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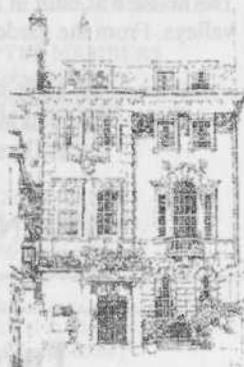
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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Wednesday 19 April 2006, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **David Alan Richards** on "Kipling and his School Magazine, the Problems of a Bibliographer".

Wednesday 3 May 2006, 12.30 for 1 p.m., in the Hall of India and Pakistan, at the Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's Annual Luncheon. **Professor Hugh Brogan** on "Kipling and History" For details and advance booking for tickets: see December flyer.

Wednesday 12 July 2006, 4.30 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's A.G.M. A cash bar will serve drinks from 5.30 p.m. before **Bryan C. Diamond** leads a discussion on "Plotlines in Kipling's Works". Tea, available before the meeting at 4 p.m. for those who book in advance. Contact the Secretary.

Wednesday 20 September 2006, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Martin O'Collins** will show the new Kipling biography video.

Wednesday 8 November 2006, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League. To be announced.

March 2006

JANE KESKAR & JEFFERY LEWINS

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EDITORIAL

BOOKS AND PUBLISHERS

In this issue you will find reviews and a notice of five new books which are Kipling-specific and/or relate to Afghanistan. This occasion however, is unusual in that work by authors of four of the books has already appeared in the *Journal* – several articles by Prof Bill Dillingham, one each by Lt Cdr Alfred Roake and Dr Neil Moran, and a speech to the Annual Luncheon by Sir Nicholas Barrington; additionally, three of the authors are members.

On the subject of reviews, the prices quoted in the *Journal* are almost invariably the full price listed by the publisher. In many cases it is possible to find the book at a discounted price, usually on a website such as Amazon, (see also p.53). One point I do want to make about reviews is that I have now given up on noting any printing errors. Publishers' proof-readers do seem to be less accurate than once they were (*vide* the Kipling Macmillan editions) but to my shame, I find that I am in the position recorded in *Matthew 7*, v.3 – the Editorial in the December 2005 issue of the *Journal* has a large 'beam' at the end of the second paragraph; "with Kipling's aid" should have been "without Kipling's aid".

THE DUNSTERVILLE DIARIES

Those members who enjoy reading the exploits of our first President, Maj-Gen L.C. Dunsterville, for example in his autobiographical works such as *Stalky's Reminiscences* or *'Stalky' Settles Down*, might be interested in a website that I stumbled upon. "The World War I Document Archive" has the text of the Dunsterville diaries for 1911 – 1922, apparently in full, on: www.gwpda.org/Dunsterville/Dunsterville_main.html. Since extracts from those for 1922 – 1928 were printed in issues No.227-235 of the *Journal*, there is a significant archive now available upon which to draw. For example, "1920 June 11th. Went down to Etchington [*sic*] to s[t]ay with the Kiplings – they were just alone and I never enjoyed myself more. Batemans [*sic*] is a very beautiful place and the Kiplings are quite unchanged and unspoilt and as good friends as ever. She seems to me to be a very sound inspirer of much of his work — as regards general lines, only."

The main site (www.gwpda.org) contains a wealth of material on various aspects of World War I — Documents sorted by year, Conventions & Treaties, Memorials, Biographies, the Maritime War, the Medical Front, and several others. It is well worth a look.

(Continued on p. 18.)

JOHN SLATER

AN ENCOMIUM

By JOHN RADCLIFFE, CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL

The Kipling Library is a large, precious, and irreplaceable resource, of immense value to Kipling scholars and more casual readers with an interest in Kipling's life and works. It includes not only books but photographs, slides and a substantial collection of journals and newspaper articles. The Honorary Librarian is therefore one of the key members of the Society's Council, and for the past six years we have been fortunate in having John Slater in this post. He came to it after many years experience in the printing industry, and a good knowledge of the use of computers for information storage and retrieval. He has a scholarly mind, a close eye for detail, and a quiet capacity for getting things done, which have been invaluable.

Since 1999 John has reorganised and re-catalogued the books. The catalogue is available both in print and electronically; and the electronic version is available off-line in the Library, and on-line on the Society's web-site. Working with City University he has updated the arrangements for access to the collection, to make it as easy as possible for visitors from the U.K. or overseas to use it; at the same time he has reviewed and updated the security arrangements, which include an electronic tagging system. He has brought in a number of important new acquisitions, including the major collection given by George Webb. He has answered a steady stream of enquiries by letter and electronic mail. He has been a well-informed voice on Council, and was a particularly valuable source of advice when we were reviewing the printing arrangements for the *Kipling Journal*.

With his successor as Librarian, John Walker, he is a key member of the Project Group for the New Readers' Guide to Kipling's works. John Slater was one of the people who first raised the possibility of updating or replacing the Harbord Guide, and he has been a fertile source of ideas on how best to design the new Guide so as to take advantage of the possibilities of the Internet. On the Project Group he has contributed his special expertise to help make the NRG as accessible as possible to the enquirer, and in particular to see that we make the best possible use of the work done by Reginald Harbord in the fifties and sixties.

Although there is still much work to be done, John leaves the Kipling Library in excellent shape, and has provided for a harmonious handover to John Walker. He has undertaken to continue to provide help and advice from now on.

RUDYARD KIPLING'S JUNGLE: THE CASTING OUT AND THE LETTING IN

By BRENDA WELCH

[Brenda Welch joined Baylor University's English graduate programme in 2001. She earned her Bachelor of Arts degree from Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas (1983), her Master of Business Administration degree from Baylor University, Waco, Texas (1989), and her Juris Doctor degree from Baylor School of Law, Waco, Texas (1995). Building upon her English studies and legal practice, Ms Welch is pursuing her Ph.D. in the interdisciplinary study of law and literature and is currently focusing her research on the legal and social issues associated with the works of various British authors of the Victorian period.

The Doubleday Edition of *The Jungle Books* which Ms Welch has used has all the Mowgli stories combined in Vol. 1, with the other seven stories in Vol. 2. – Ed.]

Who trusted God was love indeed
And love Creation's final law—
Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw
With ravine, shriek'd against his creed—

Who loved, who suffer'd countless ills,
Who battled for the True, the Just,
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or seal'd within the iron hills?

Tennyson, *In Memoriam A.H.H.* (Canto 56, ln. 13-20)²²

The word "jungle" does not appear in Charles Darwin's "Natural Selection" from his *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*¹. The phrase "survival of the fittest" does not appear in the Mowgli stories of Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Books*⁷. Yet "law of the jungle" and "survival of the fittest" are terms that have become conjoined, and, in contemporary parlance, describe virtually everything that involves (or is perceived to involve) a cut-throat atmosphere, a win-at-any-cost mentality. For example, a recent movie, *Mean Girls*, tells the story of an African-raised girl who "... thinks she knows about survival of the fittest. But the law of the jungle takes on a whole new meaning ..." for her when she arrives at an American high school¹⁷. Likewise, the two concepts are used to explain politics³, and, not surprisingly, aspects of the legal profession: "By shifting some of the risk from fees and expenses to the firm . . . , value-billing tends to obey the Law of the Jungle—survival of the fittest... "²³. Many of us may have

come to think of the terms conjunctively because of the theme of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*

Poor Jurgis was now an outcast and a tramp once more. He was crippled—he was as literally crippled as any wild animal which has lost its claws, or been torn out of its shell. . . . [H]e could no longer steal with impunity—he must take his chances with the common herd. Nay worse, he dared not mingle with the herd—he must hide himself, for he was one marked out for destruction.²¹

Yet Kipling's and Darwin's works should not be commingled in such a haphazard fashion to create a new and unfortunate meaning because doing so diminishes the literary value of Kipling's work. In this paper, I propose that the "law of the jungle" of Kipling's Mowgli stories has points of contact with Darwin's "survival of the fittest" and few, if any, with T.H. Huxley's revision of Darwin's theory. By comparing and contrasting these texts, I argue that, by removing Huxley's focus from Kipling's work, we can better explore the Mowgli stories. Perhaps we can reshape (if not entirely remove) the perception of the work as a how-do-I-win-the-rat-race manual and discover what " . . . Kipling wants to be in the know about. . . ." ²⁰.

Charles Darwin (1809-1882) died when Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) was a young man, and during Darwin's life he made several significant contributions to the scientific community, the most famous of which is his *Origin of Species*, which text remained influential during Kipling's life (and continues to resonate in contemporary culture). Darwin, in his turn, had been influenced by "Thomas Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population as It Affects the Future Improvement of Society* (1798), a polemical document concerned with social policy".⁵ Malthus's work dealt with the economic theories of overpopulation and sought to rebut " . . . the optimistic environmentalism of Enlightenment thinkers like William Godwin and the Marquis de Condorcet by proving the impossibility of social improvement".⁵ The application of Malthus's work by Darwin to the natural world resulted in his conclusion that " . . . the struggle for scarce subsistence led to the eventual survival of the fittest".⁵ Alfred Russel Wallace, working independently of Darwin, was simultaneously working with Malthus's theory and drawing similar conclusions⁵.

During Darwin's early career, he acquired a champion, T.H. Huxley who, in addition to strongly supporting Darwin, also supported Herbert Spencer. Concurrent with Darwin's and Wallace's scientific studies, another scientist, Spencer, was propounding his own " . . . laissez-faire economic theory with biological and evolutionary

arguments . . . ".⁵ All of these men, who performed scientific research in various branches of science, shared this common interest in evolutionary theory. The prosopographical nature of Victorian society—political, scientific, and literary—is further evidenced by the fact that in an 1860 letter to Charles Kingsley, Huxley noted his approval of Spencer's theory⁵.

However, between 1873 and 1896, science and politics began to undergo dramatic changes due in large part to the successive waves of economic depressions experienced by Great Britain during its own Great Depression⁵. Because of the political, economic, and cultural turmoil that he witnessed, Wallace became a socialist⁵. He, consequently, argued against Darwin's theory of natural selection, and, as evidence, he pointed to the superiority of the human brain to the ape's: "He argued that mathematical, artistic, and moral qualities could not have been developed by the agency of natural selection mainly because these qualities did not help in such a struggle for life . . . ".⁵ Applying his theory to politics, Wallace argued that "... economic competition was an artificial constraint on the latent and therefore natural social, sympathetic, and aesthetic impulses of human beings".⁵

Another social scientist, Henry George, posed an even greater threat than Wallace to Darwin's theory. George argued that "the population of industrial countries had grown dramatically, yet those countries, including England, had, with that increased labor, created more than enough wealth and subsistence to support the population".⁵ This hypothesis was contrary to Malthus's economic theory that, because the "... human population grows geometrically while food, human sustenance, increase arithmetically ... "⁵, "... there would be a constant struggle for the eternally scarce means of subsistence"⁵. If George were correct, his theory would undercut Darwin's theory. Wallace approved of George's text and even "privately recommended it to Darwin and Spencer".⁵ None of this was to Huxley's liking; if Darwin's theory begins to slip, Huxley's position as its champion, and all the prestige that he has acquired as a result, begins to slip.

In 1888, Huxley had again entered politics and faced the issue of Irish land reform⁵, which situation he probably did not like either. Huxley, a Spencerian, opposed land reform⁵. Wallace, also Spencerian, strongly favoured land socialism⁵. Huxley's solution was to shift his philosophy in order to distance himself from his fellow Spencerians. He abandoned Spencer's theory of evolutionary ethics, which theory is an ethical relativism: "... society was an organism and that ecological adaptation was the primary source of social variation".⁵ Huxley adopted instead an "absolutist ethic"⁵: "Ethical man and society may have moral purposes, but both also have strong natural impulses that almost

negate these purposes . . . ".⁵ He concluded that "the result of overpopulation in even civilized society is 'the re-establishment in all its intensity, of the struggle for existence—the war of each against all' ".⁵

Though other writers sought to counter these types of statements, Huxley's assertion that ". . . only savages and 'the natural man' had this tendency to multiply without limit"⁵ still lingers: "If he continued to insist that only the tooth-and-claw ethic could be derived from evolutionary theory it was not, as G.G. Simpson suggested, because he 'saw no alternative,' but because he chose not to see".⁵ Consequently, "Huxley ends, as he began, by sanctioning human aggression as it functions in society",⁵ and "His success may be measured by the extent to which his arguments have become the assumptions of cultural history".⁵ The result has been that Huxley's assumptions overshadow Darwin's "survival of the fittest," which phrase was Darwin's synonym for "natural selection":

[... the] daily and hourly scrutinizing, throughout the world, the slightest variations; rejecting those that are bad, preserving and adding up all that are good; silently and insensibly working, *whenever and wherever opportunity offers*, at the improvement of each organic being in relation to its organic and inorganic conditions of life.¹

In contrast, Huxley's version of the "survival of the fittest" concerns a more immediate (as opposed to the geological time of Darwin's theory) gratification through aggression: through social struggle, a minority—an ". . . 'exceptionally endowed minority' . . . "⁵—will dominate the masses because this elite minority will control the wealth and influence. Thus, when people refer to the "survival of the fittest," they are typically referring to Huxley's version of Darwin's theory rather than Darwin's original theory.

The intriguing aspect of the theory of the "survival of the fittest"—which has experienced its own evolution of sorts—is how Huxley's theory and Darwin's theory of natural selection intersect in Kipling's "law of the jungle," which "law" appears in his Mowgli stories. Kipling, of course, was not the first or the only writer who explored aspects of Darwinism. Evolutionary theory was so much a part of late-Victorian sensibilities that, not surprisingly, elements of it appear in other children's literature. For example, Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) dealt with it in his *The Water Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Landbaby*.⁶ Tom, the boy who becomes a water baby, is very much a story of Darwin's theory ". . . that changes in the conditions of life give a tendency to increased variability . . . ".¹ After entering the water, Tom awakes later to find ". . . himself swimming about in the stream, being

about four inches, or—that I may be accurate—3.87902 inches long, and having round the parotid region of his fauces a set of external gills . . . ".⁶ In the end, though, Tom finds himself again in changed conditions of life: he is again a man.

However, the variability of creatures, including man, was not the only evolutionary idea that captured Victorian writers' imaginations. In 1854, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert opened the Crystal Palace to the public who saw that, from fossilized dinosaur bones, Richard Owens had constructed " . . . life-size models of his dinosaurs . . . " ² in all their immensity and majesty (unaware, of course, that Owens was mistaken in his belief that dinosaurs were just really large lizards). The Victorians were understandably impressed with the " . . . antediluvian monsters, beasts that had been destroyed in the Biblical deluge . . . ".² Darwin considered the concept of the extinction and found it consonant with his natural selection theory: "Thus, as it seems to me, the manner in which single species and whole groups of species become extinct accords well with the theory of natural selection".¹

The theory of extinction, as well as the theory of evolution, profoundly impacted social thought, and extinct animals (such as dinosaurs) and evolving creatures (such as Tom the water baby) appear in children's literature. A dinosaur, for example, appears in *The Enchanted Castle*, the 1907 children's fantasy novel by Edith Nesbit (1858-1924): "the stone dinosaur looms immense among a forest of larches".¹⁹ Nesbit's dinosaur, however, does not remain extinct in the world of fantasy: "It was one of those great lizards that you see at the Crystal Palace, made in stone, of the same awful size which they were millions of years ago when they were masters of the world, before Man was".¹⁹ Nesbit's stone dinosaur is like Kingsley's water baby in that both are relatively innocuous in dealing with issues of Darwinism. Kingsley and Nesbit give Darwin a nod; Kipling gives Darwin, if not an embrace, at least a hearty handshake.

For Darwin, nature means " . . . only the aggregate action and product of many natural laws . . . ".¹ For Kipling's narrator, the law of the jungle is not the few laws of the wolves in "The Law of the Jungle," which is the concluding poem of the "How Fear Came" chapter. Rather, "There are, of course, hundreds and hundreds more [laws . . .]"⁷ that govern nature and the jungle's creatures. Mowgli is a man, and, as a man, he does not belong in the jungle and has to return to human society. For Darwin, man is the exception to the logic of natural selection: "[Man . . .] does not allow the most vigorous males to struggle for the females; he does not rigidly destroy all inferior animals, but protects during each varying season, as far as lies in his power, all his productions".¹ Mowgli is the intersection between the two texts: "A man-cub

is a man-cub, and he must learn *all* the Law of the Jungle",⁹ that is, he must learn the jungle laws, but, because he is a man, he will interfere in nature and make his own selection decisions.

Mowgli, like Tom of *The Water Babies*, finds himself in a situation ". . . that changes in the conditions of life [giving] a tendency to increased variability . . . 'V Naked, alone, and carried in the mouth of Father Wolf, Mowgli enters the wolves' lair and nurses himself from Raksha, The Demon and Mother Wolf.'⁸ Yet Mowgli's changed condition, unlike Tom's, does not change his essence: he is a man not a wolf. As an outsider, Mowgli's continued presence within the wolf pack has to be initially secured according to the Law of the Jungle: "Now the Law of the Jungle lays down that if there is any dispute as to the right of a cub to be accepted by the Pack, he must be spoken for by at least two members of the Pack who are not his father and mother".⁸ Baloo, the brown bear and wolf-cub teacher, speaks for Mowgli. When no one else speaks, Bagheera, the Black Panther, offers a freshly killed bull in addition to his word: ". . . the Law of the Jungle says that if there is a doubt which is not a killing matter in regard to a new cub, the life of that cub may be bought at a price. And the Law does not say who may or may not pay that price".⁸ This episode is the novel's first break with Huxley's absolutist ethic. Bagheera argues to save Mowgli—to whom he owes nothing—from destruction by the wolf pack, within which he is not a member. Mowgli's life (or death) is neither useful nor harmful to Bagheera specifically or to panthers in general: "Variations neither useful nor injurious would not be affected by natural selection".¹

Thus, though Bagheera is acting within the letter and the spirit of the Law of the Jungle, he is acting outside the scope of the theory of the survival of the fittest. But Bagheera's offer, the dead bull, is not the only Jungle creature killed. Of all of the episodes involving death, only the deaths of the stealers of the Ankus involve man killing man in order to attain man-made wealth. The interesting point of this episode is how well it undercuts Huxley's theory that an elite minority will rise to the top of the social order and dominate others. The Ankus, a man-made killing device, has been guarded by the White Cobra, Warden of the Treasure of the King's City. Learning of how the Ankus kills, Mowgli throws it away.¹² It is later found by a group of men whom Bagheera and Mowgli track to see if the White Cobra's warning that the Ankus is death is true. Of the group, a villager is found dead first. He has been killed by the Gond's poison arrow. They next find the body of the Gond who has been killed with bamboo. Four men wearing shoes remain from the group, one of whom is the load-bearer—" . . . he carried their food... "¹²—and is the next one found dead. The remaining three eat bread that has been poisoned by the Apple of death: " "The first must have made it ready in the

food for *these*, who killed him, having first killed the Gond' ",¹² The group has failed to achieve superiority through the wealth of the jewels on the Ankus. The group's aggression only succeeds in destroying the group.

The killings of the Ankus episode are a contrast to the lack of killing in the Water Truce episode. The Water Truce episode is not an example of Huxley's "... war of each against all".⁵ When the drought comes to the Jungle and dramatically reduces its conditions for sustaining life, Hathi, "... the wild elephant, who lives for a hundred years and more . . . ",¹⁰ goes to the Peace Rock and proclaims a Water Truce: "By the law of the Jungle it is death to kill at the drinking-places when once the Water Truce has been declared. The reason for this is that drinking comes before eating".¹⁰ No one at the Peace Rock molests or is molested by another, although Bagheera notices that "... 'But for that which is the Law it would be *very* good hunting' ".¹⁰ The difference, however, is that the animals for a very compelling reason—the survival of all—do not kill even though the opportunity for gaining an advantage is almost overwhelming. They, unlike man, control what Huxley would call their "strong natural impulses".⁵

Mowgli, who also comes to the Peace Rock, acts according to the law. Although the animals repeatedly call Mowgli a "Man," his behaviour is distinguished as something that sets him apart from other men. Mowgli is someone "... against whom there is no fault...".⁸ The jungle creatures, as well as Mowgli, see man's aggressive behaviour as a source of shame: "Having neither claws nor teeth, men make these things—and worse".¹² To Mowgli, "Men kill because they are not hunting;—for idleness and pleasure".¹² To the jungle creatures, to kill a man is "... *always* shameful . . . ".¹⁰: "Man is the weakest and most defenceless of all living things, and it is unsportsmanlike to touch him".⁸ Because of the like-mindedness of Mowgli and the jungle creatures regarding man, people tend to confuse Mowgli with the creatures of the jungle. Perhaps the confusion is because Kipling has created a "parallel world of the jungle"¹⁸ where the lives of man and animal intersect to form a new and plausible reality.

Kipling, however, keeps a clear distinction between Mowgli and the jungle creatures. Mowgli may have adapted himself to the life of the wolf-pack, but he does not become a wolf. Tom, formerly a boy, becomes a water baby. Mowgli is a man-cub, a manling, and always destined to become a man and is finally driven from the pack because he is a man:

'Ye have told me so often to-night that I am a man (and indeed I would have been a wolf with you to my life's end), that I feel your words are true. So I do not call ye my brothers any more, but *sag* [dogs], as a man should'.⁸

Because he is a man, Mowgli can do things that the jungle creatures cannot do. He can challenge and, thereby, alter the law of the jungle, and he can effect change without desiring permanent dominance over the jungle creatures. In "Mowgli's Brothers",⁸ Akela, formerly the leader of the pack, has missed his last kill: "Akela the Lone Wolf lay by the side of his rock as a sign that the leadership of the Pack was open . . .".⁸ The scrap-fed wolves, who have decided to listen to Shere Khan, have plotted Akela's downfall and at the council meeting agree with Shere Khan's demand for Mowgli. Akela accuses the pack of being cowards, but he offers a bargain:

'But for the sake of the Honour of the Pack,—a little matter that by being without a leader ye have forgotten,—I promise that if ye let the mancub go to his own place, I will not, when my time comes to die, bare one tooth against ye. I will die without fighting'.⁸

The pack refuses. Mowgli has outlived most of his original pack, and now learns how much the newer members hate him. Mowgli asserts his will, which is at variance with the Law. To Shere Khan, who has threatened him again with death, Mowgli says, " 'But remember when next I come to the Council Rock, as a man should, it will be with Shere Khan's hide on my head' ".⁸ To the scrap-fed wolves who have threatened to fight Akela for the leadership, Mowgli says, " 'For the rest, Akela goes free to live as he pleases. Ye will *not* kill him, because that is not my will' ".⁸ Mowgli kills Shere Khan, and the pack still wants leadership: " 'Lead us again, O Akela. Lead us again, O Man-cub . . . ' ".¹¹ Mowgli and Akela refuse, but none of the scrap-fed wolves becomes leader: " . . . Phao, son of Phaona (his father was the Gray Tracker in the days of Akela's headship), fights his way to the leadership of the Pack, according to the Jungle Law . . . ".¹⁴ Later, Mowgli visits " . . . the Council Rock for memory's sake. . . . and he sat at Akela's side on the rock above Phao".¹⁴ Shere Khan and the scrap-fed wolves fail, and, again, the aggressive minority fails to dominate.

Mowgli, in contrast to the leaderless pack, selects who will live—Akela the aged wolf—and who will not—Shere Khan the pack-destroying tiger: "[Man] does not rigidly destroy all inferior animals, but protects during each varying season, as far as lies in his power, all his productions".¹ For Huxley, "The fallacy of evolutionary ethics arose, . . . , because the term 'survival of the fittest' had a 'moral flavor' ",⁵ and the Mowgli stories also have a moral flavour. In addition to his protection of the weak, Mowgli refuses to kill other men even for revenge. Mowgli calls for a jungle war against the villagers because they have hurt Messua:

Mowgli had never seen human blood in his life before till he had seen, and—what meant much more to him—smelled Messua's blood on the thongs that bound her. And . . . he loved Messua as completely as he hated the rest of mankind. But deeply as he loathed them, . . . not for anything the Jungle had to offer could he bring himself to take a human life, and have that terrible scent of blood back again in his nostrils.¹³

He just wants them out of his jungle but not their complete extinction: 'Let them go and find a fresh lair. They cannot stay here' ".¹³

The casting out of the villagers is the third casting out of the novel. Mowgli is first cast out of the wolf-pack for being a man. He is later cast out of the village for being a wolf. At the challenge to Akela's leadership, Shere Khan still cannot look Mowgli in the eyes. James Harrison, in "Kipling's Jungle Eden," argues that "This indicates that, within the terms of jungle mythology, Mowgli is like Adam before the Fall".⁴ Mowgli, therefore, is thrown out of the pack: "Now I know thou art a man, and a man's cub no longer. The Jungle is shut indeed to thee henceforward' ".⁸ He then goes to live with men but is again turned out: "So Mowgli, cast out of the jungle for being a man, is in turn cast out by men for being still in a state of Edenic innocence".⁴ I alternatively suggest that, because the villagers are also living in the jungle, the jungle is more than a symbol of the Biblical Eden. The villagers have defiled the jungle in much the same way that the moneychangers defiled the temple of God (*Matt. 21:12-13*).¹⁶ Only the removal of the villagers can purify the jungle again: "I have seen and smelled the blood of the woman that gave me food—the woman whom they would have killed but for me. Only the smell of the new grass on their doorsteps can take away that smell' ".¹³

This purification, this letting in of the jungle, also has a moral flavour, a hint of spirituality. But Mowgli is not a Christ figure. He is not ". . . a Godling of the Woods".¹⁵ He has left the jungle again in order to find ". . . those mysterious things that are called men".⁸ He is a man in search of a society he can live in and with, and the final casting out is of his own making: "Mowgli will drive Mowgli".¹⁴ He is a man, an ethical and social man, but he is still susceptible to the ". . . strong natural impulses that almost negate these purposes . . .".⁵ Undeniably, Mowgli comes to some awareness of his desire for his own mate, which, of course, incorporates Darwin's theory of "Sexual Selection." Mowgli is ". . . beautiful beyond all men"¹⁵: ". . . but if man can in a short time give beauty and an elegant carriage to his bantams . . ., I can see no good reason to doubt that female birds, by selecting, during thousands of generations, the most melodious or beautiful males".¹

However, Mowgli's sexuality is, as Kipling says, "... a story for grown-ups",¹¹ and his bildungsroman—from naked baby to beautiful young man—has been an evolutionary process, "But it is not easy to change one's life all in a minute—particularly in the Jungle".¹³ Yet when his life's conditions changed, he adapted while his nature remained the same. He may have used the Law of the Jungle as a base from which to deal with the jungle, but he does not become one of its creatures: "'Thou art of the Jungle and *not* of the Jungle' . . .".¹³ The difference between him and the animals is more than the fact that they cannot look him in the eyes. When he is hurt, he can express his grief as the animals cannot: "Then something began to hurt Mowgli inside him, as he had never been hurt in his life before, and he caught his breath and sobbed, and the tears ran down his face".⁸ And he does not have the jungle-passion for killing. He can be, and often is, moved to anger, but "Luckily, the Law of the Jungle had taught him to keep his temper . . .".¹¹ From his skill for patience comes his wisdom of leadership. However, the greatest difference is the distinction between Mowgli and the other men: "'Men kill because they are not hunting;—for idleness and pleasure' ".¹² Mowgli is the exception, and his distinction may be the best reason for casting out the simplistic "red, in tooth and claw" (mis)reading of the novel and for letting in other readings.

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BROWN'S HOTEL, LONDON (*continued from p.6*)

Members may have seen in the U.K. press that Brown's Hotel in Albemarle Street re-opened in December last year following a major refurbishment. Browsing round their website, I found the following note in the history of the hotel:

Celebrities and writers who have loved Brown's include Cecil Rhodes, founder of Rhodesia, Rudyard Kipling (who found the hotel conducive to writing and completed *The Jungle Book* here) and Agatha Christie, who based her thriller *At Bertram's Hotel* on Brown's.

One of the largest of the 15 suites has been named "The Kipling Suite" and has

... a king bed. The Kipling Suite has an Albemarle Street view. This suite is composed of an open plan sitting room, bedroom and walk-in wardrobe. The living room with fireplace is large enough to entertain 8 guests, with a dining table, which seat 8.

The 2006 room rate is £2,575 per night. – *Ed.*

RUDYARD KIPLING'S 1907 CROSS-
CANADA SPEAKING TOUR:
IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN POST-
COLONIAL CANADA

By DR JAY JOHNSON

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Rudyard Kipling made many speeches and public addresses during his long life – the *Readers' Guide to the Works of Kipling* lists over seventy – but only once did he engage to make a formal, organized speaking tour. This occurred in the autumn of 1907, and it took Kipling across Canada from coast to coast and back again. In this paper I would like to consider three questions concerning this tour: firstly, why did Kipling undertake this Canadian speaking tour? secondly, what was the message that he wanted to deliver to Canadians? and, thirdly, how was he and his message received?

1

With regard to the first question — why Kipling undertook his 1907 speaking tour – there is no direct, explicit, documentary evidence to provide an explanation. No correspondence has been found that discusses it, nor are there any signed contracts, so all comments are speculative. On the face of it, it seems like an unusual thing for Kipling to have done at that particular time of his life. He was forty-one years old in 1907 and at the height of his creative power and popularity. An indication of his international status at this time can be gained by considering the fact that just a few days after returning from his Canadian tour – in November 1907 — Kipling received word that he had been awarded the Nobel Prize for literature, the first Nobel Prize awarded to an English writer, and the first awarded to someone as young as he was, still in the prime of his working life. During the summer of 1907 he was involved in a number of literary projects, and so, not only did he not *have* to go to Canada, but there were good reasons why he could have declined to go — but yet he did go, and, from what we can tell, he went enthusiastically.

One possible explanation for his going to Canada concerns the situation of the Empire in 1907, a situation which, in the opinion of committed imperialists like Kipling, was extremely perilous. In the spring of 1907 an Imperial Conference had been held in London, and much hope had been generated about what might be achieved there in three particular areas: there was hope that some sort of on-going political structure for the Empire might be found, that some kind of preferential trade agreement within the Empire might be agreed to, and that some formula for the sharing of the costs of imperial defense which was provided by the Royal Navy might be arrived at. All three of these initiatives came to nothing at the Imperial Conference, and their failure was, in the minds of many observers, due to the opposition of the Canadian delegation which was led by Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier, the senior Dominion Premier at the conference. Laurier's delegation was the only one which had failed to submit any agenda items for the conference during the preparation period, and then at the conference itself, it blocked every attempt to enlarge and define the Empire's role in political, economic, or military terms. This was somewhat mystifying given the fact that Canada had taken the lead ten years previously, in 1897, with the Preferential Tariff on goods imported from the United Kingdom, an event that Kipling had celebrated with his poem "Our Lady of the Snows (*Canadian Preferential Tariff*, 1897)." Many observers wondered whether Laurier's current resistance to the expansion and consolidation of the Empire's role truly reflected the feelings and opinions of the majority of Canadians. In the wake of the 1907 conference, things seemed to be hanging in the balance for the Empire. Opposition forces were gaining ground, and so it seemed like a time when imperialists and supporters of the Empire must step forward too.

One Empire supporter who had stepped forward boldly was the Canadian academic and humorist, Stephen Leacock. Leacock, a senior faculty member at McGill University in Montreal, had been released from his teaching duties for a year, and, with funds supplied by the Rhodes Trust, was (in the words of Canadian Governor-General Lord Grey) "turned loose on the Empire." Leacock began his "round-the-Empire" tour in the late spring of 1907 in England; he stayed for a weekend in May with the Kiplings at Bateman's in Burwash, and, although there is no record of their conversation, it might be assumed that the condition of the Empire, and the need for people like themselves to take leading roles, were among their principal topics. Leacock might well have said to Kipling, "If I can leave the comforts of Canada to trek through the Australian Outback and the South African Veldt for a year, you can undertake a tour of Canada."

Another of the topics that might have been discussed between Leacock and Kipling was Kipling's long-standing connection with McGill University. Eight years earlier, in 1899, McGill had offered Kipling his first Honorary Degree, and he had agreed to accept it during his visit that year to North America. However, during that 1899 Atlantic crossing both he and his eldest child, Josephine, became ill. After a long stay in a New York hospital suffering from a very serious bout of pneumonia, Kipling recovered, but Josephine died. Needless to say, he did not travel to Montreal during that 1899 visit to accept the degree, but he did visit McGill in 1907 and finally did receive his Doctor of Letters. Again, no documentary evidence has been found to support this speculation, but it seems highly likely that Leacock, as a senior member of the McGill faculty, might have been given the assignment by his University of negotiating this arrangement with Kipling, and might have persuaded him to combine an Empire duty with a University pleasure.

These, then, are some of the possible reasons why Kipling came to Canada in the autumn of 1907: the generally perilous condition of the Empire, the sense that individuals of stature who supported the Empire had a responsibility to do their part, the concrete example of Stephen Leacock as one of these individuals, and the opportunity to fulfill a pleasant obligation by accepting his honorary degree at McGill University.

But whatever the exact reasons might have been for Kipling's visit, come he did. He and Carrie arrived in Canada aboard the S.S. *Empress of Britain* on 26 September. They were met at Rimouski, Quebec by Sir William Van Home, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who provided them with his own private Pullman car "with coloured porter complete," which was, as Kipling light-heartedly described it in his autobiography, Van Home's "deferred, but ample revenge" for the difficulties they had given him with a lost trunk on their wedding trip fifteen years before. This mode of travel must have impressed the Kiplings thoroughly because the descriptions of it written more than a quarter-century later still convey a lyrical, magical quality. They were given car and porter, Kipling writes,

to take and use and hitch on to and declutch from any train we chose, to anywhere we fancied, for as long as we liked. We took it, and did all those things to Vancouver and back again. When we wished to sleep in peace, it slid off into still, secret freight-yards till morning. When we would eat, *chefs* of the great mail trains, which it had honoured by its attachment, asked us what we would like. (It was the season of blueberries and wild duck.) If we even looked as

though we wanted anything, that thing would be waiting for us a few score miles up the line. In this manner and in such state we progressed, and the procession and the progress was meat and drink to the soul of William the coloured porter, our Nurse, Valet, Seneschal, and Master of Ceremonies.

2

During the few weeks that Kipling was in Canada, he delivered a very pro-Empire message to Canadians, and he delivered it in several different modes or media including set-piece speeches, newspaper interviews, published Travel Letters, and poems. Perhaps the most important delivery mode, and the reason for his trip to Canada, was the series of seven speeches given in the principle cities of Canada: Victoria, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. Six of these speeches were presented to local gatherings of a national organization called the Canadian Club, and the seventh was delivered at the Fall Convocation of McGill University on the occasion of the granting of his Honorary Doctorate of Letters. Of these seven speeches, there are full texts extant for only three – the Canadian Club speeches in Winnipeg and Toronto, and the McGill Convocation address; the other speeches we know only from newspaper accounts and yearbook summaries. Another important medium for Kipling's message to Canadians was a series of eight substantial essays or articles, which he called Travel Letters, which appeared in periodicals in Canada, the United States, and Britain and were later published in book form under the title, *Letters to the Family*.

Both in his speeches and in his published Travel Letters Kipling described and exclaimed upon the things he saw in Canada that had great promise for the future. Over and over he compared how far things had advanced by today – 1907 – in comparison with their very different condition just fifteen years earlier — in 1892 — when he had made his last cross-country visit to Canada on the occasion of his honeymoon. Then, everything was raw mud and rock; now, fifteen years later – which was, as he put it, "just an instant in the life of a nation" – things had progressed immeasurably. Cities had been built in stone and granite; railroads had opened up new regions to farming and mining; and the process of nation-building was going forward at full speed. And the progress that had been made over the last fifteen years was, for him, a guarantee that things would continue with virtually no end in sight. When he asked the people he met for an assessment of how far things could go, what were the limits, he was continually answered with the same response: "Who can say; we're only at the beginning of it." The

general impression that is created by his enthusiastic descriptions of the country is of endless, boundless opportunity waiting to be exploited by people with energy, imagination, and nerve.

As he described what he saw in Canada and showed how far things had advanced over the past decade and a half, Kipling drew on his familiarity with the Empire as a whole to put the Canadian situation into a larger context. Canadians had a huge task and a huge opportunity, but they were engaged in work not fundamentally dissimilar from that of Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans. This "Empire-common denominator" is a constant theme throughout the speeches and the Travel Letters; though it is a long way from Canada to Australia and the other self-governing Dominions, the same kind of challenges are being met and the some kind of results are being achieved. This Empire kinship, Kipling argued, could provide brilliant economic opportunities if we could only grasp them. His tone of Evangelical Imperialism can be heard in this excerpt from his Toronto speech:

It may be for reasons of her own that, for the time being, Canada will judge it expedient to make her court with older civilizations, to deal, for the time being, with nations of a more amazing present than that which belongs to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. But I am sure, gentlemen, that if you as businessmen sent out or investigate for yourselves you will find in those countries that I have named the promise of markets worthy of your serious attention. Were I a businessman I could show you that as regards our mutual trade we are no more than children playing store on the thresholds of our real market.

The men of these lands have worked out their salvation under skies as bright and with hearts as large as yours. They have developed and settled, they are developing and settling, vast areas with much the same machinery, moral and physical, as you use. They face the same problems, and they face them on the same lines as you do. Who, then, in the long run, can better or more understandingly supply their wants than you? Who in the long run can better or more understandingly supply your wants than they? Am I being too forward? I think not. A young country must take long views, the same as a young man must take long, very long, views. Our four young nations—the Big Four—have a long, an uphill, and a triumphant road to tread. Go you out, gentlemen, and make sure for yourselves that our roads lie together.

In addition to his examination of Canada's material and economic achievements and promise in comparison with other parts of the

Empire, Kipling also reviewed and assessed a number of specific areas of public life, such as education, journalism, and trade unions, but the most important issue, and the one to which he returned over and over through his entire visit, was immigration. In the summer and autumn of 1907, immigration concerns were at the very top of the Canadian public agenda. In the west-coast province of British Columbia, in particular, the whole immigration question was very hot and controversial. Though there was a great need for new people to keep the growing economy of this expanding province moving forward, there was vigorous resistance on the part of a sizeable portion of the province's population toward the increasing numbers of oriental, and in particular Japanese, immigrants who were coming in at B.C. ports. This resistance had grown throughout the year from letters to local newspapers to meetings, speeches, and parades, and finally to a full-blown two-day riot in Vancouver in September, just a few weeks before Kipling's visit and speech. The riot started as an attempt by an inflamed mob to clear out the Japanese quarter but ended quite differently when the Japanese armed themselves and, defending their homes and livelihoods tenaciously, beat back the mob. The Canadian government responded to this event, which was head-line news across Canada as well as in London and Tokyo, by establishing a Commission of Inquiry and ultimately sending a Ministerial delegation on a damage-control mission to Japan.

Kipling commented that he had been asked his opinion about this "Oriental Exclusion" question within two minutes of setting foot on Canadian soil, and then over and over again at every stop and in every interview throughout the tour. He attempted to remain as non-committal as possible about the issue, and to use the opportunities that the questions provided to put forward his own position on immigration. For Kipling, immigration was the keystone to the whole imperial situation. The basic terms of "the Empire equation," as he saw it, were these: the British Isles were overstocked and overpopulated by people whose opportunities for success and prosperity had become limited in that environment, and whose natural, inbred virtues were in danger of being eroded by the political blight that was wreaking havoc on the island-garden. Not only Canada but all of the self-governing Dominions in the Empire needed and needed desperately skilled workers, labourers, and settlers of all kinds. Immigrants must be found somewhere, and if they did not come from the British Isles, they would certainly come from somewhere else. If they came from somewhere else, they would not have the background to appreciate and carry forward the British heritage and so not only would that heritage be lost within the Dominions but the Dominions would be lost to the Empire.

In Kipling's opinion, the best and perhaps the only way simultaneously to solve Canada's persistent labour shortage, obviate any racial conflicts, and ensure the maintenance of Canada's British heritage was to increase the flow of immigrants from Britain to Canada. Kipling suggested that a well-settled policy of British immigration to the Dominions would, at one and the same time, bleed Britain back to health while transfusing the anaemic colonies with the blood required to ensure continued healthy growth to political maturity. In an interview with the *Toronto Globe*, Kipling said:

Immigration is what you want in the West. You must have labourers there. You want immigration, and the way to keep the yellow man out is to get the white man in. . . Pump in the immigrants from the Old Country. Pump them in; England has five million of people to spare.²

And he repeated these words so often – "Pump in the white immigrants; pump them in!" — that it became a catch-phrase associated with him, to the extent that "pumping in the white immigrants" was put forward in the Canadian House of Commons as the "Kipling cure."

This was the central thrust of Kipling's message to Canadians which he put forward in speeches and Travel Letters as well as in newspaper interviews and poems. There are two poems which were written during this period that focus clearly on the issue of British immigration to Canada. The first is entitled "The Stranger (*Canadian*)":

The Stranger within my gate,
He may be true or kind,
But he does not talk my talk—
I cannot feel his mind.
I see the face and the eyes and the mouth,
But not the soul behind.

The men of my own stock,
They may do ill or well,
But they tell the lies I am wonted to,
They are used to the lies I tell;
And we do not need interpreters
When we go to buy and sell.

The Stranger within my gates,
He may be evil or good,
But I cannot tell what powers control—

What reasons sway his mood;
 Nor when the Gods of his far-off land
 Shall repossess his blood.

The men of my own stock,
 Bitter bad they may be,
 But, at least, they hear the things I hear,
 And see the things I see;
 And whatever I think of them and their likes
 They think of the likes of me.

This was my father's belief
 And this is also mine:
 Let the corn be all one sheaf—
 And the grapes be all one vine,
 Ere our children's teeth are set on edge
 By bitter bread and wine.

This poem was first published as a head-note to "Newspapers and Democracy," the fourth of the series of *Letters to the Family* written about this 1907 tour of Canada, and it provides a very clear statement of Kipling's "racial patriotism." In the world of this poem, people are divided into two groups, "the men of my own stock" and "the Stranger," the Other, the one who is different. The distinction between them is not one of good and evil; the poem makes it clear that the men of my own stock can do ill, can tell lies, and may be bitter bad, and, by the same token, that the stranger can be true, kind, and good. The problem is not that the Stranger is bad but simply that he is strange and unfamiliar which generates in the speaker of the poem feelings of fear, discomfort, and uncertainty. And the final stanza gives this attitude the justification of tradition: "This was my father's belief/ And this is also mine." The message contained in this poem and in the Travel Letter it accompanies is not difficult to discern: the "racial family" – meaning those of British descent and culture – must come first in the Empire; and in particular with regard to immigration policy, a concerted effort must be made to bring in immigrants of British stock. To do anything else is to open the door to all sorts of problems – such as the Vancouver riots.

A second poem touching on the issue of imperial immigration appeared as head-note to "The Wonderful Years To Be," the seventh of the 1907 Travel Letters. Its title is "When The Great Ark' ":

When the Great Ark, in Vigo Bay
 Rode stately through the half-manned fleet,

From every ship about her way
She heard the mariners entreat—
"Before we take the seas again
Let down your boats and send us men!

"We have no lack of victual here
With work—God knows!—enough for all,
To hand and reef and watch and steer,
Because our present strength is small;
While your three decks are crowded so
Your crews can scarcely stand or go!

"In war, your numbers only raise
Confusion and divided will;
In storm, the mindless deep obeys
Not multitudes but single skill;
In calm, your numbers, closely pressed,
Must breed a mutiny or pest.

"We, even on unchallenged seas,
Dare not adventure where we would;
But forfeit brave advantages
For lack of men, to make 'em good;
Whereby to England's double cost,
Honour and profit both are lost."

Taken out of its context, this appears as a rather trivial poem, presenting an appeal to the flag-ship by the ships of the fleet for equity in terms of crewing policy. But, of course, this is not a poem about ships but about countries. The Great Ark is Britain so overcrowded and closely pressed that she is liable to the dangers of revolution and plague, and the undermanned ships of the line are the Dominions and colonies ready and keen to go forward but hamstrung because of lack of manpower and so unable to fulfil their duties and accomplish their destinies.

These, then, were the principal points that Kipling wanted to express to Canadians: first, that the future of Canada was undoubtedly bright, but that it would be even brighter if ties to the Empire were not merely maintained but strengthened; and second, and more important, that the best and perhaps the only way to strengthen Empire ties was through immigration policies that favoured members of the British racial family.

What kind of reception did Kipling and his message receive from Canadians during the autumn of 1907? The response to Kipling as an individual was extremely warm and positive. As a celebrity and a public figure with whose work everyone was familiar, the Bard of the Empire was feted and made much of at every opportunity. Each of his speaking engagements was very well attended, though principally by the business and social elites of the Canadian communities, and the only complaint that was made about his tour was that, because the itinerary was set, there were not many opportunities for common Canadians to make contact with him. As their private Pullman rolled across the country and small communities realized who was passing through, there were appeals for him to make unscheduled stops, and stop he did at least once, in Medicine Hat, Alberta where he and Mrs Kipling spent an unscheduled day – October 13 – as honoured guests of the city.

With regard to his message, however, the response was somewhat different. There was, it is true, a sizeable portion of the Canadian population who were sympathetic to his message, but, in fact, the idea of increasing the numbers of British immigrants to the exclusion of all other groups ran contrary to the official policy of the Canadian government. In 1907, and for the preceding ten years, the primary destination for immigrant-settlers coming to Canada was the western prairie region – the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba – where the climatic conditions are extreme and severe. The Immigration Department had decided that the best settlers for this region were the hardy peasants from central and eastern Europe – places like Galicia, Bessarabia, and the Ukraine – and they made a concerted effort to recruit from these areas. Though there can be no doubt that these sturdy, sheepskin-coated peasants were able to cope with the harshness of the Western Canadian environment to become successful settlers, this was a controversial policy – as can be seen in this editorial published in the Calgary Herald:

Like a hotel, a country is gauged and sized up according to the class of people who frequent it . . . As against 1375 dirty, frowsy Galicians, there came from the Mother country last year 13 Englishmen, 10 Scotchmen and 14 Irishmen. What Clifford Sifton [Minister of Immigration] means by affecting not to know that there is such a place as Great Britain on the map, and ignoring Britishers as desirable immigrants, preferring . . . the importing of a mass of human ignorance, filth and immorality is only known to his immediate friends.³

Kipling, like the writer of this editorial, strongly disagreed with the official policy favouring Central and Eastern European immigrants, and he spoke and wrote against it in terms only slightly less brutal and insensitive than those of the editorial writer quoted above:

And they showed me vast and well-equipped schools, where the children of Slav immigrants are taught English and the sons of Canada. 'When they grow up,' people said, 'you can't tell them from Canadians.' . . . Nor is it true, as men pretend, that a few full meals and fine clothes obliterate all taint of alien instinct and reversion. A thousand years cannot be as yesterday for mankind; and one has only to glance at the races across the [American] Border to realize how in outlook, manner, expression, and morale the South and South-east profoundly and fatally affects the North and North-west. That was why the sight of the beady-eyed, muddy-skinned, aproned women, with handkerchiefs on their heads and Oriental bundles in their hands, always distressed one.

'But why must you get this stuff?' I asked. 'You know it is not your equal, and it knows it is not your equal; and that is bad for you both.'⁴

Apart from the fact that there was an official Canadian government policy in favour of eastern Europeans as immigrants, Kipling encountered another problem that made the acceptance of his message even more difficult. This was an active prejudice on the part of many Canadian toward English immigrants, a prejudice that was summed up in a phrase that was attached to the announcements or advertisements for many Canadian employment opportunities: "No English Need Apply!" The Labour politician, Kier Hardy, who visited Canada in the same year as Kipling, noticed this phenomenon and described it in a letter to the *Labour Herald*:

The reason, so far as I could make out, for this strange fact is the Englishman's inveterate habit of grumbling, and his unwillingness to adapt himself to new conditions. He reaches Canada with the notion that being from the Mother Country, he knows all there is to be learned. He wants the same kind of house as he had in Seven Dials, and where the method of work or the arrangement of the workshop differs from what he has been used to, he sets that down to the ignorance of the colonist, whom he has come to instruct. For him there is only one standard of perfection, to which he is always referring, and the consequence is that by workmates and employers alike he is generally voted a nuisance.⁵

These observations by Hardy were confirmed by Kipling's own investigations. In response to his straightforward question, 'What is the matter with the English as immigrants?' he was given answers which, he says, "were explicit."

'Because the English do not work. Because we are sick of Remittance-men and loafers sent out here. Because the English are rotten with Socialism. Because the English don't fit with our life. They kick at our way of doing things. They are always telling us how things are done in England. They carry frills! Don't you know the story of the Englishman who lost his way and was found half-dead of thirst beside a river? When he was asked why he didn't drink, he said: "How the deuce can I without a glars?"'

'But,' I argued over three thousand miles of country, 'all these are excellent reasons for bringing in the Englishman. It is true that in his own country he is taught to shirk work. Here, General January will stiffen him up. . . . As to his criticisms, you surely wouldn't marry a woman who agreed with you in everything, and you ought to choose your immigrants on the same lines. You admit that the Canadian is too busy to kick at anything. The Englishman is a born kicker. ("Yes, he is all that," they said.) He kicks on principle, and that makes for civilization. So did your Englishman's instinct about the glass. Every new country needs—vitaly needs—one half of one percent of its population trained to die of thirst rather than drink out of their hands. You are always talking of the second generation of Smyrniotes and Bessarabians. Think what the second generation of the English are!'

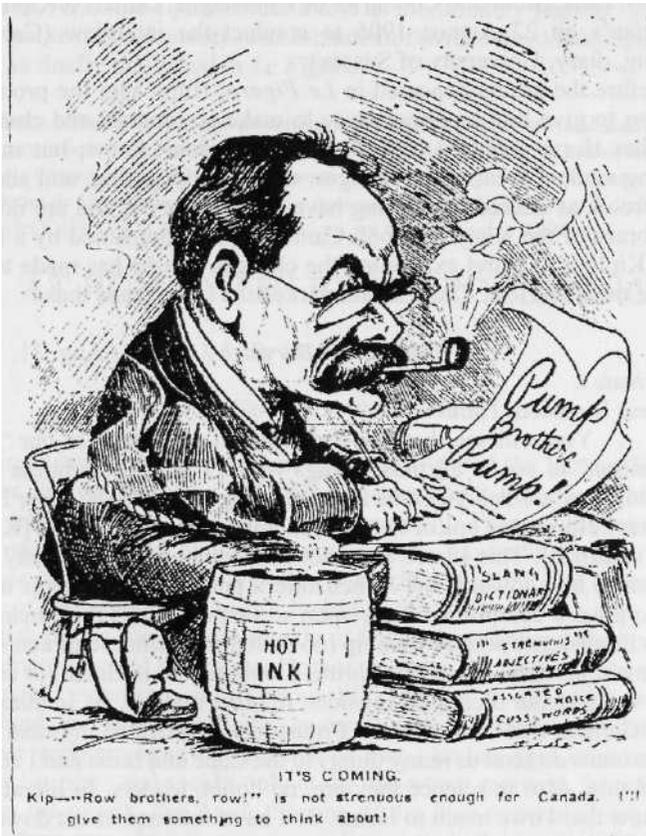
They thought—quite visibly—but they did not much seem to relish it.⁶

That final phrase of Kipling's – "They did not much seem to relish it" – is, perhaps, the best summary of the response that his message received from Canadians. As an individual he was extremely popular, with people thronging to see and hear him, but his political message was not as popular. In theory, people might acknowledge the importance of the Empire and the value of increased British immigration, but as a practical matter of public policy, it was not feasible. The specific conditions of the young Canadian nation – the northern climate, the harsh settlement environment of the West, the nearness and constant influence of the United States, and the substantial French-Canadian portion of the country which was never sympathetic to the Empire – all of these conditions came together to steer Canada gradually, at first imperceptibly, away from the Empire. In 1907, though it was by no

means apparent to all, this course had already been set, and for all his eloquence and rhetorical power, Kipling could not move the rudder to steer Canada back onto an Empire course.

NOTES

1. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*, London, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.115.
2. Quoted in *The Canadian Annual Review* (1907), pp.356-7.
3. Quoted in Howard Palmer, *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1975. p.45.
4. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters to the Family*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1921, pp. 168-69.
5. *Labour Herald*, 4 October 1907.
6. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters to the Family*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1921, pp.169-71.



This cartoon is from the *Montreal Daily Star* of 25 October 1907, and was sent to me by Prof Thomas Pinney as a possible illustration for his Huret article, which is also in this issue of the *Journal*. – Ed.

INTERVIEWS WITH RUDYARD KIPLING (II)

Edited by PROFESSOR THOMAS PINNEY

[The first "Interview" of this three-part series, translated and edited by Prof Pinney, appeared in *Journal* No.316, December 2005, pp.24-37 – *Ed.*]

Jules Huret (1864—1915) was a correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* who, since 1902, had been engaged on a series of books based on his travels in Germany, the United States, Argentina, and other countries. His interview with Kipling was arranged by the English correspondent of *Le Figaro*, Joseph Coudurier de Chassaingne. The two men, Huret and Coudurier de Chassaingne, called on Kipling at Bateman's on 22 August 1905 to conduct the interview (Caroline Kipling, diary, University of Sussex).

Before the article appeared in *Le Figaro*, Huret sent the proofs to Kipling to give him an opportunity to make corrections and changes. Whether Huret expected him to do much I don't know, but in fact Kipling made a great many changes, deleting, correcting, and adding. The proofs as altered by Kipling have been preserved and are now in the library of the King's School, Canterbury, accompanied by a letter from Kipling to Huret explaining the changes that he has made to the text of the interview. The relevant part of the letter reads thus:

Bateman's / Burwash / Sussex / Aug. 31.1905

private

Dear Monsieur Huret

. . . You will see that I have taken full advantage of our "convention" to put in all those things which I should doubtless have said if my car had given us more time together. On the other hand, I have eliminated one or two references to our mutual friend [Kaiser Wilhelm II]. This I have done not because I am guilty of any passionate love towards the Hohenzollern but because it seems to me too great a compliment that, upon so fine a day, a Frenchman and an Englishman should worship (no matter with what sentiments), so long at his semi-Byzantine shrine. Doubtless he is Great but equally we have our dignity to consider. In other matters, i.e. in allusions to German trade and science, I must have overstated my case. The Germans *do* send us many things to the Cape and India and I admitted this. Also in science they are, no doubt, leaders. In literature I know that I owe much to Heine. So I have softened or cut down the interview in this regard. Also, as regards their present war. I have not with my own eyes seen them in South West Africa and remem-

bering how our men marched and countermarched after the Boers I have altered my allusions to their troops. As to the nature of the country they choose to fight in—that is their own affair. Why should we be concerned about it?

I have added also to the American portion; but the observations in your book are parallel here to mine.

You will see further that I have cut out the allusion to Mrs Kipling . . .

In reprinting the interview I have tried to display as clearly as possible the three different stages of the text: as it was originally in Huret's proofs; as it was altered by Kipling; and as it finally appeared in *Le Figaro*. As a rule I print Huret's text as modified by Kipling, give the original text in a footnote, and include in the note any variations in the text as finally published in *Le Figaro*.

[Kipling's MS emendations and alterations in the Huret interview are published with the kind permission of the National Trust, to whom the copyright belongs, and of the King's School, Canterbury, to whom the corrected proofs belong. The omissions from the Courdurier de Chassaigne interview have been supplied from the typescript draft now in the Tyler Collection at Yale. The translations are by the editor. — *T. Pinney*]

AT HOME WITH RUDYARD KIPLING

By JULES HURET

(*Le Figaro*, 19 September 1905)

Taking advantage of my stay in England, I visited the famous English writer Rudyard Kipling and talked to him about the grave questions that now preoccupy Europe and, especially, France, England, and Germany. Rudyard Kipling is not only the powerful writer of *The Jungle Book* and of so many other works that have put him in the front rank of contemporary English literature; he is also, in the eyes of the English public, the fervent apostle of British imperialism, the lyric and vehement jingo of the greater Britain, and also the singer of the active, intensive, expansive, and various life. Kipling is as well known in England, in America, in India, as our Rostand¹ is known in France. A former reporter—and he is proud of that—he has kept an admirable sense for news and speaks only at the opportune moment. So, when he opens his mouth, the Anglo-Saxons of the four corners of the world cock their ears. And since we now listen cordially to our neighbours, let us listen to this passionate harpist of jingoism.

* * *

It was in his country town of B—² in Sussex that I met him for an appointment that he had readily granted me. He had told me that a car would be waiting for me at H— station. When I arrived at the station, no car. I took a cab. The weather was superb and, in the sunlight, the countryside softly displayed its charming grace.

We crossed, at an old mare's slow trot, a large valley, closed in by pretty undulating hills, and studded with open fields, knots of woods, and solitary cottages. An hour later, the cab stopped before an old house, without style, set in the middle of bare lawns, which, with its carefully raked walks, its rectangular piece of water, its tennis court, its double avenue of old lime trees, had nothing of the feudal besides the age of its stones. A young and pretty maid in a white pinafore and a little tulle bonnet ran to me to say that her master was not expecting me, having telegraphed me the night before to postpone our meeting till tomorrow, because the car was being repaired . . . The message had not arrived . . . At that moment, a rapid and springy step made the steps of the stair sound: it was Rudyard Kipling who was coming down.

Kipling is a man of middle height, slender, alert, with very lively eyes that beam amiably behind gold-rimmed spectacles, surmounted by bushy eyebrows like those of Bismarck; a strong chestnut-coloured moustache conceals his lips; he has a handsome forehead already bald on top, a shaven chin, round and projecting. He was dressed in a short grey flared jacket and black trousers.

He came forward almost running, apologizing for the message not received and for his car being repaired, "its entrails exposed!"

"With cars, you see, it is like female psychology: when anything inside is disturbed—*out of order*³—nothing works!"

He had some cold meat served to me, preserved apricots and a melon, juicy and flavourful, and added to the whole a finger of "claret" and a glass of port; while watching me eat, he began to talk with a charming humour and vivacity. He changed his position in his chair every moment, grasped his knee with his two hands intertwined, which showed his wrists covered with a close-textured fleece of strong black hairs.

The conversation naturally fastened on the *Entente Cordiale*.⁴

"The *Entente Cordiale*," he says smilingly, "is something we practiced last year at the Cape, before the letter. The *Dupleix*⁵ had put in, and the officers were received with a cordiality that went all the way to dry champagne, but could go no farther: wearied of the extra-dry, the officers called loudly for sweet champagne, but in vain . . . No matter, the *entente cordiale* was born in the Empire. [I drank to it in the ward-room of the *Dupleix*, in sweet champagne, eighteen months ago]." ⁶

"The Empire"—said I. I would just like to ask you if you aren't afraid that the British Empire has exceeded the limits of its proper and possible extension."

"Imperialism," he replied, "is nothing other than the scientific determination that, thanks to railroads, to high speed ships and to the telegraph, the distance from the capital to the colonies and between the colonies is much less than before. From this very simple discovery has been born the idea that it would be possible for all the parts of the Empire to communicate, to trade, to support themselves and to defend themselves with more ease and more effect than before. That is all. What danger is there in that?"

"Imperialism has, however, another meaning," I objected.

"That is to say, if you like, that the word is badly chosen, and that is another instance of the English awkwardness that so often gives to good ideas a name that doesn't fit them. Imperialism is not a gospel of conquest..."

"That is perhaps because there is nothing left for you to conquer on the planet..."

[Sauf les anglais. *Except ourselves you know* said]⁷ Kipling smiling . . . Imperialism is, in fact, the administrative organisation of the colonies. The new idea consists in replacing the prehistoric usages of the Colonial Office with a system that puts the colonies in constant touch, one may say daily touch, with the central government. That has no connection with that imperial Roman centralisation that the centre of Europe suffered. The English colonies are, to a degree of which you have no idea, free centres, communities of citizens equal among themselves—I may say even more than equal."

"Exactly; won't the feeling of independence be hurt by that direct intervention of the central power in the affairs of these communities of free citizens?"

"No, for their union is freely consented, formally accepted in the common interest. [You can see precisely the same idea in a business syndicate or in one of our games of football.]⁸ Imperialism—since it is necessary to use [a word which has neither imagination nor humour]⁹—is thus a *conservative doctrine*. It is a question of the Anglo-Saxon guarding what he has, of defending it against the cupidity of the famished, [who do not yet understand liberty.]"¹⁰

"I understand. As long as England was the sole and uncontested mistress of the sea, that is to say for a century, she could extend herself with impunity to the four corners of the globe. Today, while remaining the greatest maritime power of the world, she no longer has the same unquestioned power. In a few years, Germany, or America, or even Japan and Italy in coalition will be able to threaten the British

sovereignty. Isn't it in order to avoid an eventuality of that sort that England has decided now to come out of that 'splendid isolation' that Lord Salisbury still vaunted only a few years ago?"¹¹

Kipling did not respond to this question directly. He avoided it by another question:

"Don't you think that there are in Europe two [of the great powers only who are]¹² truly free: France and England?"

I agreed:

"Well, when people have the same ideas, they are close to becoming friends."

"You believe, then, in the sincerity and the enduringness of the entente cordiale despite nine centuries of wars and hatred?"

"Exactly: our two nations have been so rubbed together for centuries that the corners they have bumped against are smoothed down. [The two nations have grown up side by side like two trees which have mutually forced each other upward to the light].¹³ And what gives me confidence in the efficacy of the entente is that it does not depend in anything on the governments; it has come from the peoples themselves: at least that is the fact so far as the English are concerned."

"How do you explain that this need for *rapprochement* could grow between the two most ancient foes of Europe?"

"For a long time one could find among us a vague fear about possible events [in certain portions of]¹⁴ Europe. Caesarism reigns there and grows threatening. Against this retrograde medieval spirit, which wars with success against the forces of liberty, is needed the counterweight of the two great free nations: England and France."

"If I understand you rightly, then it is against Germany that the Anglo-French alliance is directed?"

[But I have not yet seen officially confirmed that any alliance exists]¹⁵ Rudyard Kipling protested.

"Nevertheless," I replied, "at the Portsmouth festivities,¹⁶ where I arrived, the sailors did not conceal the importance for them of the union of the two fleets . . ."

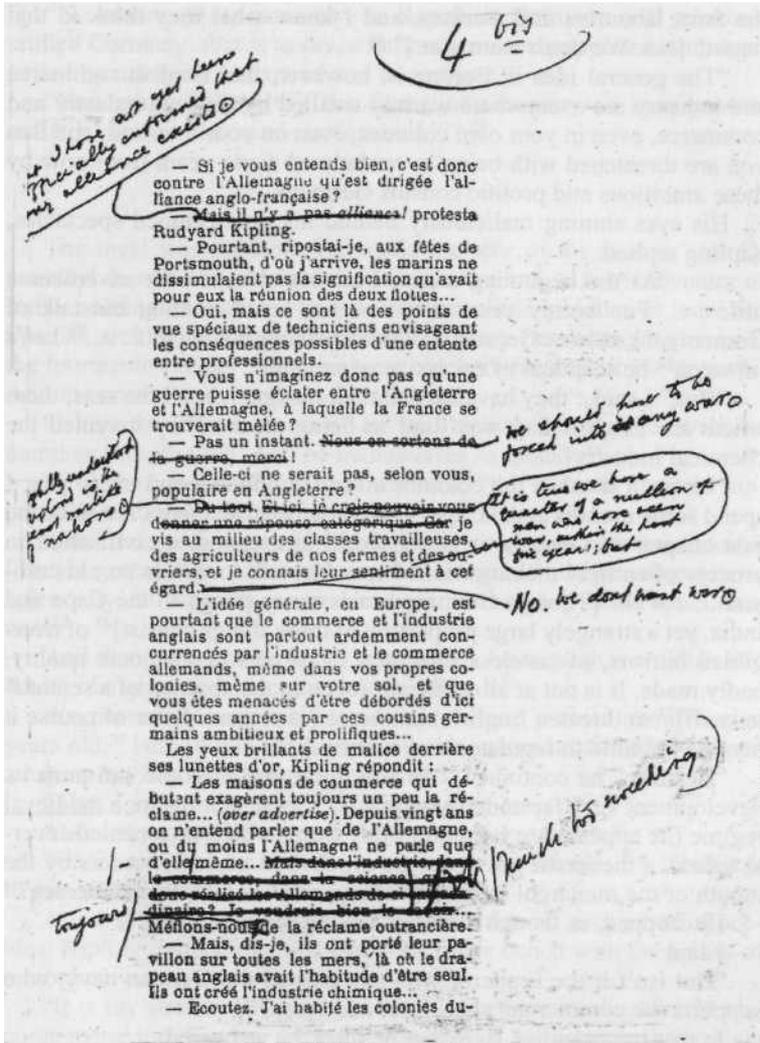
"Yes, but those are the special points of view of technicians looking at the possible consequences of an agreement between professionals."

"You don't imagine, then, that a war could break out between England and Germany in which France would find itself mixed?"

"Not for an instant. [We should have to be forced into any war.]"¹⁷

"That would not, you think, be popular in England?"

["Rightly understood England is the least warlike of nations. It is true we have a quarter of a million of men who have seen war, within the past five years; but]¹⁸ I live in the middle of the working classes, of



PAGE 4 OF THE PROOFS OF HURET'S INTERVIEW, "CHEZ RUDYARD KIPLING", WITH KIPLING'S MANUSCRIPT CORRECTIONS. PAGE 7 APPEARS LATER.

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the farm labourers and workers, and I know what they think in that regard. [No. We don't want war.]"¹⁹

"The general idea in Europe is, however, that English commerce and industry are everywhere warmly rivalled by German industry and commerce, even in your own colonies, even on your own soil, and that you are threatened with being overwhelmed some years from now by these ambitious and prolific cousins Germans . . ."

His eyes shining maliciously behind his gold-rimmed spectacles, Kipling replied:

"At the beginning a new business always over-advertises a little . . . For twenty years now one has heard nothing but talk of Germany, or at least Germany talks of nothing but herself. . .²⁰ Let's [always]²¹ be sceptical of excessive advertising."

"But," I said, "they have carried their ensign over all the seas, there where the English flag was used to being alone. They invented the chemical industry . . ."

"Listen. I lived in the colonies all my childhood, and every year I spend some months at the Cape. I go there, because there I see alive the first chapter of Genesis: it is the world in creation, a civilisation in process of entirely making itself. I can thus talk to you as an old colonial . . . Well! [Though Germany sends many things to the Cape and India, yet a strangely large proportion of those things consist]²² of over-gilded mirrors, of tasteless furniture, of carpets of mediocre quality, badly made. It is not at all sufficient [even in the absence of a scientific tariff]²³ to threaten English commerce [at present. Later of course it may be possible to regulate these matters.]"²⁴

"Besides," he continued, "do you think that a people can push its development very far under a regime such as it submits to, a medieval regime (he appeared to hold on to this word, which he repeated several times), a theocratic autocracy in which God gives his orders by the mouth of the monarch! Is it, after all, so solid as that, this autocracy?"

He stopped, as though afraid of talking too much.

I said:

"But isn't it the Emperor who has created the German navy, who supports the commercial ship lines, and so on?"

In that interrogative style that he likes, he answered:

"What do you think of these latest events in Russia?²⁵ Don't you think that if the Russian regime collapses, if the emperor of Austria dies, something will also crack in the centre of Europe, as it happens when the rings of a barrel burst? And Poland? And socialism? [But, socialism apart, do you think that liberty as understood in France and England is]²⁶ impossible in Germany?"

He asked these questions without looking for a response. I said:

"No matter what, monarchy or Republic, Germany will remain a unified Germany, that is to say, a nation new, overpopulated, and compelled by necessity to expand and to conquer."

"You really believe [in the future of Germany as it at present exists.]"²⁷ Isn't it also *made in Germany*?"²⁸

* * *

The meal was finished. We made the tour of the rooms, entirely panelled in oak and old leather.²⁹ On the mantel, a few souvenirs of India, nothing excessive—gods in copper, little buddhas in jade; old Spanish armchairs with coats of arms, a rather handsome credenza of the fourteenth century. Then we went out, bare-headed, on the grounds. And the conversation continued animatedly.

"I love the French trooper," he said to me; "he marches well, he marches from the hip. And he manoeuvres so quickly!"

"One must be just," I said in my turn, "the German army is supposed to manoeuvre superbly . . ."

"Oh," he said seriously, "splendidly, superbly, extraordinarily! [They say that]³⁰ in Africa, among the Herreros,³¹ they manoeuvre so splendidly, so superbly, so extraordinarily, that they never catch anyone!"³²

And then he began to laugh with all his heart, with a childish and healthy laughter that he communicated to me.³³

We passed by an uncultivated field, where a child about twelve years old,³⁴ bare foot in the damp earth, his calves browned by the sun, a cap on his head, pushed a little plough:

"That's my son working," Kipling said to me.

And, in passing, he called a word of encouragement.³⁵

"Oh!" said my host, "I want to show you my stream, for it belongs to me, and it shows on the map, you know!"

A few steps away, indeed, a little stream flowed over a bed of pebbles. Kipling jumped over the back of a rustic bench with the agility of a monkey.

"It is my stream. Its name is . . . I bring here all the friends who come to see me, Hindus, Africans, Americans, and I say to them: Here is my Ganges, my Amazon, and my Mississippi."

I asked him:

"Don't you think that America will soon be a greater danger to you than Germany?"

"I don't think so,³⁶ because America will be able to absorb its own production for a long time. The Americans consume enormously. They have the cult of luxury, the religion of material things. Their pleasure

temps encore absorber sa production. Les Américains consomment énormément. Ils ont le culte du luxe, la religion des choses matérielles. Leur jouissance est de posséder et de consommer, comme les gens qui viennent d'arriver à la fortune et qui n'ont pas mangé depuis longtemps. Leur seule ambition, — je parle surtout de la classe moyenne, — est donc de s'enrichir. ~~He n'ont pas de traditions de back ground, comme on dit en Angleterre, et des faits comme celui-ci ne sont pas rares: un grand père suédois, ne parlant que le suédois, ne peut avoir aucune communication avec ses petits enfants nés en Amérique, qui ne parlent que l'anglais et qu'il ne comprend pas.~~

De plus, les produits américains sont reconnus inférieurs sur les marchés anglais. Leurs bicyclettes ne trouvent plus un acquéreur. Quant à moi, j'ai expérimenté en quatorze mois quatre autos américaines et je suis tout ce que j'ai souffert.

Ensuite il parla littérature, me confia son adoration de jeunesse pour Balzac — « j'en fus ivre », dit-il. — son culte présent pour Anatole France qu'il considère comme le premier écrivain français vivant. Il n'a jamais beaucoup apprécié Hugo.

— C'est peut-être très beau, mais un peu creux...

Et il récitâ les premiers vers de *Napoleon II*.

Il me parla avec émotion de son père, qui voulut lui faire connaître, dès l'enfance, le français, la seule langue littéraire de l'Europe.

— Ainsi, croiriez-vous que je préfère la traduction de mon *Lion de la jungle* à l'original?... C'est la vérité. Tandis que la traduction allemande, au contraire, purement mécanique et littérale, ne rend pas du tout les nuances que j'ai essayé de mettre dans mon texte.

M. Kipling se mit à cheval sur le banc et dit :

— Je constate que si je dois intellectuellement beaucoup à la France, je ne dois rien à l'Allemagne... J'ai beaucoup cherché, dit-il en levant les yeux vers le ciel nuageux.

So much to other countries that is double my satisfaction indeed even which I must confess telegraphically

That is an instance necessary to the development of their country - neither a matter nor a fault. There is your own work. I think you are very far from the American standard. I think you are very far from the American standard. I think you are very far from the American standard. I think you are very far from the American standard.

is to possess and to consume, like people who have just come into a fortune and who haven't eaten in a long time. Their only ambition—I am speaking especially of the middle class—is just to get rich. [That is an instinct necessary to the development of their country—neither a virtue nor a fault. Their other instinct, I think you yourself have described in your book on America. You saw how all American authority from the President to the schoolmaster cherish an ideal of the 'good American citizen' and with more persistence than Procrustes they shape the polyglot immigrants that stream through Ellis Island, to that ideal. A more amazing feat of assimilation has never been seen.³⁷ But one does not digest and run about the world at the same time.]"³⁸

Next he talked of literature, telling me of his youthful adoration of Balzac—"I was drunk with him," he said—and of his present admiration for Anatole France, whom he considers as the first of living French writers. He has never much appreciated Hugo.

"He is perhaps very beautiful, but a little hollow . . ."

And he recited the first verses of *Napoleon II*

He spoke to me with emotion of his father, who wished him to learn French from childhood, the only literary language of Europe.

"So, will you believe that I prefer the translation of my [*The Light That Failed*]³⁹ to the original? . . . That is true."⁴⁰ Kipling sat astride the bench and said:

"I feel that if I owe much intellectually to France, I don't owe [so much to other countries. That is doubtless my misfortune which I must endure philosophically.]"⁴¹

The rumble of an auto made itself heard. The monster with the "exposed entrails" was back in order, and, all shining, trembled as with a drunkenness restrained. I got into the car.

["And peace? Do you believe in peace?"]

"I don't . . . because Destiny is written . . . *Quos vult perdere Jupiter, dementat prius*. The Gods begin by blinding those whom they wish to destroy . . . Russia is ripe for revolution . . . The 'Gods' level all the obstacles so that Destiny may be accomplished." ⁴²

He waved his hand in a cordial gesture, and I saw him, stepping lightly, turn towards the old stone dwelling.

NOTES

1. Edmond Rostand (1868-1918), French playwright, best-known for his *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1897).
2. Altered from "Burwash" by Kipling: it appears as "B****" in *Le Figaro*. "Heathfield" in the next sentence has been treated in the same way.
3. The phrase is in English.
4. As the Anglo-French agreement of 4 April 1904 was called. It was not an alliance but settled a number of matters disputed between the two countries.

Chez Rudyard Kipling

Profitant de mon dernier séjour en Angleterre, je suis allé faire visite au célèbre écrivain anglais, Rudyard Kipling, et causer avec lui des graves questions qui préoccupent actuellement l'Europe et spécialement la France, l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne. Rudyard Kipling n'est pas seulement l'écrivain puissant du *Livre de la Jungle* et de tant d'autres ouvrages qui l'ont mis au premier rang de la littérature anglaise contemporaine : il est aux yeux du public anglais, l'apôtre fervent de l'impérialisme britannique, le jingo véhément et lyrique de la plus grande Angleterre, et aussi le chantre de la vie active, intense, expansive et multiforme. Kipling est connu en Angleterre, en Amérique, dans l'Inde, autant que notre Rostand l'est en France.

C'est à l'occasion d'une maladie qu'il fit il y a quelques années, que l'empereur Guillaume écrivit à sa femme cette dépêche fameuse :

« Admirateur enthousiaste des œuvres sans rivales de votre mari, j'attends anxieusement des nouvelles de sa santé. Dieu permette qu'il nous soit conservé pour continuer de chanter les bienfaits de notre grande race commune ! »

On verra tout à l'heure qu'il est assez loin de partager les idées de l'empereur Guillaume...

Ancien reporter — et ils'en vante — il a conservé un sens admirable de l'actualité et ne parle qu'au moment opportun. Aussi, quand il ouvre la bouche, l'Anglo-Saxon des cinq parties du monde dresse l'oreille. Et puisque désormais nous nous « entendons cordialement » avec nos voisins, le moment est venu d'aller écouter ce passionné porte-lyre du jingoïsme.

Ce fut à sa campagne de B***, dans le Sussex, que je me rendis sur un rendez-vous qu'il avait bien voulu me donner. Il m'avait averti qu'une automobile m'attendrait à la station de H***. En arrivant à la gare, pas d'automobile. Je pris une voiture. Le temps était superbe et la campagne était mollement dans la lumière sa grâce souriante. Nous traversâmes au trot lent d'une vieille jument une large vallée bornée par des collines joliment ondulées, semées de prairies, de bouquets d'arbres et de cottages solitaires. Une heure après, la voiture s'arrêta devant une vieille demeure, sans style, campée au milieu de pelouses grasses et qui, avec

deux tours, de ses tourelles, n'a pas le féodal que l'âge de ses pierres. Une jeune et jolie bonne en sarrau blanc et en petit bonnet de toile accourut pour me dire que son maître ne m'attendait pas, m'ayant télégraphié la veille afin de remettre notre rendez-vous au lendemain, le motocar étant en réparation... A ce moment, un pas précipité et sautillant fit résonner les marches de l'escalier : c'est Rudyard Kipling qui descendait.

Kipling est un homme de taille moyenne, mais vigoureux, mince, alerte, avec des yeux très vifs qui brillent aimablement derrière des lunettes d'or, et qui surplombent des sourcils broussailleux comme ceux de Bismarck ; une forte moustache châtain cache ses lèvres. Il a un beau front déjà dénudé sur le sommet, un menton rasé, rond et prééminent. Il est vêtu d'un costume gris, d'une culotte courte et bouffante et de bas noirs.

C'est presque en courant qu'il s'avance, s'excusant pour sa dépêche non parvenue et son auto en pleine réparation : « Les entrailles en l'air ! »

— Les automobiles, voyez-vous, c'est comme la psychologie de la femme, quand il y a quelque chose de dérangé dedans — *out of order* — rien ne marche plus !

Il me fit servir un peu de viande froide, d'abricots confits et un melon juteux et savoureux, le tout additionné d'un doigt de « claret » et d'un verre de porto, et, tout en me regardant manger, il se mit à causer avec bonne humeur et entrain. Il changeait de position sur sa chaise à chaque instant, se renversait, croisait les jambes, serrait son genou de ses deux mains liées, ce qui découvrait ses poignets couverts d'une toison serrée de rudes poils noirs.

La conversation s'accrocha naturellement à l'« Entente cordiale ».

— L'Entente cordiale, dit-il en riant, nous l'avons pratiquée au Cap, l'année dernière, avant la lettre. Le *Dupleix* y avait abordé, et les officiers français furent très fus avec une cordialité qui alla jusqu'au champagne sec, mais qui ne put aller au-delà : fatigués de l'extra-dry, les officiers demandèrent à cor et à cri du champagne doux, mais en vain !... N'importe, l'entente cordiale était née dans l'Empire, j'avais bu à sa santé dans le carré des officiers de votre navire de guerre, huit mois avant l'entente officielle.

— L'Empire... fis-je. Je voulais seulement vous demander si vous ne craigniez pas que l'Empire britannique n'eût passé les bornes de son extension morale et possible.

5. The name is illegible in the proof: Kipling has lined it out and corrected to "Dupleix." The French navy ship *Dupleix* called in Cape Town and Simons Town in January 1904. Kipling identifies her as a "triple-screw cruiser" and recalls both being entertained by and entertaining her officers (*Souvenirs of France*, Outward Bound Edition, Vol.XXXIV, p.301).
6. The bracketed passage added by Kipling. It is rendered in *Le Figaro* thus: "et j'avais bu à sa santé dans le carré des officiers de votre navire de guerre, dix-huit mois avant l'entente officielle."
7. Kipling has deleted the words "Parfaitement! concède" and has substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: ". . . Sauf nous-mêmes! dit".
8. Bracketed passage added by Kipling. *Le Figaro* reads: "C'est exactement ce qui se passe dans un syndicat d'affaires ou dans un *team* de football."
9. Kipling has deleted "ce mot impropre" and substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: "ce mot impropre et sans humour."
10. Bracketed passage added by Kipling. *Le Figaro* reads: "qui n'ont pas encore compris la liberté . . ."
11. The *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* attributes the phrase to Lord Goschen in 1896, though Goschen in turn assigns it to "one of our colonial friends."
12. Kipling has deleted the phrase "seules nations" and substituted the bracketed phrase. *Le Figaro* reads: "que deux grandes puissances."
13. Bracketed passage added by Kipling. *Le Figaro* reads: "Les deux pays ont grandi côte à côte comme deux arbres qui se sont mutuellement poussés vers la lumière!"
14. Kipling has deleted the phrase "au centre" and substituted the bracketed phrase. *Le Figaro* reads: "une certaine partie de."
15. Kipling has deleted "Mais il n'y a pas *alliance* !" and substituted the bracketed phrase. *Le Figaro* reads: "Mais je n'ai pas encore été officiellement informé qu'aucune 'alliance' existe!"
16. An official visit of the French fleet, 7-14 August.
17. Kipling has deleted "Nous en sortons de la guerre, merci!" and substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: "Il faudrait qu'on nous force malgré nous à la guerre."
18. Kipling has deleted "Du tout. Et ici je crois pouvoir vous donner une réponse catégorique. Car" and substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: "L'Angleterre est la moins guerrière des nations. Il est vrai que nous avons un quart de million d'hommes qui ont vu la guerre dans ces cinq dernières années, mais."
19. Bracketed passage added by Kipling.
20. Here Kipling deletes the following passage: "Mais dans l'industrie, dans le commerce, dans la science, qu'ont donc réalisé les Allemands de si extraordinaire? Je voudrais bien le savoir . . ." [But in industry, in commerce, in the sciences, what extraordinary things have the Germans achieved?] In the margin Kipling has written in parentheses: "Much too sweeping."
21. Kipling has added the word "toujours" here.
22. Kipling has deleted Huret's "tout ce qu'on voit d'allemand au Cap, ce sont" and substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: "Quoique l'Allemagne envoie beaucoup de choses au Cap et dans l'Inde, une très forte proportion de ces choses consiste en".
23. Added by Kipling. *Le Figaro* reads: "même en l'absence d'un tarif."

24. Passage added by Kipling. *Le Figaro* reads: "dans le present. Plus tard, naturellement, il sera possible de regler cette matiere . . ."
25. Following its defeat by Japan, Russia was in turmoil, leading to the abortive revolution of December 1905.
26. Kipling has deleted "Croyez vous donc la republique" and has substituted the bracketed passage. *Le Figaro* reads: "Mais, socialisme a part, pensez-vous que la liberte telle qu'elle est comprise en France et en Angleterre soit impossible bientot en Allemagne?"
27. Kipling has deleted "a l'unite allemande?" and substituted the bracketed phrase. *Le Figaro* reads: "a l'avenir de l'Allemagne telle qu'elle existe a present?"
28. Kipling has here deleted the phrase: "c'est a dire un peu camelote?"
29. Kipling has here deleted the phrase: "de Cordove d'une richesse magnifique."
30. Kipling has here deleted "Je les ai vus" and substituted this phrase in French: "On dit qu'".
31. The Herero, natives of what was then German South West Africa, had risen in revolt in 1904; the fighting, largely guerilla, was not ended until 1908.
32. In the proofs the French phrase "qu'ils ne prennent jamais personne" is followed by a parenthetical English translation: ("*They never catch anybody!*"). Kipling has deleted *never* and substituted *don't seem to*. *Le Figaro* prints the English as modified by Kipling.
33. Kipling has here deleted the following passage:

Quand notre gaiete se fut atteneue, il reprit:—On se demande, d'ailleurs, ce qu'ils sont alles faire la-bas, dans ce pays qui est ce qu'il y a de pire au monde, pays desseche ou ils sont forces d'apporter de l'eau de la cote pour abreuver les hommes et le betail! Un de mes amis, le consul general allemand du Cap, vient d'être envoye la comme gouverneur. Ah! je le plains! [When our hilarity was calmed, he resumed:—One wonders, besides, what they have gone there for, in one of the worst countries of the world, a country so dry that they are compelled to carry water from the coast for men and cattle! One of my friends, the German consul-general at the Cape, has just been sent there as governor. Ah! I regret him!]

The German consul-general was Herr von Schuckmann.
34. John Kipling was then just eight years old.
35. Kipling has here deleted the following passage:

Un peu plus loin, pres d'un pont jete sur un ruisselet, une jeune femme, assise sur un pliant, peignet. Mme Kipling, sans doute. [A little further, near a bridge thrown over a little stream, a young woman, seated on a folding chair, combed her hair. Mrs Kipling, no doubt].

Caroline Kipling was then 46 years old, so that the phrase "jeune femme" seems more gallant than accurate.
36. Kipling has here deleted the word "non" and substituted the bracketed phrase. *Le Figaro* reads: "Non, je ne le pense pas."
37. Huret speaks of "la force absorbante du pays Americain" and tells how a child of French origin said to him "je serais honteux d'être Français! Je veux être Americain!" (*En Amerique: De San Francisco au Canada*, Paris, 1908, p.246).
38. The bracketed passage is substituted for the following passage deleted by Kipling:

Ils n'ont pas de traditions, de *back ground*, comme on dit en Angleterre, et des faits comme celui-ci ne sont pas rares: un grand pere suedois, ne parlant que le

suédois, ne peut avoir aucune communication avec ses petits enfants nés en Amérique qui ne parlent que l'anglais et qu'il ne comprend pas.

De plus, les produits américains sont reconnus inférieurs sur les marchés anglais. Leurs bicyclettes ne trouvent plus un acquéreur. Quant à moi, j'ai expérimenté en quatorze mois quatre autos américaines et je sais tout ce que j'ai souffert. [They have no traditions, no back ground, as we say in England, and things like this are not at all rare: a Swedish grandfather, speaking only Swedish, can't have any communication with his grandchildren born in America, who speak only English and whom he can't understand. Besides, American products are, in the English market, known to be inferior. Their bicycles don't find any buyers. As for me, I tried four American cars in fourteen months, and I know what my sufferings were.]

In *Le Figaro* Kipling's long substituted passage is reduced to its first sentence: "C'est un instinct nécessaire au développement de leurs pays. Ce n'est ni une vertu, ni un défaut."

39. Kipling has deleted "*mon Livre de la jungle*" and substituted "*ma Lumière qui s'éteint.*"

40. Kipling here has deleted the following passage:

Tandis que la traduction allemande, au contraire, purement mécanique et littérale, ne rend pas du tout les nuances que j'ai essayé de mettre dans mon texte. [While the German translation, on the contrary, strictly mechanical and literal, doesn't at all render the nuances that I tried to put in my text].

Kipling perhaps means the French translation by Mme Charles Laurent, 1900, and the German translation by Leopold Rosenzweig.

41. The bracketed passage has been substituted by Kipling for the following, deleted by Kipling:

rien à l'Allemagne . . . J'ai beau chercher dit-il en levant les yeux vers le ciel nuageux, et il répéta, j'ai beau chercher, je ne trouve rien . . .

"Et qui, d'ailleurs, en Angleterre, parmi les intellectuels que vous connaissez, lui doit quelque chose?" [nothing to Germany . . . I search in vain he said, lifting his eyes towards the cloudy sky, and he repeated, I search in vain, I find nothing . . .

And who, besides, in England, among the intellectuals whom you know, owes it anything?]

42. The bracketed passage does not appear in *Le Figaro*. After the word "Russia" Kipling has added in the proofs the phrase "it seems to me."

KIPLING AND ORIENTALISM

By ALEXANDER LYON MACFIE

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In the 1940s and early 1950s, when I first read some of the Indian writings of Rudyard Kipling (*Plain Tales from the Hills*, *Life's Handicap*, *Soldiers Three*, *Barrack Room Ballads*, *Kim*, and possibly other stories and poems that I do not now recall); saw a number of films based on his poems and stories (*Gunga Din*, 1939, *The Jungle Book*, 1942, *Kim*, 1950, *Soldiers Three*, 1951); and heard a number of his poems recited or sung on the radio ("Mandalay", "Danny Deever", "Tommy", "Gentlemen-Rankers", "Gunga Din", "The Widow at Windsor"), I took it for granted that Kipling represented India (the Orient, the East), to the people of England (Europe, the West) as a strange and mysterious place, colourful, exotic and irrational, fit only to be governed by the British. It came as no surprise to me, therefore, when some years later, on reading Edward Said's *Orientalism*¹, I discovered that, in Said's view, Kipling should be seen, not as a British literary hero, but as an archetypal orientalist – a European writer, the product of an ancient European tradition, going back to Aeschylus and beyond, who in writing about the Orient (India, the East, the "other"), characterises Orientals (Arabs, Semites, Hindus, Muslims and such like) in stereotypical terms, as strange, mysterious, irrational, exotic, passive (feminine) and inferior, in contrast to the European (Western) "self, which is seen as being normal, rational, humane, masculine, active and superior. But when, some years later, I again looked into the question, I found to my surprise that the question of Kipling's supposed orientalism was in fact a good deal more complicated than I (and presumably Said) had supposed – so complicated, indeed, that Said's conclusion, that Kipling should be seen as a typical orientalist, might be considered somewhat, perhaps even entirely, misplaced.

Said's references to Kipling in *Orientalism* are limited, concerned mainly with Kipling's conception of the "White Man" and the "White Man's Burden". Only in "*Kim: The Pleasures of Imperialism*"² does Said give a more considered account of what he sees as Kipling's attitude to the Orient. There he admits that Kipling not only wrote about the Orient, he was o/it. During the first five years or so of his life in India, where he was born in 1865 (and not 1866 as Said supposes)

Kipling spoke mainly Hindustani (in the company of his Madras *aya* and other Indian servants), and after a period spent, for educational reasons, together with his sister Alice (Trixie), in England, where he attended the United Services College, Westward Ho!, Devon, he worked for seven years ("Seven Years' Hard"³) as a journalist at the *Civil and Military Gazette*, in Lahore, and the *Pioneer*, in Allahabad. It was during this period that Kipling wrote many of his early Indian short stories, and poems. In these, and in *Kim* — a full length novel about India, written mainly in the 1890s but published in 1901 — Kipling, according to Said, deliberately chose to see India, not as a real place, aspiring towards independence (which as a "historical being" he knew it to be), but as an essential and unchanging place, doomed for ever to be ruled by the British. This, again according to Said, Kipling did because, as a British imperialist and orientalist, he was writing from the perspective of a massive colonial system, the economy, functioning, and history of which had, over the years, acquired the status almost of a fact of nature — a colonial system that divided the world up into two parts, one made up of Christian Europe, mainly Britain and France, and the United States, and the other made up of an immense variety of conquered and colonised territories and races, all of them considered lesser, or inferior, or dependent or subject. For Kipling, and for the imperial system he represented, the division between white and non-white, particularly in India, was, therefore, absolute. Kipling in short was a Sahib, albeit possibly a Sahib in "native clothes".

Patrick Williams, in "Kim and Orientalism"⁴, arrives at essentially the same conclusion as Said. Like Said, Williams finds that *Kim* — the main subject of his article — is replete with orientalisms (the pretentious English-speaking babu, the grasping priest, the childish lama, the superstitious farmer, the duplicitous Oriental, the low-cast native). According to Kipling all Indians lack a proper sense of time, motion and order ('even an Oriental with an Oriental's views of the value of time'; 'Swiftly, — as Orientals understand speed'; 'the happy Asiatic disorder'). They do not speak properly, but indulge in 'aimless babble', and they do not even understand and appreciate their own culture. Far from presenting a positive, non-stereotypical view of India, Kipling, in *Kim*, merely creates *à la* Barthes a series of reality effects, whilst at the same time making sure that all reference to the actual political and historical situation in India is excluded from his text. As for the British Sahibs in *Kim*, they for the most part tell the truth, do not steal, act and obey, belong to a strong-backed breed, know the land and never grow old. Only they, it seems, are capable of administering justice (i.e. governing). Kim may be culturally Indian, but he is naturally British; and in such a situation the power of Nature is bound to prevail.

S.P. Mohanty, in "Kipling's Children and the Colour Line"⁵ is less concerned with orientalism than with racism. But his conclusions regarding the nature of Kipling's orientalism are more or less the same. In Mohanty's view, Kipling's fiction played a crucial role in creating a discourse of race that simultaneously divided people into separate racial groups, gave them complex cultural political identities, and identified them in stereotypical *cliches*. Kim, in particular, may display an extraordinary knowledge of India, show great skill in navigating its social *mores* (the 'Little Friend of all the World') and speak the native languages as well as the natives, but like Mowgli in *The Jungle Book* he always keeps his own essentially superior and alien identity, as a privileged outsider, intact.

The arguments put forward by Said, Williams and Mohanty (and by many others) – that Kipling in his Indian writings almost always created orientalist images of India (the Orient, the Oriental) appear, therefore, at first sight at least, entirely convincing. But are they? According to Said an orientalist is a European writer who in his writings about the Orient, instead of basing his work on direct experience of the Orient, bases it instead (consciously or unconsciously) on the long-standing European discourse of orientalism – a discourse which contrasts a European "self with an Oriental "other". Would such a concept of a European "self, one wonders, necessarily include Kipling? It can be argued – I would argue – that in certain crucial respects it would not. Kipling after all was born in India. He was brought up in India, in part at least by Indians, in the first crucial years of his life; and he spoke Hindustani as (probably) his first language. Most of his formative experiences, in other words, were Indian; and following a period of for the most part unhappy "exile" in England, where he attended the United Services College, in effect a social and cultural outpost of the Anglo-Indian community in India, he returned to India to work, with a mainly Indian staff, for seven "hard" years. In his early years, at least, it can be argued, Kipling was as much Indian as English, possibly more so. He may have been a Sahib, but he was, whether he liked it or not, a very Indian Sahib. Of course there may be an element of orientalism – possibly a substantial element – in Kipling's Indian writings, but the idea, that they are not based on "experience" – in so far as any creative writer's output may be said to be based on experience – is patently absurd.

One does not have to look very far in the literature concerning Kipling to find support for the contention that a significant part of Kipling's identity was Indian. Some students of the subject, such as Don Randall ("*Kipling's Stalky and Co.: Resituating the Empire and the 'Empire boy'*"⁶), sensing the alien nature of Kipling, chose to

locate him, along with his creations, Mowgli, Stalky and Kim, on the "in-betweens" of cultures. Kipling's boy (i.e. Kipling), that is to say, stands upon the limen that emerges between the cultures of the imperial "home" and the colonial "outland". Kipling's "empire boy" is a "hybrid sign", forged in the press of cultures in agnostic confrontation. Others go even further in identifying the Indian aspect of Kipling's identity. B.J. Moore-Gilbert, in *Kipling and Orientalism*⁷ shows beyond reasonable doubt that a clear distinction can be made between the British (European) metropolitan culture in Kipling's period and the Anglo-Indian culture of the subcontinent, and that Kipling clearly belonged to the latter grouping. The Anglo-Indians were for the most part all too well aware of the realities of life in India; though even they were on occasion capable of perpetrating orientalisms. Edmund Wilson, in "The Kipling That Nobody Read"⁸ famously remarked that Kipling was in his early years in effect a Hindu child, who talked, thought and dreamed in Hindustani, and could hardly speak English correctly. On returning to India in 1882, the "Hindu child", who had lain dormant in England, again came to life when he reached Bombay, and "found himself reacting to the old stimuli by beginning to talk Hindustani, without understanding what he was saying". It is true that, in his Indian stories, there is always the implication that the British are bringing to India modern improvements and sounder standards of behaviour. But Kipling frequently writes from the native point of view, and studies the whole Anglo-Indian situation "with a certain objectivity". Stephen D. Arata in "A Universal Foreignness: Kipling at the Fin-de-Siècle"⁹ admits that there is considerable evidence in Kipling's autobiography to suggest that his personal relation to India was from its beginning textual. When he arrived in Lahore in 1882, he brought with him an extensive "knowledge" of the Orient derived from boys' adventure stories, the popular literature of the exotic, and a wide variety of travel narratives and personal accounts. Yet remarkably Kipling's "imperial narrators" do not rule all of his early fictions. Woven among them are stories marked by an absence of distance and objectivity, a loss of control, the breakdown of the conventions on which both racial and narrative authority rest. It is in these stories that the myth of Kipling as an untroubled apologist for empire collapses. Shamsul Islam, in "Imperialism, Racism and 'The God of Small Things' "¹⁰, admits that Kipling was both a conservative and an imperialist. But, in Islam's view, he was also a complex writer, who cannot be pigeon-holed in simplistic categories. Thus the Kipling who trumpets the divine right of the Anglo-Saxons to rule and civilise the world, and who dismisses some people as 'lesser breeds without the law' is counterbalanced by the Kipling who can accept natives as equals, express

genuine love for India, and be a fierce critic of his compatriots and of the Empire. As Kipling himself once remarked, Allah had given him two 'separate sides to his head'. Clara Claiborne Park, in "Artist of Empire: Kipling and Kim"¹¹, remarked that in *Kim* Kipling described an Irish street urchin who was white and yet not white, Indian and yet British. In *Kim* Kipling recognised what Zohreh T. Sullivan once referred to in her *Narratives of Empire*¹² as "the underground Indian child who is always within him". Though the orphan Kim finds the object of his quest, the Red Bull on a Green Field of his Irish father's regiment, he finds no father there, and his one idea is to get back to the road again. Never does he show the slightest interest in anything outside India; this boy so curious about the world never asks a question about Ireland or England. They are foreign countries he knows only by their Urdu name, 'Belait'. Finally, Salman Rushdie, in an introduction to an edition of *Soldiers Three* and *In Black and White*¹³, argues that the influence of India on Kipling – on his picture of the world as well as his language – resulted in a personality in conflict with itself, part bazaar boy, part sahib. In the early Indian stories, in particular, that conflict is to be found everywhere. No other Western writer ever knew India as Kipling knew it, and it is this knowledge of place, and procedure, and detail that gives his stories their undeniable authority. Much of Kipling's "Indiaspeak" is so exclamatory as to suggest that Indians are incapable of anything but outbursts. But much of it is brilliantly *right*. There will always be plenty in Kipling that I (Rushdie) will find it difficult to forgive; but there is also enough truth in these stories to make them impossible to ignore. (For a detailed linguistic analysis of the influence of Indian languages on Kipling's writings see S.S. Azfar Husain, *The Indianness of Rudyard Kipling*.¹⁴)

Kipling himself was in no doubt regarding the importance of his Indian experience in the formation of his own identity. In *Something of Myself* – actually very little of himself – he remarks that his first impressions of the world were those of his *aya* and the Bombay fruit market: 'daybreak, light and colour, and golden and purple fruits at the level of my shoulder'; Meeta, his Hindu bearer, who would sometimes take him to Hindu temples, where, being below the age of caste, he would hold his hand and look at the dimly seen friendly gods; and the Towers of Silence, near their house on the Bombay esplanade, where the dead were exposed to the waiting vultures. In his youth, while working as a journalist, he would wander at night about the dark streets of Lahore, inspecting the liquor shops, gambling and opium dens, way-side entertainments, such as puppet-shows, and native dances, in and out about the narrow gullies under the Mosque of Wazir Khan, until the sun rose and he would return home in some 'night-hawk of a hired car-

riage'. Much of real Indian life, he remarked, goes on in the hot weather nights. Some years later, on returning to India, he made a point of going to Bombay (from Lahore where his father was still living) to see his *aya*, who greeted him with blessings and with tears. And in 1913, when he again returned to the East, he remarked that the sights, smells and sounds he experienced there were for him a renewal of a familiar (Islamic) world. 'This is my real world again' (See Shamsul Islam, *Kipling's Law*¹⁵). As for England, as he wrote to Rider Haggard in 1902, that was merely 'the most wonderful foreign country I have ever been in' (Arata¹⁶).

Attempts have been made, by the way, to define orientalism as a sort of radical realism and as an extreme form of idealism, but Said was probably right when, in *Orientalism*, he defined it as a sort of discourse and a myth, totally disconnected from the "brute" reality of the Orient. Yet paradoxically, in *Culture and Imperialism*, he is insistent that the sociology of the outlying colonial possession should be seen as a part of the sociology of the metropolitan centre, a conclusion that would seem to make it difficult to isolate the European "self from the Oriental "other".

Various students of Kipling (Wilson, Islam, Arata, Rushdie, Moore-Gilbert) have drawn attention to the fact that it is possible to discover aspects of Kipling's Indian identity in a number of his short stories ("Without Benefit of Clergy", "On the City Wall", "His Chance in Life", "The City of Dreadful Night", "Dray Wara Yow Dee", "The Mark of the Beast", "To Be Filed for Reference" and many others). Of these Stephan D. Arata's analysis of "To Be Filed for Reference" is probably the most significant. As Arata remarks, in "To Be Filed for Reference", Kipling describes an Anglo-Indian, McIntosh Jellaludin who, having gone native (changed his name and creed, and married a Muslim wife), knows Indian society from the inside. As such he is able to compile a text on Indian life that far surpasses anything produced by Strickland, the supposed English (European) expert on Indian affairs. (Jellaludin asks the author of the story to publish his muddled and fragmentary masterpiece, but he and Strickland, whom he consults, are doubtful about the possibility of this, as the papers are in a "hopeless muddle".) Significantly Jellaludin names his text *The Book of Mother Maturin*, the title of Kipling's own long-planned, but never finished, magnum opus of Indian life. In other words Kipling was indicating in this, the last of the stories gathered together in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, that he was in effect a sort of Jellaludin, who because he was born and brought up in India knew India in a way not possible even for a well-informed Anglo-Indian like Strickland.

This being the case it is not surprising that Arata concludes that, in

his early Indian stories, Kipling repeatedly violates racial borderlines to bring back reports from "beyond the river", and that in those stories he betrays deep-seated misgivings about the implications of that violation. In Kipling's fiction, according to Arata, narrative authority is everywhere predicated on racial authority, but the strategies used to establish that authority are, more often than not, troubled and insecure – a situation that Said, as a Palestinian Christian Arab, born and brought up in Palestine and Egypt, but educated mainly in the United States, where he too was compelled from time to time to violate racial and cultural borderlines, would undoubtedly have recognised (it is probably for this reason that Said, in *Orientalism*, concentrates in his analysis of Kipling on the latter's use of the expression, the "White Man").

It would of course be absurd to argue that Kipling did not in the end opt for a mainly British (European, white, imperialist) identity. But I would argue that the fact that he was born and brought up, in the formative years of his life, in India, and that he later worked there for seven "hard" years, means that generally speaking he should not be automatically ranked with the "orientalists". That at least is what I would have argued had I not discovered, on reading further in Arata's analysis of "To Be Filed for Reference", that the picture of Jellaludin painted there should be seen as a covert attack on the narrative strategies adopted by all of the imperial narrators, even including Kipling, himself. Throughout his early stories, Arata argues, Kipling hinted that lying was an integral part of the art of writing, of the journalist account, the orientalist treatise, the official report, and the realistic tale. Journalists are revealed as double agents ("The Man Who Was"). Would-be ethnologists are ridiculed and humiliated ("Wressley of the Foreign Office"). Colonial officers consciously mask the truth in their reports ("The Head of the District"). Fiction writers are coerced into concocting 'big written lie[s]', bolstered by evidence to 'soothe [the] people at Home' in England ("Thrown Away"). Kipling's Indian tales as a whole are shot through with a kind of self-lacerating irony as the familiar narrative forms for representing the exotic are each in their turn shown to be corrupt. So in the end, I suppose, this being the case – which it probably is – I will have to admit that Kipling, the writer, in his Indian stories at least, does appear to have been a sort of orientalist, albeit one intensely conscious of the inadequacies inherent in the process of representation.

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If you use the World Wide Web, you may buy books new or old through www.amazon.co.uk, or indeed CDs, electronic equipment, or any other products that they sell on line. Their prices are commonly lower than in the High Street, their software is friendly, and their deliveries fast and reliable. You may not, though, know that there is a direct link to Amazon from our website. If you click on "Readers' Guide" on the home page, then scroll down the sidebar and click on "On line Bookshops", you will find the link. The Society receives a modest commission on everything purchased by this route, so we hope that as many members as possible will use it.

John Radcliffe, On Line Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

RUDYARD KIPLING: *Hell and Heroism* by William B. Dillingham, published by Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, (ISBN 1-4039-6997-3, Hardback, US \$69.95) xi + 383 pages including Notes and Index. No illustrations.

Review by THE EDITOR

With this study, Prof Dillingham joins the ranks of Joyce Tompkins, Bonamy Dobree and Elliot L. Gilbert, in that *Hell and Heroism* will be required reading for anyone who henceforward attempts to make a serious study of Kipling's Works, or of the man himself. Through an analysis of the effects that key events in Kipling's life had on his attitudes together with a cogent analysis of his Works, particularly those that are either less well-known or have been ignored or derided by earlier critics, Prof Dillingham has built up a statement of Kipling's personal creed which supports the theory first propounded by Andre Maurois, in a speech to the Society in 1934, that readers of Kipling's books find 'an heroic idea of life.'

From a very early age, Kipling was a pessimist who believed that life was one of the Hells through which we travel. Although starting at Lorne Lodge, his persistent insomnia in later life reinforced this perception, as did his experiences as a victim of medicine. Quotations and allusions found in the "juvenilia", in *C&MG* articles which were reprinted in *Abaft the Funnel* and *From Sea to Sea* (particularly *The Smith Administration* and *The City of Dreadful Night*) yield support for this conclusion. Many of the stories bear witness to this belief in a living Hell — "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows", "The Phantom Rickshaw", "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot", "The House Surgeon" and "On Greenhow Hill" are just a small sample. A speech recorded in *A Book of Words* also demonstrate that life is not necessarily easy. To the students at McGill University in 1907 — "There is a certain darkness into which the soul of the young man sometimes descends—a horror of desolation, abandonment, and realised worthlessness, which is one of the most real of the hells in which we are compelled to walk.'

But pessimism is merely the basis on which to build a creed for living — a set of weapons with which to face down pessimism, Hell, sorrow and disillusion. "The Children of the Zodiac" (1891) embodies the essence of this creed, and in particular the reactions of Leo and the Girl, in their translation from Godhead to a mortal Hell. They move from being uncaring Gods to beings who are only too aware of their own eventual deaths. Slowly, through observation of those who have

always been mortal, through prompting and questioning by the Girl, and by finding his own interests, Leo discovers that the fear of death can be pushed into the background; that he has a necessary work to perform for humans as a poet-singer as he and the Girl wander over the earth; and most importantly, by learning to laugh. Prof Dillingham draws attention to the similarities between Leo and his creator, Kipling, and then extends his rationale for attaching the descriptor of "Hero" to Leo and to other Kipling characters in later works by determining those other attributes that should be included in a definition of "Heroism".

Analysis of *The Jungle Book*, of *'Captains Courageous'*, of *Stalky & Co.* and of *Kim* all add to the identification or reinforcement of the various components of Kipling's Heroism – obedience to the Law, the ability to stand on your own feet, the willingness to serve others and the avoidance of praise, including self-praise, resulting from one's work.

The last of the six chapters presents a novel reading of the "freemasonry" stories. Prof Dillingham concludes that these, rather than extolling freemasonry, are bringing out the benefits of ritual in helping to face terrors, both known and unknown, and in the calming of the troubled spirit. He suggests that Kipling was less than happy with Masonry as it existed in England after his experiences in the Indian Lodge where religious diversity and tolerance were the rule rather than the exception, and this may well be why he did not continue with his Masonic studies.

The only, and minor, misreading that I could see regards hunting with dogs, and shooting – in the U.S.A. they are generally synonymous, whereas in the U.K. they (used) to be completely separate sports.

In summary, Prof Dillingham has tackled those things that have been dismissed in the past, and those where there has been a complete polarisation of views, demonstrating that there is a consistent and coherent message underpinning so much of Kipling's Works and explaining the links between them. It is an analysis that I accept almost unreservedly and the reading of it should become a prerequisite for any serious work on Kipling.

RUDYARD KIPLING'S RELIGIOUS VERSE by Lt Cdr A.D. Roake, B.D., published by Serendipity, Darlington, 2005 (ISBN 1-84394-133-3, Paperback, £9.95) 185 pages.

Review by LT COL R.C. AYERS, O.B.E.

This anthology of 68 of Kipling's poems is described on the back cover as 'an eclectic and reasonably comprehensive collection of Rudyard Kipling's Religious Verse'. Although not genuinely eclectic, since they all come from Kipling, a single source, the selection is exceptionally

wide-ranging. Kipling had declared his belief in a personal God to whom he was personally responsible for wrongdoing in his letter of December 1889 during his short-lived engagement to Caroline Taylor¹, and at one end of the range are poems such as "Recessional" and "A Covenant – 1914", which, although written with the collective 'we', are personal prayers to a personal God for forgiveness for wrong doing.

There is, however, more than a little of the compiler, Alfred Roake, in this anthology and at the other end of the range he has included such poems as "Gunga Din" and "The Ladies", not obviously religious, in order to draw moral lessons from them in his commentary. However, it is this commentary on all the poems, coupled with quotations from scripture and other poets and writers that make this selection so interesting.

Lt Cdr Roake, who retired from 30 years service in the Royal Navy and then from a subsequent career as a clergyman, which included time as Chaplain to the Bishop of London, is particularly illuminating in providing the scriptural background to the many poems which Kipling based on *The Bible* and on other religious writings, including *The Koran* and Hindu, Buddhist and Sikh sources. His comments reflect his personal attraction to Kipling and the values expressed in the poems and are occasionally quite trenchant.

However, there are instances where he appears unaware of just what it was that caused Kipling to write a particular set of verses, one being "Gehazi", where Roake writes 'I wonder who had raised his ire?' although the fact that it was the Attorney General, Sir Rufus Isaacs and his involvement in the "Marconi Scandal" that did so is well documented by biographers.

The note on the back cover quoted above which describes the collection as 'reasonably comprehensive' is less than generous as it is hard to pick out anything from the Definitive Edition that has been omitted, although there are some early poems, not included in that edition, that might qualify. One that I would have liked to have seen included is "Diana of Ephesus", from the third edition of *Departmental Ditties*, just because it is so hard to find. Also Rudyard Kipling's first collected Chapter Heading, to "Lispeth" in *Plain Tales From the Hills* -

... To my own gods I go.
It may be they shall give me greater ease
Than your cold Christ and tangled Trinities.

showing Kipling's recognition of other religions although this is also a feature of other poems collected in Lt.Cdr Roake's useful anthology.

1. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. 1, (Thomas Pinney, Macmillan, London, 1990).

KIPLING AND AFGHANISTAN by Neil K. Moran, published by McFarland & Company, 2005, (ISBN 0-7864-2282-3, Paperback, US \$35) x + 233 pages including Illustrations, Appendices, Notes, Bibliography and Index.

Review by THE EDITOR

This book is subtitled *A Study of the Young Author as Journalist Writing on the Afghan Border Crisis of 1884-1885*. Dr Moran has drawn heavily on quotations from the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the *Pioneer*, the *Illustrated London News*, memoirs published by members of the Afghan Border Commission (ABC) after the Commission completed its duties, and not least, the letters of Dr Charles Owen (medical officer and ethnologist with the ABC) to his wife. Kipling's 1885 diary has been used to identify articles written by him.

The book is well illustrated with drawings and photographs, mainly from the *Illustrated London News* since they had their own foreign correspondent and artist, William Simpson, with the ABC. However, not content with just the publicly available textual material, Dr Moran approached several of the descendants of members of the ABC and has been able to identify a variety of ethnological material that had been collected by ABC members.

The narrative history of the ABC occupies the first half of the book, with a relatively small Kipling content other than his editing of articles sent to the *C&MG* by their correspondents on the Commission, although Dr Moran does identify the significant role played by Kipling on the return of the ABC members to Lahore. However, the Appendices in the second half are a different matter entirely. Appendix I contains transcriptions of all the relevant articles in the *C&MG* that can definitely be identified as Kipling's, some of which were previously published in *Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches 1884-88* (ed. T. Pinney). Appendix II is a list of articles on Central Asia and Afghanistan which can be attributed to either Kipling or Stephen Wheeler (his first *C&MG* editor), whilst Appendix III consists of the text of translations by Kipling of articles from the Russian press that are germane to the subject.

This story of this Russo-Afghan border dispute makes fascinating reading — the problems faced in transporting groups of people through this rugged terrain; the carrying capacity of shipping on the Caspian Sea; the desirability as souvenirs of the well-aged Turkoman rugs used as doors for the *kibitkas*; the effects of the new aniline dyes on the quality of the rugs; and the two-days of horse racing organised by the Saryk Turkomans to celebrate the Persian New Year.

This is one of those rare history books that are predominantly factual and based on intensive research, rather than being mainly

opinion supported by the very occasional fact. Whilst Kipling was not a primary player, he was actively involved in reporting the activities of both Russia and the ABC, and was also in Rawul Pindi to report on the Durbar – this is definitely a book that will be appreciated by members.

KITTY AND MR. KIPLING: NEIGHBORS IN VERMONT by Lenore Blegvad and Illustrations by Erik Blegvad, published by Margaret K. McElderry Books, New York, 2005, (ISBN 0-689-87363-8, hardback, US \$16.95) 131 pages including 12 illustrations and Bibliography.

Review by THE EDITOR

According to the publisher, this book is aimed at 7–10 year-olds. It covers the years 1892-1896 during which the Kiplings lived in Dummerston, Vermont. This period saw the births of Josephine and Elsie; the generation of the *Jungle Books*, '*Captains Courageous*', *The Seven Seas*, and some of the stories in *The Day's Wort*, and ended with the abandonment of the only house that the Kiplings designed for themselves – Naulakha.

The story is built around the imaginary Kitty, an eight year-old in 1892 who lives with her parents and elder brother in a farm on the same road as Bliss Cottage and eventually Naulakha. It focuses on Kitty's curiosity and excitement at the Kiplings with their strange way of life, her interaction with them as she becomes a sounding board for Kipling and a playmate for Josephine before the sad day when the Kipling family leave Vermont for England in 1896, never to return.

Although there is plenty of factual material about the Kiplings, drawn from the various biographies, it is Kitty who is the main protagonist. Her reactions to Kipling's stories, his willingness to answer questions unlike her father, his treatment of her as a source of information, and the empathy that grows between them make this a story that should attract children of the appropriate age who have little or no knowledge of Rudyard Kipling. In reading this book, or having it read to them, they are bound to learn something about him and about life in rural Vermont in the 1890s – for the urban child it should be quite a revelation.

The black-and-white illustrations by Mr Blegvad are superb, especially those that are based on known events in Kipling's life — playing golf in the snow with the red balls; Caroline acting as Cerberus at the door of the study in Naulakha; a collage of Indian scenes; and not least, the coloured dust jacket showing Kipling wearing a fur hat and long fur coat whilst he is taught to use snow-shoes by Kitty rather than 'the man from the West' as described "In sight of Monadnock".

Although I was unable to lay hands on a suitable eight-year-old for testing purposes, nevertheless I am sure that this story that will be appreciated by that age-group.

EVARRA EIGENMANNI

By JOHN WALKER

I have been helping John Slater for some time in the Society Library, and have become conscious of two things: first, what an exemplary job John has done, over the past six years, in preserving, cataloguing and sharing the material; second, what enormous fun he must have had with so many years of general enquiries.

During my first two weeks as the official contact listed on our web site, there were over thirty email queries. These included the identification of a Coat of Arms with connections to the Kipling family, finding the original tune (as sung at school) for "Elephants of the Gun Teams", and tracing the taxonomy of *Evarra eigenmanni* (Woolman).

The latter, as I am sure you know, is an extinct species of Mexican minnow or dace, named by Woolman in about 1894. An American taxonomer had "Googled" the generic name, and been directed to "Evarra and His Gods", and thence to the Society. Using a range of research tools, I set out to discover if Mr. Woolman had found the name in Kipling's verse, or whether there was a common source.

Something as simple and practical as the original Readers' Guide confirmed that the piece was written in 1890, and first collected in the 1892 edition of *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses*, so it could have been fresh in the mind of an American archaeozoologist. Unfortunately, the explanatory notes assembled for the Verse nearly thirty years ago are still to be traced, though the piece is on the list for our New Readers' Guide, so I moved on to other sources. Durand's *Handbook* (1914), the various biographies and criticisms, and even the annotated selections all failed me.

The Google and Yahoo search engines, with a variety of extra key words, gave no more light; Google actually offered over 600 links for "Evarra", and experience says that it is not safe to assume the first few are the most relevant – simply the most used. Meta search engines such as www.mamma.com and www.searchenginecolossus.com (a state-specific engine) also offered little help on this question. Perhaps Kipling himself had used the name elsewhere? We can use the fact that Australia has different copyright laws to search much of the canon, both non fiction and fiction, at www.whitewolf.newcastle.edu.au. Specialist on-line discussion groups, including the JISCMail Kipling list were tried, and the British Library offered a wealth of detail on Mexican patronymics, and various lakes and rivers, but no answer.

So, I come to the greatest resource of all, the world-wide readership of the *Journal*. I will expect surcease by mid-March: Who was Evarra?

MEMBERSHIP NOTES

NEW MEMBERS

- Mr Alan Atkins (*London, E10*)
Ms Sylvia Baumgartner (*Maria Laach, Austria*)
Mr John Davis (*Woodbridge, Suffolk*)
Mr Gary Frisby (*Peterborough*)
Mr Eamonn Hamilton (*Rawdon, Leeds*)
Mr G.E.B. and Mrs H.J. Harrison (*Burwash, Etchingham, East Sussex*)
Professor Dan Jacobson (*London, N6*)
Dr Francis Jarman (*University of Hildesheim, Germany*)
Mr Alan C. Madell (*Chelmsford, Essex*)
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Mr Francis Norburn (*Rothley, Leicestershire*)
Miss Toko Omomo (*Sheffield, Yorkshire*)
Mr Jonathan Parsons (*Kelso, Roxburghshire, Scotland*)
Mrs C.J.J. Reid (*Burwash Common, Etchingham, East Sussex*)
Mrs Naz Siddiqi (*Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India*)

MEMBERSHIP FLYER with the December 2005 *Journal*

Although this is being written only ten days after the December *Kipling Journal* went out to our members, the response to the flyer on aspects of membership, in particular the use of Standing Orders and Gift Aid Declarations by British members, has been immediate and positive. As Membership Secretary, I am very grateful to those who have taken the time and trouble to respond. I will have contacted those members who have varied or initiated Standing Orders by the time that this issue is published but I ask that those who have only sent me a Gift Aid Declaration to accept this note as the Society's grateful thanks for taking this step, which allows us to increase the value of your subscription.

In the same way, I ask those who send in their annual subscription in response to the reminder on the *Journal* address label to accept our thanks by this means, although I can supply a receipt if specifically requested.

The above aspects of the flyer will not apply to many members but they may still make use of it to recruit new members. The first such recruit has already been enrolled but we could do with many more.

Council recently introduced a new grade of Student Membership for those under 23 years of age. The subscription is half the normal rate.

Roger Ayers, Hon. Membership Secretary

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THEEBAW'S QUEEN

From: Dr Philip Holberton, 1645 Hickeys Creek Road, Willawarrin, NSW 2440, Australia.

Dear Sir,

In your article on Back Numbers of the Journal you give three spellings of the name of Theebaw's Queen, but not the one (Supi-yaw-lat) in "Mandalay" in *The Definitive Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Verse*.

This reminds me of T.E. Lawrence's response when his varying spelling of Arabic names was questioned. The proof-reader pointed out: "Slip 20. Nuri, Emir of the Ruwalla, belongs to the 'chief family of the Rualla'. On Slip 23, 'killed one Ruali.' In all later slips, 'Rualla'". Lawrence retorted: "Should also have used Ruwala and Ruala".

Yours faithfully,
PHILIP HOLBERTON

"... TO THE TUNE OF FOUR POINT SEVEN"

From: Mr Gerald V. Coles, 2 Highview Rise, PO Box 317, Metung, Victoria 3904, Australia

Dear Sir,

Further to the "Points from Letters" in the June and September *Journals*, it is interesting to see that 4.7 inch guns were among those landed with the 12-pounders for the relief of Ladysmith, because study of *Ships of the Royal Navy for 1938* suggests that Royal Navy's use of the 4.7 was very rare until about the middle of WWI, where they are recorded as the main (gun) armament of the aircraft carriers H.M.S. *Courageous* and *Glorious*, built in 1915 but altered from light cruisers with 16 of them each. Towards the end of the war these guns became, and then remained, in very wide use as the main armament of the destroyers built thereafter, replacing the 4 inch hitherto fitted, in all of the larger such vessels throughout WWII. It seems quite remarkable that these unusual guns, which were of such weight as compared with the 12-pounders taken, should have been employed on a service in which there is an implication that "trundling" might have been needed!

Yours faithfully,
GERALD V. COLES

THE ORIGIN OF "THE WAY THROUGH THE WOODS"

From: Mr J. W. Michael Smith. Tree Cottage. 2 Brownleaf Road. Brighton, Sussex, BN2 6LB

Dear Sir,

In the text of the T.E.S. poster in the December 2005 *Journal* (p.53), I was somewhat surprised by Gerald Haigh's opening paragraph in which he says 'It is said that . . .' and 'a young woman friend of the family'. It is in fact well documented in Christabel Aberconway's autobiography¹. She, as Christabel Macnaghten (born in December 1890), was a very close friend of Josephine Kipling, claiming to be her "best friend". I think Angela Mackail might have claimed that distinction with slightly firmer authority.

The event happened before Josephine's tragic death in the spring of 1899 when Christabel, who was a frequent holiday visitor to her uncle's home in Ovingdean, had walked over to Rottingdean from there to play with her friend in the garden of The Elms. The Macnaghtens were the squires of Ovingdean and lived at Ovingdean Grange, the setting of Harrison Ainsworth's novel about the escape of Charles II. She would have been seven at the time and would thus have been a childhood friend rather than 'a young woman'. She had been playing in the garden with Josephine when Rudyard told Jo that Carrie wanted her daughter in the house, and so the two were left together. He certainly asked her how she had enjoyed her recent holiday in the New Forest and she replied that the Forest frightened her and that she much preferred the Downs. She asked him if he believed in ghosts – not fairies, but "ghosts". Jo (her diminutive) returned and Rudyard left them. A few days later Rudyard said to her "I've written a poem about ghosts in a wood; it is a very lonely wood and no one sees the ghosts; you only hear the sound of a horse galloping and a sound of a lady's skirt swishing as she rides; I shall give you the poem."

Christabel, to her great regret, never received the poem and was reminded of it when many years later she read *Rewards and Fairies*. Christabel was later, as Lady Aberconway, a member of our Society.

Yours faithfully,

J.W. MICHAEL SMITH

1. Christabel Aberconway, *A Wiser Woman? A Book of Memories*, Hutchinson, 1966.

KIPLING'S EXPERIENCES OF THE GRAND BANKS

From: Mr J. Crookshank. Ivy House. Westbourne. Emsworth, Hants. PO 10 8SP

Dear Sir,

I very much enjoyed the Leon Kellner interview in the December 2005 *Journal*, and look forward to the next two. However, could Note 12 to

the piece, on page 37, perhaps have been amplified?

Kipling had in fact "been on the Grand Banks" several times during his voyages between Britain and the U.S.A. and there is an evocative description in Lord Birkenhead's biography of passing "the living image of the schooner *We 're Here* " during their eastbound passage in early September 1896 in the German liner *Bremen*. As he completed '*Captains Courageous*' that October, this particular sighting may have been after he had finished all his writing for the book but there will have been other times when the course of his liner would have crossed the Grand Banks .

I have always liked this book against the run of "received wisdom" but I read it when I was very young. Kipling himself labelled it "a boy's story" when it was criticised on publication.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN CROOKSHANK

BOOK NOTICE

A PASSAGE TO NURISTAN by Nicholas Barrington, Joseph T. Kendrick & Reinhard Schlagintweit, Foreword by Sandy Gall, published by I.B. Tauris, 2005, (ISBN 1-84511-175-3, Hardback, £19.50) 256 pages.

Despite its recent upheavals, for most of the twentieth century Afghanistan was a sleepy, faraway place of little interest to outsiders. Here, the spectacular mountains and lush but inaccessible valleys have, for centuries, been home to one of the world's least known peoples. Isolated in their mountain villages, the Nuristanis were only converted to Islam at the end of the nineteenth century.

A Passage to Nuristan is the story of three young men — a Briton, an American and a German — who in 1960 set out to penetrate a land that few Westerners had set eyes on. The romance and mystery of this remote Nuristan region of Afghanistan, immortalised by Rudyard Kipling as Kafiristan or the land of the Infidels in "The Man Who would be King", will fascinate readers. This unique book is a contemporary record, published for the first time, of an extraordinary journey in which they were unable to rely on maps or information on what would confront them. It captures the essence of a time and place now gone forever and will enthral all who are interested in Afghanistan, Central Asia and travel. Many members of the Kipling Society had the privilege of hearing Sir Nicholas Barrington, one of the authors, address the Society's Annual Luncheon in 2003.

ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY

The Kipling Society is for anyone interested in the prose and verse, and the life and times, of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). It is one of the most active and enduring literary societies in Britain and, as the only one which focuses on Kipling and his place in English Literature, attracts a world-wide membership. (Details from the Society's web-site and membership forms from the **Membership Secretary, Kipling Society, 295 Castle Road, Salisbury, Wilts SP1 3SB**. The forms quote the minimum annual subscription rates. Some members contribute a little more.)

The Society is a Registered Charity and a voluntary, non-profit-making organisation. Its activities, which are controlled by a Council and run by the Secretary and honorary officials, include:

- maintaining a specialised Library in City University, London,
- answering enquiries from the public (schools, publishers, writers and the media), and providing speakers on request,
- arranging a regular programme of lectures, and a formal Annual Luncheon with a Guest Speaker,
- running the web-site at **www.kipling.org.uk** for members of the Society and anyone else around the world with an interest in the life and work of Rudyard Kipling,
- and publishing the *Kipling Journal*, every quarter.

The *Journal* of the Society aims to entertain and inform. It is sent to subscribing paying members all over the world free of charge. This includes libraries, English Faculties, and 'Journal — only' members. Since 1927, the *Journal* has published important items by Kipling, not readily found elsewhere, valuable historical information, and literary comment by authorities in their field. By not being wholly academic, the *Journal* is representative of Kipling, whose own diverse interests and versatile talent covered a wide range of literary writing – letters, travel, prose and verse. For the serious scholar of Kipling, who cannot afford to overlook the *Journal*, a comprehensive index of the entire run since 1927 is available online to members or in our Library. Apply to: **The Librarian, Kipling Society, 72 Millbank, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9RG, England or email to jwawalker@gmail.com**

The Editor of the *Kipling Journal* publishes membership news, Society events, and the texts of talks given by invited speakers. In addition, he is happy to receive letters and articles from readers. These may be edited and publication is not guaranteed. Letters of crisp comment, under 1000 words, and articles between 1000 – 4000 are especially welcome. Write to: **The Editor, Kipling Journal, 32 Merton Road, Harrow HA2 OAB, England or email to davpag@yahoo.co.uk**

