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# Rudyard Kipling : A Study in Popular Education During an Imperialist Era

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RUDYARD KIPLING: A STUDY IN POPULAR EDUCATION  
DURING AN IMPERIALIST ERA

by

Marilyn R. Fiduccia

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment  
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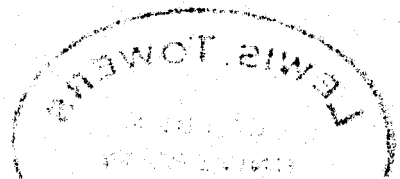


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RUDYARD KIPLING: A STUDY IN POPULAR EDUCATION

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The purpose of this dissertation is to examine Rudyard Kipling's educational views and relate them to his imperial philosophy. This has been done in two ways. First, by analyzing Kipling's published speeches and personal correspondence, his formal statements on education are derived. Secondly, the body of Kipling's published literature has been studied and interpreted to discover the educational character models he created in his fictional works. It is through these models that Kipling exercised the role of popular educator and shaped educational attitudes and values among the reading public. Two strong models emerged in the study. His literature clearly indicated that his educational philosophy was rivoted on the formation and development of middle-class boys into agents of the empire. He completely rejected the concept of universal education for colonial subjects. Kipling's educational ideas also revealed a marked Darwinist influence. Since no comprehensive study of Kipling's educational tenets has been previously undertaken, this research contributes an expanded image to this complex and prolific literary figure.



## CHAPTER I: THE LATE VICTORIAN SETTING.

The first chapter establishes the milieu in which Kipling lived. The economic, demographic, political, intellectual and educational currents of the period 1870-1914 are examined. This chapter provides background for understanding the personality and writings of Rudyard Kipling.

## CHAPTER II: THE LIFE AND WORKS OF RUDYARD KIPLING.

This chapter presents Rudyard Kipling's family background, education and life experiences. The chapter provides a chronological summary of his major writings. A thematic presentation of his works as they relate to his educational and imperial philosophies is also included here.

## CHAPTER III: AN IMPERIALIST'S VIEW OF FORMAL EDUCATION.

Chapter Three is introduced by an examination of the factors contributing to Kipling's espousal of imperialism. An interpretation of his imperial philosophy, his explicit statements on education and his relationship to Social Darwinism are discussed.

## CHAPTER IV: INFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH LITERATURE: THE BRITISH MODEL.

This chapter analyzes Kipling's model of the educated Englishmen, the agent of imperialism. Stalky and Co., and "The Brushwood Boy" are examined for their educational significance.

## CHAPTER V: INFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH LITERATURE: THE COLONIAL MODEL.

Chapter V studies Kim and other selected short stories to ascertain Kipling's attitude toward the education of colonial peoples. Though these writings reflected a wide gamut of attitudes on Kipling's part-hostile to condescendingly accepting-it can be said that he generally rejected the concept of educating subject peoples. His motivation for this position, however, provides an interesting insight into both his imperial and educational philosophy.

## CHAPTER VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

This chapter summarizes the major findings of the dissertation and synthesizes Rudyard Kipling's educational ideas. Suggestions for further research are also indicated.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Doctors Gerald Gutek, Rosemary Donatelli, and John Wozniak for their suggestions, encouragement and patience in bringing this study to fruition.

I also wish to thank my family and friends who have assisted me in achieving this goal. My debt is perhaps greatest to my parents who first taught me the value and satisfaction of education--and to my family whose interest and support inspired me to continue the work. Finally, to Phyllis Totcke, my friend and colleague whose efforts were above and beyond and who often provided me with the incentive and confidence to complete this writing, my deepest gratitude. Without each of these people this study would never have been begun, much less completed.

## PREFACE

Since his rise to fame in 1890, Rudyard Kipling has been a controversial literary figure. He has been acclaimed by some critics as a literary genius, while others have denigrated him as an imperial propagandist. Though much has been written about Kipling's artistic style, literature and political philosophy, no comprehensive study of his educational views has been undertaken. This is somewhat surprising in that Mr. Kipling is often referred to as the author who molded the minds of a generation of Englishmen. The lack of such a study may be due to the fact that both the author and his works are generally dealt with in a literary or political context. As a consequence, the multi-faceted character of his writings has been obliterated by political innuendo.

This dissertation examines Rudyard Kipling's educational tenets. These have been gathered in two ways. First, through an analysis of Kipling's speeches, articles and private correspondence, his formal educational views have been derived. The question was asked "What did Kipling explicitly state regarding education in general and English education in particular?"

Secondly, Mr. Kipling exercised the role of a popular educator in his writings. Between 1890 and 1902, he reached the apex of his popularity. His works were

published in twenty six languages, dominated the best-seller lists and commanded the respect of the general reading public. In contrast to the professional educator whose audience was limited to the world of academia, Kipling by the magnitude and acceptance of his literature reached the common man and thereby became his tutor. His published writings, then, have been studied and interpreted to discover the character models Kipling created in his literature. In doing so, several questions were raised. What was his model for the agent of imperialism? What type of character, knowledge and attitudes must this agent possess? How was the educational system to achieve these desired ends? What was the role of the colonial subject? How was he to be educated? The answers to these questions provide the substance of this dissertation and present the educational values of Kipling as a popular educator.

It is the thesis of this study that Rudyard Kipling did in fact develop a strong educational philosophy that was reflected in both his personal life and his writings. To validate this assumption, Kipling's speeches, correspondence and literature have been examined. Since the author was a very prolific writer and in demand as a speaker, the sifting of this material constituted the most difficult phase of the research. Within the paper,

only those writings related to his educational or political beliefs have been utilized. Presenting an unbiased view of Mr. Kipling's imperial philosophy as it related to his educational tenets also posed problems. As an Anglo-Indian, a term used in the Late-Victorian period to identify Englishmen living in India, Kipling's life was deeply affected by imperialism. To maintain objectivity in defining Kipling's imperial beliefs, as well as provide the reader with a frame of reference, this dissertation has juxtaposed the Late-Victorian climate with the life and experiences of Kipling.

At present, a reassessment of Kipling is currently being conducted by scholars. By expanding the image of Kipling to include the role of a popular educator, it is hoped that this study will contribute to that reappraisal and extend the area of his influence.

## VITA

The author, Marilyn Ruth Fiduccia, is the daughter of James Fiduccia and Myrtle (Parquette) Fiduccia. She was born May 23, 1938, in Chicago, Illinois.

Ms. Fiduccia received her elementary education in the parochial schools of Chicago, Illinois. She attended Alvernia High School, Chicago, Illinois, from which she graduated in 1956.

In August of 1964, she received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in History from Alverno College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Ms. Fiduccia was awarded a Master of Education in Administration degree from Loyola University of Chicago in 1970. Since that time she has served as an elementary and high school principal in the parochial school system of Chicago.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE LATE VICTORIAN SETTING

#### An Overview

To many scholars the person and writings of Rudyard Kipling are an enigma. Though the primary thrust of this dissertation is an analysis of Kipling's educational theories and models, the work must begin with an overview of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The economic, intellectual, political and educational currents engulfing Europe at this time profoundly influenced England and her people, among them Rudyard Kipling. Special emphasis will be placed on the Late-Victorian period since it was at this time that Kipling reached the zenith of his literary career.

Kipling's life, attitudes and writings were a fusion of many contemporary currents. To interpret either the man or his work outside of such a frame of reference is to inhibit an honest and balanced appraisal of both. Kipling was a man of his time; to understand his mind and art, one must first comprehend his world. Such an understanding is a fundamental tool for unravelling some of the contradictions that envelope him.

Kipling was born in 1865 and completed most of his literary work by the outbreak of World War I. During that half century Europe, in many ways, reached the climax of the modern phase of its civilization and also exerted its maximum influence upon peoples outside of Europe. The years between 1870 and 1914 were marked by unparalleled material and industrial progress, by a relatively peaceful international scene, by the spread of constitutional, representative government, and a liberal thrust in science, reason and progress. During these years subtle forces became operative that undermined the liberal tenets promulgated by the Enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will outline European civilization, highlighting British trends, during this period.

By 1870 Europe was dominated by the formation of large, consolidated nation-states. The great European powers of the day were Great Britain, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary and Russia. As a result of the extension of the nation-state system, however, Europe became more politically divided than ever before. The single thread of unity that bound these powers together flowed from the

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<sup>1</sup>R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 555-556.

sharing of a similar way of life and outlook. These similarities also linked Europeanized countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand with the great powers. Together, all of these nations were viewed as the "civilized world." All other portions of the world --Africa, and Asia particularly--were regarded as "backward." Europeans, and notably the English, were both conscious and proud of the achievements of their civilization. They believed these to be the hard-earned results of centuries-long progress. They envisioned themselves as the most advanced family of humankind and assumed that all peoples should emulate their accomplishments and social ideals.

These ideals were an amalgam of material, intellectual and moral values. Europeans, as a result of industrial advances, had a higher standard of living and enjoyed a more comfortable lifestyle than other peoples. Electric lights, an adequate food supply, more satisfactory sanitary conditions, and a more advanced transportation system differentiated European life from that of the non-European. Most importantly, however, was the growth of knowledge. The development of sophisticated bodies of knowledge was held by Europeans to be among the highest attainments of their civilization. The scientific

development of natural and geographical knowledge of the earth was prized by the European world. Finally, Europe was experiencing a growing sense of moral integrity. More and more great powers were divesting themselves of the remnants of barbarism. Caste, slavery, polygamy and torture were being expunged as the liberal concepts of the Enlightenment became operative in the new nation-states.<sup>2</sup> Because of the interplay of these values and ideals, Europeans experienced a growing sense of superiority over non-Europeans. Rudyard Kipling shared both the superciliousness and exuberance of his contemporaries.

Changing population trends also earmarked the period between 1870 and 1914. Though all continents except Africa grew enormously in population, Europe grew the most. Between 1650 and 1950, the European population increased over fivefold and the total number of European whites in all continents increased more than sevenfold.<sup>3</sup> Demographers attribute this sudden rise to falling death rates that resulted from the maintenance of civil peace, liberation from endemic diseases and greater agricultural output. This rapid growth of the white race further ignited the European sense of superiority and ascendancy.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 556-557.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 561.

One consequence of this population explosion was a European exodus to every corner of the world, particularly to colonial offshoots of the European nations. The rise of individual liberty, the major tenet of the classical liberalism gripping Europe, allowed people to emigrate taking with them both family and fortune. This ease of movement was unparalleled in the history of man. Englishmen particularly left their lands and journeyed to colonies to serve as civil servants, military men, or to further commercial interests. Kipling's parents were part of this migration, settling in India and remaining there for some twenty years. This fact, as will be seen later, irrevocably influenced Kipling's life and career.

#### Economic Conditions

In 1875, the European economy remained identified with laissez-faire principles. The expansion of Europe's population, however, placed heavy demands on agriculture, science, industry, transportation, finance and labor. As a result, economic life experienced a marked change. Industrial advances in science and technology led to the tapping of new sources of power, the expansion of industries already mechanized and the emergence of entirely new industries. The steam engine was refined, the gasoline

and Diesel engines as well as electricity were invented. Steel, a key product of the new industrial age, symbolized the discovery of improved and economical production of metals. New chemical and synthetic fabrics appeared along with the development of mass-production and assembly-line techniques. New inventions facilitated communication from house to house and continent to continent. Transportation was improved by new power engines installed in both the automobile and airplane. These changes tantalized European minds. Rudyard Kipling delighted in the scientific and technological inventiveness of his age. Many of his short stories dealt with the intricacies of these new discoveries and provided an interesting vehicle for his literary appetite.

The migration of Europeans also affected the economy in that it created new societies, basically European in character, which purchased manufactures from Europe while simultaneously producing the raw products needed by industry. As a consequence, European governments and commercial interests diverted income to expand or improve ventures in foreign countries. Europeans either began buying stocks of foreign enterprises and bonds of foreign businesses or governments or extended their own operations to foreign shores. The British were the chief

exporters of capital between 1840 and 1914.<sup>4</sup> Free trade was inaugurated by the British in the mid-nineteenth century. The development of free trade and the "balance of payments" concept facilitated the export of European capital. The net effect of these three factors was two-fold: the standard of living for working classes rose and a more extensive world view began to take root based on an international economy. Supported by an international money system founded on gold, a world market structured on unity and competition emerged. Goods, services, capital and people moved about without regard to national boundaries. In all of this, England usually led the way.

To protect this system of private capitalism from the insecurity of boom and depression, expansion and credit, unemployment and profit losses, governments added protective tariffs, social insurance and welfare legislation. Trade unionism and social movements grew, and business mergers became commonplace. These measures signalled the gradual decline after 1880 of nineteenth century, unregulated, laissez-faire capitalism. Between 1880 and 1890 capitalism underwent extensive changes. Previously characterized by small business, it came to be founded upon large and impersonal corporations. This development,

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 572.



in turn, stratified social classes. A few very wealthy business families exercised a new kind of economic power. The middle class became salaried employees in the new corporations. The working class was propelled to organize unions capable of dealing with power-yielding corporations.<sup>5</sup> The birth of a new system of regulated capitalism spawned a host of fresh political alliances that will be discussed later in the chapter.

The revival of tariffs during the 1880's marked the decline of free-trade. As the Industrial Revolution spread to other countries, England's power began to ebb. Resistance to buying manufactured products from England spiralled. With more countries manufacturing for export, a nationalist struggle for world markets began and sparked a race for colonies. Economic nationalism became firmly entrenched by 1900. Nations sought to better themselves by tariffs, trade rivalries and internal regulation. This was attempted without regard for the effect on other nations. For the individual, it began to make a difference to what nation he belonged, by what government he was supported, and under what laws he lived. This decline in classical economic liberalism contributed to the emergence of imperialism. The shift occurred in less than a decade and

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 608-609.

affected the political, social, as well as economic life of all Europeans.

Rudyard Kipling was born into a modest, upper middle-class, English family. His relatives included well-established political, business, artistic and religious leaders of the period. The Kiplings' enjoyed the advantages brought about by these economic changes. Because of the diversity of their professions and their extensive travels, they were, as a family unit, conscious of the ramifications brought on by these new currents. Kipling himself was often frustrated by the quality of life he experienced and his knowledge of poverty in other nations. He displayed an ambivalence in his class attitudes that is traceable to the liberal and conservative philosophies revealed to him within his family and confirmed in his adult experience.

### The Political Setting

The advent of these new economic trends exacted political changes that were equally far-reaching. In the years between 1870 and 1914, the machinery for democratic, representative government was being established and extended in Europe. Political life was characterized by movement toward constitutional government, representative bodies, the guarantee of individual liberties and

extension of voting rights to the working class. The adoption of universal suffrage altered the complexion of older political parties and created new parties. Governments faced the social and economic problems unleashed by industrialism. These developments and responses varied from nation to nation. To treat all of these is outside the scope of this paper. Consequently, only the English political environ will be examined since it was the political force in Rudyard Kipling's life.

The British monarchy symbolized reasonable and orderly self-government between 1870 and 1914. Queen Victoria reigned from 1837 to 1901 during an era of material progress, literary accomplishment and political stability. Two political parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, emerged during the 1850's as successors to the Whigs and Tories. The Liberal Party produced William Gladstone as its greatest leader. The Conservatives were led by Benjamin Disraeli and a series of less notable men. The parties alternately controlled the government during this half-century, and tended to continue the policies of each other rather than formulating new ones.

The Liberals leaned toward commercial and industrial interests and identified with laissez-faire economic

policies. In 1884, they secured a foothold among the working-classes by further extending the franchise to the labor force. Generally, the Liberals were more creative and innovative in structuring social reform legislation. Gladstone's first term (1868-1874) initiated the concept of state-supported education for all social classes, introduced the secret ballot, legalized unions, abolished the purchase of military commissions and eliminated religious requirements for entrance to Oxford and Cambridge. The party extended many of its liberal principles to its foreign policy and rule over indigeneous people. Rudyard Kipling vehemently opposed the Liberal conduct of imperial policy.

The Conservatives, on the other hand, represented the landed aristocracy and gained a limited share of the working-class vote by first extending suffrage to include most workingmen in English cities. Because it was not widely supported by commercial interests, the Conservatives took much initiative in developing labor legislation. Conditions in both mines and factories were scrutinized and regulated during Disraeli's second ministry (1874-1880). It was with this party that Rudyard Kipling identified as an adult.

Though male voting rights were extended under both parties after 1867, universal manhood suffrage was not achieved until 1918 when women were also enfranchised. As a consequence, leadership in England remained in the hands of the wealthy upper class. Because salaries were not paid to members of the House of Commons, its members were usually men of means and education. Regardless of party, British politics were controlled by men of similar backgrounds and experiences. The tone of government during the period tended to be congenial rather than competitive.<sup>6</sup>

After 1900, however, important changes became apparent. A third party, Labour, emerged as an independent political force shortly after the turn of the century. To win labor back to its ranks, the Liberal party sponsored social legislation benefitting workmen. Under David Lloyd George a minimum wage was enacted and employment bureaus established. Government programs providing for sickness, accident, old age and unemployment were instituted. To finance these programs, progressive income and inheritance taxes were levied. Espousal of these programs by the Liberal party ended its association with laissez-faire economics and weakened the position of the landed

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 582.

aristocracy. In 1911, salaries began being paid to members of the House of Commons, making it possible for workingmen to hold office. In addition, the power of the House of Lords was greatly curtailed.

These changes reverberated upon the Conservatives as well. As the Liberals wooed the labor vote, the Conservative party became the party of industry and the landed gentry. It soon espoused the principles of laissez-faire economics. In effect, the retooling of the Liberal party also established the Conservatives as a major political power well into the early years of the twentieth century.

As previously mentioned, the 1880's witnessed the decline of free trade and the emergence of an economic nationalism that was primarily directed against Great Britain. This trend was closely bound to a new form of colonialism--imperialism. Palmer and Colton defined this ideology as "the government of one people by another."<sup>7</sup> The new imperialism differed both economically and politically from the colonialism of earlier history. With the export of European capital and the need for raw materials, Europeans invested capital in business, built European communities or lent money to native rulers. In

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 614.

this way, they developed a huge financial stake in foreign governments and enterprises. In order to secure and care for these investments, Europeans began to seek political and territorial domination. Some areas became colonies of the great powers governed by white men; others became protectorates in which native rulers were maintained and European administrators "advised" the ruler. In effect, commercial interests triggered the political domination of another, less developed and more vulnerable, country.

Several motives, however, caused the acceptance of imperialism. Richard Faber has established six motives for imperial expansion as fundamental:

- (a) The Colonizing Motive or the need to provide space for dissident or surplus . . . population.
- (b) The Economic Motive or the search for markets or materials . . . .
- (c) The Agressive Motive or the search for revenge, excitement, power or prestige . . . .
- (d) The Strategic Motive or the acquisition of territory in order to safeguard the mother country . . . .
- (e) The Missionary Motive or the ambition to proselytize . . . .
- (f) The Leadership Motive or the conviction of superior ability to provide orderly government.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Richard Faber, The Vision and The Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), pp. 15-16.

These motives were all present in England's imperial drive. For the British, however, the Economic Motive was of greatest importance. Rudyard Kipling, however, advocated imperialism because of a strong belief in the Leadership Motive. This will be explored in Chapter Three of this work.

The British government was deeply involved in this phenomena between 1870 and 1914. During the 1850's and 1860's British commercial interests had expanded to Asia and Africa. In 1869, the Suez Canal was completed and Egypt became a crossroads of world trade. Benjamin Disraeli, the Conservative Prime Minister and an imperialist, brought the Canal under English control by accepting a majority of shares in the Canal Company as a default payment on a loan. In effect, the British government became the principal stockholder in the Suez Canal Company. In 1882, British troops were landed in Egypt to quell anti-foreign riots. Though this intervention was said to be temporary, British military presence continued until 1956. Egypt, thus became an English protectorate and British administration began.

British expansion was also evident in Black Africa. In 1890, Cecil Rhodes articulated his concept of "Africa



British from the Cape to Cairo."<sup>9</sup> To accomplish this, it was necessary that two small republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, be annexed from the Dutch "Africans." During 1895, Rhodes dispatched an armed party to raid the Transvaal. Shortly thereafter, the British Empire went to war with the two Boer Republics. The war waged between 1898 and 1901 when the English finally subdued the Boers. The war was a purely imperial endeavor to expand the boundaries and power of the British Empire. Rudyard Kipling supported the endeavor and, as a consequence, became identified as an imperial propagandist.

The British presence in Asia was most heavily experienced in India. Between 1870 and 1914, British India was deemed an ideal colony. English commercial interests had been at work in India since the early eighteenth century. Gradually, Indian states were taken over and ruled directly by British authorities. While free trade turned Britain into the greatest manufacturing country of the European world, India became the chief supplier of raw goods. English became the modicum for instruction in India. After 1857, Indians were admitted to the civil service. Many Indians were sent to be educated in England. As the body of educated Indians grew,

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<sup>9</sup>Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, p. 641.

the government, particularly the Liberal party, extended indigeneous rule. In 1876, at the urging of Benjamin Disraeli, Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India. Rudyard Kipling and his family lived in India for a substantial number of years. It was from this association with the ideal colony that the author drew his theories of imperialism and empire.

Because of his Indian and South African experiences, Kipling believed in the mission of imperialism. He saw imperialism as an outreach of the white man's society to less advanced cultures. For him, it was to become a substitute religion. He shared these ideas with other Englishmen who believed they had a responsibility to extend orderly and reasonable government to other peoples. This concept prompted him to pen his "White Man's Burden" and advocate British imperialism. This position was further reinforced by some of the intellectual currents prevalent at the time.

### Intellectual Milieu

Though faith in the power of the natural sciences had been prevalent in Western Civilization for over three hundred years, it spread to all classes of people between

1870 and 1914. Science had spurred the industrial movement which provided better living conditions for everyone. Understandably, science became popular and was extensively acclaimed as a secularized religion.

Biology and the life sciences experienced the greatest emphasis among the general public. In 1859, Charles Darwin published Origin of the Species and propelled evolution into acceptability by coupling it with science. In effect, he explained the workings of evolution and provided evidence to substantiate the theory. In his Descent of Man, published in 1871, he applied the same technique to human beings.

Darwin stated that species are mutable, that they develop by successive small changes from other species that preceded them, and that all life was interrelated and subject to the same laws. He maintained that the history of living things on earth was a unified history unfolding in a single process of evolution. A struggle for existence occurred between species which terminated with the most fit surviving. He termed this "natural selection of the most favored races."<sup>10</sup> Though his writings were centered on all living species, they deeply affected theories of human development.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 598-599.

Social Darwinism appeared as an offshoot of this biological evolutionary theory. Social Darwinists applied the concepts of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest to the human species. Their theories were utilized in a variety of ways. At times, they were employed to show that certain peoples were naturally superior to others. Within imperialism, Social Darwinism was applied to establish that white races were more fit than colored races. In the economic community, these same theories were relied upon to justify big business eliminating smaller enterprises. As a social class theory, Darwinism was invoked to prove that the upper and middle classes deserved a good life because they were more fit than the poor. Finally, in England, Social Darwinism was relied upon to establish the Empire's moral responsibility to world leadership and supremacy. In a word, Social Darwinism merged with European Realpolitik to provide a validating reason for most causes. As will be seen in Chapter Three, Rudyard Kipling was clearly affected by the Social Darwinists. His writings reflect a brand of Darwinism that closely paralleled the philosophy of the American, William Graham Sumner.

Psychology, as a science of human behavior, also brought new knowledge about the nature of man. Psychology

emerged in the 1870's as a natural science under the leadership of William Wundt. Ivan Pavlov, a Russian scientist, established that animals could be conditioned to a particular response. This observation was important in that it implied that human behavior could be explained by conditioned responses. Environment and upbringing came to be viewed as variables that could be controlled to influence human response. Sigmund Freud continued the probe into human behavior by exploring the drives, frustrations and repression that influence an individual's conduct. He laid great stress on the subconscious. The progressive development of psychological theories showed that man was not always the rational being he had been previously portrayed.

The net result of these new biological, social and psychological theories was to destroy the belief that man was a rational being. As a consequence, an anti-intellectual feeling swept through Europe. A philosophy of realism expressed in a pervasive faith in the constructive value of struggle and a tough-minded rejection of ideas and ideals became prevalent. Emphasis was now placed on the will, intuition, impulse and emotion. It was this new realism that Rudyard Kipling espoused and enhanced. In its aftermath, the classical liberalism dominating Europe in

1870 was uprooted and disgraced. Though faith in progress still remained, and social legislation continued to reflect the humanitarian strain of liberalism, belief in the rationality of man and the laissez-faire form of government disappeared.<sup>11</sup> Europe within the span of a half century had undergone a radical economic, political and intellectual metamorphosis. It was an experience in which Rudyard Kipling was deeply involved and exerted a strong individual influence. His writings reflected the intellectual and political atmosphere of that day.

#### Educational Climate

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the public schools continued to be the dominant educational force in England. Mack characterized them as "ceasing in an important respect to be the leaders of educational thought. Their hold over British moral and social education was, it is true, on the increase and was never substantially to loosen."<sup>12</sup> Though other educational forms existed, the public schools served the middle and

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 610-612.

<sup>12</sup>Edward Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860: The Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas and The Evaluation of An English Institution (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1941), p. 119.

upper classes of British society. The history of the public schools between 1800 and 1860 reflected a turbulent struggle between these two classes to control the schools and reorganize the curriculum. The upper class sought to maintain the traditional public school concept stressing classical training, character development, and independence from the State. The middle class sought to end upper class domination of the schools and institute a curriculum of more practical modern subjects. By 1860, the middle class had succeeded in making public schools responsive to their needs and the needs of the Mid-Victorian world. The decade following this was marked by relative stability in the schools.

As already indicated, the political, economic, and intellectual changes that occurred between 1870 and 1914 were both extensive and rapid. The public schools did not escape the demanding pressure for change as society altered its philosophy and values. By the middle seventies a host of influences were at work undermining the structure of the public schools. The spread of scientific ideas and the development of psychology began to destroy long established religious certainties and ethical values. The impetus of science and the spread of industrialism coupled together to dampen enthusiasm for religion.

Religious education and ceremonies received a very low priority after this time. During the 1890's Warre of Eton attempted to revive the place of religion within the schools. Though a leading and respected educator among his colleagues, he never succeeded in his effort. Religion never again assumed a role of importance during this period. The public schools assumed a permanent secular tone.

The political mileu also greatly influenced the public schools. When, during his first ministry, Prime Minister Gladstone abolished the purchase and sale of military commissions, competitive examinations for admission to the military were substituted. The schools became the vehicle for preparing young men for the examinations. A number of public schools were organized for the sole purpose of training young men for these tests. It was at one such school, the United Services College, that Rudyard Kipling received his education. At these schools, classical education was combined in equal proportion with the modern subjects necessary to pass the army examinations. The rise of imperialism and the school's responsibility in preparing students for a military career caused a premium to be placed on discipline, authority, and team spirit. The consequence of



these political events was three-fold: the public schools were reformed and modified to include more modern subjects and examinations; discipline was emphasized to produce responsible, honorable men willing to devote their lives to the preservation and expansion of the Empire; games began to receive an inordinate stress.<sup>13</sup>

Strong disapproval for individualism was prevalent in the public schools after 1875. Several factors account for this. As large corporations and industries came to dominate the economic scene, a destruction of individuality occurred. Imperialism thrust upon both educators and public alike the model of an imperial man. He was a man who was a team player, one who knew the rules or expectations of society and who responded appropriately to them. Hence, he was predictable. He simply had to be taught that in a given situation, one behaves in a given way. This concept was acceptable to educators of the day. Once a public school model was established, society joined with the educator in demanding conformity from students. The burden of the instructor was eased--this was how everyone expected a young man to act. Finally, as more subjects were added to the curriculum, the student's day became increasingly regimented. This structure allowed little

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 107-108.

room for either initiative or individualism on the students part. In effect, political, social, educational and economic expectations combined to smother individuality in Late-Victorian schools.<sup>14</sup>

The effect of these new conditions in the public schools was the launching of a new controversy. Between 1870 and 1914, a movement began to reform the public schools. A growing number of upper class people, including Rudyard Kipling, began agitating for reform. This group advocated the end of uniformity in the schools. They called for more freedom, less emphasis on sports and games and more accent on military preparation. They were generally referred to as reactionaries. Another segment, the progressives, demanded that more modern studies, particularly sciences, be injected into the curriculum. The progressives were led by wealthy businessmen and industrialists who believed education should be oriented toward career preparation. A third group known as the Arnoldians, sought a return to classical, religious education. Led by school masters, they structured their drive to combat the effects of science and materialism.

Though a severe controversy over education racked England for over twenty years, few gains were made by any

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

group. The schools simply became wrapped in a controversy that tended to choke them rather than reform them. Mack stated unequivocally that the schools after 1870 "began to fall behind in the race to adjust to the world around them."<sup>15</sup> Rudyard Kipling was deeply involved in the attempt to reform the public schools. He used his reputation and literary skills to accomplish this task. His ideas for modifying British public education lie at the heart of this research.

Rudyard Kipling and his family were influenced by a number of the trends outlined in the previous pages. Kipling's parents journeyed to India soon after their marriage. It was there that Kipling was born and later witnessed, at first hand, the Empire at work. This experience convinced Kipling that England did indeed have an imperial mission and ultimately led him into the fold of the Conservative Party and to embrace imperialism. His life in India is presented in the next chapter. The political and intellectual currents of imperialism and Social Darwinism, as Kipling imbibed them, are traced in Chapter III. Finally, Kipling was educated at the United

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 103.

Services College, an inexpensive public school that sought to train young men for military or civil service. The impact of these school years is closely correlated with Kipling's educational ideas in Chapter IV of this study.

## CHAPTER II

### THE LIFE AND WORKS OF RUDYARD KIPLING

#### Family Background

To adequately interpret the fabric of Rudyard Kipling's personality and work, one must be cognizant of the impact that family ties, environment and experience exerted upon him. Many of the values, attitudes and insights of Kipling as a maturing literary figure were engendered and fostered by those three factors. Joseph Rudyard Kipling was born in Bombay, India, on December 30, 1865 into a middle-class Protestant family. Though on several occasions Kipling described himself as a Yorkshireman, his family lineage was a mixture of Yorkshire, Scottish, Irish and Welsh. The Kipling line was an individualistic Yorkshire family on which information is sketchy. Kipling himself believed them to have included "small farmers, bell founders, clockmakers, and the like, scattered all over the Ridings . . . with some far-off connexion with the hamlet (Kipling) that carries their name."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Rudyard Kipling as quoted in Charles Carrington, Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1955), p. 3.

Rudyard Kipling's father, John Lockwood Kipling, commonly referred to as 'Lockwood', was the eldest son of a Methodist minister. In 1851, while attending Woodhouse Grove, a well-known Methodist boarding school near Leeds, Lockwood journeyed to London to visit the Great Exhibition being held in Hyde Park. This single experience greatly influenced the course of the senior Kipling's future life and work. The purpose of the Exhibition was to demonstrate, in an international setting, the economic and industrial strength of Great Britain. One of its effects, for Kipling, was the stimulation of his artistic and scholarly talents. Witnessing the highly innovative application of fine arts to manufacturing techniques, Lockwood Kipling directed his talents toward the world of art. His particular and significant later life-interest centered around fostering the development of indigenous Indian arts and crafts. Even in his early years he supported himself totally as an artist. For a time he was employed as a sculptor during the erection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington. Through the interim period before his appointment as Professor of Architectural Sculpture in a Bombay school of art, he was a designer of pottery in a Burslem company. Although these positions were diversified and challenging, it was not until Lockwood became curator of the Lahore Museum (1875) that his ultimate goals were recognized; this then, became Lockwood Kipling's life and work.

John Lockwood Kipling is best characterized as a mild mannered scholar and artist. Carrington has described him this way:

Kipling was a man of wide reading and close observation. In the arts and crafts movement which derived from the Great Exhibition his was a strictly practical contribution. He had a never-failing zest for technical processes, an almost feminine sensibility to textures and tones and scents, an artisan's skill with tools and implements; above all, he was himself an artist expressing his sense of form and colour and touch, with pen, brush, and modelling clay.<sup>2</sup>

It is generally conceded that these qualities established the senior Kipling as a man of great talent. Rudyard himself states "Father was not only a mine of knowledge and help, but a humorous, tolerant, and expert fellow craftsman."<sup>3</sup> Though Lockwood Kipling's personal qualities exerted a strong influence on his son, the Kipling relatives were not a dominant force in Rudyard's life. Rather, his life was intricately bound up with his mother's family, the MacDonald's.

While working at Burslem, Lockwood Kipling was introduced to a young Methodist minister, Frederick MacDonald. MacDonald was one of seven children -- two sons and five daughters. The MacDonald's, a family of Scottish, Irish and Welsh extraction were a closely-knit

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Something of Myself For My Friends Known and Unknown (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Incorporated, 1937), p. 46.

circle of relatives whose members were intimately bound to the artistic and literary movements of the day. Swinburne, the Rossettis and Robert Browning were frequent visitors at the family residence. Frederick MacDonald was a well-read scholar who later became President of the Methodist Conference and an early leader in the ecumenical movement. His sister, Georgiana, married Edward Burne-Jones, a pre-Raphaelite painter and friend of William Morris. Agnes MacDonald married a young artist named Edward Poynter, another pre-Raphaelite artist, who was to become President of the Royal Academy. A third MacDonald sister, Louisa, married a wealthy iron-master, Alfred Baldwin. Their son, Stanley, served several terms as Prime Minister of Britain. It was Frederick MacDonald who introduced Lockwood Kipling into the MacDonald family and to his eldest sister, Alice. Two years later, in 1865, John Lockwood Kipling married Alice MacDonald in London.

Alice MacDonald Kipling was a woman heavily endowed with personality and talent. Frederick described his sister's strengths as a quick mind and a lively tongue:

My sister had the nimblest mind I have ever known. She saw things in a moment and did not so much reason as pounce on her conclusions. Accuracy in detail was not so much her forte as swift insight, and the kind of vision that is afforded by flashes of lightning. Her power of speech was unsurpassed -- her chief difficulty being that she found language a slow-moving medium of expression that failed to keep up with her thought.



She tumbled over her words because they could not come out fast enough.<sup>4</sup>

Friends remembered her for her "sprightly, if occasionally caustic wit, her quickness of intellect and skill in selecting striking phrases."<sup>5</sup> In India, Alice MacDonald Kipling developed into a woman of charm and wisdom who made a notable impact on the English-Indian society.

Rudyard Kipling developed a very close rapport with both of his parents. Lockwood Kipling freely shared his artistic talent with his son. A number of Kipling's books contained Lockwood's illustrations. Alice's quick insight was shared with her son in refining his writings. Within his autobiography, Kipling attributes a number of his most frequently quoted phrases to his mother. Kipling scholars agree that the family relationship exerted significant influence on Kipling. This will be demonstrated throughout this chapter.

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<sup>4</sup>Frederick MacDonald, As A Tale That Is Told (London: Cassel, 1919), p. 115.

<sup>5</sup>Kay Robinson, "Kipling In India," Kipling Journal, LIX (October, 1941): 99-100.

## Childhood and School Years

Within weeks after their marriage, Alice and Lockwood Kipling sailed for Bombay, India, where Kipling was to help form a School of Art. It was there that Rudyard was born in 1865 and where he spent the first six years of his life except for a brief period in 1868. During that year the Kiplings returned to England for the birth of their second child, Alice, affectionately known as Trix. Shortly after her birth, the family returned to Bombay. Kipling himself provides the limited knowledge available regarding these years. His first memories were of "daybreak, light and colour and golden and purple fruits at the level of my shoulder . . . and of early morning walks to the Bombay fruit market." He recalled religious experiences with the "Ayah, a Portuguese Roman Catholic who would pray--I beside her--at a wayside Cross," with Meeta, a Hindu bearer, where "being below the age of caste, I held his hand and looked at the dimly seen, friendly gods," and of seeing "gaily dressed Parsees wading out to worship the sunset." Late in his lifetime he wrote that as a result of these first years "I have always felt the menacing darkness of eventides, as I have loved the voices of nightwinds through the palm or banana leaves, and the song of the treefrogs."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, pp. 3-4.

These childhood years provided Rudyard with a sensuous experience of life in India. The sights and sounds of the East endowed him with a chain of images and impressions that continued long afterward and were to be reflected in his writings. In addition, during this period he was inducted into the English-Indian lifestyle, thoroughly imbibing its attitudes and values. He grew up in an Indo-English society in which the British lived as a superior race of conquerors amidst a civilized but alien and inferior subject people. The Indian servants dominated the English child's life. They were viewed as both friends and inferiors and were expected to accord deference, loyalty and affection to their young masters. The model for the good Indian native was a docile, loyal servant. This relationship, as will be shown later, became a characteristic theme in Kipling's writing.

The natural pattern for English-Indian child resident in India, who was so constantly in the company of servants was that he often spoke and thought in Hindi. Kipling once reminisced about being "sent into the dining-room after we had been dressed, with the caution 'Speak English now to Papa and Mama'."<sup>7</sup> Though this close relationship between servant and infant was acceptable in English-Indian society, it was unsuitable for the maturing

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

child. English-Indians who could afford the expense returned their children to England to begin their education and to protect them from the ever-present threat of epidemic. Consequently, Rudyard was brought back from India in 1871, just before his sixth birthday; his sister Trix, then three, accompanied him. Following the custom, the children returned to England to begin their education, and most importantly, to learn to be English. They were placed in the care of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Holloway at Southsea, a couple known to the Kiplings only through a newspaper advertisement. Having deposited the children, the Kiplings slipped away without explaining the separation to Rudyard or Trix. This abrupt withdrawal was a traumatic experience which left the children confused and feeling deserted. Since Alice Kipling had a close-knit and rather well-to-do family circle in England, the decision to leave the children with foster parents continues to perplex Kipling scholars.

This period profoundly affected Kipling's personal and professional development. Several accounts describing the five traumatic years at Southsea are available and provide insight into its significance. The experience is depicted in two of Kipling's fictional works, "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" and the first chapter of The Light That Failed, as well as in his autobiography, Something of Myself. Common elements that emerge from all three pieces provide a

reliable view of the period. Rudyard and Trix were placed at Lorne Lodge, the home of Mr. and Mrs. Holloway. During the early months of his stay, Rudyard's life was brightened by "Uncle Harry" who taught him songs and tales of the sea. But "Uncle Harry" died suddenly and Rudyard soon became the "black sheep" of the house. "Aunty Rosa" and her son "Harry" dominate the story of Southsea. In Something of Myself, Kipling encapsulated the tenor of his experience at Lorne Lodge in this poignant account.

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

If you cross-examine a child of seven or eight on his day's doings (especially when he wants to go to sleep) he will contradict himself very satisfactorily. If each contradiction be set down as a lie and retailed at breakfast, life is not easy. I have known a certain amount of bullying, but this was calculated torture -- religious as well as scientific. Yet it made me give attention to the lies I soon found it necessary to tell: and this I presume is the foundation of literary effort.<sup>8</sup>

It must be recalled, however, that when Rudyard came into "Aunty Rosa's" care he seemed to be a somewhat spoiled English-Indian child. In reality, he was simply a restless,

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

talkative six-year old who asked unending questions. Being both precocious and unreserved, it often appeared to his elders that he flaunted his knowledge. The English-Indian discipline and etiquette displayed by Rudyard was apparently foreign to "Aunty Rosa." According to Kipling's three accounts of the period, she was determined to remold her charge into a proper English child. She is portrayed in each work as a tyrannical foster-mother who regarded her young charge with obvious contempt. His repeated references to her as "the Woman" epitomizes the equally hostile relationship that developed between them.

Kipling's sole respite during these years centered around books. Kipling had been unable to read when he arrived at Lorne Lodge -- this fact incensed "Aunty Rosa," and she quickly set out to rectify the deficiency.

But my ignorance was my salvation. I was made to read without explanation, under the usual fear of punishment. And on a day that I remember it came to me that "reading" was not "the Cat lay on the Mat," but a means to everything that would make me happy. So I read all that came within my reach. As soon as my pleasure in this was known, deprivation from reading was added to my punishments. I then read by stealth and the more earnestly. There were not many books in that house, but Father and Mother as soon as they heard I could read sent me priceless volumes . . . . A visitor, too, gave me a little purple book of severely moral tendency called The Hope of the Katzikopfs -- about a bad boy made virtuous, but it contained verses that began "Farewell Rewards and Fairies," and ended with an injunction "To pray for the 'noddle' of William Churne of Straffordshire." This bore fruit afterwards.

And somehow or other I came across a tale about a lion-hunter in South Africa who fell among lions who were all Freemasons, and with them entered into a confederacy against some wicked baboons. I think that, too, lay dormant until the Jungle Books began to be born.<sup>9</sup>

This early preoccupation with reading provided Kipling with the germinal ideas for stories which later enriched children's literature. Ultimately, Kipling's love of reading indirectly brought an end to his stay at Southsea.

My troubles settled themselves in a few years. My eyes went wrong, and I could not well see to read. For which reason I read the more and in bad lights. My work at the terrible little day-school where I had been sent suffered in consequence, and my monthly reports showed it. The loss of "reading time" was the worst of my "home" punishments for bad school-work. One report was so bad that I threw it away and said that I had never received it. But this is a hard world for an amateur liar. My web of deceit was swiftly exposed--the Son spared time after banking hours to help in the auto-da-fe -- and I was well beaten and sent to school through the streets of Southsea with the placard "Liar" between my shoulders.<sup>10</sup>

But shortly thereafter "Aunty Rosa" discovered that Rudyard's poor grades were caused by near blindness rather than naughtiness. A doctor quickly prescribed glasses, which were uncommon in that period, and forbade him to continue any type of reading. Soon after, his mother arrived without warning from India and removed him from "Aunty Rosa's" care. Trix remained at Southsea for several more years.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

Though Rudyard's stay at Southsea came to a swift end after his eyesight failed, the impact of these six years remained throughout his life. In the last paragraph of "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" he wrote: "When young lips have drunk deep of the bitter waters of Hate, Suspicion, and Despair, all the Love in the world will not wholly take away that knowledge."<sup>11</sup> Later, he stated of these years, "in the long run these things and many more of the like, drained me of any capacity for real, personal hatred for the rest of my days."<sup>12</sup> At Southsea he had learned that the mind creates its own happiness and that suffering is tolerable as long as an individual can muster the resources to sustain himself. Most importantly, there emerged from this ordeal the conviction that a man's worth is measured by his actions and accomplishments. The antidote for unhappiness is action. In The Light That Failed, Maisie in misery says to Dick, "Let's find things to do and forget things."<sup>13</sup>

As a consequence of these years at Southsea Kipling's life view was essentially sombre and somewhat

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<sup>11</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Baa Baa, Black Sheep," The English In England, with an Introduction by Randall Jarrell (Massachusetts: Anchor Books, 1963), p. 22.

<sup>12</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 26.

<sup>13</sup>Rudyard Kipling, The Light That Failed (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1899), p. 7.



stoic. His personal life demonstrated strains of insecurity and defensiveness. His literature belies each of these characteristics. Though he may not have harbored personal hatred, his writings reveal an intellectual hatred for principles, philosophies and opinions divergent from his own. This type of hatred tinged his writings on occasion with an intemperate tone. His feelings frequently became couched in a cruelty that was learned at Southsea.

In the fall of 1878 the twelve year old Kipling was sent to a public school to continue his education. The United Services College, at Westward Ho, had been founded in 1874 by a group of Army officers who were financially unable to send their sons to the more expensive public schools. The founding had also been prompted by the fact that competitive examinations had become the criteria for selection into either civil service or the Army. The more established public schools, with their stress on moral and classical education, had not proven successful in preparing young men for these tests. Consequently, a host of new schools, including the United Services College, arose dedicated to providing an economical education which would meet the challenge of the "Army Exam."

The College's headmaster, Cormell Price, was a long-time friend of the Kiplings. He was to play a dominant role in Rudyard's education and preparation as an

author. Price had been associated with the Pre-Raphaelites and was an intimate of Edward Burne-Jones, Edward Poynter, William Morris, Charles Swinburne and Robert Browning. After attending Oxford, he traveled to Russia serving as an English tutor to a noble family. While there, he cultivated an interest in both French and Russian literature. Upon his return, in 1863, he organized the modern subject curriculum at Haileybury, a Public School which emulated Arnold's Rugby. Because of his success in preparing young men for the "modern-side" subjects in the Army exam, he was invited to be the first headmaster at United Services College.

Cormell Price closely patterned the United Service College after Haileybury and its English-Indian tradition. As Kipling later wrote, "It was largely a caste-school -- some seventy-five per cent of us had been born outside of England and hoped to follow their fathers into the Army."<sup>14</sup> Despite its origins and aims, the school lacked many of the trappings of a military academy. Uniforms, parades, bands and flags were not to be found at the College. Rather, it was a Mid-Victorian public school that prepared young men for entrance into public service. The classics were lightly touched upon while modern subjects were stressed.

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<sup>14</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 26.

Games played a major role in student life. A differentiating characteristic of the College was its secular spirit. The school had no chapel and religious services were held but once a week. Neither high-church nor evangelical doctrine was offered as part of the curriculum. Its spirit and tradition from its inception was wholly pragmatic: it was to train young men to adult life.

Rudyard describes his first year at Westward Ho! as "horrible" and "not pleasant." In Something of Myself, he attributes this condition to two factors: the existence of bullying which occurred between older and younger boys and to his own inability to play many of the games in which his schoolmates participates. He was the only boy who wore eye glasses and soon earned the nickname "Gig-lamps" or "Gigger." By the time Kipling reached his fourteenth birthday, his life had improved considerably. He had physically matured. The scrawny boy was suddenly a muscular, faintly moustachioed and heavy-browed young man. Bullying ceased to be a problem. In addition, Kipling cemented a strong friendship with George Beresford and Lionel Dunsterville. This launched a partnership known as Stalky and Co. (1899) and which provided one of the classic tales of nineteenth century school life.

Though the United Services College was a modern school in which classical training received little emphasis,

Kipling did study Latin, a subject he "loathed for two years, forgot for twenty years, then loved with an abiding passion for the rest of his life."<sup>15</sup> The Odes of Horace provided an influential element in Kipling's education. His more mature verse reflects their impact on his style. The Odes also initiated him into the habit of imitating models, a practice that he sustained throughout his life.

A noteworthy by-product of Latin study was the relationship which developed between Kipling and his instructor, Crofts. In Something of Myself, Kipling intimates that the fiery nature of their encounters intellectually stimulated both men:

I came to feel that words could be used as weapons, for he did me the honour to talk at me plentifully; and our year-in year-out form-room bickerings gave us both something to play with. One learns more from a good scholar in a rage than from a score of lucid and laborious drudges; and to be made the butt of one's companions in full form is no bad preparation for later experiences.<sup>16</sup>

Crofts provided Kipling with a discipline which would enable the future author to accept the acrid comments of critics. Such criticism was to enshroud his entire career.

English literature was a major subject in Kipling's formal education. Once again, Crofts played a role in the shaping of Rudyard's taste. Crofts coined for Kipling the

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

name of "Gigadibs, the literary man" and by hurling a copy of Browning's Fifty Men and Women at his head, sparked the interest of his student into the writings of Browning, Swinburne and Poe. Again, from these authors, Kipling gathered new subject matter and expanded his imitative style.

It is Cormell Price, however, who over-shadowed the whole fabric of Kipling's education. Price spent much time with his young student, as both family friend and instructor. Consequently, the Headmaster seemed to recognize Rudyard's innate abilities as a writer. Accordingly, he took steps to provide the skills and tools necessary for such a profession. He instructed Kipling in précis-writing, a discipline necessary to both soldier and author. In 1881, Price re-established the school newspaper, United Services College Chronicle and appointed Kipling its editor. Kipling also did much writing for this publication. Many of these early pieces reflect the influence of Horace upon Kipling. Price's most definitive step occurred when he gave Kipling complete use of his study:

There Beetle (Kipling) found a fat arm-chair, a silver ink-stand and unlimited pens and paper. There were scores and scores of ancient dramatists. There were Hokluyt, his Voyages; French translations of Muscovite authors called Pushkin and Lermontoff; little tales of a heady and bewildering nature, interspersed with unusual songs -- Peacock was that writer's name; there were Borrow's 'Lavengro'; an odd theme, purporting to be a translation of something called a

'Rubaiyat', which the Head said was a poem not yet come to its own; there were hundreds of volumes of verse . . . Then the Head, drifting in under pretense of playing censor to the paper, would read here a verse, and here another of these poets, opening up avenues.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Kipling's education was greatly expanded by his personal relationship with Price.

Kipling became totally saturated in reading while at Westward Ho!; these authors exerted an obvious and strong influence on his beliefs and style. While at Southsea, he delved into the works of Dickens, DeFoe and Thackeray. Emerson attracted him at the age of twelve, and by fifteen, he was a student of Ruskin's Fors Clavigera and Carlyle's Sartor Resartus. American writers also intrigued him. The works of Walt Whitman, Edgar Allen Poe, Bret Harte and Mark Twain were consumed by the young Kipling. Again, his early work reflects imitations derived from these authors.

Kipling's literary interests at this time were not confined wholly to reading; writing too, was a significant venture. In 1881, totally unknown to Rudyard, a volume entitled Schoolboy Lyrics was printed for private circulation. Mrs. Kipling collected a number of Rudyard's verses, possibly with the aid of Cormell Price, and

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<sup>17</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Stalky and Co. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1899; reprint ed., New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 198-199.

persuaded her husband to have them published. These verses are not among the standard collections of Kipling's work. In 1882, Kipling published in the College Chronicle, "Ave Imperatrix," an imitation of an Oscar Wilde piece published earlier that year. Kipling wrote the patriotic ode to Queen Victoria after an attempt on her life. Some controversy exists as to whether the tone of the piece is serious or facetious. Regardless of vagueness in its intent, T. S. Eliot classified this early work as a great poem in including it among his selections for an Introduction to a Choice of Kipling's Verse. The Chronicle harbored a host of Rudyard's early works, many of which are still available to Kipling scholars.

Kipling's literary experiences were not limited to his school life. Holidays from school were ordinarily spent among circles which embraced the arts. His time was divided between his MacDonald relatives and family friends. This group shared as friends such prestigious persons as Carlyle, Morris, Swinburne, the Rossettis, Browning and members of the Royal Academy. Although some of these associations were only shared vicariously, they reinforced young Kipling's interest in literature. By the time his school years drew to an end, he had become steeped in reading, writing and editing and had met some of the foremost artists of the period.

During the summer of 1882 Cornell Price informed

Rudyard that he was to return to India where he would assume an assistant editorship on a local Lahore newspaper. Kipling, then seventeen years old, was not enthusiastic over the news. Though he wished to rejoin his parents, he believed that the future of a writer lay in England and London rather than Lahore, India. In addition, Kipling desired to continue his education at a university. Family finances, however, made this wish impossible. The lack of such an education haunted Kipling throughout his lifetime. Several references in his writings indicate his frustration over the matter. Later, he internalized a pervasive dislike for scholars and earned a reputation as a proponent of the anti-intellectualism growing in Europe at the time. Some Kipling scholars attribute this characteristic to a suppressed desire for the higher education that family finances denied him. With some hesitation, therefore, Kipling sailed for India in the Autumn of 1882.



## The Indian Experience

Kipling reached India in October of 1882. In November he began his journalistic work at The Civil and Military Gazette in Lahore. There he worked for four years under an exacting editor who believed that discipline and hard work best instructed a novice newspaperman. Kipling's initial assignment was quite concise: monitor reports from news agencies and convert them into copy for the morning edition. Cornell Price's lessons in précis-writing were quickly utilized. Soon afterwards, he began covering special assignments; including travel with political figures, social and political occasions, and minor military expeditions. He became acquainted with the inner workings of the caste-like structure that comprised English-Indian society. Official life, with all of its personal and social intrigues, became a source of rich material that was stored away for later stories.

In 1886, the twenty one year old Kipling began working under a new editor, Kay Robinson. Together, they attempted to brighten the format of the Gazette. It was decided that Kipling would author a series of 'turn-overs' --2000 word topical tracts written in the fashion of a gossip column. The 'turn-overs' were immediately successful. In 1888, they were compiled and published as Plain

Tales From the Hills. As another feature of the paper, Kipling wrote a series of verses called 'Bungalow Ballads.' These were also collected and published in book form as Departmental Ditties (1886). Though the verses were topical and provincial in their appeal, a number of copies were sent to England. Kipling's reputation as a writer, however, began to emerge in India as a result of these two works.

This growing popularity was the basis for Kipling's promotion to the Pioneer, a newspaper at Allahabad which had a much wider circulation. Here, he served as a roving reporter who was to supply fiction as well as edit a Sunday supplement entitled the Week's News. In this new capacity he was able to expand his fictional pieces to 5,000 words and write in a more leisurely fashion. Publishing rights to many of these stories printed in the Pioneer were obtained by A. H. Wheeler and Company, a firm holding extensive contracts with railway bookstands. Kipling's short stories were quickly released in 1888 as the first six volumes of the Indian Railway Library. The stories were published under the titles of Soldiers Three and Wee Willie Winkie.<sup>18</sup> The stories, which provided the

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix A for a complete listing of the short stories contained in each book as listed by Philip Mason in Kipling The Glass, The Shadow and the Fire (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975), pp. 315-319.

public with an intimate view of British life in India, were soon the daily reading of traveller and tourist alike. The name Kipling was quickly carried to Asia, America, and the Continent.

Kipling's return to India reunited him with his parents. Within a year his sister Trix rejoined them to complete the family unit. Kipling provided insight into these events:

That was a joyous home-coming. For--consider! --I had returned to a Father and Mother of whom I had seen but little since my sixth year . . . the Mother proved more delightful than all my imaginings or memories. My Father was not only a mine of knowledge and help, but a humorous, tolerant, and expert fellow-craftsman . . . I do not remember the smallest friction in any detail of our lives. We delighted more in each other's society than in that of strangers; and when my sister came out, a little later, our cup was filled to the brim. Not only were we happy, but we knew it.<sup>19</sup>

These happy times were interrupted only by the Indian summer when heat would send the senior Kiplings and Trix to the cool relief of a hill station. Rudyard remained behind to continue work on the Gazette. For him, these months meant illness and loneliness.

Within the confines of the family circle, Kipling received support and a great deal of professional stimulation. Drafts of his verse and stories were routinely reviewed by the family members. Their honest but nonetheless

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<sup>19</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, pp. 45-46.

gentle criticism served to refine the writing as well as offer incentive to continue the effort. Because of the stability Kipling found in this relationship, a number of Kipling scholars believe that Rudyard was motivated to produce several of his finest short stories during this period. This positive family relationship continued throughout his adult life.

Kipling ended his Indian sojourn in March of 1889 and sailed for London to pursue his career. During the voyage he discovered the intriguing life and ways of the sea; this was a topic which was to fascinate him throughout life and one which provided the theme for several stories. The voyage was a long one since Rudyard had chosen to return to England by way of America. Stops were made in Burma, Malaysia and Japan before docking in San Francisco. Kipling's reaction to America was one of ambivalence. He appreciated the independence, self-reliance and directness of the American character. He did not receive well the traits of lawlessness, ribaldry and brashness as he perceived them.<sup>20</sup> The negative side of these views were emphatically made known through interviews of Kipling and within his own writings. Though received as a visiting dignitary, Kipling's ill-judged comments forever alienated a portion of his American audience.

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<sup>20</sup>Mason, Kipling, p. 88.

## The Adult Years

After spending the summer travelling in America, Kipling sailed for England arriving there in October 1889. He was then twenty-four years old and acclaimed as a rising young author. He was quickly inducted into the Savile Club, a meeting place for writers, critics and publishers. Rights to the first six volumes of the Indian Railway Library were transferred to an English firm and reissued in London. In March of 1890, Kipling's entire collection was reviewed in The Times. The review thrust him into the eye of the general English public. Critics immediately acclaimed his literature for its "brilliance of vision, the mastery of words, and the compact, concentrated impact."<sup>21</sup> The reading public, meanwhile, was intrigued by his candid portrayal of the harshness of life in India and his frank treatment of extra-marital love affairs. Publishing firms and newspapers besieged him for more material.

This demand triggered one of the most productive and influential stages in the young author's career. He composed a series of verses which were later collected as Barrack-Room Ballads (1890); this new genre in poetry

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

widened Kipling's popularity. Four of his most masterful works were also released: "The Head of the District," "Dinah Shadd," "The Man Who Was," and "Without Benefit of Clergy." The Light That Failed, a full-length autobiographical novel, was finished in August of 1890. Substantial amounts of minor writings were also produced during the year. Though 1890 can be termed "Kipling's Year," it came at a price. Physical exhaustion, the emotional upheaval of two ill-fated romances and influenza drained the young man of his strength. On doctor's advice, he embarked on a long vacation.

Upon his return, Life's Handicap (1891), a collection of short stories flowing from his Indian experience, was released. This was followed by another novel, The Naulahka: A Story of West and East (1892) and Many Inventions (1893). The Jungle Book went to press in 1894 and was immediately followed by The Second Jungle Book (1895). The Seven Seas, a book of verse, was published in 1896. Captains Courageous (1897), a full length novel, The Day's Work (1898), and Stalky and Company (1899), both short story collections, rounded out his principal pieces during this decade.

Though Kipling's productivity propelled him into fame, it also brought him into a turbulent conflict with American publishers. American copyright law did not protect writings published in England. Kipling's work had

been pirated by American publishers since the release of Departmental Ditties (1886). Kipling, whose boom had been as extensive in America as in England, felt American publishers were getting rich on his work. In order to protect himself, Kipling reissued many of his works in authorized editions and included a number of writings that he would have preferred to fade from memory. Consequently, "this is the reason why his books of the early 'nineties contain some slight and trivial pieces, which his maturer judgment would have treated as ephemeral."<sup>22</sup>

Kipling's anger over these indignities was transferred to Harper Brothers Publishers, a reputable firm who had treated him cavalierly. A long feud erupted between Kipling and Harper Brothers; soon British literary figures were taking up sides. The invectiveness of Kipling's feeling can be seen in a satirical ballad entitled "The Rhyme of the Three Captains." In it, he describes the punishment he would have inflicted on the pirate and his allies had he been able:

I had nailed his ears to my capston-head,  
                     and ripped them off with a saw,  
 and soused them in bilgewater, and served them to  
                     him raw;

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<sup>22</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. 162.

I had flung him blind in a rudderless boat  
to rot in the rocking dock,  
I had towed him aft of his own craft,  
a bait for his brother shark . . . <sup>23</sup>

Though the ballad is effective satire, it is questionable whether Kipling had really been drained of hatred at Southsea. What is evident was that it deepened Kipling's mistrust for publishers and confirmed him in the belief that "a man must stand upon his own feet, make his own way in the world, be responsible to his own conscience for the value of his work."<sup>24</sup> The episode simply burned itself out and smoldered until the establishment of an international copyright law.

In January of 1892, Rudyard Kipling married Caroline Balestier, an American. Henry James, best man at the wedding, wrote to his brother William, a first hand account of the wedding:

I saw the Rudyard Kiplings off. . . the other day . . . She is a hard devoted capable little person whom I don't in the least understand his marrying. It's a union of which I don't forecast the future though I gave her away at the altar in a dreary little wedding with an attendance simply of four men--her mother and sister prostrate with influenza.

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<sup>23</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Rhyme of Three Captains," The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling vol. 25: Barrack Room Ballads (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Arms Press, 1970), p. 257.

<sup>24</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. 166.



Kipling strikes me personally as the most complete man of genius (as distinct from fine intelligence) that I have ever known.<sup>25</sup>

According to Carrington, "Carrie provided him with his creature comforts, shielded him from intruders, watched his health, kept his accounts, took charge of all his affairs with an irksome peculiarity."<sup>26</sup> Their marriage lasted for some forty-four years and provided him with the firm emotional base he long desired.

Within two weeks the Kiplings left on a journey that was to take them around the world. A description of their voyage and an insight into things to come is contained in The Education of Henry Adams:

Fate was kind on that voyage. Rudyard Kipling . . . thanks to the mediation of Henry James, dashed over the passenger his exuberant fountain of gaiety and wit--as though playing a garden hose on a thirsty and faded begonia. Kipling could hardly ever know what peace of mind he gave, for he could hardly ever need it himself so much; and yet, in the full delight of his endless fun and variety, one felt the old conundrum repeat itself. Somehow, somewhere, Kipling and the American were not one, but two and could not be glued together . . . .<sup>27</sup>

The voyage was briefly interrupted by a stop at Brattleboro,

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<sup>25</sup>Henry James to William James, 6 February, 1892. The Kipling Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (Hereafter cited as Kipling Collection, Harvard University.)

<sup>26</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. 194.

<sup>27</sup>Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, An Autobiography (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1927), p. 319.

Vermont, so that Carrie could visit her family and clear away some business. While there, Rudyard became enthralled with the Vermont countryside. He and Carrie quickly resolved that they would purchase several acres on the family property and return after their voyage to take up residence in Brattleboro.

Shortly thereafter, the young couple journeyed westward across Canada and embarked for Japan. Their stay in Japan ended abruptly when the bank housing his savings went bankrupt. In June of 1892, Kipling and his expectant wife hastened back to the United States. While there, Carrie's mother offered them a home at Brattleboro for a very reasonable rent. Kipling recalled the days there in Something of Myself, "We took it. We furnished it with a simplicity that fore-ran the hire-purchase system. . . we were extraordinarily and self-centeredly content."<sup>28</sup> In December of 1892, their first child, Josephine, was born. During this year, Kipling was occupied with providing a home for his family. It was here that the ideas for the Jungle Books began to be penned.

The Kiplings began building a new home in Brattleboro called the "Naulakha" during 1893. The English

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<sup>28</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 119.

royalties from Kipling's books soon re-established the family's finances. It was at "Naulakha" that Rudyard's second daughter, Elsie, was born. This period was one of the happiest of his life. Kipling lived on the assumption that Vermont had become his permanent home base. His days were spent collecting material and writing The Day's Work (1898) and Captains Courageous (1897), the latter his only book set entirely in America. Many Inventions (1893) was published during this period and the two Jungle Books were completely written and released as well.

His happiness was shattered in 1896 by a dispute with Carrie's brother, Beatty. Beatty was a well-known figure in Brattleboro -- known for his drinking, instability, violent temper and financial mismanagement. Though the Kiplings' and Beatty had developed a close and friendly relationship, a loud dispute erupted between them in 1896. At one point Kipling alleged that Beatty had threatened to murder him; Beatty was subsequently arrested. The trial was held during a period of very anti-British feeling.<sup>29</sup> The whole affair received extensive publicity and became a carnival-like event. Kipling became totally distraught

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<sup>29</sup> Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling Nobody Read," in Kipling's Mind and Art, ed. Andrew Rutherford (California: Stanford University Press, 1966) pp. 37-38.

over the invasion of his privacy and the humiliation that resulted from his cross-examination. As soon as the trial was brought to a favorable legal resolution, Kipling announced that he intended to leave the country. His departure can best be characterized as flight from a vengeful community and a vindictive press. Kipling was deeply hurt.

Kipling's years in America, 1892-1896, were a strange mix of frustration and affection. He desperately sought permanence in his life and yet wavered in his decision to settle in Brattleboro. He could not reconcile his admiration for the Americans' love of independence and their disrespect for privacy, their esteem for the successful, self-made man and their disdain for those whose customs were different from their own. The family quarrel finally convinced Kipling that his life was not compatible with the American character. They were not, however, futile years. It was a time in which Kipling gathered a mosaic of ideas for future works. His circle of friends included the future President Theodore Roosevelt, author and scholar, William James, and publisher, Frank Doubleday. These men assisted him in consolidating his philosophy and his fortune.

The Kipling family left America for England in August, 1896. They resided first at Torquay and then

Rottingdean again seeking a permanent home. In August of 1897, their son, John, was born. Because of business and personal affairs, the entire family returned to the United States in February, 1898. Shortly after their arrival in New York, they contracted pneumonia. It was a devastating ordeal. For weeks, Kipling struggled for his life. His first born, Josephine, died. According to Carrington, "Months passed before he recovered from his illness; from the shock of his daughter's death he never recovered; nor did Carrie . . . . Their family life . . . now became more exclusive."<sup>30</sup> As a result of his illness, doctors forbade Kipling to spend winters in the harsh English climate. After a recuperative period, Kipling returned to Britain. He never visited the States again.

Each winter for the next ten years, the Kiplings journeyed to South Africa. Here they established an intimate friendship with Cecil Rhodes. Rudyard quickly became an ardent admirer of Rhodes. He regarded him as a man of action, an extension of law and order, a leader of men. Both men exerted strong influence on each other. It was Kipling who articulated the dreams and beliefs Rhodes cherished. It was Rhodes who gave Kipling an understanding of South Africa. Kipling came to believe

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<sup>30</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. 289.

that South Africa would have a great future only if it became an independent country linked to England. He viewed all other South African nationals as enemies of progress--detriments to commercial and material growth. He portrayed the Dutch as backward-looking people who opposed the coming of civilization. He joined Rhodes in accusing the Dutch of discriminating against Englishmen living in the Africaner republics. The ideas of both men, well-respected by the British public, contributed to the growing anger toward the Africaners.

The African or Boer War erupted in 1899 as a struggle to unite all of the country under one flag. Kipling wrote to a friend:

They make no secret of their intentions. They want to sweep the English into the sea, to lick their own nigger and to govern South Africa with a gun instead of a ballot-box. It is only the Little Englanders in London who say that the Transvaal is merely fighting for independence; but out here both sides realize it is a question of which race is to run the country.<sup>31</sup>

Kipling believed that this was a war fought for control of a country, a war of national supremacy. It was not, he continued to emphasize, a question of white supremacy. His unwavering loyalty to England coupled with his outspoken reporting of the War consolidated his reputation as an imperialist author.

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<sup>31</sup>Rudyard Kipling to Doctor F. Conland, 20 February, 1901, The Carpenter Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

During the war years, Kipling became the bard of the British Army and Navy. His central theme was a doctrine of defense. He stated that the high quality of life and the period of peace that England had experienced during the nineties had been bought by men of courage and action. He maintained that the English way of life could only be preserved in the present and for the future if men were prepared to defend this life. England had to be prepared. Her young men had to be trained physically and intellectually to rise up in her defense. Self-reliance, confidence and readiness were to be the trademark of the English serviceman. He urged the young generation to volunteer a year of military service to their country. His idealism and spirit touched the emotions of the common man.

Unfortunately, Kipling soon realized that these qualities were lacking in the young British soldiers. Though he did not question their courage or endurance, it was apparent that they were untrained, physically unfit and wholly lacking initiative. Three thousand British casualties were suffered during the first three battles of the Boer war. Kipling plunged into remedying the situation. He began organizing a chain of rifle clubs throughout England. He visited the front and wrote realistic accounts of the battles. He glorified soldiers and preached war. Royalties from several writings were given to a soldier's fund. Much of the work published was political and

unadulterated patriotism. Among these, The Five Nations (1903), is a collection of his Boer War verse. The bard of the Boer War emerged as the bard of the Empire.

Kipling published several other works during the war years. Kim, his last novel, was published in 1901. The Just So Stories were released the following year. Kipling's world reputation continued to spiral and the sale of his books expanded from one country to another. Ironically, however, his prestige within the literary world began to decline. A number of liberal writers and critics who were intellectually important, found Kipling's support of the Boer War intolerable. They questioned its justice and attacked Kipling for his emotional rather than intellectual assessment of the causes. In return, Kipling's disdain for intellectuals intensified.<sup>32</sup>

Other early supporters asserted that Kipling was not maturing as an author. Henry James, a long-time friend, best stated Kipling's limitations as he saw them:

His talent I think diabolically great; . . . But my view of his prose has much shrunken in the light of one's increasingly observing how little of life he can make use of. Almost nothing civilized save steam and patriotism . . . He has come down steadily from the simple in subject to the more simple --from the Anglo-Indians to the natives, from the natives to the Tommies, from the Tommies to the quadrupeds, from the quadrupeds to the fish, and from the fish to the engines and screws.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Mason, Kipling, p. 148.

<sup>33</sup>Henry James to Miss Grace Norton, 25 December, 1897, The Kipling Collection, Harvard University.



Kipling believed firmly that each man had to measure his own art. He continued drafting works of realism rather than following the then fashionable "art for arts sake" mentality. As a reaction against wartime patriotism began to grip England, Kipling's popularity continued to wane. Carrington notes, "it was an end of an epoch for him as for the Empire."<sup>34</sup>

In 1902, the Kiplings purchased a home in Sussex and ended their long years of rootlessness. Kipling wrote to his friend, C. E. Norton:

We left Rottingdean because Rottingdean was getting too populated . . . . Then we discovered England which we had never done before . . . and went to live in it. England is a wonderful land. It is the most marvelous of all foreign countries that I have ever been in. It is made up of trees and green fields and mud and the gentry, and at last I'm one of the gentry . . . .<sup>35</sup>

Kipling's life centered around his home, his family and his writings. Kipling finally experienced the security of family life which he had longed for. From the family square and his friends he received the emotional support he needed. The world outside became irrelevant and inconsequential to Kipling. Though urged to run as a Conservative candidate for Parliament, Kipling refused. During these quiet years he penned Traffics and Discoveries (1904), Puck of Pook's Hill (1906), Actions

<sup>34</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. 370.

<sup>35</sup>Rudyard Kipling to C. E. Norton, 30 November, The Kipling Collection, Harvard University.

and Reactions (1909), and Rewards and Fairies (1910).

In 1907, Kipling became the first Englishman named to receive the Nobel Prize for literature. Although he systematically rejected all political awards and positions, he did accept the Prize and numerous other academic honors.

The tranquillity of Sussex was shattered by the outbreak of World War I. England was again caught with her defenses down and the first months of the War were disastrous. Kipling was urged by government officials to write "propaganda." He refused the task. His son, John, then seventeen, quickly enlisted in the Irish Guards as a second lieutenant. In August of 1915, he departed for the front. A telegram, arriving on October 2, 1915, announced that John was missing in action. Though a search was pursued, John was never found even though the circumstances of his death were established. The family withdrew into the strength of one another. Rudyard and Carrie, however, soon plunged themselves into wartime work. Except for writing the History of the Irish Guard, Kipling's pen was silenced.

After the death of his son, Kipling was never able to regain the zest for life which had characterized his earlier years. Failing health began to overtake him. Though his international popularity continued, he published fewer and fewer works. He strove during these years to perfect a complex style in his writings. A book of verse,

The Years Between (1919), Land and Sea Tales (1923), Debits and Credits (1926), A Book of Words (1928), Limits and Renewals (1932), and his autobiography, Something of Myself (posthumously, 1937), culminated his literary career. Rudyard Kipling died on January 18, 1936, at the age of 71. He was buried in Poet's Corner of Westminster Abbey. Ironically, because of an eclipse of reputation, no member of the literary world attended the funeral.

During his lifetime, Rudyard Kipling published four novels, two hundred and fifty short stories and over one thousand pages of verse. His publications first appeared in 1886, reached a zenith during the eighteen nineties and culminated in 1932. Throughout this period, his reputation among literary critics was violently controversial. In 1891, Andrew Lang wrote, "Mr. Kipling's volumes no sooner reached England than the people into whose hands they fell were certain that here were the beginnings of a new literary force."<sup>36</sup> A Kipling opponent, Robert Buchanan, published a cryptic review of Kipling's work stating: "He is on the side of all that is ignorant, selfish, base, and brutal in the

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<sup>36</sup>Andrew Lang, "Mr. Kipling's Stories," in Kipling and the Critics, ed. Elliot L. Gilbert (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 2.

instincts of humanity."<sup>37</sup> Later Kipling's association with the South African war and his imperialist political philosophy clouded the literary assessments made of his writings. It was not until 1941 that a serious reappraisal of Kipling began when T. S. Eliot referred to Kipling as a "neglected celebrity."

Rudyard Kipling's literary survival and accomplishment, however, has always rested upon the reading public. He won popular acclaim with the publication of Soldiers Three (1890) and Barrack Room Ballads (1892). The realism which permeated his writings gathered momentum with each new publication and bound the public to him. For this reason, Kipling's authorized works remained classified as best-sellers for twenty years after his death.<sup>38</sup> At the present time, all of his major works are still in print and available to the public.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Robert Buchanan, "The Voice of the Hooligan," in Kipling and the Critics, p. 25.

<sup>38</sup>Carrington, Rudyard Kipling, p. xxi.

<sup>39</sup>Due to the magnitude of Kipling's writings, several appendices have been utilized to organize the material and assist the writer. His principal works, cited in Appendix A, were adapted from Mason, Kipling, pp. 315-319. Appendix B is an annotated, chronological list of all of Kipling's writings. This Appendix appeared in Bonamy Dobree's Rudyard Kipling (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951), pp. 34-40. Appendix C provides an alphabetical listing of his prose as indexed by Dobree in Rudyard Kipling, pp. 43-55.

Generally, Kipling's books are compilations of short stories or verse. Though some of these are thematically bound together, many are loosely associated, difficult to categorize and unrelated to the purpose of this dissertation. Consequently, only those works related to the paper's thesis will be reviewed in the succeeding pages.

### Review of Related Writings

Stalky and Co. (1899) was Kipling's most extensive educational publication and contained his pedagogical beliefs. He wrote that he started Stalky "as some tracts or parables on the education of the young," which "for reasons honestly beyond my control, turned themselves into a series."<sup>40</sup> Most of the episodes in Stalky flowed from the real world of Kipling's schooldays at Westward Ho! He shaped the raw material of his and his friends exploits into good reading. Every story became an object lesson: how to bluff out of a tight spot; how to deal with a bully; how to save one's skin; how to unglue an over-confident enemy; how to turn advantage to disadvantage. Each story is carefully structured for adaptation to adult life--in the service of one's country.

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<sup>40</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 144.

Stalky and Co. differed significantly from earlier school boy novels such as Tom Brown's Schooldays and Eric in that its hero was the school rather than a central character. Kipling's aim was to write about public school education and ideals; not about certain boys who happened to go to school. In Stalky and Co. the school was an active protagonist in shaping individual personalities in accordance with or, by default, in opposition to its ideals.<sup>41</sup> It was the school which inspired the stories that emerged and this concept startled the critics.

Upon publication, the stories "were regarded as irreverent, not true to life and rather 'brutal.'"<sup>42</sup> Kipling had been one of the originators of the new realism in literature that began during the nineties. He brought this technique to bear on public school life and destroyed some of the myths enveloping the schools. Shocked critics launched the counter-attack described above by Kipling. The general public, however, was captivated by the stories. It must be emphasized here that the Stalky stories portrayed life at an atypical public school and in a fictional format. Nonetheless, they did express the educational philosophy of Rudyard Kipling.

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<sup>41</sup>Edward Mack, Public Schools and British Public Opinion Since 1860 (Connecticut: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1941), pp. 142-143.

<sup>42</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 144.

Several other short stories relating to education as the agent of imperialism appeared in various Kipling collections. "Regulus" (A Diversity of Creatures), "The United Idolators" and "The Propagation of Knowledge" (Debits and Credits) and "Stalky" (Land and Sea Tales) each conveyed lessons and examples similar to those in Stalky and Co. These writings are, in fact, based on the character of Stalky. "The Brushwood Boy" (The Day's Work) delineates Kipling's concept of the perfect young man. George Cottar, the central figure, epitomizes the imperial man--unhampered by family ties, strong physically and psychologically, and totally service-oriented. Several pages in this piece describe Cottar's life at a public school. Here, again, a glimpse of education for empire-building is revealed.

Kipling provides the antithesis to George Cottar in "Dayspring Mishandled" (Limits and Renewals). It is a story about revenge and retribution which develops into a classic example of education that has failed. The story focuses on two young men Castorley and Manallace, who eek out a living by writing serial type romances. One of these, Castorley, manages to become independent and, in time, establishes himself as a Chaucerian scholar. He develops into a selfish, conceited pedant. The body of the work weaves an elaborate intrigue that leaves Castorley disgraced and Manallace's hatred for him avenged.

Within the piece, Kipling produces an incisive study of a character dwarfed by academia.

"The Education of Otis Yeere" (Under the Deodars) depicts the traits possessed by the successful agent of imperialism as differentiated from the mediocre civil servant. Two women, veterans of the English-Indian society, break the monotony of summer in a hill station by nurturing the career of a nondescript man, Otis Yeere. As the summer progresses, Yeere's character is altered and the attributes of a leader emerge. The story is subtle, yet powerful, in exposing the fibre of man upon which the Empire is founded. Kipling's piece "If", published in Rewards and Fairies, also succinctly summarizes similar characteristics.

A Book of Words, which is a compilation of Kipling's speeches, contains several selections that give further insight into the author's educational theories. In "The Classics and the Sciences," he weighs the compatibility and necessity for each of these branches of knowledge. "The Uses of Reading" again touches on the value of the classics, but deals particularly with the role literature assumes in education. Kipling returns to a delineation of the model Englishman in "England and the English," "The War and the Colleges" and "Independence." Frequent references to education are found in a number of



selections within this book, since many of these speeches were given at universities.

Kim, Kipling's last major work dealing with India, provides an insight into the education of indigenous peoples. Kim is presently recognized as one of Kipling's most artistic accomplishments, and has been described by the author himself as having "a good deal of beauty in it, and not a little wisdom."<sup>43</sup> The story unfolds around Kim, an orphaned English-Indian boy, who is unaware of his English background. The plot, the education of Kim as a police spy, is actually irrelevant to the novel. The reader's interest is rather centered upon Kim's relationship to several adults and the sights, smells and sounds he experiences in India. Kim becomes caught between his two cultures: life on the Grand Trunk Road and the English life he discovers at Saint Xavier's school. The ethos of the story rests in his own search for self-identity.

Kipling's concept of native education is intricately woven into the relationships Kim cements with a Lama and several Indian characters. Throughout the novel, the reader is aware of the educational process Kim is undergoing. When Kim's English heritage is discovered and he is sent to a private, English school, the contrast

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 152.

between educational styles is more clearly brought into focus. His own dual identity and the responses he makes to it, further strengthen that contrast.

Several other pieces also depict Kipling's position on native education. The poem "Kitchener's School" provides a "tongue-in-cheek" observation of his philosophy. His "White Man's Burden," "One View of the Question," "The Man Who Was" and "The Head of the District" also offer a more indirect assessment. Coupled with Kim, these writings substantially reflect Kipling's attitude toward the entire subject.

Kipling's work itself, belies his reputation as an imperialist author. In Something of Myself, he states the germination of his ideas:

Bit by bit my original notion grew into a vast, vague, conspectus--Army and Navy Stores List if you like--of the whole sweep and meaning of these things and efforts and origins throughout the Empire. I visualized it, as I do most ideas, in the shape of a semi-circle of buildings and temples projecting into a sea--of dreams.<sup>44</sup>

Interestingly enough, imperialistic statements are evident in the vast majority of Kipling's publications, including his books for children.

The Empire is a major theme in both his prose and his verse. Within his prose, there are stories on South

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

Africa, the Sudan ("Little Foxes") and Central Africa ("A Deal in Cotton") as well as his Indian tales. Imperial themes are evident in From Sea to Sea, Letters of Travel, and his South African verses, The Five Nations. Indirect references are found in the Stalky stories, "The Mother Hive" and "The Church at Antioch." Barrack Room Ballads and Soldiers Three also belong to this category.

Kipling's imperial philosophy is clearly bound to several central themes. One of these themes, the puritan work ethic is evident in "Wireless," "His Private Honour," "The Honours of War," "My Son's Wife," "The Bridge Builders" and Captains Courageous. Kipling's attitude toward leadership emerges in "The Ballad of East and West," "A Deal in Cotton," "The Children of the Zodiac" and Rewards and Fairies. His concept, as he states it of 'The Law', which is central to his political philosophy, is enunciated in the Jungle Books, Letters of Travel and "A Song of the English." Lastly, the right of the English to rule is substantiated in "The Head of the District," "One View of the Question," "Without Benefit of Clergy," "The Song of Seven Cities," "On the City Wall," "At The End of the Passage," and "The Man Who Would Be King." The interrelatedness of these writings with Kipling's vision of imperialism constitutes a major portion of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### AN IMPERIALIST'S THEORY OF FORMAL EDUCATION

#### Influences Toward Imperialism

Rudyard Kipling's place as a literary figure has been blurred by a pervasive imperial bias within his writings. Noel Annan stated this succinctly when he wrote "Criticism has not yet come to terms with Kipling: the man and his work symbolise a part of British political and social history about which his countrymen have an uneasy conscience."<sup>1</sup> His works have raised moral and political issues with such urgency that he is still regarded as reflecting British imperialism at its meanest level. To assess Kipling as a popular educator, one must, however, clearly enunciate his imperial beliefs for it is from these that his educational views are derived. To accomplish this, several questions must be posed. What motivated Kipling to espouse Late Victorian imperialism? What tenets were central to his political system--was he a crude racist, a territorial or economic expansionist, a proselytizer, or a blatant aggressor? What would be the benefit of British imperial rule to both the English and

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<sup>1</sup>Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas," in Kipling's Mind and Art, (California: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 97.

their subject people? Was British imperialism seen as a permanent state or a transitory phase? The first section of this chapter will examine Kipling's life and writings to answer each of these questions. The second section will then relate his imperial views to his formal educational opinions contained in public addresses as well as private and public letters.

Kipling's imperialism grew, somewhat effortlessly, out of the circumstances of his early life. He was born in India and spent the first six years of his childhood there. During this period his life seems to have been dominated by native Indian servants who began to impart to him the culture and mystique of India. These loyal, docile, and affectionate servants established for him the model of the Indian native and the prototype of a subject people.<sup>2</sup>

Kipling's Indian experience further influenced him when he returned to India at age seventeen to launch his journalistic career. On the return voyage, he passed through the Suez Canal and saw the base camp from which Garnet Wolsely had, less than three weeks before, launched a campaign that made the English masters of Egypt. This

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<sup>2</sup>Louis Cornell, Kipling In India (New York: Saint Martin Press, 1966), pp. 2-3.

single event unleashed the scramble for Africa. Kipling saw just enough to stimulate his imagination, "the straight line of the Canal, the blazing sands, the procession of shipping, and the white hospitals where the English soldiers lay."<sup>3</sup> He experienced from its inception the new imperialism which gripped the minds of Englishmen for over twenty years.

At the time of his arrival in India, Kipling appeared to be relatively free of any strong political views.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, he quickly adapted himself to the English community in India. "This was the setting," he wrote, "in which my world revolved. Its centre for me-- a member at seventeen--was the Punjab Club, where bachelors, for the most part, gathered to eat meals of no merit among men whose merit they knew well."<sup>5</sup> It was here that he assimilated the modes of thought, feeling, and behavior of British-Indo society; attitudes which had evolved during the long period of British presence in India.

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<sup>3</sup>Rudyard Kipling as quoted in Charles Carrington, Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Works (London: Macmillan and Company, Limited, 1955), p. 46.

<sup>4</sup>Two Kipling scholars, Louis Cornell in Kipling In India, pp. 60-61 and Charles Carrington in Rudyard Kipling, p. 40, stress this point.

<sup>5</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Something of Myself For My Friends Known and Unknown (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1937), p. 48.

Early English relations with India had been founded upon commercial interests and were symbolized by the respect and tolerance that exists between merchant, supplier, and consumer. English-Indian attitudes developed and changed, however, from one generation to another. English military power was soon experienced by India. The passing of time brought with it a growing estrangement between both peoples. Kipling's India was best characterized by mistrust: the British community generally distrusted their native subjects, ridiculed their abilities, viewed Indian traditions with disdain, and exhibited a sense of innate superiority. Avenues for native assimilation into government or English society were virtually non-existent.<sup>6</sup> A reform movement, however, was afoot for a more efficient and beneficent governing of the Indian people. Few Englishmen, however, questioned the right of Britain to rule. W.W. Hunter, a liberal, articulated the prevailing attitude in this regard:

If . . . we find that our countrymen have not failed in their splendid and difficult task; if we find that British rule in India means order in place of anarchy . . . then I think that Great Britain may with a firm heart, continue to accept the great responsibility

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<sup>6</sup>William H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee, A Short History of India (London: Longmans Press, 1936) provide an excellent summary of Indian history.

which has fallen to her, and that she may calmly face each new duty that responsibility involves.<sup>7</sup>

In fine, the English community resident in India sought to transplant its own institutions, life-style and values into the Indian continent.

Though pressure for national unification with complete self government was beginning to swell, the English in India continued to concentrate their energies upon improving the efficiency of their rule.<sup>8</sup> The rising tide of Indian nationalism seemed to go unnoticed by the English community resident in India. Life at the Punjab Club in 1882 reflected this state of affairs as well as the attitudes already described. The views of the Club became the sum of Kipling's perspective and remained so throughout his life.

One incident occurred at the Club that remained strong within Kipling's memory. At the time he returned to India, in 1882, Lord Ripon, a sensitive and idealistic liberal, ruled India as Viceroy and representative of the Gladstone government. Indians looked to Ripon with the hope that he would build a new social and political order. He met their confidence with action by immediately initi-

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<sup>7</sup>William Wilson Hunter, England's Work In India (London: Smith, Elder, 1881), p. 2.

<sup>8</sup>Cornell, Kipling In India, pp. 49-51.



ating a series of social reforms. Within months of Kipling's arrival in India, Ripon proposed the Ilbert Bill, legislation designed to give Indians full judicial authority in India. In essence, this meant that Englishmen could now be tried by native judges. The English community vehemently denounced the proposed bill. The local press, including Kipling's Civil and Military Gazette, aroused a public outcry against Ripon. Kipling wrote, "Our paper, like most of the European press, began with stern disapproval of the measure, and I fancy, published much comment and correspondence which would now be considered 'disloyal'."<sup>9</sup> The parent newspaper, the Pioneer, being dependent on government sources for much of its information, brought pressure on the Gazette to soften its position and support Lord Ripon. Kipling provides the personal consequences:

. . . I repaired to the Club which, remember, was the whole of my outside world. As I entered the long, shabby dining-room where we all sat at one table, everyone hissed. I was innocent to ask: "What's the joke? Who are they hissing?" "You," said the man at my side. "Your damn rag has ratted over the Bill."

It is not pleasant to sit still when one is twenty while all your universe hisses you . . . but I had seen a great light . . . I was a hireling, paid to do, and--I did not relish the idea.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

It is significant that this incident stands so clearly in Kipling's memory, since it is at this point that he first publicly identified himself with the common values of the British community in India. This marked the beginning of his life long association with conservative politics.

The time and place of Kipling's education further contributed to his imperial beliefs. Although the United Services College was not militaristic in style, it had been established to provide inexpensive education for the sons of army and naval officers serving overseas. Most of its students were preparing to embark on military or civil service careers. Both the family experiences and aspirations of the students at the College were permeated by a sense of empire-building. During Kipling's years at the College (1876-1882), the Russo-Turkish war occurred, Indian troops fought at Malta, Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, British control was extended to Transvaal, Cyprus and Egypt, and jingoism began to raise its head.<sup>11</sup> Each of these events affected on the English people, giving them a growing sense of superiority and mission to uncivilized nations. One must question whether young Kipling could have escaped their influence.

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<sup>11</sup>R.R. Palmer and Joel Colton, A History of the Modern World (New York: Albert A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 631-635.

Kipling's world travels, described in Chapter II, also reinforced his belief in Britain's imperial mission. These trips enabled him to glimpse varying forms of government and the quality of life each form bestowed on its citizenry. These experiences coalesced his belief in the superiority of the British political system and gave rise to a pervasive mistrust of popular government. In 1888, shortly after leaving India, Kipling journeyed to Japan and wrote "Japan is the second Oriental country which has made it impossible for a strong man to govern alone. This she has done of her own free will."<sup>12</sup> Kipling's statements on America carry this theme further. Though his views of the American people and political system changed during periods of his life, his most authoritative statement appeared in From Sea to Sea (1920).

Turn now to the August spectacle of a Government of the people, by the people, for the people, as it is understood in the city of San Francisco. Professor Bryce's book will tell you that every American citizen over twenty-one years of age possesses a vote. He may not know how to run his own business, control his wife, or instil reverence into his children, may

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<sup>12</sup>Rudyard Kipling, The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling vol. 17: From Sea to Sea (Garden City: Doubleday, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Ams Press, 1970), p. 364.

be a pauper, half-crazed with drink, bankrupt, dissolute, or merely a born fool; but he has a vote.<sup>13</sup>

This anti-democratic tone recurs in Kipling's writings, most frequently in his American writing.

During his travels, Kipling developed potent friendships with several of the leading imperialists of the time: Cecil Rhodes, Lord Milner, and W.E. Henly. He shared with these men a common belief in the imperial mission of the British Empire. Henly edited a conservative, patriotic newspaper, The National Observer, to which Kipling frequently contributed articles during the 1890's. From 1900 to 1907 Kipling wintered in South Africa. Much of this time was spent in a home built by Rhodes and adjoining his estate. Their friendship became so firm that Kipling described himself as a "purveyor of Rhodes' words."<sup>14</sup> It was also at this time that Kipling met Lord Milner, one of the foremost Indian Proconsuls and one of England's most outstanding imperial administrators. At the time of Milner's death, it was Kipling who was called upon to eulogize him. Scholars of the Late-Victorian period generally

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 404-405. Kipling is referring to Professor James Bryce and his book The American Commonwealth (1888) which is a classic text on American politics and society. Bryce was an Englishman who was a close observer of American democracy.

<sup>14</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 185.

agree that a comraderie existed between many of these leading imperial thinkers which served to strengthen the bond of ideas that already united them.<sup>15</sup>

A final force that affected Kipling's political opinions was his family background. Two strong characteristics are evident in the MacDonald clan: their Methodist religious heritage and their involvement in the Pre-Raphaelite tradition. Though Kipling was not a practicing Christian, he did describe himself as a "political Calvinist."<sup>16</sup> His writings reveal a tendency to preach and moralize. Both of these strains, however, are more intricately bound to political views rather than religious beliefs per se. It was to the virtues of Empire that he brought a religious tone. "Recessional" best illustrates this point:

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

The tumult and the shouting dies;  
 The Captains and the Kings depart:  
 Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,  
 An humble and a contrite heart.

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<sup>15</sup>Richard Faber, The Vision and the Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), pp. 115-116.

<sup>16</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 237.

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,  
Lest we forget--lest we forget!

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

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

For heathen heart that puts her trust  
In reeking tube and iron shard,  
All valiant dust that builds on dust,  
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard.  
For frantic boast and foolish word--  
Thy mercy on Thy People, Lord!<sup>17</sup>

Kipling's need for mission was entwined within his belief in imperialism and provided a *raison d'etre* to both his personal life and professional career. As a result, political didacticism was apparent in his works.

The Pre-Raphaelite movement placed much stress on craftsmanship. Kipling, in many of his writings, was preoccupied with work and machines. He often described men in terms of the work they performed, and it was there, within work, that a man found both energy and discipline. For Kipling, a man's importance and salvation was intricately bound to the work he did and, as such, work became

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<sup>17</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Recessional," in A Choice of Kipling's Verse, comp. T.S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), pp. 139-140.

a justifiable end in itself. His character Castorelly, the Chaucer expert in "Dayspring Mishandled," articulated this concept clearly. He stated "sometimes he would break from his obsession and prove how a man's work will try to save the soul of him."<sup>18</sup> The weight that Kipling placed on work and its discipline coincided with the imperial tenets of efficient administration and sense of duty. More will be said about this in a later section of this chapter.

When Kipling returned to England in 1889, he found a political climate quite foreign to him. From 1885 to 1900, Great Britain, France, and Germany had vied with each other for territory in Africa. Englishmen imagined a British Africa extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo. Initial efforts to realize this dream were frustrated, however. At Majuba the British army was defeated and surrendered shortly afterward to the Boers. In 1882, General Gordon led an Egyptian expedition into the Upper Nile, hoping to extend English rule to the area. Gordon was killed and his troops were defeated at Khartoum by

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<sup>18</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Dayspring Mishandled," The English in England with an introduction by Randall Jarrell (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963; reprint ed., Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1972) p. 322.

Moslem forces. Morale in England was devastated by these setbacks.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, the Irish question was becoming increasingly difficult to contain. Irish members of Parliament, dissatisfied with English rule, were obstructing the work of the House of Commons. To allay some of these Irish grievances, Prime Minister Gladstone attempted to establish Home Rule for the Irish in 1886. In doing so, he split both his Liberal Party and the English people over the issue since Home Rule was viewed as tantamount to politically dividing the British Isles.<sup>20</sup> It was to this state of frustration and disillusionment that Kipling returned with his first-hand experience of empire-building in India. For the imperialist, he came at an opportune moment. Armed with the wealth of experience provided by India, he was able to rekindle the English belief in their imperial mission.

By 1893, Kipling had clearly become the "prophet of British Imperialism in its expansionistic period."<sup>21</sup> Each of the influences described provided Rudyard Kipling

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<sup>19</sup>Palmer and Colton, A History of the Modern World, pp. 636-644.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 584-585.

<sup>21</sup>George Orwell, "Rudyard Kipling," in Kipling's Mind and Art, p. 97.





The Jungle Books seemed to closely parallel the traditional understanding of natural law--responsibility according to one's station in life and according to one's nature. He does not, however, clearly define "The Law." In "The Miracle of Purun Baghot," he stressed the necessity of living under some type of law. Here, he portrayed a retired Indian Prime Minister deferring to a native policeman. "He salaamed reverently to the law, because he knew the value of it, and was seeking for a law of his own."<sup>24</sup>

But what was obedience to "the Law" supposed to achieve for the Empire? Kipling's answer emerges in the lines already quoted from "The Song of the English." Like Roman rule it was to maintain order and advance civilization. The public services provided by the civil service were to improve the standard of living. "Clear the land of evil, drive the road, bridge the ford." Public works were viewed by Kipling as a major objective of empire-building. If such improvement did not occur, he considered the Empire to be a failure. This point is clearly portrayed in "Judson and the Empire" in which Kipling is thought to have characterized the Portuguese in East Africa:

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

They had built no roads. Their towns were rotting under their hands; they had no trade worth the freight of a crazy steamer, and their sovereignty ran almost one musket-shot inland when things were peaceful.<sup>25</sup>

Kipling decried this state of affairs as symbolizing a "half-bankrupt wreck of a once-great empire."<sup>26</sup> Justice and peace rounded out the qualities of life under "The Law." In *Letters of Travel*, he maintained that "In a heathen land the three things that are supposed to be pillars of moderately decent government are regard for human life, justice criminal and civil, . . . and good roads."<sup>27</sup> Thus, Kipling subscribed to the tenet that efficient administration was the earmark of a thriving empire. From this, one can develop a definition of "The Law," as those individual or corporate actions that extend the progress of civilization.

Kipling further believed that individuals achieved harmony and integrity within their own life by living obedient to "The Law." The story "Only a Subaltern" begins with a quotation from the Bengali Army Manual:

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<sup>25</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Judson and the Empire," The Complete Works of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 5: Many Inventions, p. 389.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>27</sup>Rudyard Kipling, The Complete Works of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 19: Letters of Travel, 1892-1913, pp. 20-21.

. . . Not only to enforce by command, but to encourage by example the energetic discharge of duty and the steadfast endurance of the difficulties and privations inseparable from military service.<sup>28</sup>

Devotion to one's duty or work, endurance, and fortitude bestowed both identity and integrity upon men. Findlayson, a member of the Indian Civil Service realized this in "The Bridge-Builders:"

The bridges failure . . . meant everything--everything that made a hard life worth living. They would say, the men of his own profession . . . he remembered the half-pitying things that he himself had said when Lockhart's new water-works had burst . . . and Lockhart's spirit broke in him and he died.<sup>29</sup>

Findlayson's native foreman stated summarily "My honour is the honour of this bridge."<sup>30</sup> Unremitting work and sacrifice was the most meaningful activity for the servant of the Empire. By sharing in it, the individual contributed to the happiness of others, and achieved and sustained his own integrity. The harder and more difficult the task, the more fully man's power and energy were called forth. Within this process, Kipling maintained that the individual became more aware of himself, his value became more evident

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<sup>28</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Only a Subaltern," Wee Willie Winkie (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1915)p. 95.

<sup>29</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Bridge-Builders," The Days Work (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1971) pp. 20-21.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

to others and a sense of personal identity and integrity surged forward. Captains Courageous (1897) thoroughly portrays this concept.

Kipling carried this process to its conclusion in the concept of a "political elect." He envisioned Empire primarily from the viewpoint of the ruler. He believed ruling was an art that had to be studied and practiced by qualified people. Some individuals, therefore, were to rule while others were to obey. In either situation, it was incumbent that each group respect the rights of the other and that such respect would abound between and within both groupings. But what benefits would Empire bestow upon the ruling class--the soldier or administrator? The value of Empire resided in the uplifting effect it had on the British imperialist. Empire was to be admired and extended because of the sacrifices, responsibilities and the moral qualities it called forth from its servants. Thus, in effect, the soldier or civil servant was "purified" in serving the Empire and the concept of an "elect" emerges.

Kipling never questioned the right of the British to rule an empire. He believed that they, above all other nationalities, were ordained to this end. British civilization had achieved a level which could benefit humanity

in general. Its form of government, technology and social institutions had matured and offered to less civilized cultures a better quality of life. Kipling maintained that India exemplified the benefits of English imperial rule. In addition, he thought that the country produced men who were worthy to be rulers. He was convinced that a job belongs to the man who can do it best.<sup>31</sup> Englishmen, disciplined to duty, trained to administer an effective government abounded in the military and the civil service. Consequently, he used the poem "Recessional" to exhort the English people to accept the mission of extending "The Law" to "lesser breeds without the Law,"<sup>32</sup> whether that implied a less civilized European or non-European culture.

The question then arises as to whether Rudyard Kipling was a racist. Certainly, it must be admitted that he did adhere to the superiority of the British. In "The Man Who Would Be King" Don Dravot speaks of the people of Kafiristan:

I won't make a nation . . . I'll make an Empire!  
 These men aren't Niggers; they're English! Look  
 at their eyes--Look at their mouths. Look at the

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<sup>31</sup>Edward Shanks, Rudyard Kipling: A Study in Literature and Political Ideas (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1940; reprint ed., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970), pp. 81-86.

<sup>32</sup>Kipling, "Recessional," in A Choice of Kipling's Verse, p. 140.

way they stand up. They sit on chairs in their own houses. They're the Last Tribes, or something like it, and they've grown to be English.<sup>33</sup>

This theme recurs throughout "The Song of the English" and "The Song of Seven Cities." In an address at Winchester College in 1915, Kipling reflected:

Being who you are, you realize what your foundation has taught its scholars from the beginning--that as Freedom is indispensable, so is Liberty impossible to a gentleman. This is knowledge which will serve you when you must go out into a world whose every landmark has been violently removed, and every distinction save one--an aristocracy of blood--emptied of all significance.<sup>34</sup>

Without doubt, then, Kipling viewed the English as a chosen people and exhibited a racial patriotism that was common to Late-Victorian imperialists.

One must be cautious, however, not to categorize Rudyard Kipling as an unrelenting racist. He contended that the English did have an "aristocracy of blood" and that Empire was morally uplifting to the English character. However, he also asserted that it was incumbent upon Britain to build an Empire since she had the resources, both material and human, to be a force for good in underdeveloped

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<sup>33</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Man Who Would Be King." In The Vernacular: The English In India with an Introduction by Randall Jarrell (Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1970), p. 207.

<sup>34</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The War and the Schools," A Book of Words: Selections From Speeches and Addresses Delivered Between 1906 and 1927 (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1928; reprint ed., New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 116.

countries. He was convinced that every country with such resources shared this responsibility. Thus, he admonished the United States:

Take up the White Man's Burden--  
 Send forth the best ye breed--  
 Go bind your sons to exile  
 To serve your captives' need;

To wait in heavy harness  
 On fluttered folk and wild--  
 Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
 Half devil and Half child.

Take up the White Man's burden--  
 In patience to abide,  
 To veil the threat of terror  
 And check the show of pride;  
 By open speech and simple,  
 an hundred times made plain,  
 To seek another's profit,  
 And work another's gain.<sup>35</sup>

Kipling's major thesis in this regard appears to be relatively clear: Those who saw the need had the moral responsibility to fulfill it. For Kipling, duty placed unselfish demands on the servants of the Empire.

Kipling's theory of strong men indicates that he believed that leadership was a product of character rather than race or nationality. In "The Ballad of East and West" he wrote:

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain  
 shall meet,

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<sup>35</sup>Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," A Choice of Kipling's Verse, p. 136.



Till earth and Sky stand presently at God's great  
 Judgment seat;  
 But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed  
 nor Birth,  
 When two strong men stand face to face, though  
 they come from the ends of the Earth.<sup>36</sup>

It must be pointed out that throughout his work, Kipling recognized that the boundaries of color-caste were crossed only by exceptional individuals. He further realized that children were unsullied by racial prejudices. In his poem "We and They" a child notes:

All good people agree,  
 And all good people say,  
 All nice people, like Us, are We  
 And every one else is They:  
 But if you cross over the sea,  
 Instead of over the way,  
 You may end by (think of it!) looking on We  
 As only a sort of They!<sup>37</sup>

Within the poem, recognition is also given to the fact that in adulthood biases become firmly fixed.

While addressing the Royal Society of Saint George in 1920, Kipling declared "their mixed origin, too, made the English in a very real sense 'akin to all the universe,' and sympathetic in their dumb way with remote Gods and

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<sup>36</sup>Kipling, "The Ballad of East and West," A Choice of Kipling's Verse, p. 111.

<sup>37</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "We and They." Debits and Credits (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926), p. 328.

strange people."<sup>38</sup> Though he saw this "mixed origin" as beneficial to the English, he did not promote the concept of assimilation generally. He held that a white man should remain white and the native remain native. The English version of this theme is evident in "A Deal in Cotton" and "The Man Who Would Be King." In "One View of the Question" an aristocratic Muslim explained:

It is the desire of some of these men . . . that our lands and people should accurately resemble those of the English upon this very day. May God, the Contemner of such Folly, forbid!<sup>39</sup>

In Kipling's mind the customs and manners of each people were to function in their proper sphere and remain unadulterated. This attitude grew out of the respect for the "native" India he had acquired in his childhood. In summary, it can be said that Kipling advocated that white imperialists should know and respect the customs of native countries, but maintain the reserve appropriate to a leader.

A final question that arises regarding Kipling's imperial theory is whether he envisioned imperialism as a transitory or permanent state. Two of Kipling's stories,

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<sup>38</sup>Kipling, "England and the English," A Book of Words, p. 167.

<sup>39</sup>Kipling, "One View of the Question," Many Inventions, p. 91.

"The Head of the District," and "One View of the Question" indicate that he did not believe that Indians were capable of governing themselves without the aid of white men. His most definitive statement regarding Indian self-government and English withdrawal occurs in "On the City Wall" published in 1890:

Year by year England sends out fresh drafts for the first-fighting line, which is officially called the Indian Civil Service. These die or kill themselves by overwork, or are worried to death or broken in health and hope in order that the land may be protected from death and sickness, famine and war, and may eventually become capable of standing alone. It will never stand alone, but the idea is a pretty one, and men are willing to die for it, and yearly the work of pushing and coaxing and scolding the country into good living goes forward. If an advance be made all credit is given to the native, while the Englishmen stand back and wipe their foreheads. If a failure occur the Englishmen step forward and take the blame. Over-much tenderness of this kind has bred a strong belief among many natives that the native is capable of administering the country and many devout Englishmen believe this also, the theory is stated in beautiful English, with all the latest political color.<sup>40</sup>

In The Five Nations, (1903) Kipling paid tribute to future Imperialists and suggested that the present Empire was a dwarfed model of what would occur in the future. Kipling's early and middle writings reveal his belief in the permanency of the Empire. Little can be found in his later writings to indicate any major change in this belief.

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<sup>40</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "On the City Wall," Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black and White (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), pp. 285-286.

Based on Kipling's literature, it must be concluded that he envisioned imperialism as the road of the future.<sup>41</sup>

Rudyard Kipling's imperial opinions are based upon three premises. First, there exists for every nation and person a Law which, if obeyed, harmonizes and orders life. Second, this rule of order is achieved through the efforts of a leadership group of men. These individuals are expert rulers who have been disciplined by hard work and adversity. Thirdly, those called to rule have a moral responsibility to extend the benefits of a good life to less developed nations in a manner that respects the manners and customs of each culture and maintains the integrity of these peoples. Kipling did not advocate imperialism for economic or expansionistic purposes. Rather, he built an imperial view which expressed belief in work, discipline, and responsibility. Though he shared the aims of the Late-Victorian imperialists and some of their biases, his motivation differed substantially in that he sought the extension of a better quality of life regardless of the sacrifices involved.

Finally, Kipling's imperial creed evidences a

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<sup>41</sup>Several authors, Richard Faber, in The Vision and The Need, p. 114 and Eric Stokes, "Kipling's Imperialism," The Age of Kipling, pp. 96-98, conclude that Kipling saw the Empire as transitory toward the end of his life.

tinge of Social Darwinist sentiments. One segment of Darwinists had taught that white races were "fitter" or more gifted than non-whites. Nature had bequeathed an innate superiority to white people. Another group argued that the backwardness of non-whites was due to historical and, therefore, short term causes. In the future whites had to maintain guardianship over these races until equality of experience was achieved. For this reason, young men left a comfortable way of life to undertake a life of hardship in order to advance the work of civilization. Kipling's belief in the "fitness" to rule because of heritage and experience as well as his belief in the permanence of the imperial order indicates his allegiance to the former group. Thus he wrote:

Take up the White Man's Burden--  
 Send out the best ye breed--  
 Go bind your sons to exile,  
 To serve your captive's need;

To wait in heavy harness,  
 On fluttered folk and wild--  
 Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
 Half devil and half child.<sup>42</sup>

In this poem, "The White Man's Burden," Kipling called upon the United States to join with Great Britain in the spread of civilization. Though his intent was a global concept

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<sup>42</sup>Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," A Choice of Kipling's Verse, p. 136.

of bestowing civilization, it was interpreted as a racist challenge to dominate third world countries. This concept, more than any other, has lessened Kipling's respect within the literary world.

### Formal Views of Education

Kipling's formal views of education, those which he portrayed in speeches, addresses or letters, paralleled his imperial convictions. The purpose of education, according to him, was to prepare men for the work of the Empire, whether that was to defend the land or administer an efficient government. A corollary to his imperial concept of strong leaders was his belief that the ultimate educational aim was character-development. It was to this end, that all of education was to be ordered. In "The English and England," a speech delivered in 1920, Kipling surveyed the state of the world and the role Englishmen had played in its development. He observed:

This world of ours . . . is not a new world, but the old world grown harder . . . . The sole force under God's good Providence that can meet this turn of our fate, is not temperament, nor opportunism, nor any effort to do better than good, but character and again character--such mere ingrained, commonsense, hand-hammered, loyal strength of character . . . .<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Kipling, "England and the English," A Book of Words, pp. 171-172.

This concept is repeated in "The Scot and the War" when Kipling lauded Edinburgh University for preparing Scotsmen for the harsh conditions of life and equipping him for the conquest of the world.<sup>44</sup> Again, in an address at Strasbourg University, he stressed that the French character had developed both strength and quality because of the many conflicts it had borne.<sup>45</sup>

While promoting the concept of character development, Kipling depicted the values that were necessary to such formation. In his address "Independence," delivered at Saint Andrews University in 1923, he sketched the nucleus of strong character. The highest value to be inculcated into youth was a desire for independence, "the blessed state of hanging on to as few persons and things as possible, which leads up to the singular privilege of a man owning himself."<sup>46</sup> He classified the search for independence as a basic human instinct to which all men aspire and few attain. To Kipling, independence was the sustenance of the strong leader and the foundation of the Empire. It is the cornerstone of his educational philosophy.

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<sup>44</sup>Kipling, "The Scot and the War," A Book of Words, pp. 175-176.

<sup>45</sup>Kipling, "The Trees and the Wall," A Book of Words, p. 195.

<sup>46</sup>Kipling, "Independence," A Book of Words, p. 214.

But who was the truly independent man? He was, first of all, the self-reliant man, a man who could provide for himself and for those whose care was entrusted to him, the material aspects of life. Kipling stated that for some people "ownership was based upon the truth that if you have not your own rations you must feed out of the Tribe's hands: with all that implies."<sup>47</sup> More importantly, however, self-reliance indicated the mental and emotional maturity to cope with monumental tasks and adversities of all kinds. "The making of a new world . . . will fall to your generation . . . . After . . . the war, all men, all capacities, all attainments, will be called upon to the uttermost to establish civilization. For then the work will begin of constructing not only England and the Empire, but the whole world."<sup>48</sup> The man who could do his job and do it well was, for Kipling, a true son of the Empire. This theme is clearly evident in Kipling's literature which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The independent man was also disciplined, always in control of himself, and ordered his life to a particular goal. Kipling ascribed to the theory that "things are not

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>48</sup>Kipling, "The War and the Schools," A Book of Words, p. 117.



accomplished except by the hardest of toil, high courage, eternal sacrifice, and very often bitter disappointment."<sup>49</sup> Youth was to prepare itself for the tasks that were to come later. He exhorted university students to "Fit yourself for it (Manhood) then, not according to the measure of your years, but to the measure of our world's great need."<sup>50</sup> A youth who so properly prepared himself "may loathe the job, but that reasoning mind . . . makes him uncomfortable in himself if he neglects the job."<sup>51</sup> Discipline, however, implied self-control as well as direction. Kipling feared that youth might cease to value self-denial, since society was preaching a gospel of ease and indulgence. He believed that independence was founded on self-control and moderation:

The initial payments on the policy of one's independence, then, must be financed . . . primarily out of the drinks that one does not too continuously take; the maidens in whom one does not too extravagantly rejoice; the entertainment that one does not too systematically attend or conduct; the transportation one does not magnificently employ; the bets one does not too generally place, and the objects of beauty

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<sup>49</sup>Kipling, "Growth and Responsibility," A Book of Words, p. 33.

<sup>50</sup>Kipling, "The War and the Schools," A Book of Words, p. 118.

<sup>51</sup>Kipling, "The Magic Square," A Book of Words, p. 132.

and desire that one does not too generously buy.<sup>52</sup> Kipling maintained a Stoic philosophy that one should drive himself just short of his breaking point. When ending an address to a group of doctors Kipling saluted them by saying "I wish you in your future what all men desire--enough work to do, and strength enough to do the work."<sup>53</sup>

Independence also contained the components of courage, wisdom, practicality, self-sacrifice, and justice. In "The Ritual of Government" he outlined the qualities that were necessary for national survival--"Courage in war, wisdom in council, skill in administration, ability to sway men . . . ."<sup>54</sup> These became a recurring theme which he presented to universities. When addressing a group of military men, Kipling described the requirements of a great leader. "So you see: Faith, Wisdom, Strength, and Love--make the altar of Sacrifice for the Man set apart to save his Tribe."<sup>55</sup> Kipling summed up both the individual's

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<sup>52</sup>Kipling, "Independence," A Book of Words, pp. 224-225.

<sup>53</sup>Kipling, "A Doctor's Work," A Book of Words, p. 47.

<sup>54</sup>Kipling, "The Ritual of Government," A Book of Words, p. 59.

<sup>55</sup>Kipling, "The Magic Square," A Book of Words, p. 141.

and the educator's responsibility in an address to Winchester College in 1915 when he observed:

It is well to die for one's country. But that is not enough. It is also necessary that, so long as he lives, a man should give to his country . . . a mind and soul neither ignorant nor inadequate.<sup>56</sup>

Though Kipling did not promulgate his educational theories in an organized or unified manner, two currents are discernable which are clearly academic considerations. These are the role of literature in general, and particularly the classics and science in preparing men of the Empire. For Kipling, both of these facets of education were mandatory. He admired the self-reliant man of action who was able to respond to any task placed upon him. The men of the Empire were men of action. As such, it was necessary that they have mastered the skills needed by their profession, be that craftsmen, soldier or administrator. Consequently, the sciences were an absolute necessity. These men of action, however, were to be morally strong leaders who were governed by reason, possessed a sense of heritage, and aspired to the greatness of their forefathers. In addition, such leaders had to be aware of the differences and similarities among men if they were to

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<sup>56</sup>Kipling, "The War and the Schools," A Book of Words, p. 118.

rule sensitively. Skills of this nature were the results of a thorough grounding in the classics. Because of the duality within Kipling's educational model, however, the classics and the sciences were intricately bound together within the educational process.

Kipling attributed the value of the classics to the historical impact they had upon the individual and a people. The man who did not know history or, as he called it, the "records" was devoid of the experience gathered by preceding generations. He believed that history does repeat itself and that the lessons learned from literature of the past could assist men in improving the present and the future. In addition, literature can assist a man in the ordering of his own life:

A man does achieve something out of the ordinary; finds himself saddled with tremendous responsibilities . . . . Well, that is the time that he should have provided himself with all the knowledge and strength that can be drawn from noble books, so that whatever has happened to him may not be overwhelming nor unexpected. And to do that, to keep his soul fit for all chances, a man should associate at certain times in his soul . . . with the best, the most balanced, the largest, finest and most honourable and capable minds of the past.<sup>57</sup>

Concurrently with ordering one's own life, the accomplishments and feats of one's country would also be discovered.

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<sup>57</sup>Kipling, "The Uses of Reading," A Book of Words, p. 81.

In this way a sense of national pride would be generated for centuries to come. He concluded that much of a nation's characteristics and ideals were contained in and transmitted by its literature. Knowledge of these would inspire men to greater actions and accomplishments.

Kipling stated unequivocally "I believe in the importance of a man getting some classics ground into him in his youth."<sup>58</sup> He derived this principally from his belief that Roman and Greek civilization had provided modern society with its entire life fabric. Rules for moral conduct, law, administration, government, and justice were the bequests made by these two civilizations. Kipling desired young people to "find out . . . how much and how important they were and they are . . ."<sup>59</sup> More emphatically, young people had to realize that both civilizations were alive and at play in modern society. A knowledge of the classics and classical civilizations would help to accomplish this understanding.

Lastly, the study of literature, particularly the classics, endowed students with a sense of man's oneness. Though literature describes the peculiarities and attributes of given people at a given time, it also highlights

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

the emotions, dreams, and disappointments that mark the life of all men. Literature introduces the young to the commonality that exists between the peoples of the world:

A certain knowledge of the classics is worth having, because it makes you realize that all the world is not like ourselves in all respects, and yet in matters that really touch the inside life of a man, neither the standard nor the game have changed.<sup>60</sup>

Such understanding was necessary for a leader of men, a builder of Empire. The effective leader could always cut through external differences and touch all men through their humanity. From it, he derived his understanding, firmness, and justice.

Kipling's stress in his speeches on the classics was stronger than it was on the sciences. This fact is balanced, however, by the abundance of his literary pieces which explore and extol scientific and mechanical themes. Practicality was a quality that Kipling demanded from his Empire-builders. When addressing University College, Dundee, he urged his audience to explore the education available in a nearby town, "in a city opulent, energetic, experienced in the application of means to practical ends."<sup>61</sup> Kipling believed that education was responsible for stimulating minds to "explore, wonder, delight in and to

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>61</sup>Kipling, "The Classics and the Sciences," A Book of Words, p. 233.

interpret<sup>62</sup> all of the matter of life spiritual and physical. Kipling's men were to be skilled artisans, soldiers and administrators. He asserted that anything which enabled a man to do his job well was appropriate and necessary material for the school.

### Kipling and Social Darwinism

The Social Darwinism described in Chapter I shaped the convictions and literature of Rudyard Kipling. His autobiography and speeches indicate that he emulated many of the characteristics of the influential American Darwinist, William Graham Sumner. He and his followers preached that men must face the harshness of life, the impossibility of finding simple remedies to societal problems, and the necessity of work and self-denial. According to Richard Hofstadter, his "was a kind of natural Calvinism in which man's relation to nature is as hard and demanding as man's relation to God under the Calvinistic system."<sup>63</sup> A corollary of this was a belief that leisure and waste were anathemas. Kipling's characterization of himself as a "political Calvinist" and his repeated

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>63</sup>Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism In American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 10.

stress on hard work, self-discipline, endurance and constant attention to one's duty evidence a striking similarity. His speech "Independence" best exemplifies this. In addition, Sumner maintained that economic activity was a medium for encouraging and developing character. Kipling expressed this same concept in the judgment that work, the extension of economic activity, accomplished such character formation. His volume The Day's Work and the short stories it encompasses represents the strength of this value within Kipling.

Sumner further postulated that "those of courage, enterprise, good training, intelligence, and perseverance"<sup>64</sup> are the fit who will survive in the evolutionary process. Success was the reward of these virtues. Kipling believed that these same qualities belonged to "great men, strong leaders." He did not, however, state that these persons would survive. He asserted, on the other hand, that it was through them that the Empire would continue and progress. This theme occurred in "England and the English," and was repeated in "Independence." Kipling, then, did not deal with "survival of the fittest" in individual terms as Sumner did, but extended it to a more comprehensive empire-building precept. According to Sumner, the

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<sup>64</sup>William Graham Sumner, The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914)p. 67.



process of civilization depended upon a selection process, and that, in turn, relied upon unrestricted competition. Kipling also held that the extension of civilization rested upon the strength of the English and that they were the selected people. "Their immensely mixed origin, too, made the English in a very real sense, 'akin to all the universe', and sympathetic in their dumb way with remote Gods and strange people."<sup>65</sup>

Sumner and Kipling also concurred in their mistrust of democracy. Kipling, as already stated, was convinced that democracy with its claim for "inalienable rights" was synonymous with lawlessness and license. It encouraged self-indulgence, ribaldry, and sentimentality and was foreign to the concept of "great men standing alone." His writings on the United States and Japan, previously discussed, collaborate this judgment. Sumner was also skeptical of democracy but for somewhat different reasons. Since the law of survival of the fittest was the major premise of Darwinism, it was necessary that Sumner believe in inequality. He, therefore, concluded that the democratic beliefs in equality and natural rights, particularly as they were stated in the American ideology, were

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<sup>65</sup>Kipling, "England and the English," A Book of Words, p. 167.

illusionary and untrue. He stated "there can be no rights against Nature except to get out of her whatever we can, which is only the fact of the struggle for existence stated over again."<sup>66</sup>

Related to this was the Darwinian tenet of evolution which states that animals are unequal; this fact permits the development of forms of animal life which are better adjusted to their environment. The superiority that occurs within this process is transmitted to succeeding generations and civilization progresses. Sumner held that the competitive process "develops all powers that exist according to their measure and degree."<sup>67</sup> Social advance was predicated upon this point. As was already indicated earlier in this chapter, Kipling believed that the English were ordained and appointed to extend their civilization to "lesser breeds without the law." He outlined his case for this position in "England and the English," in which he describes the development of English experience and character from the days of Imperial Rome to World War I. He continued that the "Englishman is like a

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<sup>66</sup>William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), p. 135.

<sup>67</sup>William Graham Sumner and Albert Keller, The Science of Society, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), I: 615.

built-up gun barrel, all one temper though welded of many different materials, and he has strong powers of resistance."<sup>68</sup> He concluded by illustrating that the long resistance to foreign influences gave the English their mandate to rule:

And herein, as I see it, lies the strength of the English--that they have behind them this continuity of immensely varied race-experience and race-memory, running equally through all classes to the very dawn of our dawn. This imposes on them unconsciously, even while they deny or deride it, standards of achievement and comparison.<sup>69</sup>

The concept of struggle, survival and progress runs throughout the piece and parallels the tone of Sumner's social development theory.

Sumner and Kipling would have differed ideologically as to the conclusion of such racial survival. Kipling, of course, concluded that this fact mandated the English to build an empire and aid the progress of civilization. He saw this as a moral responsibility. Sumner, however, was an anti-imperialist. He denounced the entire expansionistic ideology. He rejected the concept of racial destiny and questioned the benefits of spreading civilization by conquest or annexation. He argued that

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<sup>68</sup>Kipling, "England and the English," A Book of Words, p. 165.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

expansionism would entail the adoption of races alien in language, customs, and institutions, involve the support of a standing army, increase taxation and ultimately risk the possibility of war. He stated "My patriotism is the kind which is outraged by the notion that the United States never was a great nation until in a petty three months' campaign it knocked to pieces a poor, decrepit, bankrupt old state like Spain."<sup>70</sup> Naturally, Sumner asserted that America's strength to survive was not contingent on dominance. He further believed militarism and imperialism would increase the functions of the state which he believed should be minimal. Finally, Sumner believed in American democracy as an arena in which the struggle for existence occurred in a healthy form. He, therefore, opposed political domination for either the conquered or conqueror.

It must be noted at this time that Darwinists who belonged to the anti-imperialist school of thought were relatively few. Imperialism and Darwinism were closely aligned. Natural selection was used as a vindication for imperialism in much the same way as Kipling used it. Imperialists called upon Darwinism to justify the subjugation

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<sup>70</sup>William Graham Sumner, "The Conquest of the United States by Spain," Essays of William Graham Sumner, ed. Albert G. Keller and Maurice R. David (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 334.

of weaker races by pointing to Darwin's, The Origin of Species and its subtitle, The Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life. Further, Darwin had indicated in The Descent of Man that weaker civilizations would disappear as society progressed. Militarists viewed elimination of the unfit as a proper end for preserving racial integrity and forwarding the evolution of man toward his final form. Certainly, all of these concepts were prevalent in many countries before the advent of Darwin and were not necessarily consistent with Darwin's original intent. The fact remains, however, that they did lend themselves to the imperial philosophy and served to strengthen its effect on history.

Finally, economics and the concepts of free enterprise and wealth were integral parts of Darwinism. Sumner, as a Social Darwinist, maintained that social advancement depended upon wealth, that wealth maximizes effort and that wealth allows the preservation of virtues which enrich a community.<sup>71</sup> Kipling did not address himself directly to any of these concepts within his formal writings. However, his literature is generally directed toward characters from the middle and upper classes. Within these

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<sup>71</sup>Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, pp. 57-58.

pieces, he writes in a tone that is generally accepting and approving. Since Kipling was a man of strong beliefs who used his profession to speak for those beliefs, it seems safe to conclude that Kipling did approve of both wealth and free enterprise. Two addresses, "Work in the Future" and "Shipping" found in A Book of Words give evidence to the validity of this assertion.

In conclusion it can be said that Rudyard Kipling's imperial theory was consistent with Darwinistic thinking. His speeches and addresses accepted the concept of personal conquest and individual assertion. When Darwinian individualism entered a decline around 1890, Darwinian collectivism began to take root and express itself as imperialism. The time line of Kipling's most productive years, 1886-1918, corresponds with the zenith of Darwinism as well as the transition from individualism to collectivism. Kipling's public addresses, as already shown, reveal traits of both forms of Darwinism. The same characteristics are found in his literary works as well, and will be illustrated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV

### INFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH LITERATURE:

#### THE ENGLISH MODEL

##### Stalky and Co.

It is quite apparent that Rudyard Kipling's imperialism demonstrated a messianic call to duty and responsibility. Kipling, like many other Late Victorians, believed that the British were more moral than other peoples. They thought of themselves as more humane, more reliable, more just, more practical and, therefore, more fit to survive and rule. This emphasis on moral integrity flowed into the English public schools and helped to create the "public school type." Walter Bagehot, writing in 1869, noted that "men are guided by type," and that occasionally, "a new model is created for the nation."<sup>1</sup> Through his literature, Rudyard Kipling accomplished this; he succeeded in recasting the public school type to serve the Empire's needs. This chapter will peruse Kipling's literature to discover his model for the agent of imperialism and the development of this model. The character, attitudes and

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Bagehot, Physics and Politics (London: 1869; reprint ed., Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), p. 66.

knowledge necessary for the agent of the Empire will be explored.

Kipling's most direct literary comments on education are contained in his Stalky stories. These include Stalky and Company, a collection of short stories, as well as "Regulus," "The Propagation of Knowledge," "The United Idolators," "The Satisfaction of a Gentleman," and "Stalky," which are stories scattered throughout other collections. These episodes are school stories which deal with adolescents, and for this reason, made their greatest appeal to the adolescent population. Kipling himself, however, regarded them as directed toward adults, particularly educators. In Something of Myself, he discussed the stories saying, "While at Torquay there came to me the idea of beginning some tracts or parables on the education of the young. These, for reasons honestly beyond my control, turned themselves into a series of tales called Stalky and Co. . . . . It is still read ('35) and I maintain it is a truly valuable collection of tracts."<sup>2</sup> A careful study of the complete Stalky stories reveals Kipling's pedagogical beliefs and ideals.

The book itself was published in 1899, and, though

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<sup>2</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Something of Myself For My Friends Known and Unknown (New York: Doubleday and Doran Company, 1937), pp. 144-145.



written as a novel about public school ideals and training, it is a modern realistic piece of fiction distinctly different from its predecessors, Tom Brown's Schooldays and Eric. Whereas the latter dealt with the exploits of individual characters, the former examined the impact of the school upon its students. Kipling, as a leader of the new realism in the 1890's utilized these techniques to effect a change in the school and its educational process. In doing so, he gave the world a relatively objective account of public school life at that time and provided "ideas that were both original and important in the history of public school criticism."<sup>3</sup>

A peripheral reading of the Stalky stories would lead one to believe that Stalky and his allies, Beetle and M'Turk were merely pranksters engaged in war with the school and its authorities. They shamelessly denigrate the most sacred values of the school system. In "The Moral Reformers" the truimverate unleashed a severe physical beating on two classmates, student leaders, who cruelly bullied a smaller student. "Slaves of the Lamp-- Part One" portrays the three engaged in a game of revenge with Mr. King, a housemaster. Their revenge is carried

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<sup>3</sup>Edward C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860: The Relationship Between Contemporary Ideas And The Evaluation of an English Institution. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), p. 193.

out according to Stalky's maxim, "Not the least good having a row with a master unless you can make an ass out of him."<sup>4</sup> This tale reflects a recurring theme of conflict between student and master. The story "In Ambush" flaunts a disposition of indifference and defiance toward school rules. Throughout all of the pieces, the boys ridicule school spirit and display an attitude incomprehensible to the Late-Victorian mind. After reading the episodes one could easily conclude, as did H.G. Wells, that Stalky, Beetle and M'Turk were brutal, boistrous rebels who personified the degeneracy of the British Empire.

A more thorough reading, however, indicates that Kipling intended to create the image of a colorful rebel and juxtapose it against the ordinary and somewhat bland figure of the Late-Victorian public school model. Stalky symbolized for Kipling the ideal boy, the boy who rebelled against artificiality, self-righteousness and sentimentality. From this mold of a freer spirit, the great men of the Empire would be carved. Kipling believed that "India's full of Stalkies--Cheltenham and Haileybury and Marlborough chaps--that we don't know anything about."<sup>5</sup> It was these men who would go "out to Boerland and Zululand and India and Burma and Cyprus and Hong Kong," to

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<sup>4</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Stalky and Co. (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1899; reprint ed., Dell Publishing Company, 1968), p. 57.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

"live and die as gentlemen and officers."<sup>6</sup> Men of action dominated Kipling's school stories and his Empire.

The Stalky characters evinced strong, non-conformist attitudes which were totally foreign to the Late-Victorian educator. This can best be illustrated by comparing the behavior portrayed in Stalky and Co., with educational practices of the period.<sup>7</sup> Intellectual training had stagnated during the 1880's and 1890's. In an earlier attempt to meet middle class demands for a more modern education, schools began to combine classical and scientific training. At schools preparing young men for the military or civil service, practical subjects prevailed. As a result, a quantity of subjects, rather than quality were injected into the curriculum. Students began cramming facts to sustain examinations and rarely mastered a subject. Literature quickly came to be viewed as an extraneous, irrelevant subject and held a very minor position in the curriculum. The successful student was not the reader but the rote learner. Kipling repeatedly

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<sup>6</sup>Rudyard Kipling, The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 14: Land and Sea Tales (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1899; reprint ed., Dell Publishing Company, 1968), p. 57.

<sup>7</sup>The prevailing Late-Victorian educational practices cited in this chapter are drawn from Edward Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860.

attacks this concept in Stalky. The boys are portrayed as giving minimal time to Latin declension and Natural History projects. Homework assignments are divided between the threesome and the results mutually shared, a practice despised by the masters. Literature is given a very strong emphasis in the adventures. Beetle is repeatedly heard lamenting "an' I wanted to read this afternoon,"<sup>8</sup> while M'Turk is frequently found curled in a chair reading Ruskin. By highlighting the boys' interest in literature, Kipling accents their individuality and underscores a lack of fear for being considered erudite.

The stress on academic pursuits is further highlighted by the intellectualized struggles that occur between the three boys and their masters. In one episode, Kipling describes Beetle reading in his study room.

The book was a fat, brown-backed volume of the later 'Sixties, which King had once thrown at Beetle's head that Beetle might see whence the name Gigadibs came. Beetle had quietly annexed the book and had seen-- several things. The quarter-comprehended verses lived and ate with him, as the be-dropped pages showed . . . .

Later in the book, extensive lines are devoted to dialogs describing verbal battles over literature, Latin and modern languages. In each encounter, the reader has the

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<sup>8</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 18.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54.

feeling that both student and teacher find pleasure in these mental gymnastics. In this too, Kipling's characters move against the tide prevailing educational practice. "Regulus," "Slaves of the Lamp" and "The Impressionist" best illustrate this fact.

A passion for athletics also flourished during the period. Compulsory games were instituted throughout the British public schools to the point where student leadership passed from the intellectually gifted to those with athletic prowess.<sup>10</sup> Here again, the Stalky stories are dotted with comments which display disdain for games and reveal the "ploy of the week"<sup>11</sup> which permits escape from the monotony of daily athletic house matches. While in the real world, the boys of St. Paul's and Exeter marched off to compulsory games, Stalky and his comrades are infrequently seen participating even though athletics were part of their required school curriculum. Their silence on the topic underscores their disapproval as well as its lack of importance and relevance for them. This point is further strengthened late in the book when Kipling nonchalantly describes Stalky and M'Turk dressed in the colors of the First Fifteen, the American equivalent of a

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<sup>10</sup>Mack, Public Schools, p. 125.

<sup>11</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 70.

first-string team. He does not treat this as a coveted feat but rather as a side event in the lives of three boys who had more serious accomplishments to their credit.

This overemphasis on both athletics and factual education led to a final tendency apparent in this period: regimentation of public school life. The introduction of compulsory athletics and additional subjects into the curriculum began to consume more and more of the students' time. The school day was so divided into tightly compartmentalized periods of activity that the students no longer had free time. This loss of leisure periods left the students with little or no opportunity for independent decision-making regarding their personal preferences or the use of time. Total control by the school, therefore, came to characterize the situation. The effect was the destruction of individuality, the stifling of creative thought and the development of an almost universal, conforming public school type. George Trevelyan, commenting on the situation stated that, "genius and strong individual characters were less common at the end of the nineteenth century than they had been in pre-reform days."<sup>12</sup> With intent, Stalky and friends did not fit this mold. Their self-reliance overcame the uniformity of the school and

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<sup>12</sup>George Trevelyan, British History in the Nineteenth Century (New York: 1928), p. 172.

its expectation for conformity. Every Stalky story centers on the individuality of the triumverate and their ability to outwit school masters and practices.

The boys recognized that life could be easier for the student who conformed to a master's expectations.

If we attended the matches an' yelled, "Well hit sir," an' stood on one leg an' grinned every time Heffy said "So ho, my sons. Is it thus?" An' said, "Yes, sir," an' "No, sir," an' "Oh, sir," and "Please sir," like a lot of filthy fa-ag's, Heffy 'ud think no end of us.<sup>13</sup>

But Stalky, M'Turk, and Beetle understood the hollowness of such behavior and simply labelled any master seeking such responses as an "ass" and showed their aversion to such comportment whenever possible.

A non-traditional response to the concept of institutionalized school authority is also present in the Stalky tales. Kipling realized that since the days of Arnold, public schools had established a system of discipline based on overemphasized conformity. The introduction of the prefectorial system had instituted tyranny and bullying as the order of the day. Stalky, M'Turk, and Beetle, because of their non-compliance never earn the rights of a prefect:

Thanks in large part to their Housemaster's experienced distrust, the three, for three consecutive terms had been passed over for promotion to the rank of prefect--an office that went by merit, and carried with it the

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<sup>13</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 30.

honour of the ground-ash, and liberty, under restrictions to use it.<sup>14</sup>

Stalky's response to this state of affairs indicated contentment. "Come to think of it, we've done more giddy jesting with the Sixth since we've been passed over than anyone else in the last seven years."<sup>15</sup>

Challenging the authority of teachers is an approved end in each of the Stalky stories. Both Prout and King, housemasters seen as adversaries, are continually made the victims of Stalky's pranks. Prout is portrayed as an overly precise, arrogant and narrow-minded teacher who believed that athletics and house spirit constituted the essence of education.

In the infinitely petty confederacies of the Common-room, King and Macrea, fellow house-masters, had borne upon him (Prout) that by games, and games alone, was salvation wrought. Boys neglected were boys lost. They must be disciplined. Left to himself, Prout would have made a sympathetic house-master; but he was never so left . . . .<sup>16</sup>

Prout reciprocally described Stalky and his friends as "unboylike, abnormal, and unsound."<sup>17</sup> He is sketched as a very sterile person who had embodied the ideal of public school behavior. King, though perhaps the best teacher at

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-71.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 101.



the school, is viewed cynically by the boys because they realize that his ultimate purpose is to prepare them for the next step in a military career, Sandhurst. Though he is knowledgeable in both Latin and English literature, he has compromised himself as a crammer by electing a style of mechanical and meaningless education. In addition, he lacks any sensitivity toward the young men in his charge. "I pulverize the egregious Beetle daily for his soul's good; and others with him."<sup>18</sup> Understandably, this attitude earns King the wrath of the threesome.

Kipling contrasted these two masters with Hartopp and Chaplin Gillett, both men who were greatly admired by the threesome. This admiration is earned because the men were realists who saw aggressivity, spontaneity, inquisitiveness, and humor as positive traits in maturing young men. Hartopp recognized that "gatelifting, and a little poaching and hawkhunting on cliffs is our salvation," and that pranks are "not brutality . . . it's boy; only boy."<sup>19</sup> The Reverend John was described as a "buffer state" between masters and the boys, and as a "general confidant." His acceptance was based on a number of tests by the boys of Number Five Study:

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-99.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

He was emphatically a gentleman. He knocked before entering; he comported himself as a visitor and not a strayed lictor; he never prosed, and he never carried over into official life the confidences of idle hours. Prout was ever an unmitigated nuisance; King came solely as the avenger of blood; even little Hartopp, talking natural history seldom forgot his office; but the Reverend John was a guest desired and beloved by Number Five.<sup>20</sup>

He viewed the threesome "as singularly favoured by fortune," which led him to say "I like them immensely."<sup>21</sup> Kipling indicated that both Hartopp and Gillett were admired because of their simple acceptance of the nature of boys and their ability to deal with it. Kipling believed that it was the lives of teachers that caught the attention of boys rather than principles or tenets.

Kipling's ultimate comment on school authority is intermeshed with the figure of the Headmaster. He modelled the Head after Cornell Price, his teacher and long-time friend. Consequently, the Head, known as Prooshan Bates, is presented as a very humanized man in an almost deified position. He represented to students and masters alike an authority which could be both trusted and believed. He achieved this by his conduct toward the students particularly.

"Good evening," said he, when the three appeared under escort. "I want your undivided attention for a few

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

minutes. You've known me for five years, and I've known you for--twenty-five. I think we understand one another perfectly. I am now going to pay you a tremendous compliment . . . . I'm going to execute you without rhyme, Beetle, or reason, . . . because I am convinced that, on this occasion you have strictly adhered to the truth. I know, too, that you were not drinking . . . . There is not a flaw in any of your characters. And that is why I am going to perpetuate a howling injustice. Your reputations have been injured, haven't they? You have been disgraced before the House, haven't you? You have a particularly high regard for the honour of your house, haven't you? Well, now I am going to whip you."

Six apiece was their portion upon that word.

"And this, I think"--the Head replaced the cane and flung the written charges into the waste-paper basket--"covers the situation. When you find a variation from the normal--this will be useful to you in later life--always meet him in an abnormal way. And that reminds me, There are a pile of paperbacks on that shelf. You can borrow them if you put them back. I don't think they'll take any harm from being read in the open . . . . Good night," said that amazing man.<sup>22</sup>

In this scene, the Head, drawing on twenty-five years of experience, recognized that the triumverate was not guilty of lying or drinking as a master had charged. Rather, he realized that the boys had outsmarted the master and "set him up" to display his educational and human foibles. The Head consequently, administered punishment not for the alleged crimes but for the prank while letting the boys know that he recognized the situation. Their response was a contented "I swear I'll pray for the Head tonight,"

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 44-45.

said Beetle. "Those last two cuts were just flicks on my collar."<sup>23</sup> The head was able to lead men and boys because he understood their nature.

In passages throughout the book, the Head emerged as a man of experience and wisdom, intelligence and responsible authority. He is not afraid to extend freedom to his charges. He represented to the students a final source of appeal and justice. More importantly, however, he appeared to the boys as a model to be emulated. He revealed qualities of justice, honesty, manliness, understanding, tolerance and courage that were a part of his own personal life; and translated these into a career where he extended them to others. This personal integrity and self-control which he incorporated into his profession, is for the Stalky characters, the essence of real authority and authentic leadership. The rebelliousness described in the Stalky episodes was aimed at a facade of authority that cloaks sham, arrogance and self-righteousness. The Head is the very antithesis of this artificiality.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>24</sup>The character of the Head and the respect he evoked from young men is described in "In Ambush," pp. 44-45; "The Impressionists," pp. 122-124; "The Moral Reformers," p. 126; "A Little Prep," pp. 156-157 and pp. 159-162; "The United Idolators," pp. 92-94; "The Last Term," p. 212; and "Regulus," p. 56.

It is the model of the Head which the Stalky characters are themselves emulating throughout the stories. The education of the threesome was not built around academics, but rather upon character development which arose from the conflicts experienced in school life. Again, Kipling demonstrated a Darwinian trait in this concept. A thorough reading of the school stories affirms that Kipling believed that "public schools had overemphasized conformity as a method of education, with the result that boys were becoming pleasant, innocuous, and useless yes men."<sup>25</sup> Thus, Stalky and his friends grew and developed by interacting with their environment. Rather than being conformists, the three are uninhibited extroverts. Their major preoccupation is not school subjects, but the assertion of their individuality. Within this process courage, resourcefulness, self-control, fairness, cunning and common sense became the lessons of the day and the foundation for their future lives. The ingenuity displayed in school would be exercised in manhood against the enemies of the Empire. Kipling introduced this theme in an introductory poem to Stalky and Co.:

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<sup>25</sup>Mack, Public Schools, p. 225.

And we all praise famous men--  
 Ancients of the College;  
 For they taught us common sense--  
 Tried to teach us common sense--  
 Truth and God's Own Common Sense,  
 Which is more than knowledge!

. . .

Some beneath the further stars  
 Bear the greater burden:  
 Set to serve the lands they rule  
 (Save he serve no man may rule)  
 Serve and love the lands they rule,  
 Seeking praise nor guerdon.

This we learned from famous men,  
 Knowing not we learned it.  
 Only, as the years went by--  
 Lonely as the year went by--  
 Far from help as years went by,  
 Plainier we discerned it.<sup>26</sup>

This aim was again clearly stated in "The Propagation of Knowledge," when a master says "one aim of education is to develop individual judgment."<sup>27</sup> Like the Head, they would be able to lead men because they too understood human nature and could make intelligent and resourceful judgments to deal with it. They could allow men the freedom to grow and develop within their environment.

The very qualities that men such as Hartopp, Gillett and the Head recognized as advantageous, often, placed the boys in conflict with the rest of the school, however.

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<sup>26</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., pp. 12-13.

<sup>27</sup>Kipling, "The Propagation of Knowledge," Debits and Credits (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926), p. 295.

They found themselves under a tyranny of expectation that ordered life for the convenience of teachers and which fostered injustice. "My Hat!" Stalky said to Beetle. You've been here six years and you expect fairness. Well you are a dithering idiot."<sup>28</sup> Conflict with authority represented a struggle to preserve individuality and self-respect against an adult world that demanded conformity and passivity. Though the school's forces for social control were harsh, the burden of conformity was overcome by belonging to an in-group, by being a member of Number Five Study. The in-group taught the way society actually worked while simultaneously the boys' collective sense of rightness taught the way society ought to work. The threesome grew in individuality because they were mutually able to support, protect, and assert themselves. The Reverend Gillett states at one point "Boys, educate each other, they say, more than we can or dare."<sup>29</sup> Kipling still supported this theory in 1935 when he wrote Something of Myself:

Our 'socialization of educational opportunities' took us unscathed up the school, till the original of Little Hartopp, asking one question too many, disclosed that I didn't know what a cosine was and compared me to 'brute'

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<sup>28</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 72.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

beasts. I taught Turkey all he ever knew of French, and he tried to make Stalky and me comprehend a little Latin. There is much to be said for this system, if you want a boy to learn anything, because he will remember from an equal where his master's words are forgotten . . . .<sup>30</sup>

The recurrence of this theme can be traced throughout the Stalky adventures. Boys also instruct each other by "hardening the shell." Thus, the cruel pranks perpetrated in the tales are object-lessons in survival. Not to expect fairness was the mark of an educated man.<sup>31</sup> The threesome showed one another that being blinded by emotion or resentment was vulnerability and, therefore weakness. One had to keep his head clear and his defenses up. The tale "An unsavoury Interlude" flowed from Beetle's allowing a master to discover an unprotected point in his personality. Turkey warns Beetle not to be susceptible to a master's attack. The moral is simple: once a sore spot is identified, an individual's self-reliance can be stripped away. For Kipling's men, self-control and self-discipline were the means of surviving authoritarianism and superiority. It was the quality of perfect control over one's self and each situation that provided a backdrop to each Stalky story. It was this same control and discipline that would build an empire. "It is curious to notice how little the

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<sup>30</sup>Kipling, Something of Myself, p. 31.

<sup>31</sup>This theme is repeated by a soldier, Corporal Otheris, in "His Private Honour," Many Inventions.



character of the man differs from that of the boy of sixteen or seventeen."<sup>32</sup> Kipling concluded that character personified by discipline and control, was molded by conflict; not by instruction or religious exercises.

Kipling's Stalky, M'Turk, and Beetle further learned that while safe-guarding their own individuality it was still incumbent that one obey:

This we learned from famous men  
Teaching in our borders,  
Who declared it was best,  
Safest, easiest, and best--  
Expeditious, wise, and best--  
To obey your orders.<sup>33</sup>

Authority was accepted by the threesome if it made sense in terms of their own future or the welfare of others. Most boys attended the school in order to get into the army. Any master who could aid them in this effort was obeyed, though he may have been disliked. However, authority that was relevant only to the limited world of school--pedantic teachers, senseless rules or the prefectorial system--was disregarded as petty authority. Thus obedience from subordinates was to be earned by superiors. The Head was obeyed because he had merited the respect of his young

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<sup>32</sup>Kipling, "An English School," Land and Sea Tales, p. 573.

<sup>33</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 12.

men by exercising perfect control and exhibiting strength of character.<sup>34</sup>

Kipling's fictional school boys also differed from the real subjects of public school education in the areas of religion and patriotism. During the 1830's, Doctor Arnold had injected a strong strand of Christian evangelism into Rugby's curriculum. The development of Christian character became a primary educational objective. During the period between 1840 and 1870, this religious tone began to wane until religious functions became perfunctory and routinized exercises. When Edmund Warre became Head-Master at Eton in 1884, he launched a strenuous campaign to reinstate religion as the basic component of education and encouraged a high ethical code.<sup>35</sup> His long tenure and influence at Eton launched a gradual movement back toward religious education as Arnold had proposed.

Stalky's school is noticeably free of religious activities. Though the school motto was to "Fear God, Honour the King,"<sup>36</sup> it was the characteristic of a faithful servant of the Empire that prevailed. For Stalky and

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<sup>34</sup>Kipling, "An English School," Land and Sea Tales, p. 561.

<sup>35</sup>Mack, Public Schools, p. 129.

<sup>36</sup>Kipling, "An English School," Land and Sea Tales, p. 562.

his friends, morality consisted of being manly and self-reliant, ready to serve one's country at a moment's notice. Preaching and an overbearing preoccupation with sin was despised by the triumverate and their respected masters. The absence of these traits in Reverend Gillett gained him the students' trust. Gillett himself stated to the boys "You know I don't talk ethics and moral codes, because I don't believe that the young of the human animal realizes what they mean for some years to come."<sup>37</sup> The Chaplin goes on to describe the school as "reasonably free from-the-er-monastic microbes of-er-older institutions."<sup>38</sup> The Head is also esteemed because he is not in Orders:

"He's awfully fair. He doesn't lick a chap in the morning an' preach at him in the afternoon," said Beetle.

"He can't; he ain't in Orders, thank goodness," said M'Turk. Number Five held the strongest views on clerical head-masters, and were ever ready to meet their pastor in argument.

"Almost all other schools have clerical Heads," said the Reverend John gently.

"It isn't fair on the chaps," Stalky replied.

"Makes 'em sulky . . ."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 119.

<sup>38</sup>Kipling, "The United Idolators," Debits and Credits, p. 89.

<sup>39</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 126.

The presence of such a discussion in Stalky and Co. must have been startling to a society in which public education was entrusted to clerical persons. The anti-clericalism depicted in the Stalky episodes flowed from a degenerating religious fervor. The story "The United Idolators" further revealed an identification with natural morality. Though Kipling never degraded religious beliefs, he exposed religious practices that were merely empty pretense. On the other hand, conventional morality was not extolled but quietly practiced within the escapades of Stalky and Co.

Though Stalky, Beetle and M'Turk personified the strong men of the Empire, they portrayed total disdain for those who flaunted their patriotism through words rather than actions. In "The Flag of Their Country," a brash and jingoistic Member of Parliament violated good taste by speaking about patriotism and waving the flag. "In a raucous voice he cried aloud little matters, like the hope of Honour, and the dream of Glory, that boys do not discuss even with their most intimate equals; cheerfully assuming that, til he spoke, they had never considered these possibilities."<sup>40</sup> Kipling depicts in this episode the fact that life has certain values that govern it but

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

which are not explicitly spoken of because of their sacredness. Such values are displayed, honored and taught through action rather than word. The speaker was characterized quickly:

. . . Mr. Raymond Martin, beyond question, was born in a gutter, and bred in a Board-school, where they played marbles. He was further . . . a Flopshus Cad, an Outrageous stinker, a Jelly-bellied flag-flapper . . . , and several other things which it is not seemly to put down.<sup>41</sup>

Understatement was often employed to emphasize the real values in Stalky's life. The lecture was unnecessary because most of the students were already dedicated young men.

The character of Mr. Martin is contrasted with returning "Old Boys," subalterns "who had been to the ends of the earth and back again."<sup>42</sup> When these men, distinguished by their actions, arrived back at the school, they were "cheered along the whole front of the college."<sup>43</sup> Their presence provided both motivation and experiential education unparalleled within the classroom:

There was an unwritten law by which an old boy when he came back to pay his respects to the school, was entitled to a night in his old dormitory. The boys expected it and sat up half the night listening to

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

the tales of a subaltern that the boy brought with him--stories about riots in Ireland and camps in Aldershot, and all his first steps in the wonderful world.<sup>44</sup>

In this way, the boys learned through the actions, perhaps the heroism, of other young men, the end to which they themselves were being trained: men able to make and keep an empire.

It must be concluded, then, that Kipling's school-boys did not disapprove of either conventional morality or patriotism. Their rebellion and resentment was directed toward the hypocritical and the sentimental. Such conduct was anathema to the threesome as "The United Idolators" and "The Flag of Their Country" have illustrated. In a word, *Stalky*, *M'Turk* and *Beetle* were unobtrusively moral and patriotic but totally rebellious toward those who overdramatized such virtues.

The Stalky stories are pervaded by a very firm ethos. Independence, ingenuity, resourcefulness, and disregard for petty authority are virtues demonstrated and admired. A man or boy possessing these virtues had real authority and far reaching influence. The Reverend Gillett states to the triumverate "Didn't I tell you you had more influence than any boys in the College if you cared to use

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<sup>44</sup>Kipling, "An English School," Land and Sea Tales, p. 563.

it? . . . "If I had used one half of the moral suasion you may or may not have employed--"<sup>45</sup> Kipling celebrated the ingenious and crafty hero who was exquisitely prepared to do his job and to survive the dangers of empire-building. Interestingly enough, from a school of some two hundred students, Kipling chose only three to exhibit this leadership. The force and violence dramatized in the stories was, for Kipling, training for everyday life and only a select few could measure up. This reflected his belief that the weak would be dominated and civilized by the strong. Most importantly, the school provided Stalky and his companions with the freedom and circumstances necessary to develop these virtues.

Finally, it must again be emphasized that Kipling advocated a very functional approach to education. In 1893, he wrote his observations of the United Services College:

Some of the masters, particularly on the classical side, vowed that army examinations were making education no more than mark-hunting; but there are a great many kinds of education, and I think the Head knew it, for he taught us hosts of things that we never found out we knew till afterwards. And surely it must be better to turn out men who do real work than men who write about what they think about what other people have done or ought to do.

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<sup>45</sup>Kipling, Stalky and Co., p. 147.

A scholar may, as the Latin masters said, get more pleasure out of his life than an Army officer, but only little children believe that a man's life is given to him to decorate with pretty little things, as though it were a girl's room or a picture screen.

Besides, scholars are apt, all their lives, to judge from one point of view only, and by the time an Army officer has knocked about the world for a few years, he comes to look at men and things 'by and large' as the sailors say. No books in the world will teach that knack.<sup>46</sup>

School was to ripen boys into men and "fit them for the big race that led into the English Army."<sup>47</sup> Kipling implanted these real life school experiences into his Stalky stories.

A study of Stalky and Co. would not be complete without a comment on discipline. Physical discipline is both exercised and discussed in the episodes. Kipling's characters accept the use of the cane and the ground-ash as a part of life that may not be liked but must be tolerated. Its use is spoken about in a very non-chalant manner. In both "An English School" and Something of Myself, Kipling acknowledges and accepts the use of corporal punishment in schools. This acceptance is apparently predicated on Kipling's belief in the necessity of suffering and discipline as integral parts of character formation. His stance, in regard to corporal punishment, was quite

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<sup>46</sup>Kipling, "An English School," Land and Sea Tales, p. 561.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.



consistent with Late-Victorian educational practices. He differed in the belief that lessons were not taught through whippings, but through the example of others.

The impact of Stalky and Co. on the British educational system was traced by Edward Mack in Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860. He found that between 1900 and 1914, novels began to play a leading role in the controversy over public school education. Three noticeable differences occurred after the publication of Stalky and Co. First, the novels published after the appearance of Stalky are adult fiction which focused on the public school and its relation to youth. Secondly, the publications described the nature of public school life realistically and thereby reflected its virtues and defects. Realism once again began to return to public school stories. Lastly, the amount of fictional writing increased significantly. Fifteen books, dealing totally with public school life, were published between 1900 and 1915.<sup>48</sup>

#### Kipling's Officer Model

Within Kipling's literature several ideal officers, matured products of the public schools, are sketched. These models both extend and strengthen the pedagogical

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<sup>48</sup>Mack, Public Schools, pp. 186-208.

beliefs that the author recorded in Stalky and Co. In "The Brushwood Boy" (Day's Work) Kipling sketched the perfect young soldier in the character of George Cottar. The character traits delineated in George Cottar are reinforced in the person of Bobby Wickes, the central figure in "Only a Subaltern" (Under the Deodars). To provide continuity, the characterization of Cottar will be drawn upon in delineating Kipling's theories.

George Cottar's public school years, at first glance, appear to be in striking contrast to the experiences, values, and attitudes of the Stalky characters. Kipling depicts Cottar as a young man in total harmony with his school life. From his entrance onward he is totally involved with the very functions Stalky deplores. He is a full participant in the school sports program and ultimately becomes a member of the "First Fifteen" and captain of the games. He also attains the status of a sub-prefect and eventually becomes the head of a house "where he and his lieutenants preserve discipline and decency among seventy boys from twelve to seventeen."<sup>49</sup>

At this juncture, however, the dissimilarities cease and Kipling etches Cottar in the mold of the Head,

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<sup>49</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Brushwood Boy," Day's Work (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 391.

Prooshan Bates. Kipling states this fact quite explicitly when Cottar becomes an adjutant in his regiment. "An adjutant's position does not differ materially from that of the head of the school . . . .<sup>50</sup> Cottar has learned well from the head. During his school days he had been an intimate friend and ally of the Head himself."<sup>51</sup> Because of this special relationship Cottar has learned authority and manliness directly from the Head:

Behind him, but not too near, was the wise and temperate Head, now suggesting the wisdom of the serpent, now counselling the mildness of the dove; leading him on to see, more by half-hints than by any direct word, how boys and men are all of a piece, and how he who can handle the one will assuredly in time control the other.<sup>52</sup>

It was Cottar's exercise of authority that distinguished him among the boys and, later, among his men in India. His sense of justice enabled him to act as "arbiter in the quarrels that spring up among the touchy Sixth;" the respect that resulted from this role "made him responsible for that thing called the tone of the school."<sup>53</sup> Cottar also developed into a man of action under the tutelage of the Head. "School was the real world, where things of

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 402.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 391.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 391-392.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 391.

vital importance happened, and crises arose that must be dealt with promptly and quietly."<sup>54</sup> Under the wing of the head, George Cottar learned to make wise judgments in an inconspicuous manner and to do this as a duty, without sentiment or emotion.

Cottar carried these skills with him when he became a subaltern in India and extended them to the men in his command. "It dawned on him that a regiment in India was nearer the chance of active service than he had conceived, and that a man might as well study his profession."<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, he spent long hours studying and discussing the martial arts. However, his success as an officer pivoted on the simple advice he received from his adjutant. "Get to know your men, young un, and they'll follow you anywhere. That's all you want--know your men."<sup>56</sup> Knowing that he commanded a sickly and quarrelsome detachment of troops, he concentrated on alleviating the loneliness and boredom that stalked the enlisted men's barracks. Ingeniously, through boxing and other sports, the men's bodies were toughened, their frustrations released, the monotony broken, and the use of discipline avoided. In

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

return, Cottar developed a first-class platoon of fighting men "who scattered themselves among their friends, singing the praises of their lieutenant."<sup>57</sup> The subaltern soon began to take over one unfit detachment after another and formed soldiers able to cope with the demands of safeguarding an empire. He conclusively demonstrated the Kipling theorem that understanding human nature was the basis of both knowledge and success.

Like the Head, Cottar is even-handed and fair with all of his men and completely occupied by his army responsibilities. This, coupled with his ingenuity and ability to read men, earns him respect, popularity and obedience from the detachments. Again, the man's life is admired by his subordinates, rather than his teachings. "There was very little getting round him, for he seemed to know by instinct exactly when and where to head off a malingerer; but he did not forget that the difference between a dazed and sulky Junior of the Upper School and a bewildered, brow-beaten lump of a private fresh from the depot was very small indeed."<sup>58</sup> This preoccupation with his duty as a leader of men prohibits Cottar from becoming interested in courtship and marriage. Self-denial becomes the code of

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 394.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 396.

his life. Here again, because of his sense of loyalty to his men and his country, respect for him abounds. He is depicted as a dedicated man who keeps his head turned toward his ultimate goal; service to his country. When on furlough at home he states "There's no place like England--when you've done your work."<sup>59</sup>

The young officer further reflects the values of courage and deliberation that Kipling extolled in the Stalky characters. While leading his troops into a campaign, he endangers himself to aid wounded men. The episode is printed in the "Gazette" and Cottar is described as having "behaved with courage, coolness and discretion."<sup>60</sup> These qualities reappear in his relations with civilians and soldiers alike throughout the story. As in Stalky and Co., they are couched in the understatements of the hero.

Though George Cottar is portrayed as the ideal officer, one respected by all, he also encounters suffering, hardship and conflict. After being promoted to the rank of adjutant, he discovers that harsh realities abound in life:

. . . Things were said and done that tried him sorely, and he made glorious blunders, from which the regimental sergeant-major pulled him with a loyal soul and

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 414.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 408.

a shut mouth. Slovens and incompetents raged against him; the weak-minded strove to lure him from the ways of justice; the small-minded--yea men who Cottar believed never would do "things no fellow can do"--imputed motives mean and circuitous to actions he had not spent a thought upon; and he tasted injustice, and it made him very sick . . . .<sup>61</sup>

Cottar's strength of character, however, is only affirmed by these experiences and he grows more dedicated to his basic values. His strength triumphs over the weaker officers who surround him. Ultimately, his spirit is revived "when he looked down the full companies and reflected how few there were in hospitals or cells."<sup>62</sup> Cottar expressed himself, as Kipling's great men do, in deeds rather than words, and in the practice of the subaltern code--self denial, law, order, and obedience.

Within the character of George Cottar, the British-officer ideal, Kipling combined the values of courage, military skill, competence, culture, intelligence, and sensitivity into one man. As a servant of an expanding empire, Cottar brings "pax Britannica" to an area where it had never before reigned. Progress takes place among native and soldier alike, and the values of law and order are exhibited. The public school has succeeded in producing an imperial man who can extend civilization and its

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 403.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

rule of law to the corner's of the earth. The school has accomplished this by establishing its primary objective as character development; it created a practical man whose moral self-reliance and intellectual freedom allowed him to adjust to the realities of life. The school further provided its product with the most basic knowledge--an understanding of the nature of the human animal. Finally, such education endowed its students with the time-honored attitudes of justice, loyalty, honesty, self-reliance, patience, insight and empathy. Kipling's literature ascribed this responsibility to the public schools and the heroes of his literature are made to accept and meet the challenge.

Following the Boer War, a noticeable change occurs in Kipling's educational creed. The devastation suffered by the British troops during that conflict brought deep disillusionment to Kipling's belief in England's determination to fulfill its imperial mission. Consequently, he began to preach a dogma of preparation for defense. The optimism exuded in the Stalky stories and early army episodes is replaced by a pervasive pessimism. In the poem, "The Islanders," Kipling remonstrates the English for complacency and acceptance of "witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase" and "grudged your sons to their service and your fields for their camping place." For this





definite educational philosophy and a model for the English system. He staunchly advocated that the ultimate aim of education was character development. Kipling believed that schools should mold men who possessed the qualities of self-reliance, self-control, self-discipline, ingenuity, loyalty, individuality, spontaneity and aggressivity. They were to be trained in a moral code that was manly and rugged as well as individualistic.

Kipling's method of education flowed directly from his Darwinian bent. He believed that the educational process occurred as the individual was confronted by his environment. It was within the conflict arising from these two forces that lessons were learned. Thus, Kipling used experiences, incidents and circumstances as active agents in the educational process. Experience itself was a major vehicle for conveying knowledge. This conflict sharpened a man's intellect and strengthened his character. Intellectual pursuits, per se, were a secondary method. Corporal punishment was accepted as part of Kipling's methodology because it contributed to self-discipline.

The products of this educational system were, in Kipling's mind, future leaders of the Empire. Thus, his philosophy is embedded in the figures of middle class, civil servants and military men. Both their future and the preparation for it was closely bound to the maintenance and

expansion of the English Empire. Consequently, their character had to be hardened by conflict with an unpredictable environment. This type of education would enable both the individual and the Empire to not only survive but also thrive.

Kipling also presented within his literature, strong teacher models for the English school system. He repeatedly stressed that teachers instructed the young through the example of their own lives. The exemplary master understood and accepted the nature of boys. In addition, he exemplified personal integrity, justice, authority, courage and self-control. Because he exuded these qualities, he called forth respect and admiration from the young. The true master never demanded respect; rather his life commanded that attribute.

It is evident that the fictional work of Rudyard Kipling promulgated his educational theories. Many of these pieces were published at the height of his popularity and served as a vehicle for shaping the educational views and aspirations of many Englishmen. The revival of educational fiction initiated by the publication of Stalky and Co. attests to the impact of Kipling's work. In addition, the fact of Kipling's immense popularity based on circulation statistics indicates the breadth of his impact

and influence on his reading public. In Chapter Five, Kipling's views on native education, again as found in his literature, will be studied.

## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATION THROUGH LITERATURE:

#### THE COLONIAL MODEL

##### Kim

Edmund Wilson declared that Kipling probably understood the native "as few Englishmen did in his time; certainly he presented them in literature as nobody had ever done."<sup>1</sup> Despite the political overtones within Kipling's work, few critics would deny the validity of the statement. Kipling himself described his attempts to reflect life in an expanding empire. A discussion with his parents resolved the frustrations he experienced:

As was the custom between us, I asked into the air: 'What am I trying to get at?' Instantly the Mother, with her quick flutter of the hands; 'You're trying to say: "What do they know of England who only England know?"' . . .

In the talks that followed, I exposed my notion of trying to tell the English something of the world outside England--not directly but by implication.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling That Nobody Read," Kipling's Mind and Art, ed. Andrew Rutherford (California: Stanford University Press, 1964), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Rudyard Kipling, Something of Myself For My Friends Known and Unknown (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1936), pp. 97-98.

In dealing with his views on native peoples, Kipling must be taken literally and any analysis must be based on the implications apparent in his words. This chapter will concentrate on discovering the author's attitudes toward the education of colonial peoples. His works will again be culled to verify this posture.

A reading of Kipling's writings makes it apparent that relatively little is said about the white man's responsibility as an educator. The only pieces which deal directly with the question or by inference are the novel, Kim, the poem, "Kitchener's School," as well as three short stories, "The Head of the District," "An Error in the Fourth Dimension," and "The Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P.". Recalling the output of this prolific writer, one can safely assume that Rudyard Kipling lacked enthusiasm for educating subject peoples. The question then remains as to whether Kipling's limited writings do in fact support such a conclusion.

Kim was Kipling's most successful full-length novel and his last work dealing with India. He presented, in kaleidoscopic fashion, the richly variegated fabric of Indian life with its caste systems, customs and creeds intricately woven throughout the story. Kim, the son of an Irish soldier and nursemaid, was orphaned as an infant. He grew up in the streets of Lahore, India, befriended by

two men, a Lama and Mahbub Ali, a native agent in the British secret service. As a consequence of these circumstances, he was immersed in and assimilated into both the Indian culture and lifestyle. The story deals with Kim's gradual discovery that he is a Sahib, a white man, and the duality and conflict which this evokes within him. He is entrapped between two antithetical cultures. The world of the Indian bazaar and the Grand Trunk Road is juxtaposed to the Europeanized world of Saint Xavier's school. Kim is further entangled in the life of action experienced by Mahbub Ali, the secret agent and the Lama's mystical search for immunity from desire, anger and vanity. The incompatibility of these two ways of life leads Kim to cry out repeatedly "Who is Kim--Kim--Kim?"<sup>3</sup> In essence, Kim is developed as a search for self-identity amidst two incongruent lifestyles. Within the bi-cultural experiences of Kim, Rudyard Kipling unveiled his position on both British and native education.

The education of Kim, the native orphan boy, is firmly ground in experiencing life. Early in the story, Kim's life is sketched:

. . . Kim did nothing with an immense success. True, he knew the walled city of Lahore from the Delhi Gate

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<sup>3</sup>Rudyard Kipling, The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling vol. 16: Kim (Garden City: Doubleday, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Ams Press, 1970), p. 402.

to the outer Fort Ditch; was hand in glove with men who led lives stranger than anything Haroun Al Raschid dreamed of; and he lived in a life wild as that of the Arabian nights, but missionaries and secretaries of charitable societies could not see the beauty of it. His nickname throughout the wards was "Little Friend of all the World;" and very often, being lithe and inconspicuous, he executed commissions by night on the crowded house tops for sleek and shiny young men of fashion. It was intrigue, of course, --he knew that much, as he had known all evil since he could speak-- but what he loved was the game for its own sake--the stealthy prowl through the dark gullies and lanes, the crawl up a water-pipe, the sights and sounds of the women's world on the flat roofs and the headlong flight from housetop to housetop under cover of the hot dark. Then there were the holy men, ash-smeared faquirs by their brick shrines under the trees at the riverside, with whom he was quite familiar--greeting them as they returned from begging-tours, and when no one was by, eating from the same dish . . . . When there was business or frolic afoot, Kim would use his properties, returning at dawn to the verandah, all tired out from shouting at the heels of a marriage procession, or yelling at a Hindu festival.<sup>4</sup>

As the story progresses Kim is portrayed as a resourceful native who is able to provide life's necessities for himself and his Lama because of his understanding of human nature and Indian customs.

As Kim criss-crossed the length and breadth of India, he apprehended a "broad, smiling river of life . . . . There were new people and new sights at every stride."<sup>5</sup> He observed with fascination the uniqueness of each of the races, castes and creeds of people on the Grand Trunk Road. As he absorbed this, he thought "this was

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 183-184.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 253.



seeing the world in real truth; this was life as he would have it--bustling and shouting . . . and new sights at every turn of the approving eye."<sup>6</sup> As Kipling aptly stated "India was awake, and Kim was in the middle of it."<sup>7</sup> It was amidst this "world of real truth" that Kim learned cunning, resourcefulness, and understanding of human nature, his greatest strength. These were the same qualities English boys were to learn in their schools. Kim, however, was educated by the school of life to the extent that when it was discovered that Kim was a white man, the Lama's pained voice cried out "But no white man knows the land and the customs of the land as thou knowest? How comes it this is true?"<sup>8</sup> Once it was verified that the boy was white, informal experiential education became unsuitable and he was quickly enrolled in Saint Xavier's private English school.

Kipling depicts the Lama as Kim's primary mentor in this informal educational process. The Lama, though he rarely speaks directly about education, reveals a thorough comprehension that it is a weighty human responsibility. When he learns that the English officers plan to place Kim

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

in a British school the Lama laments "You take him from me and you cannot say what you will make him. Tell me before I go, for it is no small thing to make a child."<sup>9</sup> Later, the Lama corresponds with the school chaplin and declares that "Education is greatest blessing if of best sorts. Otherwise no earthly use."<sup>10</sup>

The Lama, however, assumes his responsibility for Kim's tuition while the boy attends Saint Xavier's school, trusting that it is providing Kim with "the best educations."<sup>11</sup> His notion of learning was grounded on the concepts of law and scribe. A British officer had informed the Lama that Kim was being trained as a scribe while at Saint Xavier's. Interpreting the word scribe within his cultural context, he believed that his young protege was being trained in the art of humanized, spiritual writings. He was confident that Kim would become a "Keeper of Images" --a priest of kindness, courtesy and human sensitivity who encompassed profound wisdom and preserved it through writings. In this role, Kim was envisioned as a writer who could elevate the thoughts of man, clarify his spiritual vision and record these new insights for future generations. Most importantly, he saw Kim's training as scribe as preparation

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

for a constructing the Wheel of Life:

. . . "I write pictures of the Wheel of Life . . . .  
I will show thee my art . . . because thou must learn.  
The Sahibs have not all this world's wisdom."

He drew from under the table a sheet of strangely scented yellow Chinese paper, the brushes, and slab of Indian ink. In cleanest, severest outline he had traced the Great Wheel with its six spokes, whose centre is the conjoined Hog, Snake, and Dove (Ignorance, Anger and Lust), and whose compartments are all the Heavens and Hells, and all the chances of human life. Men say that the Bodhisat Himself first drew it with grains of rice upon dust, to teach his disciples the cause of things. Many ages have crystallized it into a most wonderful convention crowded with hundreds of little figures whose every line carries a meaning. Few can translate the picture-parable; there are not twenty in all the world who can draw it surely without a copy: of those who can both draw and expound are but three.

. . . "I will teach thee the art--After due preparation; and I will show thee the meaning of the Wheel."<sup>12</sup>

For the Lama, then, Kim has been trained as a seeker of truth in search of a life possessing inner meaning.

Within this context, it is evident that the Lama viewed Kim's learning process as a preparation for religious development. The Lama himself personifies the human relevance of religion. He exudes a profound belief in the reality of the spiritual dimension of man and exemplifies the humanizing effect of faith on the individual personality. He is etched as a man who is deeply humble, honest to the core and completely trusting. His sole aim was to find

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 409-410.

the River, described in his scriptures, that would wash away any taint of sin from his life. His confidence in discovering the River is restored when Kim, the educated scribe, returns to him:

The Search, I say is sure. If need be, the River will break from the ground before us. I acquired merit when I sent thee to the Gates of Learning (Saint Xavier's), and gave thee the jewel that is wisdom . . . . It is sufficient. We are together, and all things are as they were--Friend of all the World--Friend of the Stars--my chela!<sup>13</sup>

Though the Lama's faith is based on a simple desire to be free of material of psychological desires, he scorns religion that is "overlaid with devildom, charms and idolatry."<sup>14</sup> This idea closely parallels the attitude toward religion that was exhibited in Stalky and Co.

Knowledge of and reverence for the Law also characterized an educated man according to the Lama. Law, in the belief system of the Lama, symbolized a respect for wisdom and authority. He replied to a query from Kim "I worshipped none, child. I bowed before the Excellent Law."<sup>15</sup> His law encompassed charity, fidelity and a pervasive respect for others. He reassured an old Indian soldier:

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 410-411.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

I do not know thy life, but thy face is the face of the honourable and courteous. Thou hast clung to thy Way . . . . Enter now upon the Middle Way, which is the path to Freedom. Hear the Most Excellent Law and do not follow dreams.<sup>16</sup>

Again, this concept of obedience to a law and respect for persons symbolizing this law is reiterated in Kipling's literature.

The education Kim received from the English, as well as the purpose of this education, differed sharply from that envisioned by the Lama. The gentle, mellow tones provided by the personality of the Lama disappear and the Stalky qualities are introduced. Kim's education, on the English side, was supervised by Colonel Creighton, who was by trade an ethnologist but by profession, a spy. It was to this same profession that Kim was trained. He was to become a surveyor and Kim's entire learning process was enshrouded in utilitarian ends. He was taught that learning to measure was the most valuable aspect of his training. Babu, a native graduate of Calcutta University explained to Kim the advantages of education:

There were marks to be gained by due attention to Latin and Wordsworth's Excursion (all of this was Greek to Kim). French, too, was vital . . . . Still more important than Wordsworth, or the eminent authors, Burke and Hare, was the art and science of mensuration. A boy who had passed his examination in these branches . . . could, by merely marching

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 245.

over a country with a compass and a level and straight eye, carry away a picture of that country which could be sold for large sums in coined silver . . . .<sup>17</sup>

From this point on, Kim entered the world of intrigue and embarked on the Great Game of life. Kim admired Creighton as a "man after his own heart--a tortuous and indirect person playing a hidden game."<sup>18</sup> Creighton and his friends realized Kim's usefulness as a white man who possessed all the trappings of a native. He was taught that everything had a hidden purpose and that he must learn to outwit the adversary. Since the enemy was often unknown in the world of espionage, he was expected, at the end of each day "to give a detailed account of all that he had seen and heard--his view of each man's character, as shown in his face, talk and manners, and his notion of the real errand."<sup>19</sup> Kim was coached not to "contemn the black men" for this led to the worst offense--ignorance; ignorance gets one killed, whereas knowledge of customs, human nature, resourcefulness and cunning produces the successful spy. Creighton's scribe emerged as a replicator of maps, a writer of espionage reports and a bearer of cryptic messages, a figure in sharp contradiction to the Lama's scribe image.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 319.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 369.

Though Kim's life and nature are transformed under British tutelage, the change is depicted as painful but inevitable. The wooden rosary, the singular, constant companion of the Lama, becomes in the English hands a valuable instrument "to keep count of thousands of paces"<sup>20</sup> for measuring and map construction. Religion is quickly reduced to utilitarian practice by the British agents; beauty and meaning are stripped from Kim's life. In a rather profound discussion with the Lama, Kim enunciates his attraction to a life of action:

"Cure them if they are sick," said the Lama . . . "but by no means work charms . . . ."

"Then all Doing is evil?" Kim replied . . .

"To abstain from action is well--except to acquire merit."

"At the Gates of Learning, we were taught that to abstain from action was unfitting a Sahib. And I am a Sahib."<sup>21</sup>

Within this novel, Kipling adroitly reiterates his formula for educating the servants of Empire. Simultaneously, he illustrates a marked contrast with his model for colonial education. Informal education through life experience is the mode of native education. Its objectives

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 433.

are to develop the power of human understanding, reflection and gentility. This differs substantially from the practical, stalkerly man of action who symbolizes the English counterpart.

Both of these models are thoroughly consistent with Kipling's imperial philosophy. In all cases, Kim and both his English and Indian mentors are obedient to the Law, each being faithful to the Law within his own life. Further, Kipling depicts Kim as sensitive toward and respectful of Indian culture and manners. After he discovers he is a white man, this respect continues. Kim, however, changes. He is a white man and must assume the role of the Sahib. Thus, the assimilation process is abruptly bolted and the lad assumes the role appropriate to a white leader. This becomes a moral responsibility and a new aspect of Law within his own life. Kim the native was a native when it was appropriate within his life. Once he realized his whiteness, he must become white.

#### Other Kipling Writings On Native Education

"The Head of the District" contains Kipling's most acrid comments on the educated colonial. The plot of the story focuses on the appointment of a degreed Bengali as deputy commissioner of an Indian district. Kipling's



opening remarks, reflect his contempt for the concept:

. . . What more easy way to win a reputation for far-seeing statesmanship, originality, and above all, deferences to the desires of the people, than by appointing a child of the country to the rule of that country.<sup>22</sup>

The motivation for this maneuver was clearly a liberal tenet and Kipling did not mask his dislike for it:

. . . He was indifferent to praise or blame, as befitted the very Greatest of all Viceroys. His administration was based upon principle, and the principle must be enforced in season and out of season. His pen and tongue had created the New India, teeming with possibilities--loud voiced, insistent, a nation among nations--all his very own.<sup>23</sup>

But who was this colonial to whom the Viceroy was extending such trust? "As regarded the mere question of race, Mr. Grish Chunder Dé was more English than the English."<sup>24</sup> Chunder Dé was a member of the Bengali Civil Service "who had won his place and a university degree to boot in fair and open competition with the sons of the English." Additionally, he was "cultured, of the world, and . . . had wisely and, above all, sympathetically ruled a crowded District . . . ."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Head of the District," The Complete Works of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 4: Life's Handicaps (Garden City: Doubleday, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Ams Press, 1970), pp. 115-116.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

Chunder Dé's success in his new province was, however, questioned by the Viceroy's more practical advisors. The solution to any problem that might arise was simple and met with equanimity.

Put the screw on the District officials; brigade Dé with a very strong Deputy-Commissioner on each side of him; give him the best Assistant in the Province; rub the fear of God into the people beforehand; and if anything goes wrong, say that his colleagues didn't back him up.<sup>26</sup>

From this juncture on, Kipling sketches the demise of the native leader. He is characterized as an educated native who is weak, inept and incapable of coping with crises. When an uprising over his appointment occurs, he flees after wiring his superiors that "he had not yet assumed charge of the District."<sup>27</sup>

The character of Chunder Dé fulfills Kipling's belief that natives, despite their education, did not have the strength of character to rule an empire.

"I-I-I insist on knowing what this means," said the voice of the Deputy-Commissioner . . . .

"Oh!" said Cubor, who being in the malice could not understand that fifteen years of education must, on principle, change the Bengali into a Briton.

"There has been a fight on the Border, and heaps of men are killed . . . ."

"What for?"

"Because the teeming millions of the District don't exactly approve of you . . . . It strikes me that you had better make arrangements. I act, as you know, by your orders. What do you advise?"

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 127-128.

"I-I- take you all to witness that I have not yet assumed charge of the District," stammered the Deputy-Commissioner, not in the tones of the 'more English.'"<sup>28</sup>

It was the white man who was the real authority and leader of men. Education, Kipling implied, was wasted on men who did not possess the strength to utilize its gifts. He further reinforces this point of view by creating a native leader who acknowledges that the proper Commissioner for the District is Tallantire the white assistant who assumed command during Chunder Dé's retreat from responsibility.

Again, Kipling's imperial tenets are reflected in "The Head of the District." He uses this story to reaffirm his concepts of a political elect, character development, and the right of the British to rule India. Tallantire was the natural leader because leadership was the product of a slow process of character development. Through generations of work and discipline, the English had been molded into a race worthy to rule any nation that was weak. Indians had not undergone this hardening process. Thus, Chunder Dé was not the man best able to administer the District. His failure was inevitable. Ironically, the Indians themselves recognized the futility of the situation; the English liberals, however, were not so astute.

"An Error in The Fourth Dimension" treats the attempts of a wealthy American, Walton Sargent, to

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

transform himself into a member of the English gentry. Though the story itself does not deal with native peoples, as such, several comments are included that deserve attention. His transformation is effected by "classes, ranks and denominations" who "silently and discreetly took charge of his possessions."<sup>29</sup> He accepts this situation and retires to be educated by subordinates--English subordinates of course. "In America, the native demoralizes the English servant. In England, the servant educates the master."<sup>30</sup> The story continues to relate the culture and refinement that Sargent is exposed to by his English tutors. In a word, he is being trained from a raw colonial state to be an Englishman of culture and refinement.

Though long and painstaking efforts are expended to accomplish this retooling process, the attempt fails. Sargent is overcome by his American ways and indulges in a wild escapade on "The Great Buchanian," an English night train. Kipling's moral is clear: Sargent is an American by birth and nature. Kipling, as already indicated, viewed America as a lawless and, somewhat, barbaric upsurgent country. Consequently, its inhabitants were not prepared by nature itself to exhibit the refinement or character of

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<sup>29</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "An Error In The Fourth Dimension," The Day's Work (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 291.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

the English. Though Sargent had been trained "to be a little more English than the English,"<sup>31</sup> the education had been wasted since he did not have the character or disposition to succeed in the task. He merely learned to emulate externals without being capable of interiorizing the spirit.

There was no chance now of mistaking the man's nationality. Speech, gesture, and step, so carefully drilled into him, had gone away with the borrowed mask of indifference. It was a lawful son of the Youngest People, whose predecessors were the Red Indian.<sup>32</sup>

Kipling's message was evident: education of the native was fruitless and would eventually fail.

"The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P." relates a Member of Parliament's visit to India to ascertain the progress of the Indian National movement. In a discussion with a long-time Indian civil servant, Pagett explores the impact of education on the Nationalist movement. Pagett is aghast when he discovers that the movement is not spontaneous.

"But you cannot deny that the people of India, who are perhaps, too poor to subscribe are mentally and morally moved by the agitation," Pagett insisted.

"That is precisely what I do deny. The native side of the movement is the work of a limited class, a microscopic minority, as Lord Dufferin described it, when compared with the people proper, but still a very interesting class, seeing that it is of our own creation. It is composed almost entirely of those of the literary or clerkly castes who have received an English education."

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 300.

"Surely that's a very important class. Its members must be the ordained leaders of popular thought."

"Anywhere else they might be leaders, but they have no social weight in this topsy-turvy land . . . ." <sup>33</sup>

The belief that education was neither affecting or relevant to the Indian population was reinforced later in this same story. Again, Pagett, after meeting a young Indian university student, is somewhat appalled at the simplistic analysis of facts rendered by the student:

"But he is a native and knows the facts."

"He is a sort of English schoolboy, but married three years, and the father of two weaklings, and knows less than most English schoolboys . . . ."

"He meant just what he said; and he is not a Christian, nor ever will he be. Good people in America, Scotland and England, most of whom would never dream of a collegiate education for their own sons, are pinching themselves to bestow it in pure waste on Indian youths. Their scheme is an oblique, subterranean attack on heathenism; the theory being that with the jam of secular education, leading to a University degree, the pill of moral or religious instruction may be coaxed down the heathen gullet."

"But does it succeed . . . ?"

. . . the market is dangerously overstocked with graduates of our Universities . . . . Year by year the College mills grind out increasing lists of youths foredoomed to failure and disappointment, and meanwhile trade, manufactures, and industrial arts are neglected and in fact regarded with contempt by our new literary mandarins in passe." <sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "The Enlightenment of Pagett, M.P.," The Collected Works of Rudyard Kipling vol. 5: Many Inventions, p. 100.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 117-118.

Later, the question of industrial education for natives is raised by Pagett. A sharp and negative response, based on experience, is given by the civil servant:

. . . It was proposed, for example, a few weeks ago, that a certain municipality in this province should establish an elementary technical school for the sons of workmen. The stress of opposition to the plan came from a pleader who owed all he had to a college education bestowed on him gratis by Government and missions . . . . These people, he said, want no education, for they learn their trades from their fathers, and to teach a workman's son the elements of mathematics and physical science would give him ideas above his business. They must be kept in their place . . . .<sup>35</sup>

The weight of these statements is reinforced by the fact that they are alleged to have been uttered by an educated Indian. Thus, Kipling reveals here that education had not weakened the barrier of Indian caste hatreds; simultaneously, he illustrates that industrial or technical education, in a formal setting, was unnecessary in Indian society where education was a family responsibility and an indigeneous process.

Kipling's most amiable remarks regarding native education are contained in the poem "Kitchener's School." Lacking the harshness evident in many of Kipling's writings, one is led to say that the poem is best characterized as facetitious. In a brief introduction, Kipling ascribes the poem to a Mohammedan schoolmaster serving the

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-119.

Bengali army. Thus, once again, a native provides his views on colonial education. The work is rivoted on General Kitchener's provision of money to finance a school for the Sudanese at Khartoum, after the city had been captured by his army. The early stanzas speak of Kitchener's mercy after conquering the city. However, a transition is quickly made to the folly of his latest scheme--educating the Sudanese:

He said: --'Go safely, being abased. I have accomplished my vow.'  
 That was the mercy of Kitchener.  
 Cometh his madness now!  
 He does not desire as ye desire, nor  
 devise as ye devise:  
 He is preparing a second host--an  
 army to make ye wise.

Knowing that ye are forfeit by battle  
 and have no right to live,  
 He begs for money to bring you learning--  
 and all the English give.  
 It is their treasure--it is their pleasure--  
 thus are their hearts inclined:  
 For Allah created the English mad--  
 the maddest of all mankind!<sup>36</sup>

The irony of initiating a school for natives is also exposed. "They terribly carpet the earth with dead, and before their cannon cool, They walk unarmed by two's and three's to call the living to school."<sup>37</sup> The seriousness of the British intent to educate is not, however,

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<sup>36</sup>Rudyard Kipling, "Kitchener's School," The Complete Works of Rudyard Kipling vol. 26: The Five Nations (Garden City: Doubleday, 1941; reprint ed., Ams Press, 1970), pp. 232-233.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 233.



questioned in the poem.

Certainly they were mad from of old; but  
 I think one new thing,  
 That the magic whereby they work their  
 magic--wherefrom their fortunes spring--  
 May be that they show all peoples their  
 magic and ask no price in return,  
 Wherefore, since ye are bound to that magic,  
 O Hubshee, make haste and learn!

Certainly also is Kitchener mad. But one  
 sure thing I know--  
 If he who broke you be minded to teach  
 You, to his Madrissa go!  
 Go, and carry your shoes in your hand  
 and bow your head on your breast,  
 For he did not slay you in sport, he will  
 not teach you in jest.<sup>38</sup>

Once again, Kipling dramatizes the English attempt to educate colonial peoples as folly. Though he employs humour within the poem, after reading the piece the reader is left with a strong sense of waste and futility amidst benevolent tolerance.

Based on the statements contained in the body of Rudyard Kipling's writings, it must be concluded that he did not support the practice of educating colonial peoples. Within his writings, one cannot locate any positive statement advocating such education. Rather, Kipling used the tools of his trade to degrade the worth and importance of colonial education. He characterizes it as an effort in futility which is totally alien to the nature and personality of an indigenous people. Kipling, himself, had not

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 234.

had an opportunity to attend a university, though he expressed a desire to do so. One must understand the impact of this fact on his attitude. Additionally, Kipling had always valued Indian customs and manners and sought to protect their cultural integrity. He may have seen the English pattern of education as a threat to their vitality and continuance. Finally, the author advocated discipline and performance of one's responsibilities as each man's personal law. Since he was opposed to native rule for India, it is entirely possible that he believed education would not aid in preparing a colonial people for their appropriate role in society. In a word, he maintained that the informal educational processes at play within a society was sufficient to educate native peoples.

It was a process that was informal and rooted in life experience. Kipling believed that older natives were to be the mentors of the young. Again, it was example that was to be the primary method of instruction. Its ultimate end was to build an Indian character that possessed the power of human understanding, reflection, and gentility. Thus, again Kipling's literature confirms the thesis that Kipling did pen strong educational views.

Unfortunately, Kipling's literature presents a strong, negative attitude toward the concept of educating

native peoples. His resistance to the idea must have been as influential on his reading public as were his views on the English educational system. Though the English government continued its efforts in this regard, many English accepted the idea of "an uneducated native" as the ideal. This belief was consistent with the imperial philosophy espoused by many Late-Victorians. A sense of moral integrity flowed from the maintenance of an indigenous state. The next and final chapter will assemble, compare and contrast Kipling's formal and informal educational views.

## CHAPTER VI

### Summary and Conclusions

This study has explored Rudyard Kipling's educational views as articulated in his speeches and literature. An attempt has been made to correlate his views with personal life experiences and the world climate, particularly stressing the Late-Victorian milieu in which Kipling lived. Chapter One indicated that the economic, intellectual, political and educational currents in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were marked by great change. With the formation of large nation-states in 1870, Europe became politically divided and competitive. The single source of unity existing between Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Russia was a similar way of life and outlook. These nations and their allies viewed themselves as the civilized world. These major powers regarded all other nations, particularly those in Asia and Africa, as backward.

At the same time, the European population reached an unparalleled rate of growth. Thousands of Europeans began migrating throughout the world. This shift and swelling of population accelerated agricultural and indus-

trial production, created a world market based in an international gold standard, expanded the system of free trade, and extended overseas investments. Laissez-faire economic principles were swept aside in the advent of regulated capitalism. Economic nationalism, a natural by-product, became entrenched by the early 1880's.

The emigration of European peoples coupled with economic nationalism launched a race for colonies. During the period between 1870 and 1914, imperialism dominated the political scene. Heavy investments of European capital in less developed countries caused governments to seek territorial or political domination in order to protect these investments. England, faced with a competitive market never before encountered, embraced imperialism for two reasons: to secure new markets and materials and to provide an orderly pattern of government to less developed countries. As a consequence, England gained control over the Suez Canal; sought to spread her influence throughout Asia particularly in India; and, engaged in the Boer War to extend her rule throughout Africa.

The intellectual trends dominating Europe during the Late-Victorian period generally supported an imperial political philosophy. Darwinism, particularly, was utilized to substantiate white superiority and European fitness to rule other races. A sense of moral urgency was generated that made the "White Man's Burden" an incumbent political

necessity. The emergence of psychology lessened the liberal belief in man's abounding rationality. A new stress on the subconscious and environment produced an anti-intellectualism that pervaded the self-proclaimed "civilized countries."

The economic, political and intellectual metamorphosis that occurred between 1870 and 1914 contributed to a re-shaping of England's educational system. A rash of small public schools appeared that devoted themselves to preparing young men for government service. In order to produce strong leaders for the Empire, discipline, authority and team spirit were accentuated. More and more modern subjects were injected into the curriculum. Competitive examinations were instituted for coveted military commissions or entrance to the civil service; an over-emphasis on facts rather than knowledge began to characterize the public school scene. After 1875, a model for public school education became evident. Young men were to be the embodiment of the Empire: disciplined, devoted to duty, able to meet the demands of an alien culture. Attempts to alter this situation continued after this time. Little substantive progress was made toward reforming the public school, however.

Rudyard Kipling did not escape the impact of these changes. As Chapter Two indicated, his parents sailed for India shortly after their marriage. It was in India that

Rudyard was born and spent the first six years of his life. In 1871 Kipling returned to England for his education. After attending primary school, he entered the United Services College, a public school founded by military officers to provide inexpensive education for their sons. Here, under the tutelage of the head master, Kipling was provided with the tools necessary for a literary career-- a deviation from the Late-Victorian pattern.

Kipling returned to India in 1882 and immediately began working on a newspaper. In the succeeding years, he encountered British imperialism at work in India. These years shaped his political philosophy and provided him with rich materials for later writings. In 1888 he returned to London armed with an imperial experience and determined to launch a literary career. Between 1890 and 1902, Rudyard Kipling emerged as the foremost English author and an ardent advocate of imperialism. His reputation spread throughout the world and his influence over the general reading public was singular.

Between 1890 and 1914, Kipling travelled extensively. He was able to gain first hand experience of the quality of life provided by varying forms of government. He became firmly convinced that England possessed the most stable, orderly government yet developed by man. This conviction grew within Kipling into an overpowering loyalty to the Empire. This pervasive loyalty coupled with his school

and Indian experiences prompted him to espouse imperialism.

Kipling's imperial philosophy, outlined in Chapter III, was founded upon three premises. First among these was his concept of the Law. He believed that there existed within every man and nation a law which, if obeyed, harmonized and ordered life. This theory of law closely paralleled the traditional definition of natural law; each being, individual or corporate, was responsible for its conduct according to its nature and station in life. If men and nations were responsible, a rule of order would be achieved. The second tenet in Kipling's philosophy stated that this rule of order would be achieved through the efforts of great men; men who were prepared by endowment and education to be leaders. The leadership of such men would extend the rule of order to underdeveloped countries and elevate man's standard of living. Such leaders would be recognized by their devotion to duty, endurance, courage and discipline. While forwarding the advance of civilization, these men would attain personal identity and integrity within their own lives. Finally, Kipling believed that those called to such leadership had a moral responsibility to respect the manners and customs of less developed nations. He believed that the integrity of all peoples had to be furthered through imperialism. In a word, Kipling authored a unique form of imperialism which expressed belief in work, discipline, responsibility, and



a higher quality life for all peoples. Because of his profound loyalty to and trust in the English form of government, he urged Britons to accept the responsibility as leaders of this new world order.

Kipling's imperial views evidenced strains of the Social Darwinism popular in Europe during the Late-Victorian period. Kipling, like the Darwinists, maintained that life was harsh, that societal problems could not be easily solved and that work and self-denial were characteristics which distinguished the "fit" from the "less fit." In both his writings and public speeches, Kipling asserted that England and her people were most capable of extending civilization. He attributed this leadership quality to a national experience and character that had been developed and refined over centuries of time. He envisioned England as a nation selected by nature for its role as world leader. This concept of natural selection closely aligned Darwinism and imperialism and provided a justification for the political and economic domination of underdeveloped regions. Rudyard Kipling endorsed this concept but in the hope that such countries could be enhanced by British rule.

Rudyard Kipling's formal and informal educational views were identical. Whether expressed in speeches, addresses, letters or fiction, his educational philosophy was closely aligned with his imperial convictions. The

primary purpose of education was to prepare young, middle-class men for the work of empire-building. The ultimate educational aim was character development. Every element of the educational process was to be directed toward this end. The graduate of the public schools was to possess the qualities of independence, self-reliance, discipline, courage, and ingenuity. Kipling's men of the Empire were, above all, men of action.

Kipling did not address himself extensively to the question of curriculum. It is clear that the public schools were to prepare professional men capable of building an empire. It was incumbent that the skills requisite to the performance of a job be mastered, be that a craftsman, soldier or administrator. Kipling believed that the sciences were necessary for this. The classics, however, held an equally important place in education. Kipling was convinced that the classics accomplished three ends: they disciplined the mind to think logically; they provided the young with a sense of national heritage and pride; and, they bestowed an understanding of human nature. He believed that each of these points was fundamental to a strong leader of men. It can be said that the classics and the sciences were intricately bound together within Kipling's educational design. He advocated that anything which enabled a man to do his job well was an appropriate subject for the school. Though Kipling

himself exhibited strong signs of the anti-intellectualism prevalent at the time, this is not apparent in his educational philosophy. He promoted intelligence and intellectualism in his men of empire.

Kipling was greatly concerned with the method of instruction since his aim was the development of character. He repeatedly pointed out that such development occurred within the conflicts experienced in school life. It was the interaction between boys, schoolmates, masters and school regulations that molded individual personalities. Within this process, authentic leadership would emerge. Courage, resourcefulness, self-control, understanding and common sense would be cultivated. This conflict and these qualities were the foundations for the future life of students and empire alike. In this, Kipling exhibited clearly a Darwinian trait. The stories in Stalky and Co. were constructed around this method of education.

Teachers, Kipling maintained, were to instruct the young principally through the example of their own life. Personal integrity and self-control constituted real authority and authentic leadership. These qualities provoked respect, admiration and emulation from young men. The teacher who translated justice, honesty, manliness, understanding, and courage into his own career, instructed and aided his students to do the same. Though Kipling did not disapprove of physical discipline, he felt it was unnecessary for the exemplary teacher.

Kipling did not endorse education of subject peoples. Within his writings, he frequently denounced the abilities of educated natives. He particularly emphasized native inability to profit by instruction. He characterized it as an effort in futility which was totally alien to the nature and temperament of indigeneous people. It must be recalled that Kipling himself never received a university education. In addition, Kipling valued native customs and manners and actively worked to protect their integrity. He may have envisioned education as a threat to this integrity. He staunchly insisted that the informal educational processes at play in these societies were sufficient to educate subject peoples.

The educational beliefs of Rudyard Kipling are clearly evident and very consistent throughout his literature and addresses. Given his eminent popularity and the extensive circulation of his words, Kipling undisputably affected the views of a generation of Englishmen and much of the world. As Mack indicated in Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1870, Kipling's writings also sparked a host of educational novels and contributed to a growing controversy over the role and function of British public schools.

This research has studied the impact of one influential figure during a given historical time period. His role as popular educator is unmistakably an important one.

It would seem that a similar approach could be taken with other prominent literary figures to ascertain their educational influence upon the readers of their day.

Further related research involving Kipling's works could include limited studies in the following areas. His views on the education of the lower-classes is one possibility in which the soldier stories could be analyzed for content. Another study of interest would be one concerning Kipling's religious philosophy. No work on this subject has been undertaken since 1899; an up-date would be particularly useful in the light of current theological thought. A second related topic would be a correlation of his views of education with his religious principles and convictions.

The author would not recommend any attempt to peruse Kipling's thought regarding the education of women, however, as this appears to be a mute question for him, with no evidence of any statement on this subject in his writings.

The re-awakening of interest in Kipling as author and individual offers limitless possibilities for further explorations. Hopefully, this study has contributed to a fuller understanding of a very enigmatic personage.

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APPENDIX A

PRINCIPAL BOOKS BY RUDYARD KIPLING  
WITH CONTENTS OF SHORT-STORY COLLECTIONS<sup>I</sup>

- 1886 Departmental Ditties (Verse)  
1888 Plain Tails From the Hills  
Lispeth  
Three and--an Extra  
Thrown Away  
Miss Youghal's Sais  
'Yoked With an Unbeliever'  
False Dawn  
The Rescue of Pluffles  
Cupid's Arrows  
The Three Musketeers  
His Chance in Life  
Watches of the Night  
The Other Man  
Consequences  
The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin  
The Taking of Lungtungpen  
A Germ-Destroyer  
Kidnapped  
The Arrest of Lieutenant Golightly  
In the House of Suddhoo  
His Wedded Wife  
The Broken-link Handicap  
Beyond the Pale  
In Error  
A Bank Fraud  
Tods' Amendment  
The Daughter of the Regiment  
In the Pride of his Youth  
Pig  
The Rout of the White Hussars  
The Bronckhorst Divorce Case  
Venus Annodomini  
The Bisara of Pooree  
A Friend's Friend

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<sup>I</sup>This appendix appears in part in Philip Mason, Kipling The Glass, The Shadow, and the Fire (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1975)pp. 315-319. Additional books and stories have been added by Ms. Fiduccia which are related to this dissertation.

- The Gate of a Hundred Sorrows  
 The Madness of Private Ortheris  
 The Story of Muhammad Din  
 On the Strength of a Likeness  
 Wressley of the Foreign Office  
 By Word of Mouth  
 To Be Filed for Reference  
 1890 Soldiers Three  
 This includes three collections previously published in the Indian Railway Library in 1888.  
Soldiers Three  
 The God From the Machine  
 Private Learoyd's Story  
 The Big Drunk Draf  
 The Solid Muldoon  
 With the Main Guard  
 In the Matter of a Private  
 Black Jack  
The Story of the Gadsbys  
 (There are nine episodes, but they are not separate stories.)  
In Black and White  
Dray Wara Yow Dee  
 The Judgment of Dungara  
 At Howli Thana  
 Gemini  
 At Twenty-Two  
 In Flood Time  
 The Sending of Dana Da  
 On the City Wall  
 1890 Wee Willie Winkie  
 This also includes three collections first published in India in 1888.  
Under the Deodars  
 The Education of Otis Yeere  
 At the Pit's Mouth  
 A Wayside Comedy  
 The Hill of Illusion  
 A Second-Rate Woman  
 Only a Subaltern  
The Phantom Rickshaw  
 My Own True Ghost Story  
 The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes  
 The Man who would be King  
Wee Willie Winkie  
 Baa Baa, Black Sheep  
 His Majesty the King  
 The Drums of the Fore and Aft  
 1890 The Light That Failed

- 1891 Life's Handicap  
 The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney  
 The Courting of Dinah Shadd  
 On Greenhow Hill  
 The Man Who Was  
 The Head of the District  
 Without Benefit of Clergy  
 At the End of the Passage  
 The Mutiny of the Mavericks  
 The Mark of the Beast  
 The Return of Imray  
 Namgay Doola  
 The Lang Men o' Larut  
 Bertran and Bimi  
 Reingelder and the German Flag  
 The Wandering Jew  
 Through the Fire  
 The Finances of the Gods  
 The Amir's Homily  
 Jews in Shushan  
 The Limitations of Pambe Serang  
 Little Tobrah  
 Moti Guj--Mutineer  
 Bubbling Well Road  
 'The City of Dreadful Night'  
 Georgie Porgie  
 Naboth  
 The Dream of Duncan Parenness
- 1892 The Naulahka  
Barrack-Room Ballads
- 1893 Many Inventions  
 The Disturber of Traffic  
 A Conference of the Powers  
 My Lord the Elephant  
 One View of the Question  
 'The Finest Story in the World'  
 His Private Honour  
 A Matter of Fact  
 The Lost Legion  
 In the Rukh  
 'Brugglesmith'  
 'Love-o'-Women'  
 The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot  
 Judson and the Empire  
 The Children of the Zodiac
- 1894 The Jungle Book  
 1895 The Second Jungle Book  
 1896 The Seven Seas (verse)  
 1897 Captains Courageous



- 1898 The Day's Work  
The Bridge-Builders  
A Walking Delegate  
The Ship That Found Herself  
The Tomb of his Ancestors  
The Devil and the Deep Sea  
William the Conqueror-Part I  
William the Conqueror-Part II  
.007  
The Maltese Cat  
'Bread Upon the Waters'  
An Error in the Fourth Dimension  
My Sunday at Home  
The Brushwood Boy
- 1899 Stalky and Co.
- 1901 Kim
- 1902 The Just-So Stories
- 1903 The Five Nations (verse)
- 1904 Traffics and Discoveries  
The Captive  
The Bonds of Discipline  
A Sahibs' War  
'Their Lawful Occasions': Part I  
'Their Lawful Occasions': Part II  
The Comprehension of Private Copper  
Steam Tactics  
'Wireless'  
The Army of a Dream Part I  
The Army of a Dream Part II  
'They'  
Mrs. Bathurst  
Below the Mill Dam
- 1906 Puck of Pook's Hill
- 1909 Actions and Reactions  
An Habitation Enforced  
Garm--a Hostage  
The Mother Hive  
With the Night Mail  
A Deal in Cotton  
The Puzzler  
Little Foxes  
The House Surgeon
- 1910 Rewards and Fairies  
(including 'Cold Iron')
- 1917 A Diversity of Creatures  
As Easy as A.B.C.  
Friendly Brook  
In the Same Boat  
The Honours of War

- The Dog Hervey  
 The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat  
 In the Presence  
 Regulus  
 The Edge of the Evening  
 The Horse Marines  
 'My Son's Wife'  
 The Vortex  
 'Swept and Garnished'  
 Mary Postgate  
 1919 The Years Between (verse)  
 1926 Debits and Credits  
 The Enemies to Each Other  
 Sea Constables: a Tale of '15  
 'In the Interests of the Brethren'  
 The United Idolaters  
 The Wish House  
 The Janeites  
 The Prophet and the Country  
 The Bull that Thought  
 A Madonna of the Trenches  
 The Propagation of Knowledge  
 A Friend of the Family  
 On the Gate: a Tale of '16  
 The Eye of Allah  
 The Gardener  
 1928 A Book of Words (Speeches)  
 1932 Limits and Renewals  
 Dayspring Mishandled  
 The Woman in his Life  
 The Tie  
 The Church that was at Antioch  
 Aunt Ellen  
 Fairy-Kist  
 A Naval Mutiny  
 The Debt  
 The Manner of Men  
 Unprofessional  
 Beauty Spots  
 The Miracle of St. Jubanus  
 The Tender Achilles  
 Uncovenanted Mercies  
 1937 (posthumously) Something of Myself

APPENDIX B

SEPARATE WORKS OF RUDYARD KIPLING<sup>I</sup>

Note: Kipling's bibliography is complicated by the existence of numerous separate items printed for copyright purposes, and even more numerous piracies. No reference is made to them in the following section.

Schoolboy Lyrics. Lahore (1881). Verse.

Echoes, by two writers. Lahore (1884). Verse.  
Contains 32 poems by Kipling and 7 by Alice Kipling, his sister.

Quartette, by four Anglo-Indian writers. Lahore (1885).  
Fiction. Includes 'The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes' and 'The Phantom Rickshaw' by Kipling, and contributions in prose and verse by his parents and sister.

Departmental Ditties and Other Verses. Lahore (1886).  
Verse. The Calcutta editions of 1886, 1888, 1890 contain additional poems.

Plain Tales From the Hills. Calcutta (1888). Fiction.  
Most of the stories in this collection had previously been published in The Civil and Military Gazette.

Soldiers Three, A Collection of Stories setting forth  
Certain Passages in the Lives and Adventures of Privates  
Terence Mulvaney, Stanley Ortheris, and John Learoyd.  
Allahabad (1888). Fiction.

The Story of the Gadsbys, A Tale without a Plot. Allahabad  
(1888). Fiction.

In Black and White. Allahabad (1888). Fiction.

Under the Deodars. Allahabad (1888). Fiction.

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<sup>I</sup>This appendix appears in Bonamy Dobree, Rudyard Kipling (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951), pp. 34-40.

The Phantom Rickshaw and Other Tales. Allahabad (1888).  
Fiction.

Wee Willie Winkie and Other Child Stories. Allahabad (1888).  
Fiction. Most of the stories in this and the four preceding collections of 1888 had previously been published in *The Week's News*.

The Courting of Dinah Shadd and Other Stories, with a Biographical and Critical Sketch by Andrew Lang. New York (1890). Fiction.

The Light That Failed. (New York 1890: altered and enlarged version, 1891.) Fiction. There were two American editions of 1890, the first with an unhappy ending, the second with a happy one.

Life's Handicap: Being Stories of Mine Own People (1891).  
Fiction.

American Notes (with 'The Bottle Imp', by R.L. Stevenson). New York (1891). Essays. Reprinted from *The Pioneer*.

The City of Dreadful Night and Other Places. Allahabad (1891). Fiction. Stories reprinted from *The Pioneer*. An earlier edition of the same year was suppressed, as was also a collection (1890) of stories reprinted from the *Civil and Military Gazette* and entitled The City of Dreadful Night and Other Sketches.

The Smith Administration. Allahabad (1891). Essays.  
Suppressed.

Letters of Marque. Allahabad (1891). Fiction. Suppressed.

The Naulahka: A Story of West and East (1892). Fiction.  
In collaboration with C.W. Balestier, whose sister, Caroline, became Kipling's wife.

Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses (1892). Verse.  
Includes the poems from Departmental Ditties 1890.

Many Inventions (1893). Fiction. All but four of the stories had previously been published in magazines.

The Jungle Book (1894). Fiction and Verse.

The Second Jungle Book (1895). Fiction and Verse. The stories in the two *Jungle Books* had previously been published in magazines.

Out of India. Things I Saw and Failed to See, in Certain Days and Nights at Jeypore and Elsewhere. New York (1895). Fiction. Includes Letters of Marque, 1891, and The City of Dreadful Night, 1891.

The Seven Seas (1896). Verse. Poems collected and reprinted from various sources.

Soldier Tales (1896). Verse. Poems collected and reprinted from various sources.

An Almanac of Twelve Sports for 1898, by William Nicholson. With accompanying rhymes by Rudyard Kipling (1897). Verse.

Captains Courageous. A Story of the Grand Banks (1897). Fiction.

The Day's Work (1898). Fiction. A Collection of stories previously published in magazines.

A Fleet In Being: Notes of Two Trips with the Channel Squadron (1898). Essays. Reprinted from the Morning Post.

Stalky and Co. (1899). Fiction. A collection of stories previously published in magazines.

Recessional and Other Poems (1899). Verse. Reprinted from newspapers.

From Sea to Sea: Letters of Travel. 2 vols. New York (1899; London 1900). Belles-lettres. Contains 'Letters of Marque'; 'American Notes'; 'City of Dreadful Night'; and 'The Smith Administration'.

With Number Three, Surgical and Medical, and New Poems, Santiago de Chile (1900). Verse. Reprinted from magazines and newspapers.

War's Brighter Side. The Story of 'The Friend' Newspaper by Julian Ralph (1901). Contains contributions by Kipling in prose and verse. The Friend was published in 1900 during the South African War at Bloemfontein under his editorship.

Kim (1901). Fiction.

Railway Reform in Great Britain. New York (1901). Essay.

The Sin of Witchcraft (1901). Reprinted from The Times.

The Science of Rebellion. A Tract for the Times (1902).  
Essay.

Just-So Stories for Little Children (1902). Fiction and Verse. All but one of the stories in this collection had previously been published in magazines.

The Five Nations (1903). Verse. Largely reprinted from newspapers and periodicals.

Traffics and Discoveries (1904). Fiction and Verse. A collection of stories previously published in magazines.

Puck of Pook's Hill (1906). Fiction and Verse. The stories had previously been published in magazines.

A Letter on a Possible Source of the Tempest, with an Epistle to the Reader by E.C. Frost. Providence, R.I. (1906). Reprinted from the Spectator.

Speech as Chairman at the Annual Dinner of the Artists General Benevolent Institution on 9 May 1907 (1907).  
Speech.

Doctors: An Address delivered to the Students of the Medical School of the Middlesex Hospital, 1 October 1908. With a Preface by R. Lucas (1908). Speech.

Letters to the Family. Notes on a Recent Trip to Canada. Toronto (1908). Essays. Reprinted from newspapers.

Abaft the Funnel. New York (1909). Fiction. Reprinted from newspapers.

Actions and Reactions (1909). Fiction and Verse. The stories had previously been published in magazines.

Rewards and Fairies (1910). Fiction and Verse. All but one of the stories had previously been published in magazines.

A History of England (1911). In collaboration with C.R.L. Fletcher. Kipling contributed 23 poems.

- Why The Snow Falls At Vernet. A Legend of St. Saturnia. Fiction (1911). Contributed to 'Pages from the Merry Thought', Vernet-Les-Bains (1911).
- Songs From Books (1913). Verse. A collection of verse from earlier books.
- The New Army In Training (1915). Essays. Reprinted from the Daily Mail.
- The Fringes of the Fleet (1915). Essays. Reprinted from the Daily Telegraph.
- France at War (1915). Essays. Reprinted from the Daily Mail.
- Tales of 'The Trade' (1916). Essays. Reprinted from The Times.
- Sea Warfare (1916). Essays. Includes 'Fringes of the Fleet'; 'Tales of "The Trade"'; 'Destroyers at Jutland'; and 'The Neutral'--all previously published in newspapers.
- A Diversity of Creatures (1917). Fiction and Verse. All but one of the stories had previously been published in magazines.
- The War in the Mountains (in Italian). Milan (1918). Reprinted in various English and Foreign newspapers.
- Britain and the War, by A. Chevrillon (1917). Preface by Kipling.
- The Eyes of Asia. New York (1918). Essays. Reprinted from the Saturday Evening Post.
- Kipling's Message. An Address delivered at Folkestone on 5 February 1918 (1918). Speech.
- The Years Between (1919). Verse. Largely reprinted from newspapers and periodicals.
- The Graves of the Fallen (1919). Essay. Written for The Imperial War Graves Commission.
- Horace: Odes I, VI, XIII from Book V. Oxford (1920). Kipling's contribution to a translation of the Fifth Book, ed. A.D. Godley. His collaborator was C. Graves.

Letters of Travel, 1892-1913 (1920). Essays. Includes 'From Tideway to Tideway' (1892); 'Letters to the Family' (1907); and 'Egypt of the Magicians' (1913), reprinted from newspapers and periodicals.

England and the English. A Speech at the Festival Dinner of the Royal Society of St. George, 1920 (1921).  
Speech.

The First Assault Upon the Sorbonne. New York (1922).  
Speech.

A Kipling Anthology. 2 vols. (1922). Prose and verse selected by R. Kipling.

The Irish Guards in the Great War. Compiled and Edited by Rudyard Kipling. 2 vols. (1923).

Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides (1923). Fiction and Verse. All but one of the stories had previously been published in newspapers and periodicals.

Independence. Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews, 10 October 1923 (1924). Speech.

Songs for Youth (1924). A Collection made from earlier books.

The Shipping Industry. Report of a Speech at the Annual Dinner of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom. New York (1925). Speech.

Debits and Credits (1926). Fiction and Verse. The stories had previously been published in magazines.

The Art of Fiction. A Speech at the Presentation of the Gold Medal of the Royal Society of Literature (1926).  
Speech.

A Book of Words. Selections from Speeches and Addresses delivered between 1906 and 1927 (1928). Speeches.  
Reprinted from original separate editions and from newspapers.

Healing by the Stars. Address to the Members of the Royal Society of Medicine. New York (1928).

Songs From the Sea (1927). Verse. Poems reprinted from earlier books.



Thy Servant A Dog (1930). Fiction.

Limits and Renewals (1932). Fiction and Verse. Reprinted  
in part from various sources.

Souvenirs of France (1933). Essays.

Something of Myself: For My Friends Known And Unknown  
(1936). Autobiography.

Facing the Facts. A Speech delivered at the Annual Banquet  
of the Royal Society of St. George, 6 May 1935 (1936).  
Speech.

APPENDIX C

INDEX TO PROSE OF RUDYARD KIPLING<sup>I</sup>

(The title in parentheses refers to the volume in which the item appears.)

Across a Continent (From Tideway to Tideway and Letters of Travel)

Adoration of the Mage, The (Abaft the Funnel)

Amir's Homily, The (Life's Handicap)

Among the Railway Fold (City of Dreadful Night and From Sea to Sea)

Army of a Dream, The (Traffics and Discoveries)

Arrest of Lieut. Golightly, The (Plain Tales)

As Easy as A.B.C. (A Diversity of Creatures)

At Howli Thana (In Black and White)

At the End of the Passage (Life's Handicap)

At the Pit's Mouth (Under the Deodars)

At Twenty-Two (In Black and White)

Aunt Ellen (Limits and Renewals)

Baa, Baa, Black Sheep (Wee Willie Winkie)

Bank Fraud, A (Plain Tales)

Battle of Rupert Square, The (Uncollected Prose, I)

Bazaar Dhulip, A (From Sea to Sea)

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<sup>I</sup>This appendix appears in Bonamy Dobree, Rudyard Kipling (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951), pp. 43-55.

- Beauty Spots (Limits and Renewals)
- Beginnings of the Armadilloes, The (Just-So Stories)
- Below the Mill Dam (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Benefactors, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Bertran and Bimi (Life's Handicap)
- Betrayal of Confidences, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Beyond the Pale (Plain Tales)
- Big Drunk Draf', The (Soldiers Three)
- Bisara of Pooree, The (Plain Tales)
- Bitters Neat (Plain Tales)
- Black Jack (Soldiers Three)
- Bold 'Prentice, The (Land and Sea Tales)
- Bonds of Discipline, The (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Bow Flume Cable-Car, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- 'Bread Upon the Waters' (The Day's Work)
- Bride's Progress, The (From Sea to Sea)
- Bridge-Builders, The (The Day's Work)
- Broken-Link Handicap, The (Plain Tales)
- Bronckhorst Divorce Case, The (Plain Tales)
- Brother Square-Toes (Rewards and Fairies)
- 'Brugglesmith' (Many Inventions)
- Brushwood Boy, The (The Day's Work)
- Bubbling Well Road (Life's Handicap)
- Bull that Thought, The (Debits and Credits)
- Burgher of the Free State, A (Uncollected Prose, II)

Burning of the Sarah Sands, The (Land and Sea Tales)

Butterfly that Stamped, The (Just-So Stories)

By Word of Mouth (Plain Tales)

'Uncollected Prose'; 'Brazilian Sketches' and 'The War' are included in the Sussex Edition.

Captains Courageous (Captains Courageous and From Tideway to Tideway)

Captive, The (Traffics and Discoveries)

Cat that Walked by Himself, The (Just-So Stories)

Centurion of the Thirtieth, A (Puck of Pook's Hill)

Chautauquaed (Abaft the Funnel)

Children of the Zodiac, The (Many Inventions)

Church that was Antioch, The (Limits and Renewals)

Cities and Spaces (Letters to the Family)

Cities and Spaces (Letters of Travel)

City of Dreadful Night, The (Life's Handicap)

Claims of Art, The (A Book of Words)

Classics and the Sciences, The (A Book of Words)

Cold Iron (Rewards and Fairies)

Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick, The (Uncollected Prose, II)

Comprehension of Private Copper, The (Traffics and Discoveries)

Conclusion, A (Letters to the Family and Letters of Travel)

Conference of the Powers, A (Many Inventions and Courting of Dinah Shadd)

Consequences (Plain Tales)

Conversion of Aurelian McGroggin, The (Plain Tales)

- Conversion of St. Wilfrid, The (Rewards and Fairies)
- Courting of Dinah Shadd (name title and Life's Handicap and Soldier Tales)
- Cow-House Jirga, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Crab that Played with the Sea (Just-So Stories)
- Cupid's Arrows (Plain Tales)
- Daughter of the Regiment, The (Plain Tales)
- Dayspring Mishandled (Limits and Renewals)
- Dead Kings (Egypt of the Magicians)
- Deal in Cotton, A (Actions and Reactions)
- Death in the Camp, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Debt, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Destroyers at Jutland (Sea Warfare)
- Devil and the Deep Sea, The (The Day's Work)
- Displaie of New Heraldry, A (Uncollected Prose, II)
- District At Play, A (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Disturber of Traffic, The (Many Inventions)
- Doctor of Medicine, A (Rewards and Fairies)
- Doctor's Work, A (A Book of Words)
- Dog Hervey, The (A Diversity of Creatures and Collected Dog Stories)
- Dray Wara Yow Dee (In Black and White)
- Dream of Duncan Parrenness, The (Life's Handicap)
- Drums of the Fore and Aft, The (Wee Willie Winkie and Soldier Tales)

- 'Dymchurch Flit' (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- Edge of the East, The (From Tideway to Tideway and Letters of Travel)
- Edge of the Evening, The (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Egypt of the Magicians (Letters of Travel)
- Education of Otis Yeere, The (Under the Deodars)
- Elephant's Child, The (Just-So Stories)
- Enemies to Each Other, The (Debits and Credits)
- Erastius of the Wanghoa (Abaft the Funnel)
- Error in the Fourth Dimension, An (The Day's Work)
- England and the English (A Book of Words)
- English School, An (Land and Sea Tales)
- Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P., The (Many Inventions)
- Explanation of Mir Baksh, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Eye of Allah, The (Debits and Credits)
- Eyes of Asia, The (Eyes of Asia)
- Face of the Desert, The (Letters of Travel)
- Fairy-kist (Limits and Renewals)
- Fallen Idol, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- False Dawn (Plain Tales)
- Father of Lightnings (Brazilian Sketches)
- Fatima (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- Fiction (A Book of Words)
- Finances of the Gods, The (Life's Handicap)
- 'Finest Story in the World, The' (Many Inventions)

- First Sailor, The (A Book of Words)
- Flag of Their Country, The (Stalky and Co.)
- Flight of Fact, A (Land and Sea Tales)
- Folly Bridge (Uncollected Prose, I)
- For One Night Only (Uncollected Prose, I)
- Fortunate Towers, The (Letters to the Family)
- Fortunate Towns, The (Letters of Travel)
- France and Britain (A Book of Words)
- France at War (France at War)
- Friend of the Family, A (Debits and Credits)
- Friend's Friend, A (Plain Tales)
- Friendly Brook (A Diversity of Creatures)
- From Tideway to Tideway (Letters of Travel)
- Fumes of the Heart, The (The Eyes of Asia)
- Garden of Eden, The (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- Gardener, The (Debits and Credits)
- Garm--a Hostage (Actions and Reactions)
- Gate of the Hundred Sorrows, The (Plain Tales)
- Gemini (In Black and White)
- Georgie Porgie (Life's Handicap)
- Germ Destroyer, A (Plain Tales)
- The Giridih Coal Fields (City of Dreadful Night and From  
Sea to Sea)
- Gloriana (Rewards and Fairies)
- God from the Machine, The (Soldiers Three)

- Great Census, The (From Sea to Sea)
- Great Play Hunt, The (Thy Servant a Dog)
- Griffiths--the Safe Man (Abaft the Funnel)
- Growth and Responsibility (A Book of Words)
- Habitation Enforced, An (Actions and Reactions)
- Half a Dozen Pictures (From Tideway to Tideway and Letters of Travel)
- Hal' o' the Draft (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- Handicap of Letters, The (A Book of Words)
- Hands of Justice, The (Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Haunted Subalterns (Plain Tales)
- Head of the District, The (Life's Handicap)
- Her Little Responsibility (Abaft the Funnel)
- Her Majesty's Servant (Jungle Book)
- Hill of Illusion, The (Under the Deodars)
- His Brother's Keeper (Abaft the Funnel)
- His Chance of Life (Plain Tales)
- His Gift (Land and Sea Tales)
- His Majesty the King (Wee Willie Winkie)
- His Private Honour (Many Inventions)
- His Wedded Wife (Plain Tales)
- History of a Fall, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Honours of War, The (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Horse Marines, The (A Diversity of Creatures)
- House Surgeon, The (Actions and Reactions)



- How Fear Came (Second Jungle Book)
- How the Alphabet was Made (Just-So Stories)
- How the Camel Got his Hump (Just-So Stories)
- How the First Letter was Written (Just-So Stories)
- How the Leopard got his Spots (Just-So Stories)
- How the Rhinoceros got his Skin (Just-So Stories)
- How the Whale got his Throat (Just-So Stories)
- Hunting a Miracle (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Imperial Relations ( A Book of Words )
- Impressionists, The (Stalky and Co.)
- 'In Ambush' (Stalky and Co.)
- In an Opium Factory (The City of Dreadful Night and From Sea to Sea)
- In Black and White (In Black and White)
- In Error (Plain Tales)
- In Flood Time (In Black and White)
- In Sight of Monadnock (From Tideway to Tideway)
- In the House of Suddhoo (Plain Tales)
- 'In the Interests of the Brethren' (Debits and Credits)
- In the Matter of a Private (Soldiers Three)
- In the Presence (A Diversity of Creatures)
- In the Pride of His Youth (Plain Tales)
- In the Rukh (Many Inventions)
- In the Same Boat (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney, The (Life's Handicap and Soldier Tales)

- Independence (A Book of Words)
- It! (Abaft the Funnel)
- Janeites, The (Debits and Credits)
- Jews in Shushan (Life's Handicap)
- Journey Out, The (Brazilian Sketches)
- Judgment of Dungara, The (In Black and White)
- Judson and the Empire (Many Inventions)
- Kaa's Hunting (The Jungle Book)
- Kidnapped (Plain Tales)
- Killing of Hatim Tai, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- King's Ashes, A (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Knife and the Naked Chalk, The (Rewards and Fairies)
- Knights of the Joyous Venture (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- Labour (Letters to the Family)
- Lamentable Comedy of Willow Wood, The (Uncollected Prose, I)
- Lang Men o' Larut, The (Life's Handicap)
- Last Relief, The (Uncollected Prose I)
- Last of the Stories, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Last Term, The (Stalky and Co.)
- Leaves from a Winter Note-Book (Letters to the Family and Letters of Travel)
- Legs of Sister Ursula, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Letter from Golam Singh, A (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Letters of Marque (From Sea to Sea)

- Letters on Leave (Abaft the Funnel)
- Letters to the Family (Letters of Travel)
- Letting in the Jungle (Second Jungle Book)
- Likes o' Us, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Limitations of Pambe Serang (Life's Handicap)
- Lispeth (Plain Tales)
- Literature (A Book of Words)
- Little Foxes (Actions and Reactions)
- Little More Beef, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Little Prep, A (Stalky and Co.)
- Little Tobrah (Life's Handicaps)
- Lost Legion, The (Many Inventions)
- 'Love o' Women' (Many Inventions)
- Madness of Private Ortheris, The (Plain Tales)
- Madonna of the Trenches, A (Debits and Credits and Land and Sea Tales)
- Magic Square, The (A Book of Words)
- Maltese Cat, The (The Day's Work)
- Man Who Was, The (Life's Handicap and Soldier Tales)
- Man who would be King, The (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Manner of Men, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Marklake Witches (Rewards and Fairies)
- Mary Kingsley (Uncollected Prose II)
- Mark of the Beast, The (Life's Handicap)
- Mary Postgate (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Matter of Fact, A (Many Inventions)

- Menagerie Aboard, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Mine Sweepers (Sea Warfare)
- Miracle of Purun Bhagat, The (Second Jungle Book)
- Miracle of St. Jubanus, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Miss Youghal's Sais (Plain Tales)
- Moral Reformers, The (Stalky and Co.)
- Mother Hive, The (Actions and Reactions)
- Moti Guj--Mutineer (Life's Handicap)
- Mountains and the Pacific (Letters to the Family)
- Mowgh's Brothers (The Jungle Book)
- Mrs. Bathurst (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Mrs. Hauksbee Sits Out (Many Inventions)
- Mutiny of the Mavericks, The (Life's Handicap)
- My First Book (Uncollected Prose II)
- My Great and Only (Abaft the Funnel)
- My Lord the Elephant (Many Inventions)
- My Own True Ghost Story (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- 'My Son's Wife' (A Diversity of Creatures)
- My Sunday at Home (The Day's Work)
- Naboth (Life's Handicap)
- Namgay Doola (Life's Handicap)
- Naval Mutiny, A (Limits and Renewals)
- New Brooms (Abaft the Funnel)
- New Dispensation, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Newspapers and Democracy (Letters to the Family and Letters of Travel)

- Of Those Called (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Old Men at Pevensey (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- On Exhibition (Abaft the Funnel)
- On Greenhow Hill (Life's Handicap)
- On the City Wall (In Black and White)
- On the Gate: a Tale of '16 (Debits and Credits)
- On the Great Wall (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- On the Strength of a Likeness (Plain Tales)
- One View of the Question (Many Inventions)
- Only a Subaltern (Under the Deodars)
- On Dry-Cow Fishing as a Fine Art (Uncollected Prose I)
- On One Side Only (Letters of Travel)
- One Lady at Large (Abaft the Funnel)
- .007 (The Day's Work)
- Opinions of Gunner Barnabus (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Other Man, The (Plain Tales)
- Our Indian Troops in France (A Book of Words)
- Our Overseas Men (From Tideway to Tideway and Letters of Travel)
- Outsider, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Parable of Boy Jones, The (Land and Sea Tales)
- Passengers at Sea (A Book of Words)
- People at Home, A (Letters to the Family and Letters of Travel)
- Phantom Rickshaw, The (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Pig (Plain Tales)

- Pit that they Digged, The (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Pleasure Cruise, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Poor Dear Mamma (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- Potted Princess, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- 'Priest in Spite of Himself, A' (Rewards and Fairies)
- Private Account, The (Eyes of Asia)
- Private Learoyd's Story (Soldiers Three)
- 'Proofs of Holy Writ' (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Propagation of Knowledge, The (Debits and Credits and Complete Stalky)
- Prophet and the Country, The (Debits and Credits)
- Puzzler, The (Actions and Reactions)
- Quiquern (Second Jungle Book and Collected Dog Stories)
- 'Quo Fata Vocant' (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Railways and a Two Thousand-Foot Climb (Brazilian Sketches)
- Really Good Time, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Record of Badalia Herodsfoot, The (Many Inventions)
- Red Dog (Second Jungle Book)
- Red Lamp, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Regulus (A Diversity of Creatures and Complete Stalky)
- Reinforcement, A (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Reingelder and the German Flag (Life's Handicap)
- Rescue of Pluffles, The (Plain Tales)
- Retired Gentleman, A (Eyes of Asia)
- Return of Imray, The (Life's Handicap)

- Return to Civilization, A (A Book of Words)
- Return to the East, A (Letters of Travel)
- Riddle of Empire, The (Letters of Travel)
- 'Rikki-Tikki-Tavi' (The Jungle Book)
- Rio (Brazilian Sketches)
- Ritual of Government, The (A Book of Words)
- Road to Quebec, The (Letters to the Family and Letters of Travel)
- Rout of the White Hussars, The (Plain Tales)
- Sahib's War, A (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Sao Paolo and a Coffee Estate (Brazilian Sketches)
- Satisfaction of a Gentleman, The (Stalky and Co.)
- School Experiences (A Book of Words)
- Science of Rebellion, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Scot and the War, The (A Book of Words)
- Sea Constables: a Tale of '15 (Debits and Credits)
- Sea Dog, A (Collected Dog Stories)
- Sea Travel (Egypt of the Magicians and Letters of Travel)
- Sea Warfare (Sea Warfare)
- Second-Rate Woman, A (Under the Deodars)
- Self-Made Man, A (From Sea to Sea)
- Sending of Dana Da, The (In Black and White)
- Serai Cabal, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Serpent of the Old Nile, A (Letters of Travel)
- Servants of the Queen (The Jungle Book)

- Shadow of His Hand, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Ship that Found Herself, The (The Day's Work)
- Shipping (A Book of Words)
- Simple Simon (Rewards and Fairies)
- Sing-Song of Old Man Kangaroo, The (Just-So Stories)
- Slaves of the Lamp (Stalky and Co.)
- 'Sleipner' late 'Thurinda' (Abaft the Funnel)
- Smith Administration, The (self title and From Sea to Sea)
- Smoke of Manila, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Snake Farm, A (Brazilian Sketches)
- Solid Muldoon, The (Soldiers Three)
- Some Aspects of Travel (A Book of Words)
- Some Earthquakes (From Tideway to Tideway and Letters of Travel)
- Son of His Father, The (Land and Sea Tales)
- Soul of a Battalion, The (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Spirit of the Latin, The (A Book of Words)
- Souvenirs of France (Souvenirs of France)
- Speech to Canadian Authors (A Book of Words)
- Spirit of the Navy, The (A Book of Words)
- Spring Running, The (Second Jungle Book)
- Stalky (Stalky and Co.)
- Stationery (A Book of Words)
- Steam Tactics (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Story of a King, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)



- Story of Muhammad Din, The (Plain Tales)
- Story of the Gadsbys, The (Story of the Gadsbys and Soldiers Three)
- Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes, The (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Supplementary Chapter, A (Abaft the Funnel)
- Surgeons and the Soul (A Book of Words)
- 'Surgical and Medical' (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Swelling of Jordan, The (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- 'Swept and Garnished' (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Tabu Tale, The (Land and Sea Tales)
- Taking of Lungtungpen, The (Plain Tales and Soldier Tales)
- Tales of 'The Trade' (Sea Warfare)
- 'Teem': A Treasure Hunter (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Tender Achilles, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Tents of Kedar, The (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- 'Their Lawful Occasions' (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Thesis, A (A Book of Words)
- 'They' (Traffics and Discoveries)
- Three and--an Extra (Plain Tales)
- Three Musketeers, The (Plain Tales)
- Three Young Men: London in a Fog, The (Abaft the Funnel)
- Through the Fire (Life's Handicap)
- Thrown Away (Plain Tales)
- Thy Servant a Dog (Thy Servant a Dog)
- Tie, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Tiger--Tiger! (The Jungle Book)

- Tiglath Pilester (Abaft the Funnel)
- Tina (Second Jungle Book)
- To Be Filed for Reference (Plain Tales)
- Toby's Dog (Thy Servant a Dog)
- Tod's Amendment (Plain Tales)
- Tomb of His Ancestors, The (The Day's Work)
- Toomai of the Elephants (The Jungle Book)
- Tour of Inspection, A (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Track of a Lie (Phantom Rickshaw)
- Treasure of the Law, The (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- Tree of Justice, The (Rewards and Fairies)
- Trees and the Wall, The (A Book of Words)
- Trooper of Horse, A (Eyes of Asia)
- Two Forewords (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Uncovenanted Mercies (Limits and Renewals)
- Undefended Island, An (A Book of Words)
- Under the Deodars (Under the Deodars)
- Undertakers, The (Second Jungle Book)
- Unqualified Pilot, An (Land and Sea Tales)
- United Idolators, The (Debits and Credits and Complete Stalky)
- Unprofessional (Limits and Renewals)
- Unsavory Interlude, An (Stalky and Co.)
- Up the River (Letters of Travel)
- Uses of Reading, The (A Book of Words)
- Valley of the Shadow, The (The Story of the Gadsbys)

- Values in Life (A Book of Words)
- Vengeance of Lal Beg, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Venus Annodomini (Plain Tales)
- Verdict of Equals, A (A Book of Words)
- Village Rifle Club, A (Uncollected Prose, II)
- Village that Voted the Earth was Flat, The (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Virtue of France, The (A Book of Words)
- Vortex, The (A Diversity of Creatures)
- Waking From Dreams (A Book of Words)
- Walking Delegate, A (The Day's Work)
- Wandering Jew, The (Life's Handicap)
- War and the Schools, The (A Book of Words)
- War in the Mountains (The War)
- Watches of the Night (Plain Tales)
- Way that He Took, The (Land and Sea Tales)
- Wayside Comedy, A (Under the Deodars)
- Wee Willie Winkie (Wee Willie Winkie)
- Weland's Sword (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- What it Comes To (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- White Seal, The (The Jungle Book)
- William the Conqueror (The Day's Work)
- Winged Hats, The (Puck of Pook's Hill)
- Winning the Victoria Cross (Land and Sea Tales)
- 'Wireless' (Traffics and Discoveries)

- Wish House, The (Debits and Credits)
- With Any Amazement (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- With Number Three (Uncollected Prose, II)
- With the Main Guard (Soldiers Three)
- With the Night Mail (Actions and Reactions)
- Without Benefit of Clergy (Life's Handicap and The Courting of Dinah Shadd)
- Woman in his Life, The (Limits and Renewals)
- Work in the Future (A Book of Words)
- World Apart, A (Brazilian Sketches)
- World Without, The (The Story of the Gadsbys)
- Wreck of the Visigoth, The (The Phantom Rickshaw)
- Wressley of the Foreign Office (Plain Tales)
- Writing of Yakub Khan, The (The Smith Administration and From Sea to Sea)
- Wrong Thing, The (Rewards and Fairies)
- 'Yoked with an Unbeliever' (Plain Tales)
- Young Men at the Manor (Puck of Pook's Hill)

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation submitted by Marilyn R. Fiduccia has been read and approved by members of the Department of Education.

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

This dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

January 5, 1977  
Date

Donald Lee Gantek  
Signature of Advisor