



The
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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.

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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

COUNCIL MEETINGS

At 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I, at 2 p.m.

Wednesday, 19th September, 1973, after A.G.M.—see below.

Wednesday, 19th December, 1973.

Note change of time to 2 p.m.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

At 50 Eaton Place at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, 19th September, to be followed by Council Meeting, as above.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

At St. George's Club, 4 Wilton Mews, S.W.I, at 5.30 for 6 p.m.

Wednesday, Sept. 19th, 1973: Mr. T. L. A. Daintith will speak on "Kipling's Love Stories".

Wednesday, Nov. 21st, 1973: Mr. Michael Curtis will speak on "The Engineer and the District Officer".

ANNUAL LUNCHEON

The Annual Luncheon of the Kipling Society will be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2, on Tuesday, 30th October. The Guest of Honour will be John Gross Esq., Editor of "Rudyard Kipling, the Man, his Work, and his World".

Application forms will be sent out in September.

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NEWS AND NOTES

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

The Exhibition in Brighton (9 May to 31 August) received good notices in the Press, and its printed Catalogue will be a valuable addition to any collection on the subject—particularly from the personal and domestic point of view. The writer of the *Times* 'Note Book' gave it very high praise, but lamented that there was to be an evening devoted to 'the unutterable Kipling'. Later he confessed to receiving many letters of objection, but none were published and he remained unconverted. Unfortunately neither your Editor nor (so far as can be discovered) any member of the Society was present on the Kipling Evening; no review seems to be forthcoming—and so we can pass no judgement.

As far as the Exhibition is concerned, the Kiplings do not seem to have been particularly well represented: Lockwood only by a late reprint of *Beast and Man in India* and an article on 'The Art and Industries of the Punjab' in *The Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. II, No. 20, 1888; and Rudyard by ten volumes of his early works that were first published in India. But these do not include *Quartette*, *Echoes* or *Letters of Marque*; *Departmental Ditties* is represented only by third and fourth editions, and only *Plain Tales* and *Wee Willie Winkie* are in first editions. There is also a copy of the photograph of the furniture from the *Pioneer* office which appeared in the *Kipling Journal* some years ago—but nothing else with any personal connection. It seems a pity that Lockwood Kipling is not included in the big collection of 'Professional British Artists in India'; but the accent of the whole Exhibition is on the earlier periods of British India, though Edward Lear and Walter Crane are represented. But, for example, Patrick Russell's *Account of Indian Serpents* (1796) is included rather than Sir Joseph Fayrer's classic *Thanatophidia* (1872), and the zoological works of Pennant (1790) and Hardwicke (1830) rather than Sterndale.

But the literary side plays only a minor part in the Exhibition: its great value lies in the superb collection of personal souvenirs ranging from uniforms and medals to sporting trophies and articles of domestic use—plus photographs, sketches and scrap books beyond number.

KIPLING ON AMERICA

This is the title of an article by Hugh Brogan which appeared in *The Journal of American Studies* in April of this year, and is well worth seeking out and adding to any Kipling Collection. 'Kipling's ripest comments on the United States are to be found in the late (1926) story, *The Prophet and the Country*', begins Mr. Brogan, and after a rough analysis of the story goes on, 'Like most of Kipling's late works [it] is

exceedingly complex, yielding up its innermost meaning only after many readings. Here I want only to emphasise two things about it: the ripeness, the affection of the story—affection for poor Mr Tarworth and his preposterous country, which Kipling is delicately warning against Prohibition; and the fact that it stands almost alone in Kipling's work. Its poise and kindly humour are qualities which are mostly lacking from a longish list of writings about the United States. To put it mildly, this is a pity. Yet it is also true that Kipling's other American work has considerable value, and could have been the foundation of an important achievement. What prevented this?

Mr Brogan then works back through 'The Edge of the Evening', 'The Captive', 'An Habitation Enforced', 'An Error in the Fourth Dimension', *Captains Courageous*, *The Naulahka* and the rest, to the American portions of *From Sea to Sea* and a number of poems, in search of an answer. Whether he finds it or not, readers must decide for themselves: how far Kipling was a writer 'so deeply flawed' that 'it is hard to feel that he fulfilled the enormous promise of his youth'; what effect his enormous popularity had on his writings—and on his readers both British and American; and how high a place, in spite of their various shortcomings, his writings on America hold or should hold among his works.

'A HAPPY GIANT'S SONG'

One story of America not mentioned by Hugh Brogan is '.007'. In it (p.241) 'the gilt-edged Purple Emperor, the millionaires' southbound express', tears by 'to the roaring music of a happy giant's song' (which .007 is himself singing on the last page (251) of the story):—

"With a michnai — ghignai — shtingal! Yah! Yah! Yah!

Ein — zwei — drei — Mutter! Yah! Yah! Yah!

She climbed upon der shteeple,

Und she frighten all der people,

Singin' michnai — ghignai — shtingal! Yah! Yah!

We have been asked whether Kipling invented this; if not, where it comes from; and in either case, why the curious semi-Germanic language—and we have been unable to find any definite answer. Can any Member help in the quest?

The Germanic language suggests Leland's *Hans Breitmann*, which Kipling quotes so often; but a reading of the *Ballads* has failed to produce it. Leland was imitating (and parodying) the American-German (the patois known as "Pennsylvania Dutch"), but this may be a genuine song from among the many that sprang up among the Railway Folk when the trans-continental railroads were being built during the second half of the nineteenth century, in the same category as "She'll be coming round the mountain when she comes" (with the chorus: "Singing 'Yai! Yai! Yippy! Yippy! Yai!") and "In eighteen hundred and eighty one The American Railway was begun" (with the chorus: "Patsy! Yary! Yewry! Aye!" etc.). Perhaps we have a Social Historian with special knowledge of Railway Folklore, or some Siderodromist with literary interests who can give us the answer.

'ACCORDING TO THE RITES OF MIZRAIM AND MEMPHIS'

We all remember how, during one of his holidays 'for a month each year' in 'a paradise which I verily believed saved me', at Burne-Jones's

house in North End Road, Kipling helped to inter the tube of "Mummy Brown" which Burne-Jones 'had discovered was made of dead pharaohs'. Mr Daintith sends a cutting from an undated issue of *The Financial Times* which sheds an interesting light on the contents of that tube:

'I have bad news today for artists who want to use the distinctive Asphaltum brown favoured by the pre-Raphaelites, C. Roberson, the Camden Town colour maker, has run out of mummies.

"We may have a few odd limbs lying around somewhere, but not enough to make any more Asphaltum," said Mr Geoffrey Roberson-Park, the managing director. "We sold our last complete mummy some years ago for, I think, £3. Perhaps we shouldn't have done. We certainly can't get any more."

'These were, after all, not ordinary mummies, but remains of Indian priests of a minor order preserved in a rare type of bitumen. Chipped off and powdered, it made a paint superior to others containing bitumen: it did not distort the canvas by contracting. Roberson-Park who has been with the family firm only 43 of its 160 years, is not sure when the mummies were bought. It was probably in the 1870s, when brown was popular. Roberson's Asphaltum can still be easily distinguished from other people's in the works of such artists as Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt and Millais. It is the Asphaltum that hasn't cracked.'

THINGS AND THE MAN

The value of *The Sussex Edition* continues to rise. On 14 June Sotheby's sold a set for £980; we shall doubtless see it soon in some Bookseller's Catalogue for well over a Thousand Pounds.

Kipling is valued in America also: in the *New York Times* of 6 May, 'B. Altman & Co.' advertise *The Just So Stories*, 1st Edn., for \$65.00 and a signed letter (27 Oct: 1927) about "The North Sea Patrol" for \$137.50.

According to *The Stage and Television Today* (28 June) Granada Television is 'working on six childhood plays'. Besides stories by lesser known writers, there is one by L. P. Hartley, and 'A Kipling story, "Baa, Baa, Black Sheep," adapted by Arthur Hopcraft . . . The series is for transmission in the winter.'

R.L.G.

AT BATEMAN'S

Shadows on Sussex downs. A gentle air
Ruffles the stream: sense of new life that stirs
Quickens the beat, calls to the mind the days
When, deep in a thorn-hedged lane, this was his home.

Weathered by time, heartened by summer suns
It stands, untroubled of the scornful years
Which bend us to their will, force us apart,
Break up the goodly fellowships forever.

For Life goes on

A. M. PUNCH

Mrs. C. W. SCOTT-GILES. We deeply regret to report that Isobel Scott-Giles died in her sleep on August 20th. A full appreciation of this very dear member will appear in the December Journal.

KIPLING, ENGLISH EDUCATION, AND THE 'BABUS'

By Kalyan K. Chatterjee

The O.E.D. defines the Babu as "a native clerk or official who writes English; sometimes applied disparagingly to a Hindoo or, more particularly, a Bengali, with superficial English education." But the term's range of connotation was a wider one, swinging from the pejorative one indicated in the O.E.D. definition to that of the university educated, whose demands for the liberties of the British citizens irked and antagonised the British administrators.

The antagonism between John Bull and the Babu started a whole episode in Indo-British politics, but the phase belongs more properly to the twentieth century. However, by the late nineteenth century, the British had come to recognise the Babus as a class of unwelcome educational mixture and the spectrum of British attitude varied from curiosity to criticism, from contempt to condemnation. In the following brief sketch, I seek to recapture a part of this spectrum and hope, incidentally, to bring into focus an aspect of English education in India.

Kipling's *Kim*, the most tolerant and probably the most charming of his pictures of India, gives us a valuable insight into the character of a Babu, namely, Hurree Babu. Kipling's Hurree Babu is not an entirely unsympathetic and one-dimensional picture of Babudom, probably because the exigencies of art demanded a portrayal in the round. As we begin to view the Babu through the eyes of Kipling and his contemporaries, we realise that the British regarded the Babus as not superficially educated but over-educated, and perhaps disproportionately so, in English.

In that picaresque world of Kipling's colonial sage, Hurree Babu, an M.A. of Calcutta University, is presented as the only Indian character with intellectual pretensions. The following remark of Lurgan Sahib, one of the characters in *Kim*, implies that Hurree is looked upon as typical of the Babus in their academic ambitions: " 'Babus are very curious', said Lurgan Sahib meditatively, 'Do you know what Hurree Babu really wants? He wants to be a member of the Royal Society by taking ethnological notes' " (209)*. Though collecting information about suspicious persons is his job as an officer in the Secret Service, yet there is something of a professional intellectual about Hurree Babu. As Lurgan Sahib said, the Babu "applies to the lama for information on lamaism, and devil dances, and spells and charms" (209). Creighton Sahib, Hurree Babu's boss, deep in whose heart also "lay the ambition to write 'F.R.S.' after his name" was not without admiration for him: "So Creighton smiled, and thought the better of Hurree Babu, moved by like desires" (210).

The novelist himself, however, could hardly suppress his amusement and condescension at the Bengali Babu. Kipling had a natural scorn for intellectual pretensions, which vice he attributed to the Bengali Babus. He found something ponderous and theatrical in the "natives

* In this article the page number references to *Kim* are to the Modern Library edition of the book (New York, 1920).

discussing metaphysics in English and Bengali" (192). To Hurree Babu, however, Kipling's attitude varies between humour and appreciation, between curiosity and condescension. To the corpulent Babu, he often applies bovine images: the Babu's "stockinged legs shook with fat," as he swung out with the "gait of a bogged cow" (192). Hurree Babu, who speaks "offeeciially," "unoffeeciially," but sometimes also "demi-offeeciially" (*passim*), is certainly held up for ridicule for his bureaucratic clap-trap. But he is a very dependable official of the Service: Lurgan Sahib testifies that Hurree is among the best who "have a lust to go abroad at the risk of their lives and discover news" (193).

But it is intellectual predilections that the novelist finds to be particularly remarkable about the Babu. Once when closeted with Kim, the hero of the novel, the Babu gave him a short lecture on the advantages of education (195-6). The lecture is an important revelation of the mind of an English educated Babu, as yet untainted by the charge of sedition. It is also a good example of the Babu English at its best, a learned and pompous form of English. "Through the volleying drifts" of his English were heard references to Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Edmund Burke, to the advantages of learning Latin and French, and to the art and science of mensuration. Kipling saw a mirror of the English educated native in Hurree Babu.

Hurree Babu's learned way of speaking is marked, among other things, by his frequent allusions to Herbert Spencer, an English author whose influence on the Babus was hardly a welcome thing to Anglo-Indians. But to sum up what Kipling himself tended to think of the Babus, there may be quoted from Hurree Babu's speech a self-revealing remark, which haunts the figure of this devoted official like the echoes of a choric voice: "I am only a Babu showing off my English to you. All we Babus talk English to show off" (219).

Hurree Babu, in fact, is a representative of the English educated elite whom the British expected to be intermediate between themselves and the Indian populace. The Babus were to fill the need for a Europeanised elite to be the instrument of the British liberal vision of the "cultural revolution" in India. As Lord Macaulay put it in his Minutes of Indian Education (1835), "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."¹

Though India had already made a beginning with English education and it was being attributed with the role of galvanising India to modernistic mental orientation by both native reformers like Rammohun Roy and Christian missionaries, it was Macaulay's Speech on the Government of India in the British Parliament (July 10, 1833) and his Minute of Indian Education that became the blueprint of the British policy of Anglicising Indian education. These two writings of Macaulay clearly present the views of a Victorian liberal who believed that the British Empire in India was a grand medium for transmitting the civilisation of Europe to the old, decadent, despotic, and pagan India. The actual medium of this transmission would be English literature, which, by bringing "the Hindoo to read Hume and Milton"² would bring him to the desired goal of Anglicisation.

Macaulay, who thought that the whole of the literatures of India and Arabia were not worth a single shelf of European books³, spoke in

a patronising and presumptuous language, but he was of one mind with the Victorian progressives, notably the two Mills, James and John Stuart, who were, between themselves, managing the affairs of the Examiner's Office in the India House, the Directorate of the East India Company (John Stuart, in his *Autobiography*, spoke of the free hand his father had, and his own share, in authoring the policy letters to the Indian Government on behalf of the Directors⁴). Among these are also those in which John Stuart Mill spelled out the educational policy that the Court of Directors of the East India Company would like the Indian Government to pursue. The identification of these letters to be of Mill's authorship has been established by modern scholarship⁵).

In Macaulay's eyes the old, superstition-laden civilisation of India should be purged by the importation of European ideas. His facile pen glowed eloquently against India's "three thousand years of despotism and priestcraft" which was in blatant contrast with "the freedom and civilisation" enjoyed by Europe⁶. Macaulay, indeed, sounded like a Renaissance Humanist who also indicted the medieval culture and education in not unsimilar terms. He in fact analogised the potential effects of the introduction of English education in India with the regeneration of Europe's intellectual life in the sixteenth century, the era of the revival of classical learning⁷. Macaulay's Minutes, as is common knowledge to students of British Indian history, was immediately signed into the Educational Act of the Government of India by Lord Bentinck, and though the next Governor-General, Lord Auckland, sought to mitigate the Minutes a little bit in favour of the native languages, there was really no change in the substance and spirit of the Act, and Macaulay's Minutes remained the grand charter of English education in India.

Macaulay, Trevelyan⁸, and others of their generation, who viewed English education as a potent medium to induce some kind of a Renaissance in India were not too far wrong. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, in Bengal especially, vernacular literature had a phenomenal flowering, so much so that the phrase "the Bengali Renaissance" has become an accepted terminology of the Indian historiography. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, who was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in the early 1860's, wrote on the mental condition of the educated class: "There has been a complete revolution of thought, in literature, in taste, in morals, and in law. I can only compare it to the passion for the literature of Greece and Rome which overtook the Western world at the revival of letters."⁹ In a speech delivered at the thirty-fifth death anniversary (1878) of David Hare, one of the pioneers of English Education in India, Sir Surrendranath Bannerjee, one of the Babus who demanded the liberties of the British citizens and is sometimes regarded as the "father of Indian nationalism," paid an eloquent tribute to Macaulay for his Minutes, which he regarded as a document of great national importance, and spoke apocalyptically of the benefits of English education in India: "The future civilisation of India will blend all that is great, noble, manly, and worthy of the imitation in the civilisation of the East. This is the goal we hanker after,—to build a noble structure from the decayed elements of a bygone civilisation; and when this colossal fabric is raised, the foremost names that will be associated with it will be those of David Hare and Thomas Babington Macaulay."¹⁰

But the British sojourners of Bannerjee's generation thought of the

amalgam of the East and West in less glowing terms. Vice-Chancellor Maine admonished his audience in the Calcutta University Senate (19th March, 1866) against the romantic excesses of "the overliterary education they receive."¹¹ Maine's remark could as well be a criticism of Macaulay's Minutes for its strong bias for a literary education, though he did not specifically say that it was Macaulay who was responsible for the romantic disease that afflicted the Indian psyche. "The natives of India," said Maine, "have caught from us Europeans our modern trick of constructing by means of fiction, an imaginary past out of the present, taking from the past its externals, its outward furniture, but building in the sympathies, the susceptibilities, and even (for it sometimes comes to that) the knowledge of the present time."¹²

Similar things were said by Donald F. MacLeod, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in a speech delivered on Feb. 2, 1866, in which he criticised the over-literary and imitative scheme of education drawn by Macaulay, Trevelyan, Alexander Duff *et al.* Said he, "The great bulk of our scholars never attain more than a very superficial knowledge either of English, or of the subject they study in that language, while the mental training imparted is, as a general rule, of a purely imitative character ill calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought."¹³

Kipling's Hurree Babu could well have been the first generation of Indians to have been educated under the Macaulay dispensation, some of the dangers of which were brought out by the two authors quoted above. Though Hurree Babu certainly did not dream in English, witness his Babu English, yet his dreams were about England, about the Royal Society, and his conversation, as we have seen, turned too often to the English authors. He is a fulfilment of Macaulay's dream of the Anglicised Indian, although with the wrong proportions of the two elements in the mixture, as Kipling, like many of his contemporaries, seemed to believe.

Kipling expressed his unfavourable opinion of the English educated Indian more directly and less temperately in some other places, for example, in the story "On the City Wall", an earlier piece of composition than *Kim*. In that story, he presents the English educated Wali Dad, one of the characters, as an "educational mixture" (263) and "the M.A.'s of the University" as "very superior and very voluble" (265). Wali Dad, as Kipling sarcastically commented on the effects of English education "was a young Muhammedan who was suffering acutely from education of the English variety and knew it. His father had sent him to a Mission-school to get wisdom, and Wali Dad had absorbed more than ever his father or the Missionaries intended he should" (261).

The context gives Kipling an opportunity to lay the responsibility of the evils of Babudom at the door of the liberals. Pitying the sacrifice of the young English civilians who toiled in India and "step forward to take the blame" (325) but let the native take the credit for an action, he excoriated the English liberals: "Overmuch tenderness of this kind has bred a strong belief among many natives that the native is capable of administering the country, and many devout Englishmen believe this also, because the theory is stated in beautiful English with all the latest political garnish" (262).

Kipling's criticism of the English educated Babu was echoed vari-

ously in the writings of many other British sojourners in the nineteenth century, especially in its final decades. Macaulay had highly praised the native's ability in mastering English: "Indeed it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos."¹⁴ But it was later found that though the Indians had shown a flair for English, their English was peculiarly oriental, that is ornate, figurative, and verbose. Kipling commented on Hurree Babu's talking the best of English with the vilest of phrases" (*Kim*, 282). Sir Alfred Lyall, a noted authority on India and biographer of Tennyson, criticised the notion that "a young Bengalee can be trained to write almost exactly like a Londoner."¹⁵ Hurree Babu's pompous English could have been furnished by Lyall as an example of Indian English, amazingly learned, but not quite natural or idiomatic English.

In his convocation address to the Calcutta University Senate, March, 1864, Maine criticised the native students' superficial attitude to education and commented on their ambition to write the finest English with arduous imitative exercise. "No man ever wrote well by striving too hard to write well"¹⁶—said he succinctly commenting on the Indian graduates' disproportionate attention to style.

But the British disapproval of the Babu hardly confined itself to stylistic criticism. The British ambivalence to the English educated Indian assumed some serious notes at the close of the century. At least part of this ambivalence had roots back home. Many Europeans were distrustful of the spread of education among the masses of Europe, as they found in it a threat to the established system. But "happily for India it seems to be fraught with fewer elements of danger than the stage through which the nations of the West seem destined to pass."¹⁷

However, there were others who were not as hopeful about the English educated Indians. In the influence of contemporary European intellectuals on the Indian middle classes, many Britons recognised the roots of disloyalty to the Imperial Government. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, the famous Sanskritist, took the view that the Babus were mere upstarts, "educated above their stations,"¹⁸ cut off from their native traditions and dreaming of enjoying the liberties of the British citizens.¹⁹ The thought occurred to many that it was after all not a very good idea to bring the religious, quietist, and submissive Indians, as they viewed the Indians to be, into contact with Europe, which itself was no haven of democratic equilibrium between the classes, but an enraged arena of class dichotomy and political conflicts. About the intellectual ferment created in India by Western education, one British administrator in India, John David Rees, waxed angrily eloquent as he wrote, "The Indian graduates are too often youths without any sense of religion or duty to their parents or to the State, and almost all of them have forsaken the religion of their forefathers. Indeed the atmosphere in which they are brought up is an inevitable solvent of their own religious, social and economic system, which is destroyed while nothing replaces it . . . In no other country can belief in the divine right of kings and obligations to parents be more highly developed than in India, and no country has any class more wanting in a sense of these duties than the Babu class which has been created by our own education."²⁰ The built-in system of obligation and submission to authority in the Indian society, which could have been only conducive to the British in the exercise of their

"enlightened and paternal despotism,"²¹ was, as viewed by Rees, undermined by English education.

Rees went on to say that importation of "philosophy" into the Indian universities from their English counterparts was a regrettable tendency, as the study of "philosophy" and teaching non-conformism to young minds was regrettable at Oxford itself. Said Rees peremptorily, "Philosophy, which does little good at Oxford, works positive mischief at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay."²² Among philosophers, Herbert Spencer, the favourite of our Hurree Babu, is one whose influence in the Indian universities was particularly repugnant to Rees.

Rees's view was representative of the British disappointment with the English educated Indian elite. In 1835, when the Indian Government, persuaded by Macaulay, decided that a class of natives be raised in English education, "the hope and expectation was that those natives who had received liberal education from a Western standpoint, would by degrees communicate their knowledge to the mass of the people through the local vernaculars."²³ But hardly half a century later it was found that the Bachelors of Arts were "full-fledged agitators,"²⁴ that under the influence of the agnostic writers like Herbert Spencer, the Bengali Babus were leading India into the vain mazes of "speculative dreams of socialistic sophistries."²⁵ Diagnosing the cause of the failure of the English education in producing desirable fruits, Lyall pointed out that there was no real mass education, that the educational system itself was a system of "instruction", of "information", but not of "education" in the real sense of the term. English education in India was merely a system of public instruction, not of education of Indians in the Western civilisation and culture. The domination of a foreign country could hardly be achieved without some sort of a conversion, opined Lyall.²⁰

The underlying conclusion of Lyall's *Asiatic Studies*, in which he expressed the above view, is that Western education undermined the religious and moral basis of the Indian society, and that this education was not based on any realistic understanding of the Indian society and culture, a view that Monier-Williams also took²⁷, and one that motivated Rees's observations quoted above. This viewpoint was also shared by some missionaries, more directly concerned with conversion. Rev. James C. Johnston of the Scottish Mission, criticised the Government education as one that pandered to the rebellious elite and said, "Education in Government colleges leads to irreligion, discontent, and disloyalty."²⁸ He spoke of "the unhinging of religious beliefs and the adoption of dangerous opinions in morals and politics"²⁹ and accused the Government policy of robbing the youth of their beliefs in their religion and not substituting anything to fill the void.³⁰ He upheld the Education Despatch of 1854 (known as "Wood's Despatch" according to its supposed author, Sir Charles Wood (1800-85), for its emphasis on concentrating on the education of the masses, but regretted that Wood's intention had not been carried out. Replying to Johnston's letter to that effect, Wood, now Lord Halifax, wrote (5th July, 1879) that his intention in that Despatch "was to promote the general education of the people of India, and to leave the higher and richer portion of the population to provide mainly for their own education,"³¹ but regretted that "this principle has been departed from."³²

Of the same persuasion as Rees, Lyall, Johnston *et al.*, but even more vehemently critical of the native elite was a Frenchman, Gustave

Le Bon, archaeologist, sociologist, and a proto-Nazi philosopher, who spent some years in India as an archaeologist in the 1880's. Le Bon developed a strong dislike of the Babus and theorised that European education was not at all suitable to the mental constitution of the Indians. What was worse, European education was destroying the traditional culture of the Indians and creating in them wants which it did not furnish any means of satisfying. Consequently, as he predicted, there was a grave danger for the British power in India. The Babus filled the native press with bitter attacks on the British Government. Le Bon therefore solemnly predicted that the power that created the Babu would be destroyed by the Babu.³³ The Babus were the enemy, the patricide of the British Empire and it was unwise on the part of the British to have ever hoped to rule the land through the medium of the Babus: "Le pire ennemi de l'Angleterre placé sur le trône des Indes n'aurait pas porté à la métropole un plus grave préjudice."³⁴ Probably under the influence of his long sojourn among the ruins of ancient Indian architecture, which was his object of study in India, Le Bon wrote, "L'Angleterre, c'est le monde occidental avec sa civilisation compliquée se développant suivant une progression géométrique et marchant avec la rapidité des forces nouvelles qu'il a domptées vers un avenir inconnu. L'Inde, c'est l'Orient immobilisé dans un rêve éternel, les yeux fixés non sur l'avenir, mais sur le passé."³⁵

Standing between the ancient East and the modern, dynamic West, the Babus, as Le Bon saw them, offered not a cushion but a clash. Kipling's confident vision did not go to that pessimistic length, but in Le Bon's acerbic comments one hears the echoes of Kipling's "Ballad of East and West". In the latter-day reversal of Macaulay's optimistic vision of a Europeanised India, Le Bon's point of view, though peculiar for its intemperate expression, was typical. It typified the view of the East and West as polarised civilisations with the theory that Western education, as imparted to the native elite, worked for disharmony between the British and the Indians.

NOTES

1. T. B. Macaulay, "The Minutes of Indian Education", *Prose and Poetry*, ed. G. M. Young (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 24.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*, 722.
4. John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, ed. Jack Stillinger (Oxford, 1971), p. 17 & p. 51.
5. Cf. Ney McMinn *et al.*, *A Bibliography of the Published Writings of John Stuart Mill* (Evanston, Ill., 1946).
6. Macaulay, "Government of India", *Prose and Poetry*, pp. 177-8.
7. "Minutes", pp. 723-4.
8. C. E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India* (London, 1838).
9. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West* (London, 1876), p. 26.
10. Sir Surrendranath Bannerjee, *Lord Macaulay and Higher Education in India* (Calcutta, 1878), p. 22.
11. *Village Communities*, p. xiii.
12. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.
13. *Ibid.*, p. ii.
14. "Minutes", p. 729.
15. Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* (London, 1889), p. 2.

16. *Village Communities*, p. 245.
17. R. W. Fraser, *A Literary History of India* (1898; London, 1907), p. xii.
18. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians* (1878: 5th ed., London, 1891), p. 361.
19. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
20. John David Rees, *The Real India* (2nd ed., London, 1908), p. 333.
21. Macaulay, "Government of India", *Prose and Poetry*, p. 716.
22. *The Real India*, p. 334.
23. Fraser, *A Literary History of India*, p. 400.
24. Rees, *The Real India*, p. 344.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Cf. *Asiatic Studies*, p. 382.
27. Cf. *Modern India and the Indians*.
28. Rev. James C. Johnston, *Our Educational Policy in India* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. xv.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. viii. This letter of Wood to Johnston is a conclusive proof that Wood indeed was the author of the Despatch of 1854, and not J. S. Mill, a conclusion arrived at independently of this document by R. J. Moor, "The Composition of 'Wood's Education Despatch'," *The English Historical Review*, LXXX (January, 1965), 70-85.
32. Johnston, p. viii.
33. Gustave Le Bon, *Les Civilisations de l'Inde* (Paris, 1887), p. 707 and *passim*.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 712.
35. *Ibid.*, 718.

THREE NOTES

by C. E. Carrington

1. SCOTS OBSERVER

Last year I appealed to members of the Society for help in finding a set of the *Scots Observer*. The London Library set was destroyed in the blitz. The Camb. Univ. Library, usually so good on periodicals, hasn't got it. The British Museum obliged me with some research and reported that they knew of only two extant sets in public collections, their own in the Newspaper Library at Hendon, and another in the National Library of Scotland. Doubtless there are others, but lost in country-house bookshelves. Note for other researchers: go to Hendon for it.

The thirteen original *Barrack-Room Ballads* may be found there, between Feb. and July 1890, almost word for word as they appear in later editions, together with others of Kipling's early London verses which, unlike the ballads, were drastically revised in later editions. 'My new-cut ashlar takes the light' originally ran 'My new-cut finial . . .' 'The Conundrum', of which I've always been fond, was spoiled in later revision by the omission of the well-known line, "The devil whispered behind the leaves, "it's pretty but is it art?""

Note that the *Scots Observer* moved to London in November 1890, re-naming itself the *National Observer*.

2. MACMILLAN'S MAGAZINE

It is not often that one faults *Yeats and Stewart* or *Flora Livingstone* but I find them both a little obscure about Kipling's early publica-

tions in *Macmillan's Magazine*. There is a good copy in the London Library. Volume LXI, 1889-90, contains four long stories by Kipling, all signed by his full name, and four ballads, all signed 'Yussuf, Why? Did the Editor think that he was drenching his public with too much of this young man? Spread him out a bit? Who was taken in? Who discovered that *Ballad of East and West* and *Krishna Mulvaney* came from the same pen? The list follows and, though I have not collated them, I can see at a rapid reading that all eight items appeared in much the same form that ran through many editions.

Nov.	1889	Ballad of King's Mercy, signed 'Yussuf
Dec.	1889	Ballad of East and West, signed 'Yussuf
Dec.	1889	Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney, signed Rudyard Kipling
Jan.	1890	Head of the District, signed Rudyard Kipling
Jan.	1890	Ballad of Last Suttee, signed 'Yussuf
Feb.	1890	Ballad of King's Jest, signed 'Yussuf
March	1890	Courting of Dinah Shadd, signed Rudyard Kipling
April	1890	The Man Who Was, signed Rudyard Kipling

Note that the original Barrack-Room Ballads were coming out fortnightly in the *Scots Observer*, beginning with *Danny Deever*, 22 February 1890. In May, Kipling's prodigious output of verse and prose slackened off, presumably because he was then involved in the affair with Flo Garrard which sparked off *The Light that Failed*.

3. NOTE ON THE BALESTIER FAMILY

Caroline Starr Wolcott, who married Joseph Balestier at Chicago, in the heroic eighteen-thirties, was a notable woman. They came back East to Vermont, and settled at Brattleboro, where she survived as a respected dowager always known as 'Madam Balestier', until 1901. Her eldest grandson was Wolcott Balestier, and her elder granddaughter married Rudyard Kipling. On both sides, the Wolcotts were descended from the best New England families. I am obliged to my friend Colonel A. L. Wilson, a good Kipling-ite, for these notes which he made when studying the History of Berkhamsted School. William Pitkin of Pembroke College, Oxford, became headmaster of his old school, at Berkhamsted, in 1636. His son William, born in 1635 and a pupil of his father's, emigrated in 1659 to Hartford, Connecticut, where he became Master of the Grammar School, and King's Attorney after the Restoration. He founded the town of Barkhamsted Conec. 1661 (Note that in America, Hartford and Barkhamsted were spelt as they were pronounced). William's handsome sister joined him in New England and made a good match with Simon Wolcott of Worcester, Conn. Their son, General Roger Wolcott (1679-1767) was Second-in-Command at the taking of Louisburg by Colonial troops in 1745. Roger's son, Oliver Wolcott (1726-1797), signed the Declaration of Independence for Connecticut in 1776, fought against Burgoyne in the Saratoga Campaign, and became Governor of Connecticut, 1796-7. His son, Oliver the Second (1760-1833) was Secretary of the U.S. Treasury in succession to Alexander Hamilton, and Governor of Connecticut from 1817-1827. But whether he was the father or grandfather of Caroline Starr Balestier, I am not sure.

REPORT ON DISCUSSION MEETING: 18th APRIL, 1973

The meeting on April 18th was an experiment in audience participation or, more simply, a successful attempt to get them to play both roles. The subject — "Favourite Minor Characters". The reason for the choice of theme was that few writers can bring to life a character in a miniature as successfully as Kipling. Some cannot do it at all, and their supporting cast, so to speak, are never anything other than names, we never see or remember them; with Kipling, however, the names are unimportant, sometimes there are none, but their faces "fairly leap into view" as Puck's face did when drawn by Hal.

The various contributions were interesting and varied (most fortunately, without duplicates): Mrs Scott-Giles chose "Old Hobden" putting forward, incidentally, an interesting theory that Hobden was, on occasion, actually Puck; Col. Bagwell Purefoy chose various Angels from "On the Gate" including The Prim-lipped Seraph, a perfect description in three words; F. A. Underwood gave "The Red-haired Girl" from "The Light that Failed", an unnamed character who is nevertheless disturbingly real; Mr Inwood produced a genuine favourite, "Mr Leggat" the fictional chauffeur who actually existed and who was known to Mr Inwood personally; Mr McGivering, on the other hand, produced a real person who might well have been one of the originals of Tarvin in the Naulahka — a man named Frewen who knew Kipling in India and was at one time the owner of a ranch in Wyoming.

The most unusual paper of the evening (in one sense) was submitted from America by Dr Thomas Cross of Michigan. He chose the "Small 'Stute Fish", the Kolokolo Bird and Limmershin, the Winter Wren because they had certain things in common; they were small, observant, intelligent and give good advice; in other words, they were very much like Kipling himself. A sound piece of work and much appreciated by the audience. Finally, the Secretary suggested Rutilianus, the General in the Winged Hats (two brief passages, six or eight lines in all—and he is complete) and, secondly, the Camel in "Her Majesty's Servants", not over intelligent and very humble, frightened of the dark and yet with something endearing about him. ("We all sat down" an unforgettable line).

The Secretary repeats his thanks to those who made the evening as entertaining as it was.

T.L.A.D.

LETTER BAG**J. LOCKWOOD KIPLING**

J. Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art, was held in great esteem as an expert on Indian arts and architecture. He was commissioned by the various provincial governments to design public buildings in central and north-western India such as the reputed Aitchison College of Lahore and the Gwalior Memorial Hospital. I came across a news item in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, January 12, 1887, p.3. It runs as follows: "We are happy to find that Sir Lepel Griffin is in accord with us about the professional merits of Mr J. Lockwood Kipling, whom he has determined to entrust with the

designing of the Memorial Hospital about to be erected at Gwalior to the memory of the late Maharaja Sindhia. The cost of the work will certainly amount to several lakhs of rupees and will afford the Lahore School of Art, which did so well with the design for the Aitchison College, an opportunity of showing what more they can do in applying Eastern architectural resources to Western requirements. Should Sir Lepel Griffin only remain in Central India long enough to start the various public buildings at Gwalior . . . there is every hope that no fresh addition will be made to the large list of such buildings springing from the regulation source which help to discredit the artistic perceptions of the English races."

It seems that Lockwood Kipling was also actively involved with the establishment of the Punjab Public Library at Lahore. He was one of the six members of the Committee of Management set up by the Punjab Government in 1885 whose task was "to arrange for the institution of a Public Library at Lahore." (*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 3, 1885, p.5).

Dr. M. Enamul Karim

HON. SECRETARY'S NOTES

ASSISTANT SECRETARY. Please re-read the notice about this, on p.16 of Journal 186. Regrettably, we have received very few enquiries. A good Assistant needs to be conscientious and neat fingered, and a sense of humour is useful. Operating a simple addressing-machine is important, but "one-finger" typing will suffice. No shorthand.

It is very important to the Society's future that this post be filled before the end of 1973. Please address enquiries to the Hon. Sec.

Miss A. M. Punch. We are very sorry that we must soon lose, through failing eyesight, the services of Miss Punch as Assistant Secretary. During more than 13 years she has taken in her stride four moves of office, addressed at least 52,000 envelopes, and packed up and posted well over 100 large and heavy parcels. If your Journal has ever arrived late, she has certainly never been to blame, and, needless to say, the number of other ways in which she has helped us is uncountable.

The Council has been delighted to recognise her services by making her an Honorary Member, and a Vice-President, of the Society.

Bateman's Visit, 1973. Nearly 20 Members and Guests attended this private Open Day on May 11th. The weather was perfect, and we again sincerely thank Mrs Betty Sutherland for having us.

A.E.B.P.

NEW MEMBERS : We are delighted to welcome the following :—U.K.: F. S. G. Lingwood-White. U.S.A.: Chapin Liby, Williams Coll., Mass.; Cleveland Public Library, Ohio; Millersville State Coll. Liby, Pa.; S.E. Missouri Univ. Liby, Cape Girardeau, Mo.

SONG OF KIPLING

By Novella Matveyeva

(Translated by Larry Gregg)

Heartily you've thumped
Hyenas on the back,
Lovingly caressed
The deadly cobra's fangs,
Touched both sun and moon
With sweaty carbine,
As if the world belonged
To your caprice.

Playfully you've tweaked
Submissive cheeks of passive globe,
Cruelly, with pillared force,
Your gun-butt ground in dust,
A nest of verse you've weaved
In fatal wound
Beneath the hands
Of common soldier clasped.

Chanting—quick march, quick march,
'neath the British flag.
Ahead—a dusty palm
Is floating o'er the ground,
Between its leaves a blood-red sun:
Fingers spread
And limply clasped
O'er fatal wound.

Stow it. Tommy! Stow those
Thoughts of home and . . .
Beat on a drum!
Beat on a drum!
Eh, Tommy, don't be sad!
For th-e-e-re's glory up ahead and . . .
Glory to the rear,
Glory to the left, and
Glory to the right,
And a grave right here . . .

Snow-capped crests ablaze,
Like flaming sugar cakes,
Ravines
More glad
Than vaults of wine . . .
O, rended East!
Himalayan peaks—
Like marks of teeth
In pulpy flesh of fruit.

But limping on,
A deadened Tommy plods,
Without a smile, without a soul,
Through foreign land;
With stirring song
His ear is dinned,
To make him, smiling, die,
And kill with heart and soul.

And through the ranks,
 'midst shot and shell,
 A song flies up:
 Of kindly cobras,
 Of daylight bats,
 Of grateful sharks,
 Of cheerful tents,
 And rainbow-colored cholera camps.

Power,
 So much power
 In this song!
 So much life—to praise the grave!
 So much truth—in lies engraved!
 Unbelieving, understanding,
 Tightly binding. Set us free,
 Set us free or tighter bind us!

Chanting!
 All on earth
 Resounds in chants;
 Chanting winds,
 Song of Gonga,
 Din of Gunga,
 Measured plod of jungle mammoth . . .
 No need for us to harmonize,
 In unison to sing—
 The world itself is song.

. . . Black legs crossed
 Like blackened crenel,
 The fakir squats in dust—
 Charmer of vipers,
 The cobra rises like a stalk,
 While on his joyous flute
 A song of grief and love
 He plays her.

Like strings of beads
 Around his neck,
 The whisperous viper sleeps;
 The evil within is stilled.
 From charm of song
 The viper lulls,
 And so from charm of song
 Does man become
 A viper.

. . . O, fare thee well, o mighty
 Gift so vainly searing!
 Away with thee!
 But no! Wait!
 Heed me!
 What hast thou wrought?
 Thou,
 Who heedlessly didst cast
 Thy timeless hues
 On canvas worn by age?

Novella Matveyeva is a Moscow poet and singer, known for both her adult and her children's verse. Her poetry is marked by a sensitivity to emotion and variety of rhythms. Although she does not know English, she has picked up Kipling's cadences from excellent Russian translations.

You may possibly be aware that there is great interest in Kipling in the Soviet Union. This is due largely to the late Kornei Ivanovich Chukovsky's translations of his verse and prose works.

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