his Autobiography, Kipling writes that in his childhood days at Bombay, Urdu or Hindustani was "the vernacular idiom that one thought and dreamed in". He talked to Meeta, his Hindu bearer, so constantly in the vernacular that his *ayah* (nurse) had to remind him to speak English to his parents at supper: "Speak English now to Papa and Mamma", she would caution. "So one spoke 'English' ", Kipling remarks, "haltingly translated out of the vernacular idiom". In 1882, when Kipling returned to India to take up his assignment with the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore, he had almost forgotten Urdu. Nevertheless, the moment he landed at Bombay, the words and phrases of his childhood days, he informs us in *Something of Myself* (1937), were on the tip of his tongue through some mysterious process.

Kipling's works are interspersed with Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi words and phrases, which are not always translated into English. This practice is easily understandable as far as his early career is concerned when he was writing for a limited Anglo Indian audience. However, what is worth noticing is that Kipling continues to use Indo-Pakistani languages in the revised versions of his Indian works as well as later writings aimed at an English speaking audience in general. The use of these languages, which are so foreign to the English ear, may irritate the reader who has never been to the East. A careful study of Kipling's works, however, reveals that Kipling is not simply showing off

his knowledge of Oriental languages, but that he is making a highly functioning use of these resources. In this essay, I shall briefly suggest some of the uses to which Indo-Pakistani languages are put in Kipling's works.

In the first place, as mentioned earlier, one should keep in mind that Kipling started writing for an Anglo-Indian audience, and therefore a sprinkling of Indian words and phrases meant an added attraction for the Anglo-Indian reader. Apart from this business trick—and Kipling was a good business man—the more important reason for his use of Indian languages is that he was trying to introduce India to an English speaking audience that had never been to the Orient; thus Indian words and phrases, combined with his photographic Indian settings, gave an air of authenticity to his picture of India. The following examples will illustrate these two points.

In one of his early uncollected poems, "Laid Low" (1884), Kipling writes about a topical subject—cutting of trees near Montgomery Hall in Lahore—in the language of an Anglo-Indian, which amounts to a strange mixture of English and distorted Urdu :

"*Dekho !* Look here. *Ye burra hai*,  
 "And this is *chota* don't you see?  
 "And Priest of that dread creed am I  
 "Which worships Uniformity.  
 "*Iswasti, baito* by the beds  
 "And cut *kurro* the *lumbar* heads".<sup>1</sup>

This passage is essentially dramatic. The narrator is here giving instructions to an Indian *mali* (gardener), and the use of the vernacular makes the lines throb with life.

Similarly, in another uncollected poem, "From the Hills" (1885), Kipling draws the familiar picture of the over-worked Anglo-Indian civil servant, who is condemned to a lonely and miserable life in the hot plains :

Scant time indeed have I had to be merry,  
 Little of leave and less of delight,  
 Stewing all day in that frowsy *Kutcherry* :  
 What do I care? She is coming to-night!  
 Tennis be hanged! I am off to the Station,  
 "*Tum-tum men tattu hamara rukho !*"  
 . . . My bearer's a drunkard; my *sais* cribs the gram;  
 . . . I'm only a Stunt-sahib employed in the "Revenue";<sup>2</sup>

It goes without saying that the vernacular words—*kutcherry* (court), *sais* (groom), and *Tum-tum men tattu hamaro rukho* (Put my pony in the carriage)—add a touch of realism to the picture of the Anglo-Indian civil servant.

The way in which the vernacular makes his scenes and dialogues alive is especially seen in the soldier stories. Here is an example from "The Three Musketeers" (1887):

<sup>1</sup> This poem appeared in *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, on November 20, 1884. It is also included in the extremely rare edition of Kipling's *Uncollected Verse* (1881-1922). The Kipling Collection at Dalhousie University has a copy of this particular publication. See p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Uncollected Verse* (1881-1922), p. 132. This poem originally appeared in *Quartette* (1885), the Christmas Annual of the *Civil & Military Gazette*, to which Kipling, his parents, and sister contributed. The Kipling Collection at Dalhousie University has a copy of this rare edition as well.

I purshued a *hekka*, an' I sez to the dhriver-divil, I sez, 'Ye black limb, there's a Sahib comin' for this *hekka*. He wants to go *jildi* to the Padsahi Jhil'—'twas about tu moiles away—to shoot snipe—*chirria*. You dhrive *Jehannum ke marfik*, *mallum*—like Hell? 'Tis no manner av use *bukkin* to the Sahib, bekaze he doesn't *samjao* your talk. Av he bolos anything, just you *choop* and *chel*. *Dekker?* Go *arsty* for the first *arder-mile* from canton-mints. Thin *chel*, *Shaitan ke marfik*, an' the *chooper* you *choops* an' the *jildier* you *chels* the better *kooshy* will that Sahib be; an' here's a rupee for ye.

Any person who has served in the British Indian Army will recognize the realism of this kind of mixed army language. Furthermore, it may be noted that the language in this passage is suited to the speaker. Private Learoyd here uses eighteen Urdu words and two full length Urdu phrases: out of these eight are imperatives and three are nasty curses, while the rest of the vernacular words are concerned with basic concepts. The English reader does not have to know the vernacular words, for the very sound and tone of these words and phrases contribute to the projection of the crude personality of Private Learoyd.

Kipling's mastery of the language of the Tommy in India is further borne out by an uncollected item "A Campaigning Phrase Book" (1888), which appeared under the signature "R.K." in *The Pioneer* on 23rd October, 1888, *Pioneer Mail* on 24th October, 1888. This article is a burlesque of a German phrase book issued to the German army for use in its campaigns in foreign countries. "The Indian Government, we understand", the writer goes on to say, "have in the press a somewhat similar dictionary for the use of the British soldier in his little expeditions". Then Kipling proceeds to give "a few extracts from The Manual of Conversation", and some of these phrases are as follows:

Who is this person? *Kone O, tum yonder!*

Where is the enemy? *Kidderabouts Paythan!*

Is he in that nullah? *Nullah mallum! Kooch anybody there hai!*

Is he behind that mountain? *Lumber hill waller junter! T'other side ooper hai!*

Is he in force? *Kitna them beggars!*

Is he going to fight? *Shindy ho-jaiga!*

Indicate his position? *Just you bloomin' well butlao!*

Kipling does not, however, employ the vernacular for realism only, but he uses Indo-Pakistani languages for deeper artistic purposes as well. One may note that India, to a Westerner, was and perhaps is still associated with mystery, beauty, summer, *fakirs* and mystics, dusky-eyed maidens, romance, jungles, cobras, elephants, and magic casements opening on perilous seas. The European literature of the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries is, in general, full of these romantic concepts about India and the Orient. Kipling makes full use of these age-old associations which are conjured up by the very word India in the reader's mind: though he writes like one who knows India in and out, yet somehow or other Kipling maintains and strengthens the sense of mystery, wonder, and distance about India in his writings. It is here that Kipling's superb craftsmanship comes to the fore, for he succeeds in achieving this strange effect of involvement and detachment simultaneously; and the vernacular is one of his chief devices for producing this particular effect. Let me illustrate this point.

"In the House of Suddhoo" (1886) is set in a particular house near the Taksali Gate in the walled city of Lahore:

The house of Suddhoo, near the Taksali Gate, is two-storied, with four carved windows of old brown wood, and a flat roof. You may recognize it by five red hand-prints arranged like the Five of Diamonds on the white-wash between the upper windows.

Besides Suddhoo, the other occupants of the house are Bhagwan Dass, a *bunni* (grocer), an un-named seal-cutter, and Janoo and Azizun, ladies belonging to a profession "more or less honourable" and with whom the narrator is on very close terms indeed.

After this effective opening, which is full of local colour, the narrator takes us to the nearby Huzuri Bagh, a historic garden "opposite the door of Ranjit Singh's Tomb near the main gate of the Fort". Here he meets the credulous old Suddhoo, who tells him how the seal-cutter is going to cure his son by magic, and Suddhoo asks the narrator to witness the *jadoo* (magic) work in order to ensure that it is white magic.

The scene now shifts to the pitch dark rooms of Janoo and Azizun where the performance takes place. Here we see the half-naked seal-cutter with a wreath of white jasmine flowers performing a kind of ritual associated with Egyptian teraphim. The highly realistic framework of the story, however, cuts down the strangeness and the horror of the *jadoo*-work of the seal-cutter. It is here that the vernacular words and phrases seem to do an impossible task. Like the narrator, Janoo sees through the absurdity of the magical performance, and she exclaims in Urdu: "*Asli nahin! Fareib*". These words, which mean "not real! fraud" are not translated, and the very sound of these words recaptures the sense of mystery, wonder, and distance, which the reader was perhaps apt to lose by this stage. Thus we see that the vernacular combined with local photographic settings produces a realistic effect, and at the same time the foreignness of the sound of these words and phrases contributes to the creation of a distance between the story and the reader.

"Without Benefit of Clergy" (1890) is another example of the way in which Urdu words and phrases help in producing an effect of involvement and detachment simultaneously. This highly moving tragedy of Holden and Ameera is played out against a background of India's silent malignant power that poisons all human relationships between the English and Indians. In the passage quoted below, the naming of the new born son—that frail bond between East and West which is soon to be snapped by "the seasonal autumnal fever"—is the subject of discussion between the lovers :

"Then call him Tota, for that is likest English."

"Ay, Tota, and that is still the parrot. Forgive me, my Lord, for a minute ago, but in truth he is too little to wear all the weight of Mian Mittu for name. He shall be Tota—our Tota to us. Hearest thou, O small one? Littlest, thou art Tota." She touched the child's cheek, and he waking wailed, and it was necessary to return him to his mother, who soothed him with the wonderful rhyme of *Are koko, Jare koko*.

This dramatic dialogue coupled with Urdu phrases and rhymes makes the scene alive and real, but at the same time, the strange Urdu words—*Tota, Mian Mittu, Are koko, Jare koko*, make the English reader feel the remoteness of such an experience.

Kipling also enjoyed using Panjabi puns in his writings. As far as I am aware, Panjabi is one of those rare languages in which almost every word is double-edged. And Kipling, who had a very strong Elizabethan tendency to indulge in word-play, must have found Panjabi

very congenial to his temperament. "In Flood Time" (1888) gives an example of Kipling's use of Panjabi puns. In this Browningsque dramatic monologue, the old Muslim *mahout* (elephant driver) looks back nostalgically on his youth when he was handsome, sensuous, and strong. In those days, he could cross the flooded Barhwi in order to meet his beloved, a Hindi girl, but things are different now: "I was no ghost in those days, though I am an old man now", and then come the puns, "Ho! Ho! Dried corn, in truth. Maize without juice. Ho! Ho!" And Kipling comments in a footnote:

I grieve to say that the Warden of Barhwi Ford is responsible for two very bad puns in the vernacular—R.K.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing examples, which can be multiplied indefinitely, show the highly functional uses of Indo-Pakistani languages in Kipling's works. This conclusion disproves the oft-repeated charge that Kipling's early writings in particular are made obscure by his use of the vernacular. The meaning is sufficiently indicated by the context. Moreover, as I have shown above, the reader does not have to know the vernacular in order to appreciate the atmosphere produced by the very sound of these foreign languages.

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<sup>3</sup>A reader acquainted with Panjabi will recognize that these puns are: "*Daaney mook gae ney. Bootey sook gae ney.*"

## REPORT ON DISCUSSION MEETING

19th February, 1969, at the Royal Society of St. George. Out of a bitter north-east wind, force five, and later a blinding snowstorm, the devoted adherents of our discussion meetings enjoyed, by contrast, the atmosphere, if only literary, of the Indian jungles.

They were amply rewarded. Mr. Roger Lancelyn Green, the Editor of this Journal, which receives special editorial approval in the current issue of the Journal of the Shaw Society, had chosen for his subject this evening Mowgli, the hero of the Jungle stories in the two *Jungle Books*. The following is a necessarily abridged account of his most entertaining discourse.

To begin with Mr. Green settled all doubts about the pronunciation of the hero's name by quoting Kipling's words: 'Mowgli is a name I made up. It does not mean "frog" in any language that I know of . . . 'Mow rhymes with cow', not as in cutting grass, and not as Walt Disney does, giving "Mog-lee" (Mog rhyming with dog).

"Little Frog" may have been suggested by Bulwer Lytton's *The Coming Race*, one of Kipling's seeming favourites (quoted in *A Fleet in Being*, and surely an influence in *As Easy as A.B.C.*) the hero of which is called 'Tish', meaning "Little Frog" in the Vril-ya language. The moral of this story, "Man goes to man" is very much that of the Mowgli stories.

Children brought up by animals are a subject of remote superstitions and mythologies . . . and may derive from Totemism. Mowgli

in such primitive societies might have been of the Wolf Totem and ultimately descended from a mythological Wolf Father, and there are other echoes in Greek and Roman legends, e.g. Arcas, eponymous hero of Arcadia, suckled by a great she-bear, and Romulus and Remus carried by a she-wolf to her lair on the Palatine Hill and there nurtured until adopted by a shepherd, finally to become the founders of Rome.

"Peter the Wild Boy" mentioned in chapbooks of the eighteenth century and possibly later, known by Kipling in current nursery lore, was found in the Hertswold forest in Hanover in 1725 walking on all fours and living like an animal. Aged about twelve when brought to England and adopted by a farmer of Berkhamsted, he never learned to speak more than a few words though he lived until 1785—and left no known account of his forest life.

Whatever Kipling knew about the Wild Boy, he certainly knew Anna Hart's story in verse, "Wolfie" in *Child Nature*, the "brown and fat book" in which he found the girl who was turned into a water rat 'as a matter of course', the Urchin with the cabbage-leaf and the 'Darling' who tried to sweep the stars off the sky.

These childhood recollections together with Linton Maberly's adventures in *King Lion* lay dormant until the *Jungle Books* began to be born, but may not have wakened in his mind when writing 'In the Rukh', he having plenty of material of a different kind for Mowgli's background as a grown man.

'Wolf children', continued the speaker, seem always to have been a commonplace in India: I remember a photograph of one in *The Times* when I was a boy. Colonel Sleeman's factual Account of *Wolves Nurturing Children in their Dens* (1852), passages in Sterndale's *The Mammalia of British India* (1884) were available for his reference, also a passage in his father's *Beast and Man in India* (1891): 'India is probably the cradle of wolf-child stories, which are here universally believed and supported by a cloud of testimony including, in the famous Lucknow case of a wolf boy, the evidence of European witnesses.

'Normally they die young, dese people' says Müller in "In the Rukh". Kipling here develops fact into fiction, challenging our ability to suspend disbelief. I think he pulls it off but opinions differ: he succeeds of course in the stories of Mowgli's jungle youth.

Professor Carrington has said: "The baby Mowgli might conceivably exist, and so might Mowgli the wild boy, but they could hardly be the same person". However (said Mr. Green) Kipling makes us believe that they are and herein lies much of the greatness of the stories. Compare their most notable imitation, the ponderous chronicles of Tarzan of the Apes in all their twenty-five volumes and see the difference. This is not to run down Tarzan, giver of many hours of delight, nor his creator Edgar Rice Burroughs, who has added a character to literary folk-lore even if nothing else to literature. Once I found the Tarzan stories easy to believe but with a subtle difference: even then Tarzan lacked a dimension which Mowgli always commanded, and still does. Mowgli is utterly Kipling's creation: Tarzan is a wandering wraith of Mowgli to be clothed with our own imagination. To say that Tarzan does not really exist would not be true, for somehow Burroughs has created a real personality. But his adventures do not exist in the same

way as Mowgli's: we can invent more adventures for Tarzan—Fritz Leiber in fact has done so both on paper and celluloid in *Tarzan and the Valley of Gold* in 1966—much better written than any of Burroughs' books, but honesty makes one admit that the personality is missing. It is dead invention, as dead as the fake *Exploits of Sherlock Holmes*, by Adrian Doyle and J. C. Carr. No one else could write another Mowgli story: one cannot even imagine it. I used to try as a boy, but the result was bad parody and worse imitation.'

Mr. Green then marshalled the known facts from the author's own writings (*Something of Myself*) and Mrs. Kipling's diaries as quoted by Professor Carrington to prove that 'In the Rukh' was the first written of the Jungle stories, and as to the subsequent tales his statement that 'In the stillness and suspense of the winter of '92 some memory of the Masonic Lions of my childhood's magazine, and a phrase from Haggard's *Nada the Lily* combined with this tale ('In the Rukh'). 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*.'. He also wrote in *McClure's Magazine* in 1896 of a reprint of "In the Rukh": 'This tale was the first written of the Mowgli stories . . .'

In spite of these definite statements (he continued) it has been suggested that he wrote "Mowgli's Brothers" before "In the Rukh" from the fact the former is the first of the Mowgli stories mentioned in Mrs. Kipling's diary (1892), but this and other supplementary diary notes do not, he thinks, prove much, as she did not mention every story, but later (1898) a cryptic note in the diary states 'R. starts to write the *last* of the Stalky stories, which after the Jungle fashion is the first'; which can surely only mean that the *last* Mowgli adventure was written first.

Speaking of the revision of "In the Rukh" (probably little more than a link) leads us on, said Mr. Green, to a point which seems to me of great interest—the original setting of the Mowgli stories. Mowgli 'came from the north' (statement to Gisborne, "In the Rukh") while Seeonee is many hundred miles to the south of any site proposed for The Rukh, which is said to have been in 'The Forests of the Doon', south of Simla, but they are not mentioned in the story. The only identifiable place (excepting perhaps the Kanye River) is Changamanga Forest, about 50 miles S.W. of Lahore (where Müller should have been—Gisborne). There is no reason why Gisborne's Rukh should not have been a hundred miles or more further to the south. This fits in with the opening of "Mowgli's Brothers" in the original MS. (vide reproduction in facsimile in Mrs. Carpenter's *Rudyard Kipling: A Friendly Profile*, 1942) which is in the Library of Congress. From this Mr. Green deduces that he placed Mowgli's jungle in the Aravulli Hills, in the state of Mewar, and Gisborne's Rukh could have been south of that, but in no circumstances south of Seeonee. It seems certain that Kipling originally imagined Mowgli's jungle as in Mewar—which he knew so well and so vividly described in *Letters of Marque*.

Naturally Kipling adapted the geography to suit his stories. But the Cold Lairs can be nowhere but Chitorgarh—70 miles south-east of Udaipur where Bagheera was born in the King's cages and lived until

his broken lock freed him. There is now a large modern village beneath the jungle-covered slopes of Chitor—it was there, though very much smaller, when Kipling visited the site: he had only to remove it altogether in the stories. Not far from Chitor, and exactly on the line Kipling must have followed on his journey, as I followed the same route last year, I'll swear that I saw the original Council Rock—a great red hill-top dotted with loose stones and boulders, with scrubby jungle round the base and a river below it. Sitting on the wall of Chitorgarh, I looked across the plain to the Aravulli Hills—the plain largely cultivated, but it may have been primeval jungle eighty years ago. In Chitorgarh itself I ate my lunch in the Queen's Summerhouse overlooking the great tank on the steps of which the Bandarlog were still playing.

Perhaps I am being fanciful—I have not been to Seonee; but Kipling hadn't either, and I think he forgot, even after he had changed the scene of Mowgli's jungle. Otherwise, why were Hathi and his sons concerned in the sack of the fields of Bhurtpore in the Mewar district, although available hundreds of miles further south to sack the village of the Man Pack at some undefined site near the Satpura Range? I have asked this question in vain, and ask it again: why did Kipling change from Mewar which he knew to Seonee which he did not know?

He then illustrated the 'almost impossible task' of finding quotations or references that may even have given Kipling background ideas for the Jungle stories, and pointed out inconsistencies in the names of the animals both as compared with Sterndale's work, and within the author's own books.

As for the site of the stories, Mr. Green found it quite understandable that Kipling should decide at the last moment not to pin Mowgli down to any actual place in India. Apparently he did not want to cut him off completely from geographical India: yet if so, why did he not invent a name for the district and perhaps the river, leaving, as he does, the casual reference to Udaipur and Bhurtpore? Why substitute for the definite Aravulli and Mewar the equally definite but quite unsuitable Seonee, with the variant Waingunga for the actual Ban Gunga, and the references to Khaniwara, a real place a reasonable distance from Seonee?

But what's in a name? Mowgli's Jungle is utterly real whatever it is called . . . And the Mowgli stories live and are likely to go on living among great works of literature precisely because they are more than just stories about a boy among Indian animals—however good they may be simply as animal stories. 'Since Kipling had no knowledge of natural history, and makes no effort to present it', wrote Ernest Thompson Seton, Naturalist to the Government of Manitoba as well as author of some of the best purely factual animal stories, 'and since furthermore his animals talk and live like men, his stories are not animal stories in the realistic sense; they are wonderful, beautiful fairy tales'.

Myths would perhaps be a better description than fairy tales—but indeed there is no word that precisely describes stories of this kind; there is in them a touch of the numinous (but don't ask me to pin it down), there is much of allegory (but of all things don't let any of us

try to interpret it, or the message will be lost); they are mythopoeic in the sense that each of us who comes under their spell finds in them some echo or reflection of our own lives, our own spiritual adventures. As I said earlier on, of all characters in fiction Mowgli seems to be the one with which a boy can identify himself most fully. I have tried again and again to decide why that is so, but I do not think there is any cut-and-dried answer. Or, if there is, may I now ask you to supply it—or at least express your views on the subject.

As Mr. Green ended his what might with justice be called learned discourse, Professor Carrington at once plunged into the discussion with the zest of an old campaigner in this field, drawing largely upon his own experience in his Indian travels for the identification of the places mentioned in the *Jungle Books*. Coming to the tales, one can never, he said, "date" a Kipling story with complete certainty. He changed his mind, laid tales aside partially complete and then went back a long while after and altered them. (Mr. Green signified agreement.) His early stories were simple narration; the later ones displayed an elaboration of his philosophical ideas. As a story "In the Rukh" is of secondary importance. As to the author's sources, he said that during visits to Bateman's about twenty years ago he found unlimited opportunity to examine Sterndale's *Mammalia of India*, bearing all the marks of continuous reference. Speaking of wolf-children, he quoted Lord Hailey (learned in Indian matters, who celebrated his 97th birthday the Saturday before this meeting) to the effect that stories about them abound in India, but they are untrue; they "smell of the lamp" and all come out of books.

After this the discussion became general and most of those present had something of interest to contribute. Mrs. Newsom gave her opinion that in describing the scenery of the Bee Rocks episode Kipling surpasses even himself.

The meeting closed with a warm vote of thanks to Mr. Green for the most delightfully informative treatise on *The Jungle Books* it has yet been our privilege to hear.

During the proceedings the President took an opportunity to mention his appreciation of the work of the Chairman, who is also the organizer and reporter of these discussions, over the past seven years, and in particular his spritely and often amusing accounts which appear in the Journal—for which he observed notes even then being taken. Your reporter regrets that he was unprepared with an adequate expression of thanks, as he was suffering a slight indisposition, which may, but he hopes not, have been noticed by the audience.

P.W.I.

## LETTER BAG

### IS KIPLING 'ENG. LIT.'?

There are others more qualified than I am to answer the query in the December *Journal* on the reading of Kipling in university English departments, although I remember once being shown a thesis on Kipling and Indian politics which did not even mention 'The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P.' It is perhaps worth remarking that a few of the books have been used in schools for many years and that school readers and cheap school editions of suitable books were first published long ago while the standard editions remained expensive. I recall my form using such an edition of *Puck of Pook's Hill* over thirty years ago, and it was not new then.

At present *Kim* appears to represent Kipling as a 'set book' in O-level or A-level English Literature alongside *Far from the Madding Crowd*, *Sons and Lovers* and *A Passage to India*, to name other relatively modern selections. One hopes that the children involved are not prejudiced for life against the book and the author, as can happen so easily. In my own mind Wordsworth is still a School Certificate subject rather than a poet, although there is always hope, for Kipling himself was taught "to loathe Horace for two years; to forget him for twenty, and then to love him for the rest of my days and through many sleepless nights." In recent years at least two cribs have appeared to help the pupils to acquire the certificates which are only too necessary nowadays. '*Notes on Chosen English Texts*' published by James Brodie Ltd., Bath, includes notes on *Kim* by K. Hardacre, M.A., and very good they are. Many adults, perhaps even members of the Society, could gain something from the textual notes as they read the novel, in spite of the inclusion of some rather obvious explanations, whilst the sample questions would test some of us severely, I fancy. There are useful sketch maps, and, best of all, a simplified drawing of the Wheel of Life and an account of it. A series called Coles Notes, which seems to be Canadian in origin, also includes *Kim* and, according to a bookseller, is much more approved of by the schoolboy. One can see why this is, because the commentary more or less saves him the trouble of reading the book and even supplies answers to possible questions, so that whilst the notes help him to pass the examination they do not appear to increase his appreciation of the novel.

F. A. UNDERWOOD

### UNIVERSITY OF LONDON : R. ED. EXAMINATION : 1969

Part 2. For Internal Students.

ENGLISH

Section B : Major Author in Depth (In Lieu of Modern Literature).

Tuesday 17 June 2.30 to 5.30

Answer either Two or Three questions.

## RUDYARD KIPLING

9. How far is it just to regard Kipling as a Jingoistic and racially prejudiced writer? Discuss with reference to particular works.
10. Evaluate, with reference to particular works, Kipling's dramatic quality as a poet and story teller.
11. "Kipling does write poetry, but that is not what he is setting out to do" (T. S. Eliot). Discuss this statement, with close reference to particular poems.
12. To what advantage does Kipling use dialect.
13. "To the very end, and often in the same work, the good Kipling lies beside the bad." Discuss this comment, with detailed reference to *one* example of Kipling's earlier, and *one* of his later, prose fictions.
14. Discuss the emphasis on cruelty and violence in Kipling's stories.
15. Discuss the significance of *one* of these in Kipling's work:
  - (a) locality
  - (b) historical imagination
  - (c) childhood
  - (d) duty
  - (e) machinery
16. Which of Kipling's works do you feel would have a particular appeal to children today? Justify your answer with reference to specific works.

The reason for the numbers starting at 9 was that the Kipling section was between a section on T. S. Eliot and one on D. H. Lawrence. Other major authors chosen included Fielding, George Eliot, Hardy and Forster.

M. LEDGARD.

## THE WORST SLIP

Perhaps I should mention, in amplification of my claim to have identified this mistake, that the error on page 124 of *Captains Courageous* involves both the seaman branch and the engine-room, by which it qualifies as the "worst slip" under Kipling's own terms of reference. No other error disclosed in this correspondence to date has yet qualified under these terms.

P.W.I.

It has always seemed to me that there was some confusion about Naval ranks in "Their Lawful Occasions", Part 1. There is an early reference to "Lieutenant Commander A. L. Hignett, in charge of three Destroyers." Then a little later, Pyecroft recounts to Moorshed his conversation with Commander Fasset and refers to him as "a full lootenant commandin' six thirty-knot destroyers for the first time".

It seems reasonable that if three Destroyers are commanded by a Lt.-Commander, six should be a Commander's command. But why then should Kipling refer to him as "a full lootenant"?

Is this a slip, or can a Naval expert supply the explanation?

D. B. VALE.

# The Kipling Society

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