

THE KIPLING JOURNAL



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CONFERENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA 2016
EDITED BY JANET MONTEFIORE AND MONICA TURCI

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The *Kipling Journal* is the quarterly magazine of the Kipling Society, a charity whose object is the advancement of public education by the promotion of the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling. The Journal is open to submissions of any length between 500 and 5000 words from students, scholars, professional academics, and Kipling enthusiasts. All articles are peer reviewed.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily correspond to those of the Editor or the Council of the Kipling Society.

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‘KIPLING AND EUROPE’
UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA
September 6–7, 2016

September 6th Tuesday

9.30 a.m. Plenary 1

Professor Janet Montefiore: *‘Baltic Pirate via Rome to Little Lindens: Old England and Europe in Kipling’s “Puck” Books’*

10.45–11.45 a.m. Panel 1

Ms Toko Omomo: *A Jewish Tiger? Nazism and the Jungle Books*

Dr. Monica Turci: *Kipling and the European Left: The Case of Antonio Gramsci*

1.45–2.15 p.m. Panel 2

Dr. Maria Krivosheina: *‘He is but an Englishman, and an Englishman of our time’: Kipling and Debates on “Englishness” and Imperialism in Russia of the Late 19th–Early 20th Century*

Ms Inger K. Brogger *‘An intoxicating spark’: Rudyard Kipling’s impact on Scandinavian literature, with reference to Johannes V. Jensen and Vitalist Modernism*

3.00–4.00 p.m. Panel 3

Mr. David Alan Richards: *Kipling and the Great War Propagandists*

Dr. Élodie Raimbault: *Conflating points of view on Europe in The Eyes of Asia: Kipling’s fiction of reverse Orientalism*

4.10–5.15 p.m. Plenary 2

Dr. Howard J. Booth: *Kipling and Italy: Reading The War in the Mountains*

September 7th Wednesday

10.00 a.m. Plenary 3

Professor Stephen Bann: *Kipling: From the Club to Souvenirs of France*

11.15 a.m.–12.15 p.m. Panel 4

Dr. Mikako Ageishi: *Saint or Conspirator? Heroism and Atrocity in Kipling’s Great War Fiction*

Ms Susie Paskins: *The Philosophical Pessimism of The Light That Failed*

2.30 p.m. Plenary 4

Professor Harry Ricketts: *Kipling Abroad: European Actions and Reactions*

3.30 p.m. Closing drinks under the Himalayan deodar

‘OLD ENGLAND’ AND EUROPE IN KIPLING’S ‘PUCK’ BOOKS

By JANET MONTEFIORE

[Janet Montefiore, Editor of the *Kipling Journal*, is Professor Emerita of 20th Century English Literature at the University of Kent. She is the author of *Rudyard Kipling* (2007) and editor of *In Time’s Eye: Essays on Rudyard Kipling* (2013).]

Rudyard Kipling described in his memoir *Something of Myself* how traces of the past were unearthed during the renovation of Bateman’s: labourers digging a well turned up ‘a Jacobean tobacco-pipe, a worn Cromwellian latten spoon and, at the bottom ... the bronze cheek of a Roman horse-bit’, while cleaning a pond produced Elizabethan quart bottles and ‘a perfectly polished Neolithic axe-head with but one chip on its still venomous edge ... Every foot of that little corner was alive with ghosts and shadows’. When Ambrose Poynter told him, ‘Write a yarn about Roman times here ... an old Centurion of the Occupation telling his experiences to his children’ and gave him the name ‘Parnesius’, the fuse was lit:

I went off at score – not on Parnesius, but a story told in a fog by a petty Baltic pirate, who had brought his galley to Pevensey and, off Beachy Head – where in the War we heard merchant-ships being torpedoed – had passed the Roman fleet abandoning Britain to her doom. That tale may have served as a pipe-opener, but one could not see its wood for its trees, so I threw it away.¹

Donald Mackenzie has pointed out how this anecdote shows how *Puck of Pook’s Hill*, ‘for all its often sunlit buoyancy ... was first conceived under the sign of imperial defeat.’² It also shows that the patriotic celebration of Englishness for which this book and its companion *Rewards and Fairies* are famous is anything but insular; the strands of Nordic culture (a preoccupation which Kipling probably took in part from William Morris, the friend of his beloved Burne-Jones relations) and the power and lasting influence of Rome, will tie the ‘Puck’ stories together.³ The original ‘Baltic pirate’, presumably a Danish Viking, would merge into the ‘Winged Hats’ against whose attempted invasion Parnesius and his men defend the Great Wall – and, as Mackenzie suggests, probably also morphs into Witta the trader, pirate and explorer, like Ulysses ‘a wolf in fight, and a very fox in cunning’, who captains the ‘Joyous Venture’ which brings African gold to England.⁴ That said, the ‘Puck’ stories are also profoundly influenced by Kipling’s own Victorian sense of history.

As Hugh Brogan has written:

Victorian historical consciousness was largely coloured by such factors as an awareness that Britain (the Victorians always said 'England') had become the greatest power in the world; and that the British Empire was the largest in history; and the belief that this greatness was both caused and validated by the evolution of British law, British freedom and British Protestantism. The British were intensely nationalistic, and looked to history to vindicate their nationalism by providing suitable myths.⁵

Kipling does refer to the 'myth' of King John signing Magna Carta at Runnymede and Drake defeating the Spanish Armada, but his main focus is on the lesser men and women who live through history.⁶ And Kipling's version of England constantly links the lives of English people with other countries: most often France or Scandinavia, but with fairly frequent references to Spain, Italy, and the 'Low Countries', Holland and Belgium. Kipling makes only two of the narrators in *Puck of Pook's Hill* indigenous English: the Tudor artist Sir Harry Dawes, who has worked for an Italian master, and Puck the spirit of Old England, who in the first story tells how the Saxon Hugh, educated in Bec Abbey at Rouen, gained a magic sword inscribed with Danish runes as a thank-offering from the god Weland, kin to 'Thor of the Scandinavians'.⁷ A disguised Puck also relates in 'Dymchurch Flit', how the People of the Hills ('Pharisees', as he calls them) crossed the Channel in flight from the sectarian bloodshed of the English Reformation. But Sir Richard Dalyngridge is a Norman who, after victory at Hastings, turns Sussex squire, while the Roman Centurion Parnesius is born of long-established settler stock (what Kipling's 1894 poem for colonists of the British Empire's self-ruled 'Dominions' calls the 'Native-Born'),⁸ and Kadmiel the Spanish Jew is a rootless wanderer 'as free as a sparrow – or a dog.' The range of the stories is not limited to Europe; Sir Richard and his friend Hugh voyage to Africa, and Kadmiel travels to 'the Uttermost Eastern Sea', presumably the Indian Ocean.⁹ *Rewards and Fairies* emphasizes British sea-power, with four of its stories focusing on, or alluding to, the colonizing of North America. That said, the theme of both books is the enduring magic of Old England, as promised in the opening 'Puck's Song':

*She is not any common Earth,
Water or wood or air,
But Merlin's isle of Gramarye,
Where you and I will fare.*¹⁰

‘Gramarye’, defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘occult learning, magic, necromancy’, resembles its cousin ‘glamour’ whose early meaning was ‘fictitious or magical beauty’, both nouns deriving from ‘grammar’.¹¹ Brogan, pointing out that the ‘Puck’ stories must be read as fantasy, never as literal history, brings out these implications in a helpful gloss: ‘What is Gramarye? Above all, book-magic: grammar, Latin, literature; understanding, power, and delight’.¹² Brogan’s phrasing links grammar with understanding, Latin with power, and literature with delight. Taking for granted the delight of the ‘Puck’ stories, this paper takes up the themes of understanding and power.

The ‘Puck’ stories take their audience through what in 1910 was a fairly conventional narrative of English history, much like that of Mrs Marshall’s *Our Island Story* (1905), or C.R.L. Fletcher’s slightly later *A School History of England* (1911) to which Kipling contributed seventeen poems (hilariously parodied in Sellars and Yeatman’s *1066 and All That* [1930]).¹³ Kipling uses the familiar landmarks: the Roman Occupation, the conversion of Saxon England to Christianity, the Battle of Hastings (1066), the signing of Magna Carta (1215), the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) – dates which British schoolchildren, even in my own post-war generation, had to learn by heart. Unlike Kipling, who allowed his stories to jump about in time (Dan and Una meet a Norman knight before a Roman Centurion, and Queen Elizabeth I before a Neolithic hero), my discussion of the links between ‘Old England’ and European history and culture will stick to linear chronology.

Notwithstanding that Neolithic axe found by Kipling’s workmen, I shall not begin with the Stone Age hero of ‘The Knife and the Naked Chalk’, one of the few stories set entirely in England.¹⁴ The recorded history of Britain begins with the Roman Occupation. The hero Parnesius comes of a family settled in the Isle of Wight for centuries on land granted to their ancestor by ‘Agricola’, who subdued Britain between AD 77 and 88. Parnesius takes for granted Roman rule and its civil society, evoked in his description of ‘Aquae Sulis’ (now Bath) in its cosmopolitan glory:

‘All the old gluttons sit in hot water, and talk scandal and politics. And the Generals come through the streets with their guards behind them; and the magistrates come in their chairs with their stiff guards behind them; and you meet fortune-tellers, and goldsmiths, and merchants, and philosophers, and feather-sellers, and ultra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans, and Jew lecturers, and – oh, everybody interesting.’¹⁵

For all the obvious differences, *Aquae Sulis* with its officials, tradesmen and diverse nationalities sounds recognizable to a modern city-dweller as a medieval town would never be. Kipling hints at tensions between different ethnic groups: Parnesius is ‘not too fond of anything Roman’, resenting the way ‘the Roman-born officers and magistrates looked down on us British-born as though we were barbarians.’ As an officer, he has to assert himself against the ‘Roman-born Romans’ he commands; he notices Maximus’ Spanish accent (‘he neighed his words like an Iberian mule’); and he is always conscious of his soldiers’ ethnicity, from the ‘handful – and they were a handful! – of Gauls and Iberians’ he begins with, to the Scythian, Numidian, Dacian and Belgian regiments he commands on the Wall. His friend Pertinax comes from Gaul, having been exiled at the behest of his wicked uncle the ‘Duumvir of Divio’ who has cheated his widowed mother of her dowry – Divio being the city of Metz in eastern France, and a Duumvir a senior magistrate. The uncle meets a sticky end off-stage (‘*Tell Pertinax that I have met his late Uncle ... and that he accounted to me quite truthfully for all his Mother’s monies*’) from Emperor Maximus, who sends ‘his Mother’ to Nicaea [Nice], entrusting her fortune to the ‘*Prefect of Antipolis*’ [Antibes]. Pertinax himself, ‘born and bred among the great country-houses of Gaul ... knew the proper words to address to all’, from Roman-born officers to (an ugly note of race prejudice here) ‘those dogs of the Third – the Libyans’. With a French aristocrat’s tact and courtesy, he ‘spoke to each as though that man were as high-minded as himself’.¹⁶

Parnesius’ father is aware of the Empire’s peril, though Parnesius is not: ‘to listen to him you would have thought Eternal Rome herself was on the edge of destruction, just because a few people had become a little large-minded.’ He deplores the division of the Empire between East and West – the ‘split Eagle’ as his son calls it – and even more Rome’s decadence: ‘There is no hope for Rome ... She has forsaken her Gods, but if the Gods forgive *us* here, we may save Britain.’ He therefore sends Parnesius to defend the Wall against the Picts he had helped to defeat in the ‘great Pict War’. (Historically, this is misleading, since the assault on Roman Britain was directed at its southeast coast, the ‘Saxon Shore’ of Kent and Essex; by making it come from the North, Kipling gave his hero a clear frontier to defend while emphasising the invaders’ Nordic ethnicity.) Parnesius’ heroic defence of the Roman Wall is only needed because the Napoleonic over-reacher Maximus, having made himself emperor of Britain and defeated Emperor Gratian of Gaul, comes to grief by taking on Emperor Theodosius of Italy – and once Maximus falls, the barbarians are at the gates. But the innocent Parnesius starts off full of imperial confidence:

‘I was happier than any Emperor when I led my handful through the North Gate of the Camp, and we saluted the guard and the Altar of Victory there.’

‘How? How?’ said Dan and Una.

Parnesius smiled, and stood up, flashing in his armour.

‘So!’ said he; and he moved slowly through the beautiful movements of the Roman Salute, that ends with a hollow clang of the shield coming into its place between the shoulders.¹⁷

That last sentence condenses ‘the grandeur that was Rome’: order, splendour, hierarchy, ceremony, discipline and pride, the ring of the shield ‘coming into its place’ in an ordered scheme of things. Yet an equivocal poem follows. In ‘A British-Roman Song (A.D. 406)’, the speaker prays that ‘*Rome / Crowned by all Time, all Art, all Might, / The equal work of Gods and Man*’ will ‘*guard ... / The Imperial Fire!*’¹⁸ In A.D. 407 the Roman Occupation ended when the last Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain in defence of ‘Eternal Rome’, which would be sacked by the Visigoths three years later. As Brogan puts it, “‘A British-Roman Song’ can, indeed must, be read as Kipling’s appeal to the islanders of his day to be true to their past and their service, but it is hardly hopeful.”¹⁹ Parnesius, beginning his three years on the Wall in A.D. c. 383, has only about twenty years before his world will disintegrate forever.

Maximus’ last letter to Parnesius and Pertinax tells them, ‘*Remember, I have been; but Rome is; and Rome will be.*’ ‘Rome’ here evidently means the Roman imperium, as it does for the officer of Theodosius’ troops who arrive to relieve the exhausted defenders of the Wall: ‘Trouble no more,’ said the young man. ‘Rome’s arm is long.’²⁰ Rome would fall in less than thirty years, yet Maximus’ words do in a sense come true. Ancient Roman culture, in its schoolroom forms of basic Latin grammar and recitations of Macaulay’s *Lays of Ancient Rome*, has persisted into the ‘present’ of Dan and Una. More importantly, Rome, the centre of the Western Church, would remain powerful well into the Middle Ages, preserving Latin as the international language of religion, learning and power throughout Western Europe. This internationalism is emphasized in the only story set in Saxon England, ‘The Conversion of St Wilfrid’ in *Rewards and Fairies*. Its action takes place c. A.D. 690, after the Synod of Whitby which confirmed the authority of the Roman Church in England, and during the evangelization of the pagan South Saxons under Wilfrid, first Bishop of Chichester. When Wilfred first meets his friend Meon on the Sussex shore, he and his assistant Eddi mistake Meon for a ‘heathen’ suicide bent on ‘going to Wotan’. They rush across the slob towards undignified anti-climax:

‘... we found ourselves very muddy, very breathless, being quietly made fun of in good Latin by a very well-spoken person. No – he’d no idea of going to Wotan. He was fishing on his own beaches ... He was ... a scholar educated, curiously enough, at Lyons, my old school; had travelled the world over, even to Rome ... We found we had scores of acquaintances in common.’

Like *Pertinax*, *Meon* is highly intelligent and ‘a brilliant talker’ as well as a travelled cosmopolitan. An educated man, he is of course fluent in Latin, the *lingua franca* of medieval European learning, which is especially congenial to Wilfred, who derives his episcopal authority from the Pope. The importance of Latin is emphasized again at the end of the story, which is set in St Barnabas parish church. A visiting musician from London who comes to play the organ, begins to sing verses from the hymn ‘*Dies irae*’ (part of the Requiem Mass), as Dan politely explains:

‘It’s in Latin, sir.’

‘There is no other tongue,’ the Archbishop answered.

Clearly, Wilfred does not mean this literally. Like Maximus affirming that ‘Rome will be’, he is saying that Latin is the everlasting sacred language of worship (as was still true for Catholics in 1910, when the Latin Mass remained their universal rite). In a poignant, understated moment, ‘*Dies irae*’ drives Puck out of the church, even as he joins in ‘*Coet omnes ante thronum*’: ‘As they looked in wonder, for it sounded like the dull jar of one of the pillars shifting, the little fellow turned and went out through the south door.’ Puck cannot stay for the prayer ‘*Ne me perdas illa die*’ (‘Do not lose me on that day’), for not even a ‘good spirit’ may join the redeemed souls at Doomsday.²¹

In the four stories told by Sir Richard Dalyngridge, the obvious European connexion is that with Normandy across the Channel, but the range is much wider. The schooling at Bec Abbey in Rouen which Hugh shared with Sir Richard (from which the latter was expelled after Hugh dared him to ride his horse into the refectory at mealtime ‘to show the Saxon boys we Normans were not afraid of an Abbot’) is the beginning of their friendship, which will ultimately enable the future of England as a peaceable law-governed country where Norman and Saxon become one people. Moreover, the Norse god *Weland*’s earlier gift to Hugh of the magic sword inscribed with Danish runes will enable the Norman baron De Aquila to keep the peace of England. Richard’s friendship with Hugh leads him to respect English customs, which surprise him:

‘If even the meanest of them said that such and such a thing was the Custom of the Manor, the straightway would Hugh . . . forsake every-thing else to debate the matter . . . and if the custom or usage were proven to be as it was said, why, that was the end of it, even though it were flat against Hugh, his wish and command. Wonderful!’²²

Kipling here endorses the myth of freedom-loving Saxons beloved of Victorian historians, just as Weland’s magic sword that ‘sings’ when Hugh is no longer a landless man symbolizes enduring Nordic strength. In the next story, the widowed Sir Richard sets out with Hugh on a ship to Bordeaux, where they meet a French knight who had ‘served the Duke of Burgundy against the Moors in Spain’ in the Crusade of 1087. This Spanish war forms the backdrop when Sir Richard and Hugh fall into the Danish Witt’s pirate or trading ship, bound through the Bay of Biscay, ‘a stormy sea’ where Sir Richard suffers cruelly from seasickness, towards the Spanish coast ‘full of ships busy in the Duke’s wars against the Moors’, and from there to what in Kipling’s day was known as the ‘Gold Coast’ of West Africa, but to the ship’s crew is the World’s End, to fight against ‘Devils’ and be rewarded with a ship-load of gold. The story is full of vivid details about sailing what Sir Richard calls a ‘Dane ship’ (Witt’s home is Stavanger in Norway, but all Vikings were ‘Danes’ to the English), and the story pays tribute to the courage, energy and seamanship which Vikings will contribute to British culture.²³ Richard and Hugh return to an England threatened by ‘Robert of Normandy’ who will send an invading fleet to Pevensey, if Sir Richard’s overlord and friend De Aquila does not guard it. As Weland’s Runes foretold, the African gold helps De Aquila to defend England’s liberties against the Norman who ‘kill[s] peasants at his pleasure’.²⁴ Equally important is Hugh’s knowledge of Latin, the language of medieval diplomacy, by which Hugh enables De Aquila to decode the illicit messages from the traitor Fulke to Duke Robert. As Brogan says, Latin connotes understanding and power as well as delight.

A message in Latin appears in the final ‘Puck’ story ‘The Tree of Justice’, in which King Harold of England, supposedly killed at Hastings, now a crazy old man, carries a paper guaranteeing that he is under the protection of Rahere the king’s jester. Its reverse carries strange words:

‘What a plague conjuration’s here?’ said Hugh, turning it over.
‘Pum-quum-sum oc-occ. Magic?’

‘Black Magic’, said the Clerk . . . ‘The charm, which I think is from Virgilius the Sorcerer, says: “When thou art once dead, and Minos (which is a heathen judge) has doomed thee, neither cunning,

nor speechcraft, nor good works will restore thee!” A terrible thing!
It denies any mercy to a man’s soul!²⁵

The clerk is right to identify the quotation as pagan, but it is not from Virgil. The apparent gibberish, which he has translated more or less correctly, is a scrambled abbreviation of the first three words of a poem by Horace: *Odes*, Book IV, no. 7, lines 21–22: ‘Cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos fecerit arbitria,/ non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te restituet pietas.’²⁶ The jester Rahere has written this mocking gloss on Harold’s ‘death’, hinting at the persistence into the Middle Ages of classical literature as fragments, imperfectly understood and deemed ‘black magic’, but still powerful.

More than a century after these events, ‘The Treasure and the Law’ is narrated by Kadmiel the Spanish Jew, a highly educated physician who has learned his medicine from Arab scholars, who is also a financier (like all Jews, according to Kipling). Kadmiel bribes the Archbishop Stephen Langton, ‘a priest, almost learned’ to ensure the wording of the fortieth item of Magna Carta: ‘To none will we sell, refuse, or delay right or justice’ and renders King John powerless to resist the Charter by throwing out the hidden gold in Pevensy. Other countries and cities are glimpsed in the story’s margins: Rome, Venice, Alexandria and Spain, where Kadmiel grew up and whither his colleague Elias, who had intended to lend the gold to the King, prudently flees: ‘That was wise!’²⁷

Two stories about late medieval England are told by Sir Harry Dawes, artist and stone-carver, who helped to build the tower of Magdalen College, Oxford. ‘Half Oxford was building new colleges or beautifying the old, and she had called to her aid the master-craftsmen of all Christendie – kings in their trade and honoured of Kings.’ The art of the High Renaissance was international, and its authorities are the Italian artists:

‘You became a great man, Hal,’ said Puck.

‘They said so, Robin. Even Bramante said so.’²⁸

Donato Bramante, the multi-talented architect, sculptor and architect who designed the Basilica of St Peter’s in Rome, does not appear in ‘Hal o’ the Draft’. But an important role is played in its companion story ‘The Wrong Thing’ by the sculptor Pietro Torrigiano, who was commissioned by Henry VIII to oversee the tomb of his father, Henry VII, in 1509. Hal describes him as ‘a hectoring, hard-mouthed, long-sworded Italian builder, as vain as a peacock and as strong as a bull, but, mark you, a master workman’. (The historical Torrigiano, who had a violent temper, notoriously punched Michelangelo and broke

his nose.) The royal tomb brought ‘picked master craftsmen from all parts – England, France Italy, the Low Countries – no odds to him so long as they knew their work...masons, jewellers, carvers, gilders, iron workers and the rest, all toiling like cock-angels, and this mad Italian hornet fleeing from one to next up and down the chapel.’ Both Torrigiano and Hal’s enemy and rival Benedetto, a second-rate painter of murals who is desperately envious of Hal’s success, are colourful characters, but crudely drawn. Benedetto conforms to the cliché of the excitable murderous foreigner and Torrigiano, just as stereotypically, is an excitable florid Italian much given to hugging Hal and exclaiming: ‘Ah, you English pig!’²⁹

Harry Dawes ‘left St Barnabas’ a jewel – justabout a jewel!’ not long before the sectarian disturbances of the Reformation. These are described in ‘Dymchurch Flit’ as the work of Queen Bess’s father (though actually the iconoclasm was largely commanded by her brother Edward VI) with his ‘Reformatories’:

‘he used the parish churches something shameful. Justabout tore the gizzards out of I dunnamany. Some folk in England they held with ’en; but some they saw it different, an’ it eended in ’em takin’ sides an’ burnin’ each other no bounds, accordin’ which side was top, time bein’. That tarrified the Pharisees They couldn’t abide cruel Canterbury Bells ringin’ to Bulverhithe for more pore men an’ women to be burnded, nor the King’s proud messenger ridin’ through the land givin’ orders to tear down the Images.’³⁰

In fact, the Protestant Reformation was even more divisive and violent on the Continent than in England; and the menace of Catholic Spain features in two stories in *Rewards and Fairies*. In ‘Gloriana’, Queen Elizabeth receives a letter from King Philip threatening her fleet ‘with a destruction ... far exceeding that which Pedro de Avila wrought upon the Huguenots’. The Huguenots were French Protestants, and the allusion is explained by a young Sussex gentleman-adventurer:

‘De Avila broke in upon a plantation of Frenchmen ... and very Spaniardly hung them all for heretics – eight hundred or so. The next year Dominique de Gorgues, a Gascon, broke in upon De Avila’s men, and very justly hung ’em all for murderers – five hundred or so.’³¹

Like De Aquila before her, Queen Elizabeth ‘thinks for England’, trying to contest Spain’s monopoly of ‘plantations’ (*i.e.* colonies) in the New World without provoking war: ‘we cannot fight Spain openly

– not yet – not yet’.³² Like him, she undertakes some dirty work on her country’s behalf; De Aquila secures England’s peace by first blackmailing and then bribing the traitor Fulke, and Queen Elizabeth charms two young noblemen into courting certain death, to guard Protestant England’s colony, later named Virginia in her honour. The Spanish Empire’s violent suppression of the ‘Dutch Revolt’ is mentioned in ‘Simple Simon’, whose narrator recalls Sir Francis Drake as a young man learning his daring and seamanship by smuggling Protestant refugees from the ‘Low Countries’ (Holland and Belgium):

‘The King o’ Spain, d’ye see, he was burnin’ ’em in those parts, for to make ’em Papishers, so Frankie he fetched ’em away to *our* parts, and a risky trade it was Outrageous cruel hard work on besom-black nights bulging back and forth off they Dutch roads with shoals on all sides, and having to hark out for the *frish-frish-frish*-like of a Spanish galliwopses’ oars creepin’ up on ye ... till the boat we was lookin’ for ’ud blurt up out o’ the dark, and we’d lay hold and haul aboard whoever ’twas – man, woman, or babe.’³³

His apprenticeship in outwitting Spanish ‘galliwopses’ will serve the bold and cunning Drake well when he has to take on the Armada.

In the two stories told by Pharaoh Lee, set in the 1790s, the conflict between nations is not religious but political. Pharaoh is a gypsy smuggler with French connections; early on, his French Aunt Cécile ‘sent me a fine new red knitted cap, which I put on then and there, for the French was having their Revolution in those days, and red caps was all the fashion.’ Taken in 1793 by the ship transporting the French ambassador Genet to Philadelphia, then the capital of the United States, in hopes of allying with them against the English, he witnesses George Washington resisting popular pressure for the alliance. In ‘A Priest In Spite Of Himself’, he meets and befriends Count Talleyrand, then an exile down on his luck – a good turn which Talleyrand repays in 1799, when he is seen guiding Napoleon Bonaparte on his rise to power as First Consul of France. The accompanying ‘St. Helena’s Lullaby’ names Napoleon’s battles in Europe (Austerlitz, Trafalgar, Beresina, Waterloo), and Kipling emphasises Talleyrand’s Frenchness and his baffling allusions to Voltaire’s *Candide*: “‘Give my respects to your adorable Dr. Pangloss” (that was one of his side-names for Toby).³⁴ ‘Marklake Witches’, set in 1806, features René Laennec, scientist and inventor of the stethoscope, as a French prisoner of war, doctor and admirer of the heroine Philadelphia, with a small part for the future Duke of Wellington, ‘Sir Arthur Wesley or Wellesley’.³⁵ France in this story represents scientific enlightenment. Laennec is years ahead of the

local medic Dr Break whose patients have died ‘even though he bled them twice a week’, and who tries to shrug off the superior foreign expert as a quack, ignorantly calling his stethoscope ‘some papistical contrivance.’³⁶ In ‘The Treasure and the Law’, Kadmiel had tellingly contrasted the East where ‘I found . . . schools of medicine where they dared to learn’ (perhaps medieval Baghdad?), with the cruelty and ignorance of England ‘where there are no learned men’.³⁷ True, in ‘A Doctor of Medicine’ the astrologer Nicholas Culpeper ends an outbreak of plague by correctly identifying rats as the culprits, but he reaches his diagnosis by luck, not science. Clearly, English medics even in 1800 had much to learn from their Continental colleagues.

In the ‘Puck’ books, Kipling not only sees Britain (or ‘England’) in relation to countries of Europe; for him, the ‘foreigners’ who come to England not only help to shape her future but become part of English identity. Even Hobden is descended from Saxon invaders. Robin Goodfellow, the ancient Spirit of England, is not only a shape-shifter who can appear as a fox, a bull, a horse, or the dead Tom Shoesmith, but a linguist. He understands the Norse god Weland chanting ‘in his own tongue’, and can converse with St Wilfrid in Latin and with the Spanish Jew Kadmiel in a ‘strange, solemn-sounding language’: either Hebrew or Ladino, the *lingua franca*, derived from Old Spanish, of European Sephardic Jews till 1940 (like Yiddish in Eastern Europe).³⁸ Furthermore, the majority of close friendships in these stories are between people of different nations and/or ethnic groups. The friendship between Norman Sir Richard and Saxon Sir Hugh and between both men and the Viking Witta, parallels that between British-born Pertinax and Gaulish Parnesius and between both soldiers and the Pict Allo. Hal and Benedetto are eventually reconciled as friends and fellow-craftsmen. The Northumbrian Christian priest Wilfrid obviously enjoys the company of his pagan friend Meon, Lyons-educated like himself, far more than that of his own rigidly pious assistant Eddi. The English-French gipsy Pharaoh Lee makes friends with the German-American Toby Hirte, the Seneca Indian ‘Red Jacket’ and even, warily, Talleyrand himself. The French scientist René Laennec, devoted to Philadelphia, is a good friend of the village wise man Jerry Gamm, much to her surprise (‘I didn’t know they were such friends’).³⁹ There is even a hint of mutual regard in Kadmiel’s account of the secret negotiations between him and Archbishop Stephen Langton. The latter’s response to Kadmiel rewriting ‘To no free man will we sell, refuse, or deny right or justice’ as ‘To none’, has a tone of respect and fellow-feeling, albeit disfigured by prejudice: ‘Jew though thou art . . . the change is just, and if ever Christian and Jew come to be equal in England, thy people may thank thee’. Kadmiel too, as Langton recognizes, is a ‘Lawgiver’. Kadmiel’s

own uneasy mixture of esteem ('Langton, the priest, understood'), scorn ('in many things, a child') and half-unwilling acknowledgement of a greatness impossible for an outlaw ('He was such a man as I might have been if – if we Jews had been a people'), suggest recognition of a kindred spirit. In a different and more civilized time, these clandestine legislators might have been friends.⁴⁰

These links between countries, languages and individuals do not of course negate the intense patriotism of Kipling's celebration of Englishness in the 'Puck' books, personified in the eternal English labourer Hobden and made explicit in the closing 'Children's Song':

*Land of our Birth, we pledge to thee
Our love and toil in the years to be;
When we are grown and take our place,
As men and women with our race.*⁴¹

But 'our race' is not single or simple, any more than the 'Land of our Birth' exists alone. The stories have shown how English identity is derived from Roman knowledge and power, Scandinavian courage, energy and seamanship, the endurance of those Protestant refugees from the 'Low Countries' whom Simon and Drake smuggled into Elizabethan England, and the gipsy cunning of Pharaoh Lee, as well as Norman authority and Saxon strength. Latin learning has shaped English culture and traditions, Italian art and knowledge have helped to beautify English churches, and an outlawed Spanish Jew has paid for the freedoms Dan and Una take for granted. To be authentically English is for Kipling to be part of the tradition and culture of Europe and the wider world. As he wrote in another context, 'What should they know of England who only England know?'⁴²

NOTES

- 1 *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 108–9. Hereafter *SM*.
- 2 Mackenzie, p. 28.
- 3 For an admirably full and detailed account of the Victorian context of Kipling's fascination with Scandinavia, including the influence of William Morris, see Mackenzie, pp. 21–8.
- 4 Mackenzie, p. 29; Rudyard Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill* (London, Macmillan, 1906), p. 83. Hereafter *PPH*.
- 5 Hugh Brogan 'Kipling and History', *New Reader's Guide to Rudyard Kipling*, Kipling Society website www.kiplingsociety.co.uk, accessed 1.4.2017 (no pagination). Hereafter Brogan.

- 6 Brogan *ibid.*
- 7 *PPH*, p. 16.
- 8 Kipling, 'The Native-Born', *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 348.
- 9 *PPH*, p. 291.
- 10 *PPH*, p. 4.
- 11 On *gramarye* and its connections with *glamour* and *grammar*, see T. A. Shippey, *The Road to Middle Earth* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1982), pp. 40–1. See also Janice Lingley, 'Kipling's Isle of Gramarye: What's in a Name', *Kipling Journal* no. 351, September 2013, pp. 37–58, p. 55.
- 12 Brogan, *op. cit.*
- 13 See Brogan, *op. cit.*, for a highly critical account of *A School History of England*.
- 14 Mackenzie points out that the identification of its hero with the god 'Tyr' plaites the Norse strand 'into its fable' just as the intervention of 'Asa Thor' in the story 'Cold Iron' become sacrifice in the sequel poem 'Iron, out of Calvary, is master of man all!' Mackenzie, p.34; Rudyard Kipling, *Rewards and Fairies* (London, Macmillan, 1910), p. 26. Hereafter *R & F*.
- 15 *PPH*, pp. 147, 149.
- 16 *PPH*, pp. 152, 155, 158, 189, 202, 209, 217.
- 17 *PPH*, pp. 152, 153, 154, 157.
- 18 *PHH*, p. 163.
- 19 Brogan, *op. cit.*
- 20 *PHH*, pp. 217, 223.
- 21 *R & F*, pp. 228–9, 240, 241. 'Coget omnes ante thronum' means 'shall gather all before [God's] throne.'
- 22 *PPH*, pp. 41, 48, 50.
- 23 *PPH*, pp. 74, 81. A similar point is made in 'Song of the Red War-Boat' whose speakers brave the anger of 'Odin' and 'Thor' to rescue their master: *R & F*, pp. 243–5.
- 24 *PPH*, p. 119.
- 25 *R & F*, pp. 318–19.
- 26 'Once you have perished and Minos has passed a clear judgment, Torquatus, neither birth nor eloquence nor piety will bring you back.' (My translation).
- 27 *PPH*, pp. 291, 296, 302.
- 28 *PPH*, p. 233.
- 29 *R & F*, pp. 65, 66, 77.
- 30 *PPH*, pp. 249, 267–8. Brogan, *op. cit.*, has pointed out the relevance to of Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars*: 'Kipling's Pharisees, then, may rightly be understood as an exact and powerful metaphor for the dead who were being driven out of the churches and out of the country'.
- 31 *R & F*, pp. 39, 42.
- 32 *PPH*, p. 237; *R & F*, p. 44.
- 33 *R & F*, p. 288.
- 34 *R & F*, pp. 151, 197.
- 35 The brief appearance of Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington (*R & F*, pp. 110–12), dates the action of 'Marklake Witches' to 1806, when Wellesley was serving as Tory M.P. for Rye.

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- 36 *R & F*, pp. 92, 104. Philadelphia says that the jealous Dr Break has called Laennec 'an emp – or imp – something – worse than impostor' (*R & F*, p. 92). The word that baffles her is 'empiric': a person practising medicine without qualifications; *i.e.* a quack.
- 37 *PPH*, p. 291.
- 38 *PPH*, pp. 17, 285.
- 39 *R & F*, p. 104.
- 40 *PPH*, pp. 289, 296.
- 41 *PPH*, p. 306.
- 42 Kipling 'The English Flag', *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 1, p. 291.

KIPLING AND THE GREAT WAR PROPAGANDISTS

by DAVID ALAN RICHARDS

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This paper was condensed from David Richards's much longer essay of the same title, now published on the Kipling Society's website. *Ed.*]

When the "guns of August" in 1914 shattered the late summer tranquillity of the British people, Prime Minister Herbert Asquith's administration was totally unprepared for war. That government soon learned that its German adversary, supplementing its armies sweeping into Belgium, had also prepared for psychological warfare, with a propaganda agency in place in the United States that immediately began to distribute leaflets in many cities, paralleled by the distribution of posters and leaflets in Italy.

David Lloyd George realized at once that German actions had to be countered, and that the United States and other neutral nations must be persuaded to share Britain's view of the genesis of the war. He urged the Cabinet on 31 August to establish an organization "to inform and influence public opinion abroad and to confute German mis-statements and sophistries,"²² and turned to his cabinet colleague, C. F. G. Masterman, for implementation.

Masterman organized two conferences, the first with prominent literary figures and only thereafter a second with representatives of the British press, in an attempt to establish the principles on which his propaganda campaign would be based and the methods to be adopted. Many of England's major writers were summoned to attend a secret meeting on 2 September 1914 "for [in the words of Thomas Hardy's journal] the organization of public statements of the strength of the British case and principles in the war by well-known men of letters," to be held at Masterman's government office Wellington House. Around that conference room table gathered Hardy, Arthur Conan Doyle, J. M. Barrie, Arnold Bennett, G. K. Chesterton, John Galsworthy, John Masefield, H. G. Wells, and more than a dozen other prominent authors; Kipling, unable to attend, sent a message offering his services.

Since the enlistment of the literary establishment was a mode of warfare without precedent, why did the government feel it was necessary? One answer is that the serving administration depended for its continuance on the support of a more literate portion of the population

than ever before: late Victorian legislation had raised the general level of literacy and extended the franchise, so there were more voters in England to be persuaded of the rightness of the nation's cause.

As for the writers recruited by Masterman – not least Kipling – presumably many felt it was one way to assuage their vague guilt for being too old to serve on the fighting front. It did not require much effort of imagination on their part to transform the platitudes of the British imperial idea, the worship of French culture, and the dislike of German militarism into a propaganda rhetoric embodying unconscious prejudices and stereotypes.

Wellington House (officially, the War Propaganda Bureau) was not to engage in propaganda directed against the enemy or in home front propaganda, but instead to concentrate on making the British case in Allied and neutral nations. The preferred instrument was the pamphlet; customarily published in paper covers, it is cheap to produce and easy to distribute. Nearly a thousand titles were commissioned and it is said seven million copies were printed by 1916.

The pamphlets' official nature was to be disguised: bearing no overt indication of their origin, these appeared to be written by private individuals of repute, and printed by private but prominent publishers. The Bureau got commercial houses to print their material in England and paid five guineas for the use of their respective imprints; the government agreed in advance to secretly buy copies, which it then distributed for free.

Kipling began as an indefatigable speechmaker at recruiting rallies and writer of recruiting pamphlets. "National Bands," a speech delivered at Mansion House on 27 January 1915 made at the Lord Mayor's request, proposed "to provide drums and fifes for every battalion, full bands at depots, and a proportion of battalion bands at half or even one-third establishment;" it was printed as a leaflet by Hodder & Stoughton and distributed in a special "National Bands" edition of Kipling's previously published *A Song of the English*.³ On 21 June, he was the chief speaker at Southport at a rally for Lord Derby's Recruiting Campaign for the West Lancashire Territorial Battalions, and his speech "A Call to the Nation" was published by *The Daily Express* as a half-penny leaflet.

Since Allied military leaders at the outset of the war prevented newspaper reporters from visiting the front, Wellington House and the War Office organized visits for a few British writers, under close supervision, to the war zones. Between 13 October and 24 November, Kipling visited six army training camps, as well as Indian Troops in the New Forest. His six-article series appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* in three-day intervals before Christmas in December 1914. They were each reprinted by the author's American publishers Doubleday, Page

and Company, in separate pamphlets on infantry, gunners, Canadians, Indian troops, and Territorial battalions, each in an edition of fifty copies. Most of these were then mailed for reprinting to newspapers and destroyed, being separated into leaves for the convenience of linotype operators.

Reactions were varied. "Kipling's little 6d book [published by Macmillan as a paperback] on the New Armies is very good," the poet Ivor Gurney observed. But another young poet, Edmund Blunden, later said that it was this pamphlet which permanently turned him off Kipling: "It was so hideous a dismissal of such creatures [as me] into this bottomless pit of war I could never forgive. To him they were the merest cannon fodder."⁴

Kipling's next reportage celebrated France as the noble savior of an ancient civilization in his collection's very title. "France at War on the Frontier of Civilization," a series of six articles appearing in the London *Daily Telegraph* and in the *New York Times* from 6 through 17 September 1915, were composed in his new capacity as an official war correspondent, on the invitation of General John French who had bidden Kipling out to the front in France in March 1915.

This publication pattern of *The New Army* – newspaper articles reprinted as a book or pamphlet – was replicated in Kipling's third series, "The Fringes of the Fleet," based on his visits to the headquarters of the east coast naval patrols at Dover and at Harwich in September 1915. Commissioned by Wellington House for publication in British and American newspapers, these described the activities of the smaller units of the Navy employed at its "fringes": submarines, destroyers, and other auxiliary vessels.

The Fringes of the Fleet painted for the reader a picture of a kind of *Stalky & Co.* Navy, the boys sailing around in their little ships playing elaborate jokes on the Germans. The fun only serves to emphasize the superiority of the Royal Navy over the German fleet. Ivor Gurney the following September told a correspondent that he had read most of the *Fringes* booklet "in a shell hole, during one of the most annoying times we had. It was during heavy fatigue, and the Boches spotted us and let fly with heavy shrapnel and 5.9s." Kipling would have been pleased to learn that what had proved a vital displacement activity for himself had also helped a private soldier get through part of the Battle of the Somme.⁵

Kipling's output under the guidance of Wellington House was interrupted by a summons from his favorite service, the British Navy. As it became ever more involved in a war of unprecedented scope and complexity, the Navy discovered that it too needed to come to terms with the new phenomenon of public opinion. The man in charge of

this task for the Admiralty was Rear-Admiral (and Chief [Admiralty] Censor) Sir Douglas Brownrigg. In the spring of 1916, Brownrigg made available to Kipling for review secret reports to the British Admiralty, from which the author composed three articles, entitled "Tales of 'The Trade'". The resulting essays were distributed to American newspapers in mimeograph form by the Official Press Bureau to subscribing newspapers.

The Battle of Jutland on 31 May 1916, the major naval event of the year and, by most measures, of the entire war (the only battle between two great modern fleets ever fought in European waters, involving 25 admirals, 250 ships, and 100,000 men), deeply challenged Brownrigg's office. Although unable to release all the facts to the author, the Chief Censor nevertheless carried a "large dispatch box" of reports to Kipling's Sussex home sometime after 19 August, "and having explained to him what points we wanted left alone," he recalled in his memoirs, "he accepted the task, notwithstanding the numbing and withering censorship that had to be imposed on him." Brownrigg added "in those priceless articles he produced for us, not one word was ever deleted by me or anybody else."⁶ "Destroyers at Jutland" appeared in four instalments in London in *The Daily Telegraph* and in America on *The New York Times's* front pages over the last two weeks of October.

The branches of the government seeking his literary aid continued to expand. Brigadier G. K. Cockerill, the head of MO5, the "Special Section" of the War Office, visited Bateman's to consult with Kipling about handling British intelligence to neutrals. Emerging from this encounter was the notion that Rudyard write about "his" Indian soldiers serving in the alien terrain of Europe. The four epistolary stories which resulted were collected between hard covers in the United States in 1918 under the title *The Eyes of Asia*, and first published in May 1918 in Paris in *La Revue des Deux Monde*, and only the following week in London in *The Morning Post*, and in America in the magazine *The Saturday Evening Post*.

Kipling's penultimate effort for the British wartime propaganda campaign was *The War in the Mountains*, five articles descriptive of his visit to the Italian front with Austria in the Dolomites. The series first appeared in London in *The Daily Telegraph* and in New York City in *The New York Tribune* on 6, 9, 13, 16, and 20 June 1917. Translated into Italian, they also appeared in that country on the same dates in the periodicals *Lettura* and *Secolo XX*, and were collected in a paperback edition published in Milan this same year entitled *La Guerra nelle montagne*.

The emergence of propaganda as the chief instrument of control over public opinion, in the evolution through 1918 of those British

bureaus in charge of it, was the inevitable consequence of “total” war into which civilians were fully swept, as voters and victims. It has been said that “most of the principles and many of the techniques of modern propaganda were worked out in such detail [by Wellington House] that subsequent practitioners would do little more than elaborate on them.”

While it was not the only effect of that campaign, a major cumulative effect was the creation of a national stereotype of the “Hun,” capable of the worst crimes imaginable to civilization, employing practices of war which were barbaric and inhumane. Worse, a delayed effect of British atrocity propaganda during the First World War and the failure to substantiate the stories in the years that followed, led to a general disinclination in the nineteen-thirties and the nineteen-forties to believe atrocity stories about the Nazi treatment of the Jews.

Masterman, in assembling his stable of star authors in Wellington House in 1914, made one crucial mistake: almost all were too old for military service. The eldest, Hardy, was seventy-four, and Masefield, the youngest, was thirty-six; the average age was just over fifty (Kipling was then forty-eight). These were old men, from a soldier’s point of view, and as the war dragged on without resolution, they would seem less and less to have the right to make moral statements about it.

The writers who wore the proffered mask of the propagandist suffered a psychic toll, and perhaps Rudyard Kipling was the one undergoing the deepest and subtlest change. The loss of his son John at the Battle of Loos in September 1915, leading many to think that “My Boy Jack” printed with *Destroyers at Jutland* was really about his son, and the failure to find the boy’s body through months of doubt of his ultimate fate, led the father to accept the commission to write *The Irish Guards in the Great War*, published in 1923. Remarkably, he told his secretary, “This will be my great work.”⁸

He found another outlet for his grief and powers of commemoration in joining the Imperial War Graves Commissioners, for which he wrote most of the inscriptions for the Commission’s overseas cemeteries for the war dead, including the most famous one, “Their Name Liveth For Evermore.” His epigrammatical series “Epitaphs of War” expressed the author’s mounting and increasingly less hidden disillusion with his country’s leadership. In “Common Form,” he wrote: “If any question why we died | Tell them, because our fathers lied.”⁹

This Kipling epitaph is somewhat ambiguous, but only on the page. He had perhaps done more than anyone to glamorize the brutality and waste of war for those now in the War Graves Commission’s cemeteries, and he was *not* repenting or recanting here. Rather, his anger was for the politicians who had left Britain unprepared, not heeding the early alarms which many had raised, anger for the union leaders who

had opposed conscription, and anger for all those other members of the establishment and a jaded populace whose complacency and cowardice led to the too-early deaths of John Kipling and so many others.

[NOTE: Kipling's works of war propaganda which David Richards discusses here have been recently reissued by Uniform Press (2015) as separate volumes, and were reviewed individually in the *Kipling Journal*. *The New Army in Training* was reviewed by Roger Ayers (no. 361, Sept 2015, pp. 62–3), *Sea Warfare* by Guy Liardet and *The Eyes of Asia* by Anurag Jain in no. (no. 362, Dec 2015, pp. 63–5); *France at War* and *The War in the Mountains* by Howard Booth (no. 363, March 2016, p. 63). *Ed.*]

NOTES

- 1 Interested readers should consult David Richards 'Kipling and the Great War Propagandists' in the 'General Articles' section of the *New Reader's Guide to the Works of Rudyard Kipling*, www.kiplingsociety.co.uk.
- 2 Mesinger, Gary S., *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War* (Manchester and New York: 1992), p. 35; Rowland, Peter, *David Lloyd George: A Biography* (New York: 1975), p. 289.
- 3 Richards, David, *Rudyard Kipling: A Bibliography* (New Castle, DE and London, 2010), A227, pp. 225–6.
- 4 Thornton, R. K., ed., *Ivor Gurney: Collected Letters* (Manchester: 1991), p. 13; Webb, Barry, *Edmund Blunden: A Biography* (New Haven; CT: 1990), p. 45.
- 5 Gurney, *Collected Letters*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.
- 6 Brownrigg, Rear Admiral Sir Douglas, *Indiscretions of the Naval Censor* (London and New York: 1920), p. 58; Mesinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 8 Richards, *op. cit.*, A340, p. 268.
- 9 Pinney, Thomas, ed. *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, Volume II* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 1144.

CONFLATING POINTS OF VIEW ON EUROPE IN *THE EYES OF ASIA*: KIPLING'S FICTION OF REVERSE ORIENTALISM

By ÉLODIE RAIMBAULT

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Travel narratives aim at documenting both the world itself and the mark the traveller leaves behind as he moves across the world. Orientalist travel narratives are more specifically written in the conjoined perspectives of the acquisition of knowledge, of territorial conquest and of the act of writing about oneself. In Kipling's *The Eyes of Asia*, the circumstances in which the narrators discover and analyse a foreign place are not the usual leisurely or scientific ones. These epistolary tales are composed of letters written by Indian soldiers sent to Europe during World War One. Generically, they are hybrid texts which encompass propaganda, travel literature and historical documentation. Kipling wrote them after reading some of the original letters written by the Indian soldiers stationed in Europe. As explained by Anurag Jain, Kipling read the authentic letters of the soldiers translated into English by the military authorities. Karen Leenders has documented Kipling's fascination with the original letters and shown the striking similarities between the letters and their rewritings.¹ In *The Eyes of Asia*, Kipling makes public² the private voice of the Indian soldier, representing the imperial subalterns he celebrated in his *Epitaph* for a 'Hindu Sepoy in France':

This man in his own country prayed we know not to what Powers.
We pray Them to reward him for his bravery in ours.³

In this epitaph, point of view is presented as the main issue: the multiplication of pronouns and their chiasmic disposition in the last line suggest that Indian soldiers in Europe are both objects and subjects in a cultural encounter.

The Eyes of Asia presents a fictional structure similar to Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, satirical tone left aside: the Indian characters assess European society with a foreigner's gaze. The stories have a polyphonic quality, giving the points of views of both narrators and narratees, as well as that of the author and, through him, of the military authorities. The four stories' originality lies in how the conflict-ridden contexts of war and colonialism paradoxically inspire the humanist

motif of encountering the Other. This is achieved through a conflation of points of view which unsettles univocal discourses.

The other main issue is the generic conflation present in the texts: these are in-between fiction and documentary, at the meeting point of the dominant and subaltern perspectives. The first and last stories are letters transcribed. The second and third stories are dramatized: in the second one, the soldier dictates his letter and comments upon it at the same time; in the third story the father, mother and brother of a soldier read the letter together at home in Northern India and comment upon it. Europe is viewed by Indians who have been there and others who have not, leading to different interpretations.

THE TRAVELLER'S POINT OF VIEW: AN ORIENTALIZED EUROPE?

The four stories reverse some *topoi* of classical European travel literature: otherness is not located in the Orient but in Europe, and the travellers are Indian. Their discovery of otherness is the predominant theme, while the horror of war is incidentally mentioned. This focus on uplifting themes may be the result of censorship, but the soldiers also wish to reassure their families at home by presenting the less traumatising parts of their European experience. Both in the authentic letters and in the short stories, sociological, economic and ethnological considerations abound. Among the main differences noticed by the soldiers are the education of children, farming methods and religion.

Interestingly however, the soldiers dwell longer on the resemblances than the differences between the two cultures. In "A Retired Gentleman", the hospitalised soldier compares the caste system with the English social classes, seeing similarities in the hierarchy as well as in the obligations attached to each status: "It is not true there is no caste in England. The mark of the high castes, such as Ul or Baharun [Earl or Baron] is that they can perform any office, such as handling the dead, wounds, blood, etc., without loss of caste."⁴ Although the passage seems objective at first, thanks to the use of short, assertive, descriptive sentences, the reader however perceives a cultural filter in the use of similes and in the denunciation of wrong assumptions.

Metaphors and similes convey to the Indian readers certain European realities they never encountered. To express the awe-inspiring violence of the war, a soldier uses as vehicle the sublime landscapes of India: "[There] was an Officer of Artillery, in charge of a gun that shook mountains. [...] But those who have never seen even a rivulet cannot imagine the Indus." (EA 28) The final remark suggests that even such similes cannot convey the magnitude of modern warfare. His linguistic lack of exactness in front of a great alterity makes tropes like hyperbole necessary, suggesting discrepancy and difference.

Another discrepancy lies in the process of defamiliarization that creates an impression of exoticism out of a description of European surroundings, as for instance in the soldier's visit of London, where the architectural and decorative wealth of a Baroness's house is described in a mock orientalist manner, with hyperboles and enumerations of valuable goods: "It was in reality a palace filled with carpets, gilt furniture, marbles, mirrors, silks, velvets, carvings, etc., etc. Hot water ran in silver pipes to my very bedside. The perfumed baths were perpetually renewed. When it rained daily I walked in a glass pavilion filled with scented flowers." (*EA* 12–13) The clichés of the orientalist tradition are displaced onto Europe. The precious materials listed and the luxury seen in the Baroness's house could as easily be found in a Maharajah's palace, the real exoticism being that of wealth for the middle-class Indian soldier. It is also ironically striking to consider that he marvels at the artefacts acquired by the English aristocrats thanks to the colonisation of India.

Even if these discrepancies seem at first uncanny to the European reader, the soldiers generally express a universalist vision, considering the parallels that can be drawn between Europe and India: "The sun is absent. The wet is present. Yet this France is a country created by Allah, and its people are manifestly a reasonable people with reason for all they do. [...] Butchers sell dressed portions of fowls and sheep ready to be cooked. There is aniseed, coriander, and very good garlic." (*EA* 37) Once the resemblance is acknowledged, it leads to friendly relationships between the Indians and the Europeans. The narrators meet new friends or substitute mothers and sons. In the last short story, the soldier starts "going native": he learns some basic French, refuses that a marriage be arranged for him in while he is away, and debunks several traditional Punjabi superstitions in his letters to his mother. He is transformed by his travels, convinced of the superiority of European culture. He defines travel as an intellectual revolution:

When a man goes out into the world his understanding is enlarged and he becomes proficient in different kinds of work. [...] I am not of the sort to make a wedding outside my clan or country, but if I fight to keep Mama Lumra out of the Punjab I will choose my wives out of the Punjab. I desire nothing that is contrary to the Faith, Mother, but what was ample yesterday does not cover even the palm of the hand today. This is owing to the spread of enlightenment among all men coming and going and observing matters which they had never before known to exist. (*EA* 55–6)

This process of cultural assimilation echoes that of the English colonists who “went native” in India, in yet another reversal of the orientalist clichés.

THE MERGING OF POINTS OF VIEW

Kipling’s attitude to the war and his imperialist bias can often be perceived underneath the Indian soldiers’ viewpoints. In “A Retired Gentleman”, the military power of Britain is admired by the narrator who justifies the colonial situation: “This people have all the strength. There is no reason except the nature of the English that anything in their dominions should stand up which has been ordered to lie down.” (*EA* 14) Many critics have perceived these short stories to be pure propaganda, precisely because of the merging of points of view: the dominant discourse is voiced by Indian soldiers, subalterns express the imperialist opinions of the military authority.

Some of the sentences uttered by the fictional soldiers have a definite Kiplingesque ring to them, which is detectable by comparison with the authentic texts. For instance, one actual letter by a Punjabi Rajput in January 1915 includes this remark: “This is not a war. It is the ending of the world. This is just such a war as was related in the Mahabharata about our forefathers.”⁵ Kipling’s rewriting erased the reference to the Indian epic and added a compound adjective: “This is not a war. It is a world-destroying battle” (*EA* 27). Jan Montefiore identified the elegiac and archaic value of such compounds in Kipling’s *Epitaphs*, showing how they “assimilate [...] modern industrialized warfare into classical elegy, so that the dead men become at once ancient warriors and modern heroes.”⁶ The changes make the passage more elegiac, poetic and intimate.

Kipling however does not dwell long on the horrors of the war in his short stories, focusing more on the everyday life of the soldiers and the Europeans they encounter. Another example of how the soldiers express Kipling’s opinions can be found by comparing certain passages of *Souvenirs of France* and *The Eyes of Asia*. In *Souvenirs of France*, Kipling’s own discovery of rural France focuses on the same themes: “Then was revealed to us, season after season, the immense and amazing beauty of France, the laborious thrift of her people, and a little of their hard philosophy; the excellence of her agriculture and the forethought and system of her forestry.”⁷ In “The Fumes of the Heart”, the soldier writes: “The French in Franceville work continually without rest. The French and the Phlahamahnds [Flamands] who are a caste of French, are Kings among cultivators” (*EA* 20), and “[a]s to cultivation, there are no words for its excellence or for the industry of the cultivators.” (*EA*

22) This merging of opinions leads the reader to question the narrators' reliability.

In "The Fumes of the Heart", the form of the dramatic monologue allows the reader to have access both to the letter and, between square brackets, to the metanarrative commentaries made by the soldier narrator. He is a manipulative storyteller who regularly pauses in his dictation to address the letter-writer in an aside explaining why his story needs to be adapted for his ignorant family: "Not one word of this will he or anyone in the villages believe, Sahib. What can you expect? They have never even seen Lahore City! We will tell him what he can understand" (*EA* 21). The text bends reality so as to find the meeting point between the narrator and his ignorant readers; the description of Europe cannot be truthful, because it needs to be understood in India.

The soldiers' representation of France and England is generally that of fertile lands and of a peaceful, educated and hard-working population. No violence is seen apart from that of the war: "no man molests any woman here on any occasion" (*EA* 54–5), "the French are a virtuous people and do not steal from each other" (*EA* 33–4). The Indians are "esteemed and honoured by all" (*EA* 34). These are tall tales, which conversely present the Indian society as backward and violent by comparison. The wealth of ordinary people is also widely exaggerated, which prompts in the recipients of the letter the colonial urge to obtain these treasures:

SON [continuing]. Listen to these fresh marvels. He says: 'We reside in brick houses with painted walls of flowers and birds; we sit upon chairs covered with silks. [...] Every house is a palace of entertainment filled with clocks, lamps, candlesticks, gildings, and images.'

FATHER. What a country! What a country! How much will he be able to bring back of it all? (*EA* 34)

The reversal of the colonial relationship is merely alluded to and never actualised. "A Private Account" depicts an idyllic social harmony in the context of the war. The idealization is visible also in how all the soldiers seem sincerely committed to the King, while the authentic letters present a wider range of motives.⁸ As revealed by Omissi's work, many of the soldiers who wrote the authentic letters foregrounded the notions of honour, duty and service, like those in Kipling's fiction, but Kipling chose to select only these and left aside the other political stances present in the real letters, notably the nationalist claims, thus following the guidelines of the military censors.

Written as pastiches, the stories were initially presented as authentic letters, in a propagandist attempt at raising awareness on the necessity of the war and its global scope, especially among the American public.⁹ The realistic stories flatter Western readers by exhibiting the Indians' admiration of Europe and elicit gratitude for these foreigners fighting in their war. Despite an attempt at reversing the colonial gaze, Kipling's stories integrate the Indians' point of view within the European one. The apparently subversive point of view actually strengthens European self-definition.

This collection partakes in the thread of Kipling's works which, like "A Matter of Fact", are warnings against narrators professing truthfulness. It suggests that not only do storytellers need to alter what they have witnessed if they want to be believed by their inexperienced readers, but propagandists also twist reality to fit their grand narrative. The perception of Europe through semi-fictional Indian eyes is fraught with the real Indian soldiers' personal, social and political anxieties, to which must be added the filter of the author's own ideological concerns. Kipling's Indian characters' discourse on Europe is ambiguous because it is at once distanced and Eurocentric.

NOTES

- 1 See Jain, Anurag, "The Eyes of Asia: a Bibliographical Essay", *Kipling Journal* 328 (Sept. 2008): 7–10, Das, Santanu, "Indians at Home, Mesopotamia, and France, 1914–1918: Towards an Intimate History", *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 70–89, and more recently Leenders, Karen, "Rudyard Kipling and the Indian Corps", *Kipling Journal* 365 (Sept 2016): 48–59.
- 2 The four short stories, published separately in American and British newspapers in 1917, appeared under the title *The Eyes of Asia* in 1918 in the U.S.A.
- 3 *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 2, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 1141.
- 4 Kipling, Rudyard, *The Eyes of Asia* (London: Uniform Press, 2015), 11. Abbreviated as *EA*.
- 5 Omissi, David, ed., *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914–18* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 32.
- 6 Montefiore, Janet, *Rudyard Kipling* (Horndon: Northcote House, 2007), 157.
- 7 Kipling, Rudyard, *Souvenirs of France* (London: Macmillan, 1933), 17.
- 8 See Das, Santanu, "Writing Empire, Fighting War: India, Great Britain and the First World War", Nasta, Susheila, ed., *India in Britain: South Asian Networks and Connections, 1858–1950* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 28–45.
- 9 See Singh, Gajendra, *The Testimonies of Indian Soldiers and the Two World Wars: Between Self and Sepo* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 69.

HEROISM AND ATROCITY IN ‘THE BULL THAT THOUGHT’

By MIKAKO AGEISHI

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Rudyard Kipling’s short story ‘The Bull that Thought’ (1924, collected in *Debits and Credits*, 1926) is based on his love of France and his experience of attending bullfights in France and Spain. It is an anecdotal account of the life and performance of a bull named Apis, born and bred in France, related to the narrator ‘I’ by M. Voiron, a former colonial administrator in ‘Annam and Tonquin’ (now Vietnam), decorated with ‘by no means the lowest grade of the Legion of Honour’, now an agricultural tycoon. (Kipling, 208) As many critics have noted, this story can be read as ‘an allegory of art’ (Stewart, 265) and of an artist discovering his vocation, since Apis is described as an artist, possessed of ‘a breadth of technique that comes of reasoned art, and above all, of the passion that arrives after experience’ (216) and his performance in the ring as that of a ‘supreme artist’ (226). Elliot Gilbert argued that Kipling ‘employs a bull as a symbol of the artist’ (Gilbert, 168), and that the bull-fight scenes in the ring are described in terms that suggest a work of art. According to Andrew Lycett, Apis the ‘supreme artist’ among the bulls was ‘a model for Rudyard’s own creative spirit’ (Lycett, 525). The story is said to display ‘Kipling’s mastery of the art of short story’ (Schaub, 309), and Bodelsen has pointed out that Apis stands both for the artist and also for “the genius of France” (Bodelsen, 64).

This paper, however, focuses on Apis as a representation of the French spirit and more generally of belligerence (for ‘The Bull that Thought’ is very much a post-War story), comparing the fictional bull Apis with Ferdinand Foch (1851–1929), Marshal of France and commander of the Allied forces during World War I, and with the Serbian Colonel Dragutin T. Dimitrijević known as ‘Apis’ who belonged to the Black Hand, a secret military society. I also explore how Kipling expressed the ‘Genius of France’ (226), bearing in mind his lifelong admiration for French culture and for France as a great power, especially after the Entente Cordiale of 1904, when England and France drew closer together, and, even more, when both nations fought as allies in the Great War.

I. APIS AS FERDINAND FOCH

‘The Bull that Thought’ describes the career of a fighting bull called Apis, who is highly intelligent and has sharp intuition. He is always

conscious of gaining an advantage over his opponent, whether animal or human. Even before Apis went to the bull-ring, as a young bull running wild on the Camargue marshes he ‘assassinated’ another young bull who had shown signs of developing into a rival, as described by Voiron’s chief herdsman Christophe:

Christophe, who had been out on the Crau, informed me that Apis had assassinated a young bull who had given signs of developing into a rival. That happens, of course, and our herdsmen should prevent it. But Apis had killed in his own style – at dusk, from the ambush of a wind-break – by an oblique charge from behind which knocked the other over. He had then disembowelled him. (225, emphasis mine)

This brutal disembowelment shows us that the word ‘assassinated’ is indeed apt. Apis’ characteristic style of killing is that cunning ‘oblique charge from behind.’ When Apis makes his spectacular *début* at a small Catalan town, the uniqueness of his attack when he kills a picador is again called ‘the oblique charge’ (220). Apis’ pretence of ‘accidentally’ trampling a man to death is likewise an ‘adorable assassination’ (*ibid.*):

A picador was sent at him – necessarily from the front, which alone was open. Apis charged – he who, till then, you realize, had not used the horn! The horse went over backwards, the man half beneath him. Apis halted, hooked him under the heart, and threw him to the barrier. We heard his head crack, but he was dead before he hit the wood. There was no demonstration from the audience. They, also, had begun to realize this Foch among bulls! The arena occupied itself again with the dead. (223, emphasis mine)

‘[T]his Foch among bulls’ refers to Ferdinand Foch, who was the most inspired key French military commander of the Western Front generals in World War I. At the outbreak of the War, Foch helped secure victory at the First Battle of the Marne in 1914. Marshal of France and commander of the French army at the Somme in 1916, and General-in-Chief of the Allied armies in 1918, he is generally considered to be the leader most responsible for the Allied victory. Daniel Karlin mentions that Foch’s ‘strategy was based on constant attack’ (Karlin, 636). Yuzo Ishimaru likewise points out his distinctive strategy trait:

When Foch noted that his enemies slackened their attack on him, he took advantage of an unguarded moment. This is a basic principle of his strategies in those days. (Ishimaru, 351, my translation)

Ishimaru calls Foch's strategy 'Sokumen Kougeki' or 'flank attack'. In the Second Battle of the Marne in 1918, when the battle was going badly for the French, the Foch 42nd troop repulsed German attacks by means of this flank attack, which led them to ultimate victory in this war. Foch's strategy thus corresponds to Apis' unique 'oblique charge.'

II. APIS AS DRAGUTIN DIMITRIJEVIĆ

Although Voiron's war service was civilian ('his years barring him from the front line, he had supervised Chinese wood-cutters who, with axe and dynamite, deforested the centre of France for trench-props,' [208]), he uses military language to describe Apis' brilliant charges. Thus, when Apis dismisses the arrogant matador Villamarti, he 'breasted him with the clang of one of our own Seventy-fives' (222). This refers to the 75 millimetre field gun, one of the standard pieces used by the French Artillery in World War I. Even as a calf, Apis 'could kick, too, sideways He knew his ranges as well as our gunners' (200). When he knocks down a young *bandillero* in the arena, sniffing at him and turning away, his actions are described as 'dismissal more ignominious than degradation at the head of one's battalion.' (225)

As we have seen, when Apis charges horses or men, the verb 'assassinate' and the noun 'assassination' are used, and Apis is described as 'thrice at least an assassin.' (218) In the context of World War I, lightly sketched though it is here, the keyword 'assassin' recalls another 'Apis,' the nickname of the Serbian colonel, Dragutin T. Dimitrijević who was instrumental in organising the assassination that notoriously triggered the war. 'Apis' in Egyptian mythology was a sacred bull, and Dragutin, named 'Apis' by his schoolmates for his massive physique and dynamic energy, was known in Yugoslavia as the leader of the secret Serbian national society called the *Black Hand*. The *Black Hand*, formed in 1911 by officers in the Army of the Kingdom of Serbia, originated in the conspiracy group responsible for assassinating the Serbian King Alexander I and his wife Queen Draga in 1903. Colonel Apis helped organize and direct the conspiracy to murder Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Austrian heir, on June 15, 1914 in Sarajevo, Bosnia, thereby triggering the horrors of World War I. Although the actual perpetrator of the murder was Gavrilo Princip, a young Serbian member of a group of assassins which favoured uniting all Serbs into a Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia, Colonel Apis was undoubtedly involved in organizing the Sarajevo assassination, with disastrous consequences for Europe and the world. Some view him as a 'grey eminence' who determined all basic decisions and appointments in Serbia from 1906 to 1914 (MacKenzie, 4). The defenders of Apis insist that he was a patriotic and loyal officer dedicated to Serbia's victory in World War I. His enemies claim that

he was ‘a traitor and assassin, perhaps employed by Germany.’ (*ibid.*) Thus, Apis the bull in Kipling’s story symbolizes both the ‘assassin’ of the Archduke Ferdinand, and the noble spirit of the great French officer, Ferdinand Foch: an ambivalence of sublimity and brutality.

III. KIPLING’S VIEW OF FRANCE

How far is Kipling’s “The Bull that Thought” a story of praise for France? It is important here to focus on the narrative frame story. The Frenchman Voiron, impressed by the performance of the English narrator’s motor-car on a flat road, invites him to a splendid dinner, over which he relates the story of Apis. Kipling emphasises the excellence of the ‘local dishes of renown’ and the delicious champagne Voiron shares with him (209), and his admiration for French culture as well as French cuisine can be seen in the literary analogies Voiron draws between the grace and élan of Apis and French literary figures. He is a ‘Cyrano of the Camargue’ (225), alluding to the swashbuckling hero of Edmund Rostand’s drama *Cyrano de Bergerac*; his comic truculence has ‘a certain Rabelaisian abandon’, alluding to the famously coarse classic *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (224); and he chases off the presumptuous matador Villamarti like ‘the elder Dumas slamming the door on an intruder’ (227), referring to the author of *The Three Musketeers*. On the other hand, Voiron shows awareness of past hostilities between France and Britain. He says how he cheered Apis as the bull swept the arena in the ‘play-fights’ at Arles, and then:

I revert to Voiron Frères – wines, chemical manures, et cetera. And next year, through some chicane which I have not the leisure to unravel, and also, thanks to our patriarchal system of paying our older men out of the increase of the herds, old Christophe possesses himself of Apis. Oh, yes, he proves it through descent from a certain cow that my father had given his father before the Republic. Beware, Monsieur, of the memory of the illiterate man! An ancestor of Christophe had been a soldier under our Soult against your Beresford, near Bayonne. (217, my emphasis)

Christophe, the ‘chief herdsman’ in Voiron’s farm (213) claims Apis thanks to the gift of a cow to his family ‘before the Republic.’ According to Daniel Karlin, this refers to ‘the Third Republic, established in 1871 after defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Second Empire under Napoleon III’ (Karlin, 635). So ‘before the Republic’ signifies the period from 1852 to 1870, when Napoleon III pressed onward with the Industrial Revolution, combining a strong authoritarian state with economic progress in France. Apis’ ancestry

thus derives from a time when the genius of France was at the height of its prosperity. Voiron's allusions to 'our Soult' and 'your Beresford' refer to the battle of Albuera in 1811, in which the British General William Beresford defeated the French army led by Nicolas-Jean de Dieu Soult (1769–1851), one of Napoleon's Marshals during the Peninsula War (1808–14). By mentioning both this historic battle and the part played in it by his herdsman's ancestor, Voiron obliquely refers to a history of conflict between Britain and France as great powers, even though these nations fought as allies in 'our recent war.' (218) Britain and France have a history of hostility and repeated wars, both in the 'Hundred Years War' in the late Middle Ages and, more recently, the Revolutionary Wars, better known as the Napoleonic Wars from 1793 to 1815, when Britain and her allies contested Napoleon's hegemony of Europe, with ultimate success. France and Great Britain continued to be rivals as colonial powers throughout the 19th century. In 1898, the so-called Fashoda Incident occurred, in which Britain forced French withdrawal from the Nile, which created discord and even the threat of war between the two countries. Not long afterwards, Kipling responded to these tensions in his comic story 'The Bonds of Discipline' (1903), where a French spy is outwitted by the officers and men of the Royal Navy. On the other hand, Kipling's love of France and French culture was lifelong, and his writings were popular in France.

Voiron's allusion to past hostilities does not appear to damage his cordial evening with the narrator, no doubt because French and British armies had so recently fought side by side against their common enemy Germany; yet the memory of historic conflict is present in his anecdote.

The story ends with Apis' triumphant exit from the arena, which leaves Christophe and his master Voiron 'weeping together like children of the same Mother.' (229) For these two Frenchmen, the 'Mother' must be their homeland France, also the birthplace of Apis. They perhaps weep from their admiration of Apis' brilliant achievement, or perhaps from bitter regret at having sold this master of strategy to Spaniards.

The situation of the speaker in the poem 'Alnaschar and the Oxen', which follows the story in *Debts and Credits*, is not dissimilar to that of Voiron. He too is a farmer in his spare time:

There's a pasture in a valley where the hanging woods divide,
And a Herd lies down and ruminates in peace;
Where the pheasant rules the nooning, and the owl the
twilight tide,
And the war-cries of our world die out and cease.
Here I cast aside the burden that each weary week-day brings
And, delivered from the shadows I pursue,

On peaceful, postless, Sabbaths I consider Weighty Things
Such as Sussex Cattle feeding in the dew! (231)

‘Alnaschar’, the name of a beggar in ‘The Barber’s Fifth Brother’ collected in the *Arabian Nights*, means ‘daydreamer.’ The peaceful pasture with his herd is a refuge where ‘the war-cries of our world die out and cease’, which suggests that Alnaschar retreats from activity into farming, like Voiron withdrawing from his active life as a colonial administrator to become a farmer and manufacturer of ‘wines, agricultural implements, provisions.’ (208) He is proud of his cattle, comparing his “six and twenty” to the ‘fifteen mile of oxen’ possessed by the African monarch Lobengula, and his cows’ eyes to those of the goddess ‘Juno, overlooking all.’ (230–1) But his cattle are not ‘wicked’ athletes destined for the bull-ring; he breeds them for size, weight and – ultimately – beef:

Here is colour, form and substance, I will put it to the proof
And, next season, in my lodges shall be born
Some very Bull of Mithras, flawless from his agate hoof
To his even-branching ivory, dusk-tipped horn.
He shall mate with block-square virgins – kings shall seek
his like in vain,
While I multiply his stock a thousandfold,
Till an hungry world extol me, builder of a lofty strain
That turns one standard ton at two years old!

Mithras in Persian Mythology is the god of light, associated with the protection of warriors. In Mithraic ritual, the bull was slaughtered as a sacrificial animal, and with its blood the fertility of the land was ensured. Alnaschar’s dream of a ‘flawless’ gem-like Bull of Mithras with ‘agate hoof’ and ‘ivory horn’ invokes the beasts’ mortal fate; the Sussex cattle peacefully ‘feeding in the dew’ will meet their destiny in the slaughterhouse. When Alnaschar plans for his splendid bull to ‘multiply my stock a thousandfold,’ he is boasting of his ambition to own a fertile stud, siring great herds of prime oxen to feed a carnivorous ‘hungry world’. Death lurks in the peaceful Sussex pasture, as in the Camargue marshes.

‘The Bull that Thought’ is indeed inspired by Kipling’s love of France, but the bullfighting described in the story is as much a battle-field as an artistic performance. This literary work brilliantly conveys both Kipling’s awareness of the history of wars between France and Britain, and his lifelong admiration for French language and culture.

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KIPLING AND THE CLUB

By STEPHEN BANN

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Kipling was elected to membership of the Savile on 30 January 1891. Although he later became a member of other clubs, notably of the Athenaeum, this was his first initiation into the world of the London Club. As far as I can judge, he remained a member of the Savile until the year of his death. His most recent donation to the Savile Club Library came in 1933, when he presented a copy of *Souvenirs of France*, the last of his works to be published during his lifetime. There is good reason to suppose that Kipling's admission to the Savile, as 'the author of *Plain Tales from the Hills*', marked a significant stage in his literary career. But to appreciate the point, it is necessary to understand what type of a club it was that he had joined, and so to situate the Savile within the literary and cultural landscape of late nineteenth-century London.

Among British writers of the previous generation, Anthony Trollope is a helpful example of one who valued his own club membership, and also dilated on the phenomenon of club life in his novels. The message of his autobiography is clear: 'when I was in London as a young man, I had but few friends [...] The Garrick Club was the first assemblage of men at which I felt myself to be popular'.¹ The inference from this remark is not that Trollope would have found friends at any old club, but that at the Garrick (which he joined in 1862) he found his niche. There were many reasons for appreciating club membership in Victorian London, and not least would have been their gastronomic reputation. In Trollope's *Can You Forgive Her?* (1864–5), John Vavasor abandons his daughter at their mutual home in Queen Anne Street (north of Oxford Street), and goes out to dine every night at his club when not invited by friends.² He could have been visiting one of the grand purpose-built clubs in Pall Mall, such as the Reform, where the French chef Alexis Soyer had achieved acclaim for the produce of his newly installed kitchens.³ It was the Reform that provided Trollope with the model for the fictional club that served as a breeding ground for future Liberal politicians, such as the eponymous hero in the novels that traced the political career of Phineas Finn.

Yet Trollope also notes the emergence of a different type of club over the same period. The chain of events that anticipates the unfortunate Finn being tried for murder in *Phineas Redux* (1874) begins with a fateful visit to *The Universe*: a 'new type of club' where 'the

accommodation [was] not great', but the company was alluring in its diversity:

There were many men of note in the room. There was a foreign minister, a member of the Cabinet, two ex-members, a great poet, an exceedingly able editor, two earls, two members of the Royal Academy, the president of a learned society, a celebrated professor, – and it was expected that Royalty might come in at any minute, speak a few benign words, and blow a few clouds of smoke.⁴

This description is not far from encompassing the breadth of the original membership of the Savile. Founded as 'The New Club' in 1868, it originally occupied premises in the Medical Club, Spring Gardens (near Trafalgar Square), and moved in 1871 to the house at 15 Savile Row from which it drew its subsequent title. After a further eleven years, it became securely established at 107 Piccadilly, but (after that building became structurally unsound) transferred in 1927 to the former Mayfair town house of the Liberal politician, Lord Harcourt, in Brook Street, which had been lavishly embellished after the latter's marriage to the niece of the American banker, Pierpont Morgan. Of course, it would have been the premises of 107 Piccadilly, in particular, that Kipling got to know, and he presumably learned to play the variant game known as Savile snooker in the Billiards room overlooking Green Park. Among original members of the club, he must have met at least one who fulfilled in his own right more than one of the occupational categories specified by Trollope for this 'new type of club': Frederick Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, author of the popular travel book, *Letters from High Altitudes* (1857), then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster under Gladstone, and later Viceroy of India (1884–8). Kipling recounts in *Something of Myself* that he visited Dufferin, and benefited from his conversation, when the ex-Viceroy was serving as Britain's Ambassador to Italy.⁵

It is a fair assumption that Kipling valued the diversity of his fellow club members at the Savile. He was, after all, highly attentive to the value of clubbing, and explored collaborative ramifications in wildly Utopian as well as more strictly practical ways. In *Something of myself*, he expresses a doubt about whether the practice could be satisfactorily transplanted to the wilds of New England: 'a promising scheme for a Country Club [in Vermont] had to be abandoned because many men who would by right belong to it could not be trusted with a full whisky bottle'.⁶



Cartoon by 'Spy' of Rudyard Kipling, 1891⁷

In *Actions and Reactions* and *A Diversity of Creatures*, he lingers over the responsibilities undertaken by the 'Aerial Board of Control' (ABC), identified rather vaguely as 'that semi-elected, semi-nominated body of a few score persons [which] controls the planet'.⁸ Although he does not let us pry into the workings of a London club like the Savile, he is fascinated by the somewhat parallel phenomenon of freemasonry. In 'Interest of the Brethren', from *Debits and Credits*, he emphasises the value of the habitual club rule of hospitality to 'Visiting Brothers': 'There are so many of them in London now – and so few places where they can meet'.⁹ In 'Fairy Kist', from *Limits and Renewals*, he creates the vision of a wonderfully eccentric club related to a Lodge which compensates for its pious duties ('the cataloguing of a mass of Masonic pamphlets') with epicurean indulgence at 'Mr. Lemming's little place in Berkshire, where he raises pigs'.¹⁰

How far Kipling himself was a gourmet and a wine-lover as dedicated as these fictional club members must be open to question. Convivial enjoyment of food and drink in the company of Frenchmen features in the frame stories of two post-war tales set in France. In 'The Bull that Thought', the story of the bull Apis begins when M. Voiron shares with the narrator a bottle of special champagne, lyrically described as a

‘velvety, perfumed liquor, between fawn and topaz ... composed of the whispers of angels’ wings, the breath of Eden and the foam and pulse of Youth renewed.’ Conversely, the priest in ‘The Miracle of St Jubanus’ follows up his storytelling by requesting his housekeeper to bring ‘the larger bottle – er – from Martinique’ [brandy?]; thy gingerbread; and my African coffee’ to share with the narrator.¹¹ In ‘Fairy-Kist’, the founders of the ‘E.C.F.’ treat themselves to a feast that features: ‘several red mullets in paper; a few green peas and ducklings; an arrangement of cockscombs with olives, and capers as large as cherries; strawberries and cream; some 1903 Chateau la Tour.’¹² It is puzzling (though within the bounds of fictional licence) that Kipling should have picked a decidedly ‘off’ year of Chateau Latour. Maybe he was thinking of the exceptional 1893 vintage. The eminent wine specialist and Savilian, George Saintsbury, later dedicated his legendary *Notes on a Cellar Book* (1920) to Kipling, and took the opportunity to acknowledge ‘the many bottles of which [...] it has never been my lot or luck during some thirty years acquaintance to offer him one.’¹³ However, Kipling himself contradicts this statement in *Something of Myself* when alluding to the gaffe of having described ‘a bottle of real Tokay’ proffered by Saintsbury as recalling ‘some medicinal wine.’¹⁴ Even if Kipling offended against Saintsbury’s taste, the Savile was the place where the latter began to appreciate ‘R.K./one of the best of fellows/the best poet and tale-teller of his generation.’¹⁵

It was the intimate, but also eclectic, character of the Savile that defined its position among London clubs. Nevertheless, the members who signed in support of the election of the author of *Plain Tales from the Hills* were drawn preponderantly from London’s literary community. The debt to his fellow members that Kipling acknowledges in *Something of myself* relates specifically to their professional advice:

To my great pride I was elected a Member of the Savile – ‘the little Savile’ then in Piccadilly – and, on my introduction, dined with no less than [Thomas] Hardy and Walter Besant. My debts to the latter grew at once, and you may remember that I owed him much indeed. He had his own views on publishers, and was founding, or had just founded, the Authors’ Society. He advised me to entrust my business to an agent and sent me to his own – A.P. Watt, whose son was about my own age. The father took hold of my affairs at once and most sagely; and on his death his son succeeded. In the course of forty odd years I do not recall any difference between us that three minutes’ talk could not clear up. This, also, I owed to Besant.¹⁶



Kipling's nomination to membership of the Savile Club by, among others, Andrew Lang, Sidney Colvin, Henry James, Edmund Gosse and Rider Haggard, supported by Edmund Gosse, George Saintsbury, Thomas Hardy and many others.¹⁷

For the aspiring writer who had arrived in London not long before, and was (when nominated) lodging with his uncle Burne-Jones at 'The Grange' in West Kensington, this advice on how to conduct his career was doubtless invaluable. Besant evidently counselled him on the dangers of being seduced into the fold of one particular literary faction:

One heard very good talk at the Savile. Much of it was the careless give-and-take of the atelier when the models are off their stands, and one throws bread-pellets at one's betters, and makes hay of all schools save one's own. But Besant saw deeper. He advised me to 'keep out of the dog-fight'. He said that if I were 'in with one lot' I would have to be out with another; and that, at last, 'the thing would get like a girls' school where they stick out their tongues at each other when they pass.' [...] It seemed best to stand clear of it all.¹⁸

Against the masculine backdrop of the Savile, the hint of any possibility of behaving 'like a girls' school' must have caused the young Kipling to shudder. Moreover the lesson that he claimed to have learned from Besant was a significant one: 'I have never directly or indirectly criticised any fellow craftsman's output, or encouraged any man or woman to do so; nor have I approached any persons that they might be led to comment on my output.'¹⁹

In addition to Hardy and Besant, Kipling mentions several other names in connection with his membership of the Savile, not all of them

exclusively men of letters. The supreme literary fixer, Edmund Gosse, is cited, 'sensitive as a cat to all atmospheres'; Andrew Lang, the collector of folk and fairy tales, 'never kinder in your behalf than when he seemed least concerned with you'; Herbert Stephen, the cousin (once removed) of Virginia Woolf and son of a member of the Council of India; and Rider Haggard, 'to whom [Kipling] took at once, he being of the stamp adored by children and trusted by men at sight; and he could tell tales, mainly against himself, that broke up the tables.'²⁰ Kipling undoubtedly sensed a special kinship with Rider Haggard, who had made his reputation with the African adventure story of *King Solomon's Mines* in 1885, and later became closely involved in Royal Commissions investigating Imperial Affairs and Agriculture²¹.

Among the many other names of Savilians who signed Kipling's nomination for the club there are others that stand out: names of publishers, for example, including those of Hart-Davis and Blackie as well as Macmillan. The poet and civil servant Austin Dobson is on the list, as is the historian of the Holy Roman Empire, James Bryce, and William Morris's official biographer, J.W. Mackail, who married Kipling's cousin, Margaret Burne-Jones. All of these Savilians would have taken the electoral process seriously, and taken the opportunity to meet or dine with Kipling in the months between his nomination and his election. However it is worth looking behind the somewhat rosy retrospective view that is offered in *Something of myself*, when Kipling is contemplating the trials of his youth from a great distance. There is good evidence that some initial friction attended the rise to fame of this precocious young Anglo-Indian.

This can be observed, for example, in the correspondence between a loyal Savilian of the previous generation, Robert Louis Stevenson, and one of the Savile's literary luminaries with whom Kipling does not venture to claim any special connection, Henry James. Stevenson had joined the club in 1874, and soon came to regard it as 'his favourite haunt'. But by the late 1880s he was launched on a world-wide circuit, and so his knowledge of Kipling must have come through the progressive discovery of his writings. In August 1890, he wrote to James from Sydney with irritation, most probably after reading *Plain Tales from the Hills*: 'Kipling is too clever to live. He is a Beast; but not human and, to be frank, not very interesting.'²² Perhaps this estimate can be seen partly as a measure of Stevenson's offended *amour propre*. On 20 December 1890, he wrote revealingly to James: 'Kipling is by far the most promising young man who has appeared since – ahem – I appeared.'²³ The same letter indicated that he was expecting 'an invasion of the Kiplings' in his remote location of Samoa, which never in fact transpired. All the same, by 5 December 1892, Stevenson was ready to go very far indeed

in his acknowledgment of Kipling's gifts, writing to James: 'You and [J.M.] Barrie and Kipling are now my Muses three. And with Kipling, as you know, there are reservations to be made.'²⁴

A less arms-length impression of the friction that Kipling provoked, in this case within the precincts of the Savile, has been provided by Charles Allen in his biography of 2007, *Kipling Sahib*. Allen notes that it was Andrew Lang who first introduced Kipling to the club, and that Lang's acquaintance with Kipling's work had come initially by way of Vereker Hamilton, the artist brother of Kipling's military friend, Ian Hamilton. He underlines the fact that Kipling and Rider Haggard were like-minded enough to remain friends till old age. But he also quotes from an interesting letter written by Kipling to Edmonia Hill, which suggests that Besant's advice to 'stand clear of it all' was adopted in the face of a sore temptation, at least initially, to take an adversarial stance. Kipling writes:

Lang and Co. are pressing on me the wisdom of identifying myself with some 'set', while the long-haired literati of the Savile Club are swearing that I 'invented' my soldier talk in *Soldiers Three*. Seeing that not one of these critters has been within earshot of a barrack, I am naturally wrath. You'll see some savage criticism of my work before spring.²⁵

The Savile was indeed a forum not only for writers, but also for potential critics of their work. Yet Kipling appears to have avoided confrontation with the band of London literati whom he elsewhere described as 'priests and pontiffs', the British equivalent of the Indian Brahmin caste.²⁶

A rather different aspect of London club-land was revealed when Kipling was invited to join the Athenaeum in 1897. It was not unusual at the time for gentlemen to have more than one club membership. Trollope became a member of the Athenaeum in 1864, only two years after joining the Garrick. Admission to the stately premises of the Athenaeum in Pall Mall denoted a pinnacle of recognition, all the more so as Kipling was elected 'under Rule Two, which provide[d] for admitting distinguished persons without ballot'.²⁷ Fortunately his uncle Burne-Jones was also a member, and Kipling enlisted his support for an opening sortie into a zone far from the conviviality of the Savile: 'So far as I recall we were the only people in that big dining-room, for in those days the Athenaeum, till one got to know it, was rather like a cathedral between services'. It was a while before Kipling discovered that 'if one wanted to know anything from forging an anchor to forging antiquities one would find the world's ultimate expert in the matter at lunch'.²⁸

Kipling wrote nothing about the Savile in later life. Yet, as mentioned, he presented the Savile Library with an edition of his last published work, *Souvenirs of France*, in 1933. The haphazard collection of his books in the Savile Library testifies obliquely to a continuing connection with the club. It comprises several original Macmillan editions presented by the author, such as *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917). There are also reprints which Kipling provided in replacement, as with *Stalky and Co.* (1929 edition). These no doubt took the place of earlier editions that had vanished from the shelves. The remaining assortment of books merits the old epitaph: 'His sins were scarlet but his books were re(a)d'.

NOTES

- 1 Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (London, Blackwood 1883) Chapter 9, p. 159
- 2 Anthony Trollope, *Can You Forgive Her?* (1865; London, Penguin 1872; 1986), p. 41.
- 3 See Ruth Brandon, *The People's Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses* (London, 2004).
- 4 Anthony Trollope, *Phineas Redux* (1872; Oxford, O.U.P. 2000), p. ii, 53.
- 5 Kipling, *Something of Myself* (London, Macmillan 1937), p. 94.
- 6 *Something of Myself*, p. 118.
- 7 SPY (Sir Leslie Ward), Rudyard Kipling as a member of the Savile Club, chromolithograph: with 'Soldiers Three' in the top right-hand corner.
- 8 Kipling, *A Diversity of Creatures* (London, Macmillan 1917), p. 1.
- 9 Kipling, *Debits and Credits* (London, Macmillan 1926), p. 61.
- 10 Kipling, *Limits and Renewals* (London, Macmillan 1932), p. 153.
- 11 Kipling, *Debits and Credits* (London, 1926, p. 208; *Limits and Renewal*, p. 340.
- 12 Kipling *Limits and Renewals*, p. 153.
- 13 George Saintsbury, *Notes on a cellar book* (London, 1920), p. v.
- 14 Kipling *Something of Myself*, p. 86.
- 15 Saintsbury *Notes on a cellar book*, p. v.
- 16 Kipling *Something of Myself*, p. 83.
- 17 Proposal form for Kipling as a member of the Savile Club; entered 25 October 1890 (elected 30 January 1891).
- 18 *Something of Myself*, p. 84.
- 19 *Something of Myself*, pp. 84–5.
- 20 *Something of Myself*, p. 85.
- 21 The relationship of Kipling to Rider Haggard and the Savile is summarised in Morton Cohen (ed) *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard* (London, 1965), pp. 13–22.
- 22 Robert Louis Stevenson to Henry James, August 1890, in Sidney Colvin (ed), *Robert Louis Stevenson: Letters to His Family and Friends* (London, 1899), II, pp. 195–6.
- 23 Stevenson to James, 29 December 1890, *Letters*, II, p. 214.
- 24 Stevenson to James, 5 December 1892, *Letters*, II, p. 276.
- 25 Quoted in Charles Allen, *Kipling Sahib. India and the Making of Rudyard Kipling* (London, 2007), pp. 301–2.
- 26 *Kipling Sahib*, p. 302.
- 27 *Something of Myself*, p. 142.
- 28 *Something of Myself*, p. 143.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL PESSIMISM OF *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED*

By SUSIE PASKINS

[Susie Paskins is a retired teacher who has just been awarded a PhD at Birkbeck College, London University, for her study of Kipling and Buddhism. *Ed.*]

Kipling's first novel *The Light that Failed*, written in London in 1890 when he was still only twenty-four, has generally been considered an embarrassing failure. Critics both at the time and later have struggled to make sense of it since its first publication. Most have accounted it a failure artistically: Lord Birkenhead went so far as to call it the 'rotten apple' of Kipling's output in 1890.¹

We can attribute the palpable sense of misery in the novel partly to Kipling's experiences at the time that he was writing. He was living in London for the first time and thus exiled from his beloved India; he had made a failed attempt to rekindle a love affair with Flo Garrard, his first love; he was concerned about his reception by London literary society following his early success as a writer and also pressed by the necessity of making money. However, the story is much more than thinly disguised autobiography, and critics who identify the protagonist with Kipling himself – and therefore feel distaste for his views and his perceived self-pity – fail to see the artistic purpose of the work. I argue for a new reading of the novel as a meditation on, and presentation of, a bleak and meaningless world in which the characters have no hope and the city is presented as an environment which crushes the life out of the individual. The novel makes sense if it is placed in the context of the intense interest in the time in Schopenhauer and philosophical pessimism.

The reason why Schopenhauer can be called a philosophical pessimist lies mainly in his characterization of the world as blind and purposeless Will. His ideas denied any meaning to the world and in particular countered the Hegelian view that history is working towards a just and harmonious fulfilment. Schopenhauer's challenging and disturbing ideas were a matter of intense debate in the second half of the nineteenth century.²

How did Kipling come to know of Schopenhauer's ideas? It is certainly possible that he discussed these ideas with Thomas Hardy when he came to England. Hardy's interest in Schopenhauer is well known. The other possible source for Kipling's knowledge of Schopenhauer was his acquaintance with Algernon Swinburne, who had a strong interest in the philosopher.³ Kipling met the poet at the house of his uncle Edward Burne-Jones, to whom Swinburne dedicated *Poems and*

Ballads (1866), and Kipling wrote many parodies and imitations of Swinburne's poems.⁴ Swinburne's verse drama *Atalanta in Calydon* (1865) had a major impact on the young Kipling when he read it at the Burne-Jones's, as he tells us in his autobiography.⁵ A major theme in the drama is that blindness is the condition of those who yearn for love, an idea that may well have influenced Kipling in writing of the blindness of Dick Helder in *The Light that Failed*.

However, the major influence on this novel is not Swinburne but James Thomson's famously pessimistic poem *The City of Dreadful Night* (1874), also read by Kipling as a teenager. He writes of the impact of the poem that it 'shook me to my unformed core'.⁶ James Thomson, who wrote under the initials B.V., was associated with the well-known atheist and reformer Charles Bradlaugh, and first published *The City of Dreadful Night* in Bradlaugh's periodical the *National Reformer* in 1874. It was later issued in book form in 1880 and dedicated to 'the younger brother of Dante – Giacomo Leopardi'. Leopardi, the Italian poet, was read by Schopenhauer and well-known in Victorian culture. What links Thomson, Schopenhauer and Leopardi is their extreme pessimism. An example of Leopardi's pessimism can be seen in a letter he wrote in 1820:

For this is the miserable condition of man, and the barbarous teaching of reason, that, our pleasures and pains being mere illusions, the affliction which derives from the certitude of the nullity of all things is evermore and solely just and real.⁷

In other words, nothing has any worth or value, a pessimism that is also found in *The City of Dreadful Night*. The city concerned is London, and the poet/narrator wanders despairingly through the dead city which serves as a fitting *locus* for his despair:

The City's atmosphere is dark and dense,
Although not many exiles wander there,
With many a potent evil influence,
Each adding poison to the poisoned air;
Infections of unutterable sadness,
Infections of incalculable madness,
Infections of incurable despair.⁸

The despair, sadness and madness referred to in this passage result from the city being a place of 'dead Faith, dead Love, dead Hope' (10). The poet wanders throughout the 'dark and dense' city, beginning at the centre by the river, moving northwards to the suburbs and

finally ending up by the plateau overlooking the city on which rests the image portrayed in Dürer's famous engraving *Melencolia*. Alone, the poet contemplates the *Melencolia* and realises that the only way he can escape the despair that she embodies is by death. The final stanza portrays the moon and stars circling around the figure, as if she is the most powerful force in the Universe. The people of London are her 'subjects' who often gaze up at her:

The strong to drink new strength of iron endurance,
The weak new terrors; all, renewed assurance
And confirmation of the old despair (55).

All see *Melencolia* as an emblem of despair. The weak are terrified by this thought; the strong can only resolve to endure. Thus, for Thomson, the despair and futility inherent in living is intensified by consciousness. The final section of the poem shows the ideas about life that the poet wishes to express through the figure of the *Melencolia*. She conveys

The sense that every struggle brings defeat
Because Fate holds no prize to crown success;
That all the oracles are dumb or cheat
Because they have no secret to express;
That none can pierce the vast black veil uncertain
Because there is no light beyond the curtain;
That all is vanity and nothingness (54–5).

There is no after-life to reward human endeavour; no oracle has any truth to express; there is no veil of meaning to be revealed; just as Ecclesiastes asserted centuries ago, 'all is vanity' in the sense that all is nothingness. Nevertheless *Melencolia* does have an indomitable will and this is the only thing that she can give her subjects.

Similarly, in *The Light that Failed*, the city is a place of hopelessness, which fosters and reflects Dick Helder's alienation. It is a place of poverty, darkness and fog, often described as 'yellow fog'.⁹ The fog symbolises not only moral blindness but also, because of its unpleasant yellow colour, pollution. The city is crowded, dark and noisy because of the 'packed houses', 'long lightless streets' and an 'appalling rush of traffic'. The chimneys are described as 'crooked crows that looked like sitting cats as they swung around', the metaphor conveying a powerful sense of unease and instability (99). London is a place of pettiness and meanness, where Dick nearly starves from lack of money and no one can communicate: 'Who's the man that says we're all islands shouting to each other across seas of misunderstanding?' Dick asks bitterly (59).

The people have 'death written on their features' (45). It is a place of 'the sordid misery of want' (85) and 'hideous turmoil' (88). It is constantly described as a place of darkness, and, when Dick becomes blind, his inner darkness mirrors the outer darkness of his environment.

Not only does Kipling use a similar setting to Thomson, he also makes explicit use of *The City of Dreadful Night*. It is introduced in chapter 9 where the unnamed red-haired girl who is Maisie's constant companion is reading it. Maisie has felt inspired by the poem to paint her own version of the Melancholia. (Kipling modernised the spelling of Melencolia). Dick immediately dismisses the idea as a waste of time: 'You might as well try to rewrite *Hamlet*', he tells Maisie (110). He says this not only because he believes he is a much better artist than Maisie but because he feels it is futile to reinterpret Dürer's masterpiece. However Maisie, who sees the figure as an emblem of suffering femininity, insists she wishes to portray it in her own way in a painting. Dick immediately decides he can do a better version, and, when he has left Maisie and is alone, feels even more strongly that Maisie is incapable technically of doing the painting, because she does not have 'the power, or the insight, or the training [...] I'll make her understand that I can beat her on her own Melancholia' (112). The word 'beat' carries connotations of aggression and desire for mastery and suggests the endlessly striving blind will of Schopenhauer. Determined to show Maisie that he is a better artist, Dick persuades the prostitute Bessie to sit for him, because he wants to portray Melancholia as a figure of suffering who 'shall laugh right out of the canvas' and appeal as a defiant figure to all who have ever suffered. She will

Understand the speech and feel a stir
Of fellowship in all the disastrous fight (128).

These lines, a direct quotation from *City of Dreadful Night*, serve to inspire Dick. He is 'swallowed up in the clean, clear joy of creation' and 'the Melancholia began to flame on the canvas, in the likeness of a woman who had known all the sorrow in the world and was laughing at it' (129). Dick feels he has triumphed over Maisie and produced his masterpiece. He has reinterpreted the Melancholia as a figure who can laugh at fate, extending Thomson's idea that the Melancholia teaches us how to endure.

Dick's triumph is short-lived and illusory. Bessie destroys the painting on the very same night that Dick shows it to his friend Torpenhow. She takes up a palette-knife and scrapes the paint. 'In five minutes the picture was a formless, scarred muddle of colours' (135). Bessie is exacting her revenge for Dick's unkindness in persuading his

friend not to marry her. However, Dick does not realise what she has done, for on that same night he becomes totally blind. Unbeknown to him, all his artistic endeavour and joy in creation has come to nothing. This is an illustration of Thomson's key lines, quoted above, that 'Every struggle brings defeat/Because Fate hath no prize to crown success'. All Dick's efforts have been proved futile because he has now suffered the worst fate that can befall the artist, the inability to see.

The painting, having been destroyed, now serves as a means to destroy the relationship between Dick and Maisie. Maisie, hearing of Dick's blindness and poverty, returns from France to visit him. He wants her to have the Melancholia, which ironically he still considers his masterpiece, so that she can sell it if she needs money. He turns the 'scarred, formless muddle of paint' towards her (161). Maisie realises she cannot tell him that the painting is ruined, and she cannot see him anymore. A terrible desire to laugh overcomes her and she turns and runs away, leaving Dick in his ignorance and blindness. The defiant laughter of Melancholia that Dick has portrayed has now turned into the laughter of a malign Fate at his expense.

Dick's situation deteriorates and he falls into desperate poverty. When he asks Bessie to sell the portrait, Bessie has to confess that she destroyed it and Dick finally realises why Maisie ran away. His masterpiece destroyed, in desperate poverty and abandoned by the only woman he thought he loved, Dick now contemplates death. In the end he travels to the Sudan and asks to be put in the front line of battle, where a bullet kills him instantly.¹⁰ Dick's voluntary embrace of suicide is presented as the only rational response to his desperate situation, a philosophy that recalls that of Von Hartmann, Schopenhauer's follower, who anticipates a time when the human race in general will have so developed its consciousness of the real state of affairs that a cosmic suicide will take place, and, with its own destruction, humanity will bring the world process to an end.¹¹

Thus Dürer's Melancholia plays as significant a role in *The Light that Failed* as it did in *The City of Dreadful Night*. It is the cause of jealous rivalry between Dick and Maisie; the spoiling of Dick's painting by Bessie shows the destructive consequences of human anger; and Maisie's inability to tell Dick what has happened to the painting that he believes to be his masterpiece not only shows the ironic malignity of Fate but also serves to drive them apart for ever. Kipling dramatizes Thomson's Schopenhauerian view of life expressed at the end of *The City of Dreadful Night* to paint a bleak picture of human beings adrift in a meaningless, nihilistic world. It is true that Dick does experience pleasure in the company of his fellow war-artists Torpenhow and the Nilghai, and indeed dies in Torpenhow's arms, but these moments of

happiness or delight in friendship are brief and ultimately no consolation in a meaningless world. However unobtrusively, *The Light that Failed* owes much not only to German art but also to German post-Romantic philosophy, and far from being the 'rotten apple' of Lord Birkenhead's description, is in fact a sophisticated presentation of philosophical pessimism.

NOTES

- 1 Lord Birkenhead, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: W. H. Allen, 1978), p. 123.
- 2 The explosion of interest in Schopenhauer's work can be seen in the fact that 235 articles on his pessimist philosophy were published in Britain and America between 1871 and 1900. See Ralph Goodale, 'Schopenhauer and Philosophy in Nineteenth-Century English Literature', *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 241–61 (p. 241, note 3).
- 3 Swinburne wrote to his publishers in 1874 encouraging them to publish Franz Hueffer's translation of Schopenhauer. See Margot K. Louis, 'Proserpine and Pessimism: Goddesses of Death, Life, and Language from Swinburne to Wharton', *Modern Philology*, 96 (1999), 312–46 (p. 314).
- 4 Ann Matlack Weygandt, *Kipling's Reading and its Influence on his Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1939), pp. 124–6.
- 5 Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself: for my friends known and unknown* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 30. Jan Montefiore points out that Kipling rewrites some lines from *Atalanta in Calydon* in his poem 'A Masque of Plenty', a bitterly satirical account of the sufferings of the Indian peasantry. See Jan Montefiore, *Rudyard Kipling* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2007), p. 120.
- 6 Kipling, *Something of Myself*, p. 29.
- 7 Quoted in Lyman A. Cotton, 'Leopardi and "The City of Dreadful Night"', *Studies in Philology*, 42 (1945), 675–89 (pp. 679–80).
- 8 James Thomson, *The City of Dreadful Night and other Poems* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1880), pp. 39–40. Further references are given in the text.
- 9 Rudyard Kipling, *The Light that Failed* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 41. Further references are given in the text.
- 10 There are two endings to *The Light that Failed*. I am assuming that Dick's suicide is the ending that Kipling originally intended.
- 11 See Frederick Copleston, *18th and 19th Century German Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 1963), p. 291.

“AN INTOXICATING SPARK”: RUDYARD KIPLING, JOHANNES V. JENSEN AND VITALIST MODERNISM

By INGER K. BRØGGER

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In 1912 the future Nobel Prize winner of literature, Danish Johannes V. Jensen, published a book on Rudyard Kipling. Here he describes the impact Kipling's writings had on him in the early 1890s. He tells in the first chapter, “Kipling as liberator”, how he kept returning to a verse-heading in *The Light That Failed*, because it worked as the “secret, intoxicating spark” that nourished his heart while he, in school, struggled with dead languages and history books.¹ For Jensen, Kipling came as an antidote to the literary atmosphere of the 1880s and 1890s: the ‘eloquent gloom, the exhibition of the toil of strange souls, the bitter accusations against society, all expressed in poetic prose’.² In this article I will show how important Kipling was for this seminal Scandinavian writer of the 20th century, and to what extent Kipling can be said to be linked to Vitalist Modernism.

Vitalist Modernism can be defined as “an intense cultivation of all life ...”³ It was a critique of the culture of the 19th century, expressed above in the quotation from Jensen. Its main source was the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, who “launched a brand new concept of life, a modern non-idealistic understanding of life as something ‘Dionysian’, that is unbridled, uncivilized, animal, governed by drives, instincts, the will to power.”⁴ Nietzsche writes in *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872):

[F]or a brief moment we really become the primal essence itself, and feel its unbounded lust for existence and delight in existence. ... We are pierced by the raging goad of those moments just as we become one with the vast primal delight in existence and sense the eternity of that delight in Dionysiac ecstasy. For all our pity and terror, we are happy to be alive, not as individuals but as *the* single living thing, merged with its creative delight.⁵

Other philosophers developed Nietzsche's ideas further and his philosophy of Vitalism influenced European culture in different ways. One of these effects was a focus on health, strength and harmony, not least in Scandinavia, where Nietzsche's thoughts became very influential.

The Danish composer Carl Nielsen expressed his Vitalist Modernism clearly not just in music but also in words. Nielsen described his idea behind his Symphony no. 4 (1916), "The Inextinguishable" as follows: "We can say: should the whole world be destroyed ... then nature would begin again to create new life, the strong and fine forces that are found in matter itself would begin to appear ... These forces that are 'inextinguishable' I have tried to convey."⁶ Nielsen's words epitomise in many ways Vitalist Modernism as it can be heard in his Symphony, which moves from a fierce *tutti* to the lyrical movement, from turmoil and hopelessness to life and hope. In Scandinavian painting, the effect of Vitalist Modernism can for example be clearly seen in J. F. Willumsen's painting *Sun and Youth* (1910) which shows naked children frolicking on a sunlit shore.

Jensen published his first novel when he was 23. He began a process of reorientation of Danish cultural life toward the Anglo-American world in which Kipling played a large part:

Kipling threw open the gates to the wide big world, which one had only halfway believed in, although one knew there was something called India, living reality itself, life in full out there ...⁷

Jensen's *The Glacier* (*Bræen*) (1908) is Book Two of his cycle of six novels *The Long Journey* (*Den lange rejse*) that later earned him the Nobel Prize in 1944, the last of which came out in 1922. *The Glacier* is a story, set in Denmark during the Ice Age, primarily about its hero "Boy" (*Dreng*) and his struggle to survive. He is "a tall, large-limbed lad of uncommon build"⁸ and he resembles in many ways another boy who was also unusually strong, Mowgli.⁹ This is no coincidence; Jensen himself says that *The Glacier* grew out of a "seed gathered in Kipling's forest."¹⁰

In *The Glacier*, Boy belongs to a tribe which is constantly being pushed away from their original warm valleys by the cold. The rest of the tribe accepts their displacement with composure, but not Boy. Fire plays an important part in the story, for Boy belongs to the family whose task is to tend the tribal fire and this is a privilege that makes him "much-respected and dreaded."¹¹ Here, Boy's role is very similar to that other boy who is also dreaded by his Wolf-pack for possessing and tending fire. Boy finally decides to confront the cold, "the Destroyer who must be stopped."¹² He leaves the fire and the other men, but as he departs he looks at "his brothers",

He felt how he was bound up with them, how it was just their irresponsibility, their airy, forgetful nature, that called upon him to go out as their common protector.¹³

Again, one recalls how in “Red Dog” Mowgli insists on confronting the dholes head on.¹⁴ Boy is fundamentally different from “his brothers”. He “was the one who chose the impossible. He became the first man”.¹⁵ Boy realises after a while that the cold is not a being he can fight, but when he returns, he is met with abuse and driven away with rocks.

A stone hit Boy, and now he got wild, the blood rushed into his eyes, he was shaking, opened his mouth and gave a low howl.¹⁶

Boy then kills a member of the tribe and this makes him an outcast. He “turned back to the north, up into the cold, extinct forests, naked, utterly alone.”¹⁷ Here again Boy resembles Mowgli, who is also driven away with stones by the people of the village and made an outcast. In “Letting in the Jungle,” Mowgli remembers where “a stone had struck [his mouth] when the other Man-Pack had cast him out.”¹⁸

Boy is a fierce individualist. Although he is attracted to the safety and, not least, the fire of his so-called “brothers”, he chooses the cold and loneliness of the glacier rather than begging to be allowed back. Again, this recalls Mowgli when he says “Man-Pack and Wolf-Pack have cast me out ... Now I will hunt alone in the jungle.”¹⁹ Mowgli is the only human in the jungle, while Boy, Jensen writes, “became the first man”, because “when the primitive people were brought to the crossways between the cold and the forest, he was the one who chose the impossible.”²⁰ Boy has to struggle to survive on the glacier, but after he has created a family with the woman ‘Moa’, he discovers how to make fire. He dies an old *paterfamilias*. Like Nielsen’s 4th Symphony, *The Glacier* begins with a crisis, but the theme of the Nietzschean “lust for existence”, the fine forces of the will to survive, takes over and cannot be extinguished. When Boy discovers how to make fire, the crisis is finally resolved.

Jensen and Kipling are both writers of myth, but Jensen’s myths are inspired by Nietzsche’s claim that without myth “all culture loses its healthy and natural creative power,”²¹ because the world cannot be grasped through rational thinking alone. Jensen freely acknowledges the similarities between Mowgli and Boy, but he criticises the Mowgli stories for being myths rooted in the fairy tale, whereas his own novels are grounded in “the philosophy of evolution”:

A probing analysis of the problems of evolution forms the basis of my prose. During half a century of literary work, I have endeavoured to introduce the philosophy of evolution into the sphere of literature, and to inspire my readers to think in evolutionary terms.²²

It is the lack of any reference to evolution that Jensen criticizes in Mowgli; he argues that “Mowgli is Mowgli” and “his animals are like those in Noah’s Ark, static species”.²³ Boy, on the other hand, personifies several stages in primeval Man’s development; more broadly, in the six novels of *The Long Journey*, Jensen tries to show how a longing for exploration is innate in Nordic people. In this respect he seems to come close to embracing a racist theory of evolution, an accusation that he tried to confront in his writing after World War 2 by stressing that he had opposed the misinterpretation and distortion of Darwinism.²⁴ It is an uncomfortable fact that Vitalism’s “conceptual basis came to form part of totalitarian ideologies” and that one could “characterize Nazism as a form of ‘vulgar Vitalism’.”²⁵ Bertrand Russell claimed in 1936 that what he called “the ‘irrationalists’ aimed at power and developed “an ethic which is opposed to that of Christianity and Buddhism.”²⁶ Russell named Kipling as one of the supporters of this “irrationalist” movement, the culmination of which, he added, was Hitler.

Nietzsche writes in *The Birth of Tragedy* of the “longing for the primal and the natural.”²⁷ Both Kipling’s Mowgli and Jensen’s Boy are products of this longing. This influenced the ‘Pagan’ trend of the late nineteenth century, which gave rise to frequent mentions of the god Pan in English literature, including Kipling’s poem “Pan in Vermont” (1893). In the short story “In the Rukh”, published in same year, the adult Mowgli is described as resembling a Greek god.²⁸

Though the animals do not develop, Mowgli does throughout the book. In “Tiger! Tiger!” he focuses on the wolf-pack and Shere Khan, but in “Letting in the Jungle” the differences between man and beast are constantly stressed. Here he is the Master of the Jungle, who disciplines his wolf “brothers” and even Bagheera. It is stressed that Mowgli’s revenge on the village seems excessive and horrible to the animals.²⁹ The Brahmin of the village believes that maybe “unconsciously, the village had offended some one of the Gods of the Jungle.”³⁰ The Mowgli stories are often read as imperial allegories and the critics Don Randall and Jane Hotchkiss see “Letting in the Jungle” as an allegory of what would happen to a rebellious India.³¹ Mowgli’s destruction of the village may very well have been partly inspired by memories of the British Government’s reprisals after the Indian “Mutiny”; but cruelty and lust for revenge were popular decadent themes, and Mowgli also comes close to a representation of the god Dionysus.

The ancient Dionysus – or Bacchus – is not only a god of fertility and wine; he also represents beauty and youth. He is capable of great cruelty if he is not obeyed, and he often rides a panther. He is motherless, but he has a foster father and teacher, Silenos, who is wise and old and part beast. Dionysus is an imperialist god, who went as far as India



Roman statue of Dionysus, 2nd century BC, Louvre

in his conquests.³² In Euripides' tragedy *The Bacchae*, Dionysus comes to Thebes, the city of his mother Semele, furious that he is not recognised as the son of Zeus, and carries out a terrible revenge on his own family, driving his aunts mad as Maenads and causing the gruesome death of his cousin King Pentheus at their hands.

In 1876, Walter Pater published a study of Dionysus which emphasised that the god is not just the happy god of wine. Pater thought this was well illustrated by a painting of the god by Simeon Solomon, a painter who in the 1860s was a close friend of Edward Burne-Jones.³³ Pater writes that Dionysus becomes "in his chase almost akin to the wild beasts – to the wolf ..."³⁴

In several of the illustrations created by John Lockwood Kipling for *The Jungle Book* and *The Second Jungle Book*, Mowgli bears a close resemblance to classical images of Dionysus. In the illustration below,



Illustration by Lockwood Kipling of "Mowgli's Brothers"

Mowgli like the statue exhibits *contrapposto*, standing with his weight on one leg with the other bent, and there is an emphasis on naturalism similar to those found in the classical Greek and Roman mosaics and sculptures.

It would be simplistic, however, to claim that Mowgli “is” Dionysus or Pan. In the *Jungle Books*, Kipling brings together a myriad of features from European and Indian fables and mythology to create a powerful myth. But the most distinctive trait of Kipling’s Jungle is not its savagery, but how civilised it is. In most ways, Mowgli does not live up to Nietzsche’s concept of life “unbridled and governed by instincts”, for like the animals he lives under the “Jungle Law”. Only in his most ‘Dionysian’ moment, in the cruel revenge he executes on the village does Mowgli seem to exhibit a Nietzschean “will to power”.

At this point, Mowgli of the Indian Jungle does seem to share a common basis of inspiration with Jensen’s Boy of the Ice Age north. But this does not make Kipling a “Vitalist” Modernist, nor are his Mowgli stories part of that movement. As Jensen himself saw, Kipling’s myths are closer to fairy tales than to Jensen’s aetiological evolution myth of *The Glacier*. They are grounded in moral instruction, not evolutionary naturalism; but Kipling’s Mowgli, and Kipling’s writings in general did, albeit unwittingly, inspire and further Vitalism in Denmark.

NOTES

- 1 Johannes V. Jensen, *Rudyard Kipling*, København: Pios Boghandel, 1912, p. 18. The verse-heading is: “Then we brought the lances down ... etc.”
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. My translation.
- 3 Gertrud Hvidberg-Hansen & Gertrud Oelsner, “The Triumph of Life” in *The Spirit of Vitalism: Health, Beauty and Strength in Danish Art, 1890–1940*, eds. Hvidberg-Hansen and Oelsner, Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen, 2011, p. 15.
- 4 Sven Halse, “Wide-ranging Vitalism,” in *The Spirit of Vitalism*, p. 49.
- 5 Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*. Translated by Shaun Whiteside, ed. M. Tanner. Penguin, 1993, pp. 80–1. (*Die Geburt der Tragödie. Oder: Griechenthum und Pessimismus*. Leipzig: Verlag von E. W. Fritsch, 1878.)
- 6 Letter from Carl Nielsen to Julius Röntgen, 15.2.1920. *Carl Nielsen Brevudgave (The Letters of Carl Nielsen)*, ed. John Fellow. Copenhagen, vol. 6, nr. 339, pp. 2005–6. My translation.
- 7 Jensen, *Rudyard Kipling*, pp. 13–14. Translated by Sven H. Rossel.
- 8 Jensen, *ibid.*, p. 113.
- 9 Kipling, “Tiger! Tiger!”, *The Jungle Books*. 1894 and 1895. Ed. W.W. Robson, The World’s Classics, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, p. 51.
- 10 Jensen, *Rudyard Kipling*, p. 91.
- 11 Jensen, *Braæn* (The Glacier) in *The Long Journey: Fire and Ice*, tr. Arthur G. Chater, London: Gyldendal, 1923–4, p. 114.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- 14 Kipling, "Red Dog", *The Jungle Books*, p. 282.
- 15 Jensen, *The Glacier*, p. 119.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
- 18 Kipling, "Letting in the Jungle", *The Jungle Books*, p. 314.
- 19 Kipling, "Tiger! Tiger!", *The Jungle Books*, p. 64.
- 20 Jensen, *The Glacier*, p. 119.
- 21 Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. 109.
- 22 Johannes V. Jensen, Biographical facts, The Official Web Site of the Nobel Prize. www.nobelprize.org (accessed 22 May 2017).
- 23 Jensen, *Rudyard Kipling*, p. 91. My translation.
- 24 Jensen, Biographical facts. See note 22
- 25 Hvidberg-Hansen & Oelsner, "The Triumph of Life", p. 17.
- 26 Bertrand Russell, "The Ancestry of Fascism". 1936. *Fascism: Critical Concepts in Political Science*, ed. R. Griffin & M. Feldman, vol. 1, Routledge, 2004, p. 33.
- 27 Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, p. 40.
- 28 Kipling, "Pan in Vermont", *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. II*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 1338, and Rudyard Kipling "In the Rukh", *The Jungle Books*, p. 343. See also Arthur Machen *The Great God Pan* (1894), and the chapter "The Piper at the Gates of Dawn" in Kenneth Graham *Wind in the Willows* (1908).
- 29 Kipling, "Letting in the Jungle", *The Jungle Books*, p. 207.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 207.
- 31 See Don Randall, *Kipling's Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2000, p. 84 and Jane Hotchkiss, "The Jungle of Eden: Kipling, Wolf Boys, and the Colonial Imagination", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 2001, pp. 442-4.
- 32 See Nonnos, *Dionysiac*, Book 14, and Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 2:9.
- 33 Walter Pater, "A Study of Dionysus" (1876), *Greek Studies: A Series of Essays*. 1910. Basil Blackwell, 1967, pp. 42-4.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

AN IMPROBABLE ENCOUNTER: RUDYARD KIPLING AND ANTONIO GRAMSCI

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INTRODUCTION

Kipling's works are often referred to in the writings of Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), though connections between the two authors remain unexplored in Kipling studies. By contrast, Gramsci criticism has long recognised the importance of Kipling.¹ Gramsci scholars have noted that references to Kipling are far from incidental, but form an on-going reflection on and a dialogue with his work. This dialogue stretches uninterrupted from 1915, when Gramsci begins to sign his journalistic articles with the pseudonym Raksha (the mother wolf in *The Jungle Books*) to the years of imprisonment in Gramsci's notebooks and letters. In a letter that Gramsci sent to his oldest son Delio on June 10th 1933, he urged him to read *The Jungle Books* and especially the story of 'The White Seal'. Kipling scholars' lack of interest in exploring this connection is hardly surprising: Kipling criticism still remains predominantly focused on its Anglo-American and Indian context, while Kipling's influence in Italy has been overlooked. Moreover, Kipling's association with Empire has often discouraged the exploration of his importance for many writers on the Left. More specifically, as far as Gramsci is concerned, understanding what drew the latter to Kipling appears at first beset by paradox. In many respects, they seem two completely opposite figures: on the one hand, a convinced nationalist, fervent admirer of the Empire and reactionary interventionist during the First World War, on the other, an Internationalist, a Leninist, and an active advocate for the international workers' movement of resistance to the Great War. Since the 1970s, as Gramsci's theories on hegemony – that is to say the idea that power comes through consent – became the inspiration of much post-colonial criticism² that has played a crucial role in branding Kipling's writings as imperialist propaganda, Gramsci's admiration for and interest in Kipling has seemed unthinkable and connections between the two have rarely been noted.

What follows is a first attempt to move toward a better understanding of Gramsci's reading of Kipling and what it was in Kipling's work that exerted such an enduring fascination. Attention will be focused on some of Gramsci's early and lesser-known journalistic writings that constitute the beginnings of his encounter with Kipling. The aim within the limits of this short essay is to indicate the extent and

nature of the dialogue that took place between Kipling and Gramsci, and show what this connection can contribute to the study of the reception of Kipling in Italy; this essay also opens up some broader questions about the responses to Kipling's work in Europe in the first half of the Twentieth Century.

FROM *LA VOCE* TO GRAMSCI'S JOURNALISTIC WRITINGS

The first decade of the Twentieth Century represents a critical moment in the reception of Kipling's work in Italy. In these years Kipling is at the centre of scene of contemporary European literature and literary criticism as he had never been before. The reception of Kipling in Italy was, however, different from that in the Anglo-American world in several key respects.

At the end of the Nineteenth Century, as Marino Biondi has noted, Kipling was almost totally unknown in Italy, his writings familiar only to a small group of literati who expressed strong reservations about his work. In reviewing *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Enrico Nencioni – Professor of English literature at the University of Florence and part of an old-fashioned school of academicians – argued that Kipling's reputation could hardly compare to his work's literary merit.³ It was only at the beginning of the Twentieth Century, following the publication of the first Italian translation of *The Jungle Books* in 1903, that Kipling's writing began to find a broader audience and subsequently gained huge popularity. Throughout the first decade of this century, Kipling remained the most popular English writer in Italy, temporarily eclipsing Stevenson and Conrad.⁴ In addition to the award of the Nobel Prize in 1907, the group of intellectuals who collaborated on the weekly cultural review *La Voce* (1908–16) also played an important role in developing Kipling's reputation in Italy. *La Voce* was one among several literary reviews that appeared between the turn of the century and the beginning of the First World War. Although varied in kind, these reviews shared an urgent desire to promote literary and social renewal; *La Voce* became notorious for its fierce attacks on the literary establishment.⁵ As with Bertolt Brecht in Germany,⁶ the writers who contributed to *La Voce* regarded Kipling as an author whose work cut across traditional literary divides in order to engage with popular culture, one of the key arenas of ideological struggle in cultural politics of the time. Renato Serra was one of these writers; he characterised Kipling as a breath of fresh air, a writer of the kind Italy had never seen before: 'a portent of fecund creativity, a cosmopolitan mind [that] fills the dry arteries of literature with new blood.'⁷ What primarily set Kipling apart from other notable writers of the period for *La Voce* was the style of his writing and the relation of that style to its subject matter. Kipling's style was beguilingly

simple, practical and down to earth, at times even ‘vulgar [...] cheap [...] bastardized’.⁸ His works provided an authentic voice and literary dignity to all manners of humble characters. As Simon Dentith has noted with reference to *Barrack-Room Ballads*, these ‘poems are written in a language which draws upon the heteroglot diversity of the late nineteenth-century empire, incorporating not only the urban demotics that striate the metropolitan centre (notably Cockney and working-class Irish) but also the jargon of the Indian barrack-room’.⁹

For Serra, the encounter with Kipling was less one of being confronted by one of the great writers, but rather of entering into a conversation with ‘a good man like many others [...] that writes in the same way a friend tells an anecdote after dinner, while smoking a cigar’.¹⁰ Kipling’s accomplishment rested not in being the Nobel Prize-winning author, or a writer who encapsulated the pride, spirit and greatness of a whole Nation, but more plainly in being a working man that ‘writes stories because it is his job, in the same way another man makes buttons’.¹¹ This statement could appear ridiculous, if it wasn’t that almost thirty years later there are humble workers – hedgers ditchers, woodmen, carters and cattlemen – that Kipling will mention at the beginning of ‘Working–Tools’, the chapter of his autobiography in which he describes his own profession.¹²

Notable also was the way Serra and the *Vocianti* treated the unavoidable and problematic issue of Kipling and Imperialism. *La Voce* went against the grain of the predominant critical trends that placed at the centre of attention Kipling’s accounts of the Empire. In Italy, translators and critics like Mario Praz readily portrayed Kipling’s works as Imperialist propaganda, as a dangerous nostalgia for the absolutism of the Roman Empire, and as an expression of a narrowly nationalistic and imperialistic sensibility.¹³ Serra and the *Vocianti*, on the contrary, treated Kipling’s definition of ‘Poet of the Empire’ as a cliché, a simplistic and meaningless formula that could only mislead a literary critic who wanted to investigate his works.¹⁴

The criticism of Serra and other *Vocianti* is crucial to understanding the reasons for what at first sight seems the paradoxical dialogue Gramsci had with Kipling’s work. That Gramsci during the 1910s and 1920s closely shadowed the *Vocianti*’s writings and was ardently aligned with their desire for renewal and democratization of Italian culture has already been well documented.¹⁵ What is far more interesting is the way in which some of Gramsci’s early writings resonate with echoes and references to the terms of the *Vocianti*’s reception of Kipling. Key here is an article Gramsci wrote in 1915 to commemorate Serra’s death in the war.¹⁶ Its title, *La luce che si è spenta* (*The light that failed*), symbolically refers to Serra, who at the end is described as a

beacon of a light that the war has extinguished forever and is also, of course, a direct reference to the title of Kipling's first novel. Bringing Serra and Kipling together within a single reference is not an empty gesture of a well-read intellectual who wants to show off his knowledge of Serra's passion for this British writer, nor is it an isolated incident, but a trope that Gramsci uses repeatedly throughout the article. The portrait that he offers of Serra parallels Serra's own reception of Kipling's critique of the elevated and detached intellectualism of a self-consciously elitist artistic culture and the contribution of his writing to a democratization of literature; in short, Gramsci commemorates Serra and Kipling's lesson of looking for beauty in the lives and tales of the humblest of people and, authentically, on their own terms, rather than through what are seen as the empty abstractions of a detached, inward looking and self-absorbed literary culture. The *Vocianti*'s understanding of Kipling, and Serra's in particular, provided Gramsci with an image of this writer that was very different to that which prevailed in Anglo-American scholarship of the time. They viewed his portrayal of the British Empire, while important, as a detail of an oeuvre whose most valuable trait consisted of a mode of writing in which the voices of the entire spectrum of social classes are to be found, rendered in a manner widely accessible alike to a popular audience and an intellectual one. The version of Kipling that Gramsci saw through the *Vocianti* provided him with a mode of literary and cultural engagement that he could use to address the wider public, and in particular the proletariat. To put this another way, Kipling offered a model of popular literature that could both reach a public largely unrepresented, and establish a new untraditional audience.

As formative as Serra and the *Vocianti* were on Gramsci's understanding of Kipling, his engagement with the latter's work exceeded the aestheticism which largely constrained *La Voce*'s critical receptions. Gramsci's subsequent reflections on Kipling took on both original and unexpected turns. Where the *Vocianti* had mainly concentrated on Kipling's works from a literary point of view, Gramsci remained indifferent to assessing and defending the writer's literary merits, privileging instead a free appropriation of images, characters, plots or fragments from Kipling's writings. Gramsci foregrounded the politics the *Vocianti* had largely ignored, seeing in Kipling an author who expressed with conviction and exceptional subtlety the ideology of the contemporary bourgeoisie and the logic of imperialism. Kipling's clear-sighted commitment to Empire and its underlying ethos, combined with his ability to picture it as a totality, provided an instructive model, one that offered not only a description of exterior appearances but also inner character. Kipling was an author through whose work Gramsci could

better conceptualise his own understanding of the political possibilities and dilemmas of this moment in history.

The theme of Kipling that Gramsci draws on most frequently in his early writings is his description of the ‘Monkey-people’, which Gramsci interpreted allegorically, finding within it a rich framework to comment on the complex political events that led to the advent of fascism. An article entitled ‘Il popolo delle scimmie’¹⁷ (“The monkey people”), makes a succession of overt and covert references to the Bandar-log in *The Jungle Books* in order to trace the development and the role played by the *petit bourgeoisie* from the years just prior to Italy entering the First World War to 1921. Gramsci’s article comments on the desperate attempts of this class to establish a coherent identity for themselves in the uncertainties of the immediate aftermath of the war: ‘it [the *petit bourgeoisie*] tries in all ways possible to maintain a relevant historical position; it apes the working-class and takes to the streets.’ Here Gramsci’s reference is clearly to the Monkey people in *The Jungle Books* that have ‘no speech of their own, but use the stolen words which they overhear ...’¹⁸. Later, more explicitly, Gramsci’s allegorical interpretation focuses on the days of irredentists’ empty nationalistic propaganda that combined anti-parliamentarism with violence and disrespect for the law: ‘the facts that go under the name of the “radiant days of May” [...] are the projections of a jungle story by Kipling; the story of the Bandar-Log, the monkey people, who believe to be better than all the other jungle people.’¹⁹ Just as Gramsci adopts the image of the Bandar-Log to lay bare the ideological fallacies of the *petit bourgeoisie*, or to ridicule Marinetti’s empty sensationalism and absurdist anarchism, or the ineffectual democratic regime in 1918,²⁰ he draws on Kipling’s positive valorisation of the ‘Jungle People’ in opposition to the Bandar-log: a community bound by consensus, discipline, order, law, and leadership enlightened through knowledge and experience. One of the major traits that fascinated Gramsci was Kipling’s ability to construct modern fables that could be read as allegories of the political dilemmas of the time. This seems to explain Gramsci’s admiration of Kipling’s “moral energy”,²¹ one of the chief characteristics he associates with the author.

In this respect, one of the most interesting examples of the uses Gramsci makes of Kipling comes in an article entitled ‘La Disciplina’ written in 1917. It draws on Kipling’s story “Her Majesty’s Servants” in *The Jungle Books* in order to develop a modern political conceptualisation of discipline:

In one of the stories of the Jungle, Rudyard Kipling shows in practice what constitutes discipline in a strong bourgeois state. Everyone

is obedient in the bourgeois state; the mules of the battery obey the sergeant of the battery; the horses [obey] the soldiers that ride them; the regiments [obey] their brigadiers; the brigadiers [obey] the Viceroy of the Indies, and the Viceroy [obeys] Queen Victoria (still alive when Kipling was writing). The Queen gives an order, and the Viceroy, generals, colonels, lieutenants, soldiers and animals all move harmoniously towards the conquest. To an indigenous spectator of a military parade the narrator says: 'As you cannot do the same, you are our Subjects.'²²

Gramsci's use of the term 'harmoniously' to characterise the Imperial social order, invoking what is in effect a tale that justifies cultural imperialism through military hierarchical subjugation, clearly jars, but should not be taken ironically. This hierarchical trope already hints at Gramsci's attempts to come to terms with the way a *status quo* is maintained through establishing both shared forms of belonging and exclusion. His reflections on this problem would of course later lead him to his most important concept of Hegemony. But in this article Gramsci, while recognising the potential and power of a social order bound through this disciplinary system, uses Kipling also to define an alternative social vision, contrasting the mechanistic, coercive and authoritarian discipline of Kipling's Empire with an ideal socialist discipline. 'Bourgeois discipline is mechanical and authoritarian' he writes, while 'socialistic discipline is autonomous and spontaneous'.²³ To come to terms fully with Gramsci's engagement of Kipling's description of the social order would require an understanding of the way Gramsci positions himself in relation to the broader moral and political spectrum of issues and debates on the left about individual freedom and social responsibility, which is beyond the scope of this essay. But the main point Gramsci makes is nevertheless clear. For him, Kipling's tale articulates the awesome power of Empire and the way its social order is crystallized. Accordingly, it makes plain the necessity for the proletariat to embrace values of discipline, order and leadership as necessary conditions for the eventual defeat of the bourgeois State. Or, to put this another way, the very quality that binds the social order together and maintains its hierarchies and discipline, is, for Gramsci, precisely the immanent force through which that order can be overcome.

CONCLUSION

These concluding remarks are not meant to be a closure; my account of Gramsci's reading of Kipling is intended to simply sketch out some lines for more detailed discussion. The examples of Gramsci's admiration, uses, appropriation and critical dialogue with Kipling's work point

to the way Kipling's relationship to Imperialism by no means prevented dialectical readings of his work by leading left wing figures of the first half of the Twentieth Century, who saw in Kipling's writings not only an insightful characterisation of the ideology of Empire, but also a residual, nuanced complexity that exceeded its more explicit political vision. Gramsci's take on Kipling provides an alternative to the more partisan and divisive reception of his works dominated by the championing or dismissal of his literary merit and its concomitant downplaying or focus on the author's ideological affiliation with Empire. Gramsci's early writing reveals a more complex, less Manichean relation to Kipling's work.

Long after his years as a journalist had ended, Gramsci would face the issue of Kipling's imperialism more explicitly, directly and analytically: 'Kipling's moral vision' he wrote in his *Prison Notebooks*, 'is imperialist only insofar as it is closely connected to a very specific historical reality; from it, one can extract poignantly direct images for every social group that struggles for political power.'²⁴ This reflection significantly comes at a moment in which Gramsci is forced to re-think the scope and aim of his writings. In a letter to his sister in law, Tatiana Schucht, dated September 1931 he contrasts the ephemerality of his journalistic pieces 'meant to last only for a day' with his plans for his prison writings that, here and on several other occasions, he defined 'für ewig' (for eternity). Joseph Buttigieg in his introduction to the English edition of *Prison Notebooks* provides a clear and succinct illustration of what Gramsci meant with this expression: 'not a posture of aesthetic distance, philosophical indifference, or positivistic objectivity' rather a 'writing on the topics that concerned him in a broader context and over a more expansive terrain than he could previously afford to do when writing for the papers and journals of a fractious Socialist Party.'²⁵ It is precisely in this broader context that Gramsci places his early writings on Kipling. Kipling's work provided him with images, forms of description of the social order and its institutional structures that were integral to his understanding of the problems of the Italian political situation, but also aiding him in conceptualising the cornerstone principles of his political thought.

NOTES

- 1 Studies on the relation between Gramsci and Kipling have been published in Italian periodicals with a historical and political focus. These are A. Carlucci " 'Essere superiori all'ambiente in cui si vive, senza perciò disprezzarlo'. Sull'interesse di Gramsci per Kipling", *Studi Storici*, 2013, 54 (4), pp. 897-914 and P.G. Zunino, "Il 'popolo delle scimmie' e la lettura gramsciana del fascismo negli anni venti", *Italia contemporanea*, 1988, 171, pp. 67-85.

- 2 Besides Hegemony, post-colonial scholars such as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak have borrowed from Gramsci the concept of the 'subaltern' to designate those populations that are politically and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure of the colony and of the colonial homeland. See G.C. Spivak "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), pp. 66–107.
- 3 M. Biondi, "Una passione di gioventù: il Kipling", in R. Serra, *Kipling* edited by M. Biondi (Santarcangelo di Romagna: Fara editore, 1996 [1908]), p. 111. All translations from this volume are mine.
- 4 Biondi, *ibid.*, p. 113.
- 5 See J. Picchione and L.R. Smith (eds), *Twentieth-Century Italian Poetry: An Anthology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 9.
- 6 S. Parker, *Bertolt Brecht: A Literary Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 71–2.
- 7 Serra, *Kipling*, p. 16.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- 9 S. Dentith, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 166.
- 10 Serra, *Kipling*, p. 39.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- 12 Thomas Pinney (ed), *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 119.
- 13 Praz described Kipling as 'the prophet of the Empire' in his entry for the 1933 edition of the Italian Encyclopaedia.
- 14 Serra, *Kipling*, pp. 11–12.
- 15 See for example A. Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, Vol. I, edited and translated by J. A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia UP, 1996), pp. 66; 76.
- 16 A. Gramsci, 'Luce che si è spenta', *Il Grido del popolo*, October 20th 1915.
- 17 A. Gramsci, "Il popolo delle scimmie", *Ordine Nuovo*, January 2nd 1921.
- 18 R. Kipling, *The Jungle Book* (London: Macmillan, 1899 [1894]), p. 51.
- 19 'Radiant days of May' is an expression coined by the Italian Nationalists to describe a period of demonstrations and protests that led to Italy entering the war. See J. Foot, *Modern Italy* (London: Palgrave, 2014), p. 49.
- 20 See A. Gramsci, 'Cavour e Marinetti', *Il grido del popolo*, March 16th 1918 and "Vita Nuova", *Avanti!*, July 8th 1918.
- 21 Gramsci's most insistent references to Kipling's moral energy can be found in his late letters to his sister in law and with reference to 'The White Seal'. However, references to Kipling's morality can also be found in Gramsci's early writings and particularly in the preface to his translation of 'If', where he describes this poem 'as an example of a kind of morality that is not polluted by Christianity and that can be accepted by all men.' A. Gramsci, *Avanti!*, December 1916. My translation.
- 22 A. Gramsci, 'La Disciplina', *La città futura 1917–1918* (Torino: Einaudi, 1982), p. 356. My translation.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, Vol. II, p. 120.
- 25 J. A. Buttigieg, Introduction to Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, Vol. I, p. 11.

KIPLING AND EUROPE: SOME ACTIONS AND REACTIONS¹

By HARRY RICKETTS

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Tēnā koutou katoa. Ko Malvern Hills te maunga. Ko Severn te awa. No London ahau. Ko Harry Ricketts toku ingoa. Kia ora. Hullo to you all, my mountain is the Malvern Hills, my river the Severn, my birthplace London, my name Harry Ricketts.

I have lived now for many years in New Zealand, and what I have just given you is one of the versions of a mihimihi, a ceremonial form of Māori address through which I might introduce myself in Māori terms. It gives my name, where I come from, and where and how I identify myself. What kind of mihimihi might the older Kipling have offered? He would have given Mumbai/Bombay as his birthplace. But what hill would he have nominated and what river? Would his other points of reference have been Indian or interspersed with other places? Southsea and its environs, we can be certain, would not have featured, but what about Pook's Hill? And what about a French river like the Rhône or the Loire, because, as his surviving daughter Elsie recalled: 'He was always happy in France'?

On the evening of 15 August 1915, Kipling wrote happily to his wife and daughter from Jonchéry near Rheims. He was in the midst of a fortnight's whirlwind tour of the French lines from Soissons to Verdun to Troyes. His public impressions – and he had been very much impressed by what he had seen of the French military spirit and efficiency – would appear the following month in the *Daily Telegraph* in a set of articles entitled *France at War on the Frontier of Civilization*. But what he particularly wanted to tell Carrie and Elsie was the reception he had received, *as a writer*, from the French army rank and file. As his party passed through a quarry and limestone caves where troops were resting, the general who was accompanying Kipling told him 'with a wave of his hand: – *all these men know your books*'. The general then turned to the nearest group and specifically asked them whether they knew Kipling's work. Kipling recorded their reaction:

'Yes oh yes' said they. 'Specially the Jungle Books!' He took me elsewhere and sentries with their rifles told me the same thing. Weird noncoms in dugouts echoed it till I nearly thought it was a put up job of the General. But 'twasn't. 'Twas true!

A letter a few days later excitedly tells an equivalent story of adulation. One unseen soldier even reached out his hand in the dark to shake Kipling's, murmuring '*Le Grand Rutyar!*'³

Under any circumstances, how gratifying a reaction for a writer to find themselves and their work so widely loved among ordinary readers of another culture. But how especially gratifying under circumstances such as these. Clearly a bemused Wilfred Owen had not been merely joking the year before when he told his mother from Bordeaux: 'I do between 8 and 9 lessons now, and any time between is seized by my student-friends, who want help with translations of Kipling!'⁴ Further evidence of Kipling's enormous contemporary popularity in France crops up in Katherine Mansfield's 1918 story '*Je Ne Parle Pas Français*'. Here, in a finely weighted sentence, the narrator, an amoral Parisian called Raoul Duquette, is reflecting back on his life as a prostitute and on how attractive women have found him: 'I used to look across the table and think "Is that very distinguished young lady, discussing *le Kipling* with the gentleman with the brown beard, really pressing my foot?"'⁵ Mansfield knew France well, was the keenest of social observers, so we can feel certain that '*le Kipling*' was a regular topic among the French *belle monde*, though she leaves it up to the imagined *English* reader to ponder exactly what the phrase '*le Kipling*' might cover. I shall return to the mutual love affair between Kipling and France a little later on.

Around the time Kipling was receiving such a rapturous reaction from French soldiers, a pupil at the *Realgymnasium* in Augsburg, the apprentice-poet Bertolt Brecht, was discovering a rather different Kipling, together with Rimbaud and Villon. (Kipling, Rimbaud and Villon make an improbable literary triumvirate, at least for most present-day readers.) The Kipling that initially attracted Brecht (in translation – his English was never very good) was the Indian Kipling, the early Kipling, the Kipling of *Barrack-Room Ballads*, of *Soldiers Three*, of *The Light That Failed*, the more raffish, boundary- and class-crossing Kipling of 'Loot' and 'The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney'. This was the Kipling who had taken the English-speaking world by storm in the early 1890s. This was the Kipling whom some had found exotic, adventurous and different, and others vulgar, violent and outrageous.

Kipling's work seems to have been introduced to German readers initially in 1893 by Alexander Tille, now best-known as the first

English translator of Nietzsche. A decade later, according to the painter William Rothenstein, Kipling had become 'the idol' of the Junker class (Prussian estate-owners). Rothenstein even suggested that this 'enthusiasm for Kipling's poems may well have encouraged Germany's ambition to possess a great navy', adding 'Strange paradox, if this be true, that the national poet of one country should rouse the patriotism of a rival people.' The dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann told Rothenstein that he thought Kipling 'the most powerful poet of the time'.⁶

In the first year or so of the First World War, one German poem was particularly famous. This was Ernst Lissauer's 'Haßgesang gegen England' (1914) or 'A Chant of Hate towards England' or as it became more generally known 'The Hymn of Hate':

.... He is known to you all, he is known to you all,
 He crouches behind the dark gray flood,
 Full of envy, of rage, of craft, of gall,
 Cut off by waves that are thicker than blood.
 Come let us stand at the Judgment place
 An oath to swear to, face to face.
 An oath of bronze no wind can shake,
 An oath for our sons and their sons to take,
 Come hear the word, repeat the word,
 Throughout the Fatherland make it heard:
 We will never forego our hate,
 We have all but a single hate,
 We love as one, we hate as one,
 We have one foe and one alone,
 England!⁷

I recently came across this poem thanks to an MA thesis by Roger Smith, a post-graduate student in the German programme at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, where I work. His thesis is entitled: '*Give 'Em a Few Bars of the Hymn of Hate': The German and English-Language Reception of Ernst Lissauer's 'Haßgesang gegen England'*'. During his thesis, Smith suggests, very plausibly, that Kipling's poem 'The Beginnings', the poem, following 'Mary Postgate' in *A Diversity of Creatures* (1917), was one of many contemporary reactions to Lissauer's poem and begins:

It was not part of their blood,
 It came to them very late
 With long arrears to make good,
 When the English began to hate.⁸

Smith is clearly right. Kipling's refrain ('When the English began to hate') seems too direct an echo for coincidence. I did briefly wonder whether Lissauer's poem might itself be a reaction to Kipling's own much-publicised poem 'For All We Have and Are', but 'The Hymn of Hate' first appeared in August 1914, a few weeks before Kipling's poem in *The Times* on 2 September. Valuable as Smith's recovery of this particular action and reaction is, it is clear from his surrounding commentary that his knowledge of Kipling's poems written during the First World War is narrow. The Kipling he recycles is merely the bell-cose recruiting-officer version, unmodified and uncomplicated by the Kipling of 'My Boy Jack', 'Gethsemane', 'The Nativity' and 'Epitaphs of the War'.

To work on Kipling is constantly to be making new traffics and discoveries. Another recent discovery for me has been grasping quite how important Kipling was for Brecht. I knew in a general way that he admired Kipling's poetry, that he translated and imitated several of his poems (including 'If-'), that his 1926 play *Mann ist Mann* (*Man Equals Man*) is set in a cartoon, larrikin, barrack-room-ballads India, and that the original 1928 programme of *The Threepenny Opera* carried the acknowledgement 'additional ballads by Villon and Kipling'. But that, it turns out, is very much the potted version of Brecht and Kipling. In what follows, I am heavily indebted, among other studies, to Stephen Parker's *Bertolt Brecht: A Literary Life* (2014) and John Fuegi's appealingly entitled biography, *The Life and Lies of Bertolt Brecht* (1994).

Brecht first came across Kipling at school. By August 1917, he was writing in animated reply to his friend the painter Caspar Neher, serving at the Front: 'But who is this "English" poet? He's excellent You inspired symbolist! Kipling, Shaw, Shakespeare – one of those? Who do you mean?'⁹ (Unfortunately, it is still unclear which English poet Neher had been referring to and had so aroused Brecht's enthusiasm.) In his poem 'About a Painter', probably also written in 1917, Brecht imagined Neher painting 'on the inside of [an] old ship's hull ... / his best picture, using three colours and the light from two portholes'.¹⁰ These details, as Michael Morley was the first to point out, were lifted straight from the scene in chapter eight of *The Light That Failed* in which Dick Helder recalls a trip by cargo-boat from Lima to Auckland and a painting he did on the inside of the lower deck: 'There was some brown paint and some green paint that they used for the boats, and some black paint for the ironwork, and that was all I had'.¹¹

In January 1919, in Gablers bar in Augsburg, Brecht sang a new song, 'Song of the Soldier of the Red Army', which has affinities with the parenthetical human cost-counting in Kipling's 'The Widow at Windsor'.¹² In September 1921, he was pondering in one of his

Tagebücher on ‘what Kipling had achieved for the nation that “civilised” the world’ and ‘arrived at the epoch-making discovery that really no one has yet described the big city as a jungle’, an observation which looks forward to his play *In the Jungle* (1928) and particularly to ‘Ballad of the Soldier’.¹³ Two years later, in 1923, Brecht was recommending Kipling to fellow playwright Carl Zuckmayer with the words: ‘You can learn from him’.¹⁴

However, the real revolution in Brecht’s reception of and reaction to Kipling came through his association with Elizabeth Hauptmann, who in the mid-to-late 1920s was variously Brecht’s collaborator, assistant and mistress. She has only very belatedly, in the last twenty-five years, begun to receive the recognition she deserves for her contribution to Brecht’s work. Hauptmann, unlike Brecht, spoke and read English fluently, and she helped him with accurate and idiomatic translations of Kipling. She also, crucially, introduced Brecht to a different Kipling from the male-roistering-adventuring one he had earlier admired; she acquainted him with the Kipling who wrote poems from a woman’s point of view and showed compassion for women. One of these paradigm-shifting poems was “‘Mary, Pity Women!’”:

*What’s the good o’pleadin’, when the mother that bore you
 (Mary, pity women!) knew it all before you?
 Sleep on ’is promises an’ wake to your sorrow
 (Mary, pity women!), for we sail to-morrow!*¹⁵

Two other poems were ‘Cholera Camp’ and ‘The Ladies’. Translations of all three appeared over Brecht’s name, although he apparently made only minor alterations to Hauptmann’s original versions. One might guess that other Kipling poems Hauptmann favoured probably included ‘Dirge of Dead Sisters’ and ‘Harp Song of the Dane Women’, perhaps even First World War poems like ‘My Boy Jack’ and ‘The Nativity’. The question of whether or to what degree Brecht was a plagiarist and/or appropriator of others’ work is too large to pursue here, although it is one that would certainly have interested Kipling himself, always fascinated by forgeries, fakes, plagiarism, appropriation, parody and pastiche.¹⁶ But, in passing, I might just mention that, after *The Threepenny Opera* appeared with its acknowledgement to Kipling and Villon, the left-wing journalist and satirist Kurt Tucholsky would regularly allude in his comedy routines to someone called ‘Rudyard Brecht’. And, in a subsequently printed skit of his, one character asks another: “‘Who is the play by?’” To which, the other replies: “‘Brecht’”, prompting the first character pointedly to ask once more: “‘Then who’s the play by?’”¹⁷ Certainly Brecht (or Brecht and Hauptmann)

learnt poetically from Kipling, learnt the adhesive properties of plain speaking, the enduring quasi-objective power of the ballad and the song, and shared with Kipling the belief that poetry could potentially be an active agent in the world. It may be a provocative paradox, as a Germanist friend of mine, Peter Russell, likes to say, that the German poet who most vehemently attacked militarism and imperialism, and, as a result, was one of the Nazi regime's marked men, should have owed so much to a British militarist and imperialist, but then influence often works in unpredictable ways – and particularly where Kipling's influence is concerned. Borges (who himself owed a significant debt to Kipling) points out in an essay in *Other Inquisitions* that writers create their precursors, and these precursors may not be the convenient ones admirers and critics would prefer them to have. This was a point Kipling himself well understood. As he told the Royal Literary Society in 1926 in a talk called 'Fiction', the future may well 'divert[]' a writer's work 'to ends of which [he] never dreamed'.¹⁸ In the present instance, Brecht certainly 'diverted' and reconfigured Kipling's work into poems and plays of which he can never have 'dreamed'. Yet Brecht's adulation for and use of Kipling helpfully remind us of two Kiplings it is easy to downplay or even lose sight of: the thrilling, early, romantic, Wild East Kipling and a later more thoughtful, more compassionate Kipling.

Eighty to ninety years later, it seems unlikely that Kipling and his work carry anything like such a charge in Germany. A German scholar I consulted, Beatrice Hesse, thought that Kipling was now largely seen as a writer for children and of 'cross-over' books for adolescents and young adults. (This view is borne out by a still regular stream of translations of the *Jungle Books*, often in a simplified form. However, there was a complete translation of both books by Andreas Nohl in 2016.) A student of Beatrice Hesse's in a recent seminar on *Stalky & Co* did suggest that Erich Kästner's *The Flying Classroom* (1933) might offer a parallel to *Stalky & Co* in German literature (an idea I intend to follow up), and I have heard it claimed that *Kim* was an inspiration for Kästner's earlier *Emil and the Detectives*, though rereading Kästner's engaging novel after many years I found any influence hard to detect. Equally, the recent claim that Marlen Haushofer's 1963 epidemic novel *The Wall* may be indebted to 'The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes' seems intriguing, if a little farfetched.¹⁹

But what of Kipling himself and German literature? Perhaps rather reluctantly, he did own up to at least one debt. In August 1905, he wrote to the *Figaro* correspondent Jules Huret, thanking him for the opportunity at proof stage to tone down some egregious remarks he had made in a recent interview about German commerce, industry and science – and, not least, the comment that he himself owed nothing to German

literature. 'I know that I owe much to Heine,' he admitted in his letter to Huret, an assertion supported by a teenage lyric like 'Commonplaces', published in *Echoes* and later subtitled 'Heine'.²⁰

It was, by coincidence, in August 1905 that the future author of *Le Grand Meaulnes*, Henri Alain-Fournier, was writing from London to his friend Jacques Rivière about Kipling: 'They have a rather special attitude to literature here. Everybody laughs at me about Kipling, maintaining his tales are either for "children" or "soldiers".'²¹ Again, how different a reaction to Kipling a European perspective brings. Unfortunately, Alain-Fournier does not expand on his own attitude to Kipling, but clearly it did not conform to the literary and cultural slide that Kipling's reputation was currently undergoing in England, following his very public championing of the South African War. *Le Grand Meaulnes*, published in 1913, does however suggest a few possible intertextual reactions. The most obvious is the chapter entitled 'The Great Game' in a direct echo of *Kim*, although the 'game' in Alain-Fournier's novel is connected to Kipling's more through the use of disguise, dressing-up and performative masquerade, and had nothing to do with imperial competition. More insistently, there is in both novels the aching sense of a lost, unregainable world of childhood and adolescence. This is a strong motif, of course, in many Romantic and post-Romantic texts, but it is such an undeniably powerful undercurrent in *The Jungle Books*, *Stalky & Co*, *Kim*, *The Just So Stories* and the double-life of George Cottar in 'The Brushwood Boy' (to give only the most obvious instances), that it seems reasonable to detect a link here to Kipling. To which, Kipling's story "They" should also be added, focusing, as it does like *Le Grand Meaulnes*, on a mysterious, ancient house, deep in the country and off any ordinary map, where fateful meetings occur. Then there's the depiction of intense male friendship between Alain-Fournier's young narrator Francois and the slightly older Meaulnes. This also has strong overtones of David Copperfield's and Steerforth's friendship in Dickens's novel, which Alain-Fournier certainly read. However, male friendship and bonding is so integral a motif in Kipling's work that it would be strange if the motif had not left some mark. I have in mind a passage like this from chapter five of *The Light That Failed*:

Torpenhow came into the studio at dusk, and looked at Dick with his eyes full of the austere love that springs up between men who have tugged at the same oar together and are yoked by custom and use and the intimacies of toil. This is a good love, and, since it allows, and even encourages strife, recrimination, and the most

brutal sincerity, does not die, but increases, and is proof against any absence and evil conduct.²²

A related link might be Alain Fournier's use of the sidekick-narrator. This, too, is such a common feature in Kipling's stories that it might be called 'Kiplingesque': the ordinary man trying to recount the story of someone more extraordinary, whether the reporter-narrator of Kipling's earlier work or most of the narrators in the 'Puck' stories or the multiple limited narrators in 'Mrs Bathurst'. And to reverse the direction of the force-field of action and reaction, it does not seem impossible that Kipling might have read *Le Grand Meaulnes*, as I shall suggest in a moment.

But, first, short detours to Sweden and to Russia. On 10 December 1907, Kipling was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. The committee's choice did not please everyone. The prominent Liberal journalist A. G. Gardiner was particularly irritated. Pointing out that Swinburne, Meredith and Hardy were all still alive, he complained that 'The goldsmiths are passed by and the literary blacksmith is exalted'.²³ Hardy for one was more philosophical, and wry. It seemed strange somehow, he reflected, to be connecting Kipling and the word 'peace', a reminder of one set of English Edwardian reactions to Kipling, framing him as the war-mongering, trumpet-toting bard of Empire of the famous 1904 Max Beerbohm cartoon.²⁴

Kipling sent his children an immediate and quirky account of Stockholm and the ceremony. King Oskar II had died while Kipling and Carrie were crossing the North Sea, the country was in mourning and consequently the ceremony was to take a shortened form. Kipling, Carrie and two of the other prize-winners drove in 'Cinderella's glass coach' through 'dark shiny wet streets where all the lamps were reflected on watery pavements and harbours and canals – so that moving steamers' lights were mixed up with shop lights.' Recalling the ceremony itself, it was the potentially farcical aspects which Kipling recreated most vividly. He felt, he told his children:

rather like a bad boy up to be caned As each oration was finished, the victim got up from his chair, the schoolmaster (I mean the Speaker) came down from the platform and shook hands with him. At the same moment a tall young man with a leather rosette in his buttonhole presented the victim with his diploma and gold medal. You have no notion how difficult it is to shake hands gracefully when one arm is full of a large smooth leather book on top of which is a slippery slidy red leather box – like a huge Tiffany's case. Try,

with a blotter and the case of my silver key and see what happens
.... The air seemed full of friendly hands all rushing to clasp mine.

Here Kipling draws a tiny figure of himself holding a huge document with the initials RK on it surrounded by outstretched hands. He described the medal as ‘pure gold and [it] represents poetry listening to the voice of music!’, adding ‘Never you dare say I can’t sing again.’ Then his description of the figures on the medal leaps into a characteristic mixture of the literary, the ludicrous and the appreciative:

I thought it was a picture of Mowgli listening to a woman playing on a lyre. He has nothing on to boast of but he is sitting on a bath-towel and saying:– ‘Now where *is* the rest of my week’s wash. I have it all written out.’ Seriously it is one of the most lovely pieces of work which I have ever seen.²⁵

All of which is a reminder of quite another Kipling, the author of the *Just So Stories*, the Kipling wresting language, tone, reference point and image to make a scene as vivid as possible to a child-reader. A very different Kipling from the one the Swedish novelist and dramatist August Strindberg had been discovering nine years earlier and extolling to his friend, the painter Richard Bergh’:

Have just read Kipling for the first time. The man’s a perfect example of the present age. He’s ‘half-mad’, and all his heroes are ‘mad’; there’s Whisky everywhere, too. But Kipling is occult, i.e., he believes in the soul of man and touches lightly upon the Inferno problems which I framed! [the problems Strindberg had touched on in his paranoid autobiographical novel *Inferno* (1898), a fictionalised version of his occultist life in Paris after the break-up of his second marriage].²⁶

‘He’s ‘half-mad’, and all his heroes are ‘mad’; ‘there’s Whisky everywhere, too’; ‘Kipling is occult’: this suggests a positively dangerous, romantic, 1890s, Golden Dawn image of Kipling and his work, and one which would probably have surprised his English and American readers at the time. But Strindberg had been immersing himself in Kipling; he had read eight volumes, he told the Swedish novelist and dramatist Gustaf af Geijerstam. On the cover of his *Occult Diary*, Strindberg noted some of his favourite Kipling stories: ‘The Brushwood Boy’ (about the exemplary subaltern with the phantasmagorical dream world); ‘The Mask [sic] of the Beast’ (about Indian magic and lycanthropy); ‘The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin’ (about a liberal

Englishman in India afflicted with aphasia) and ‘The Finest Story Ever Told’ [sic] – actually, of course, ‘The Finest Story in the World’ (about a young London bank clerk and would-be poet who remembers, but cannot make poetic use of, exciting fragments of his past lives). Those are the stories Strindberg explicitly lists, but his favourites probably also included both ‘The Phantom ‘Rickshaw’ (in which an Anglo-Indian is haunted by his dead mistress) and ‘By Word of Mouth’ (which begins in suitably occult fashion: ‘This tale may be explained by those who know how souls are made, and where the bounds of the Possible are put down’, and recounts how a civil surgeon receives a rendez-vous message from his dead wife).²⁷ Although Strindberg did not live to read them, there are of course several later Kipling supernatural stories, including ‘The Dog Hervey’ (a story of witchcraft and canine possession); ‘On the Gate’ (in which St Peter has to deal with the administrative and soteriological crisis created by the multitude of First World War dead); ‘A Madonna of the Trenches’ (a multi-layered First World War recasting of the premise of ‘By Word of Mouth’); and ‘Uncovenanted Mercies’ (which again involves the afterlife and salvational emergencies). The main point, however, is that Strindberg’s reaction brings up sharply yet another Kipling too often forgotten, the paranormal Kipling, who came, like Strindberg, to feel that this world was ‘one of the hells’: ‘It ha[s] every attribute of a hell,’ he told Rider Haggard in 1918, ‘doubt, fear, pain, struggle, bereavement, almost irresistible temptations springing from the nature with which we are clothed, physical and mental suffering, etc., etc., ending in the worst fate that man can devise for man, Execution!’²⁸

This is the Kipling of an early earthly, damned story like ‘A Wayside Comedy’, in which the five European inhabitants in a small, remote station find themselves trapped within the emotional and psychological hell they have created. This looks forward, say, to the hell of Sartre’s play *Huis Clos* [*No Exit*], first performed in May 1944; and May 1944 is, not inappropriately, the very same month that the following item appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* and which takes us more briefly to Kipling’s literary presence in Russia:

People who have found their appreciation of Rudyard Kipling hampered by his Imperialist flavour may be interested to learn that he is mentioned with praise in prize-winning essays from youth in the Soviet Union which have now been received by the Anglo-Soviet Friendship Alliance.

Lieutenant Mikhail Shumilov, of the Guards, wrote of a dusty march towards the front in which the sergeant began a quiet sort of song, “Dust,

dust, dust, dust, from the marching boots.” ‘I did not know the tune,’ he wrote. ‘It had been born here from the rhythm of the soldiers marching; the words were those of the famous poem by Rudyard Kipling, and soon, glad and excited, I sang loudly the refrain to the sergeant. I was not surprised to hear poems by the well-known English poet in the mouth of a rank-and-file Russian soldier: many times in trenches, at halts during marches, and even on the march I heard Kipling’s “Tommy Atkins” from officers and soldiers.’²⁹

Kipling helping the Russian war effort in the Second World War is a thought to conjure with, although one should not forget the anecdote related by Konstantin Paustovsky in *Years of Hope*, the fourth volume of his autobiography, *Story of a Life*. He describes how the short story writer Isaac Babel in the early 1920s appeared in the Odessa office of *The Seaman* ‘with a book of Kipling’s stories under his arm’. Kipling had become Babel’s new enthusiasm and model, and he could not stop talking about him. ‘[E]veryone ought to write his kind of steely prose’, Babel told those in the office, ‘and to visualise in the clearest detail what he was about to write. A story should be as accurate as a military report or a bank cheque.’³⁰ From which, one can deduce that the stories Babel so prized were probably in that characteristically spare, terse, buttonholingly direct prose of Kipling’s earlier period, rather than in the more baroque, arch manner of his late style.

So, almost finally, back to France again. Two of the best accounts of Kipling and France are by Julian Barnes, ‘Kipling’s France’ and ‘France’s Kipling’, collected in 2012 in his *Through the Window: Seventeen Essays (and one short story)*. Barnes, among much else, makes engaging use of Kipling’s French motoring diaries, and also makes one want to read the Tharaud brothers 1902/1906 novel *Dingley, l’illustre écrivain* [*Dingley, the illustrious writer*], which is closely based on Kipling’s life and career and reminds us that *The Light That Failed* really did, as Kipling asserted in *Something of Myself*, ‘walk[]’ better in French translation than it ever did in English.³¹

All the same, it is not quite accurate to claim, as Barnes does, that ‘France and the French feature little in [Kipling’s] published work’.³² This is to ignore among other French treasure: that longish early melodramatic schoolboy poem ‘The Story of Paul Vaugel’, of which Kipling insouciantly commented a couple of years later: ‘There are over seventy ‘ands’ in this thing but it made Miss Maggie Hooper ... “weep”. Perhaps by reason of its length.’³³ More seriously, it is to ignore the Norman Knight Sir Richard Dalyngridge, who tells Una and Dan about the Norman Conquest and its aftermath in *Puck of Pook’s Hill*, also the French doctor René Laennec in ‘Marklake Witches’, and the half-French, half-English smuggler Pharaoh Lee in ‘Brother Square-Toes’

and ‘A Priest in Spite of Himself’, not to mention the return of Sir Richard in the remarkable ‘The Tree of Justice’ in *Rewards and Fairies*. Barnes does not think much of Kipling’s 1913 poem ‘France’, and most would agree with him, but to ignore the presence of France in such rich war stories as ‘The Janeites’, ‘A Madonna of the Trenches’ and ‘The Gardener’ (not forgetting the hotelier Henri and his cork-wristed nephew in that rather unlikeable story ‘Sea Constables’) seems somewhat of an oversight. Barnes refers only glancingly to Kipling’s three late France-based stories – ‘The Miracle of Saint Jubanus’, ‘The Bull That Thought’ and “‘Teem’’: A Treasure-Hunter’ – observing merely that ‘strangely, in the last two of these [Kipling] used French animals (a Camargue bull and a Périgourdin truffle hound) as running metaphors for the artist and his travails’.³⁴ Not so ‘strangely’, if one thinks of these two stories as literary offerings to what had become, in effect, a second home: a gift of his gift, you could say – or, more accurately, different aspects of his gift. Apis, the bull that can think, might be seen as a version of the young Kipling, learning his tough, uncompromising art and those dangerous, deadly tricks in India, and Chisto might be seen as the older Kipling, the dampened-down, seasoned professional but still ‘at heart an artist’, with the technique to rise to the occasion.³⁵ “‘Teem’”, by contrast, offers a version of Kipling as the artist who can unearth hidden treasures others cannot see and do not value, a self-reflexive demonstration too of the intricate layering technique Kipling had been perfecting for the previous thirty years and would soon be describing so memorably in a famous paragraph in his autobiography.³⁶ ‘Teem’s’ move from France to England mirrors Kipling’s in 1889 from India to England, and thus allows France to stand in for his beloved India, the second home standing in for the first home, so to speak. And one reason why Kipling might conceivably have read and in this story be evoking *Le Grand Meaulnes* is that a key motif and repeated phrase throughout “‘Teem’” is ‘lost world’, the primary element of the French novel.

‘The Miracle of St Jubanus’, set in a small post-war French village, deserves to be better known. It is what might be called a ‘restorative farce’, of which the later Kipling wrote several (and of which J. M. S. Tompkins wrote so persuasively in her pioneering study, *The Art of Rudyard Kipling* (1959)). ‘The Miracle’ tells how the shell-shocked Martin (‘shell-shock’ called here ‘the darkness of soul’) is brought back to full life (the ‘miracle’ of the title) when during a church service two acolytes and the atheistic schoolmaster become hilariously and unreleasably entangled in the spokes of the local priest’s large umbrella, laughter convulses the entire congregation, and the cure is effected. (Umbrellas in literature would make a good topic.) But earlier in the

story, there is a jolting moment of quite another kind. This is where the French priest is telling the visitor-narrator about Saint Jubanus's only previous miracle. "He called a dying man back to life by whispering in his ear," says the priest, "and the man sat up and laughed." And then in brackets come the words: '(I wish I knew that joke.)'³⁷ In context, the parenthetical words are obviously spoken by the French priest, but for the alert Kipling reader the sentence has a heart-stopping double effect. It recalls 'A Son', one of Kipling's brief, bleak, stoical 'Epitaphs of the War', and based on one of the stories Kipling had been told about the death of his son John at Loos in 1915:

My son was killed while laughing at some jest. I would I knew
What it was, and it might serve me in a time when jests are
few.³⁸

In *Limits and Renewals*, the collection in which 'The Miracle' appears, Kipling slips in several covert references to his dead son. Of these, the parenthetical echo here is perhaps the most unobtrusive and the most poignant.

But has the French love-affair with '*le Kipling*' endured? These things are hard to determine in the absence of explicit textual evidence. When I recently put the question to the English poet Robert Wells, long resident in France and haunter of French second-hand bookshops, he said that he regularly comes across 'faded and clearly much-read turn-of-the-century paperbacks of Kipling in translation'. And added that Kipling

was clearly enormously popular (as was Conrad). The title that turns up most often by far is *The Jungle Books* (not nearly so much the other short stories for which he is celebrated, perhaps because the British Empire background didn't strike a French chord). There are copies of [*The Jungle Books*] from every decade, and they provided a great subject for illustrators ... Mowgli would of course fit French enlightenment and Rousseau-ist preoccupations with natural virtue, education through nature, the noble savage etc, and 'wild children' ('the wild boy of Aveyron' see Truffaut's film *L'enfant sauvage*. Also Rousseau's *Emile*. All became deeply French intellectual reference points.)

So, the Kipling highlighted by French reactions might again prove to be another Kipling few English-speaking readers would expect: a Rousseauesque Kipling. (And the idea of Kipling and Truffaut would make for an unexpected paper at some future Kipling conference.)

Finally, to the elephant in the room: Kipling and Brexit. In June 2016, which Kipling would have presented himself at the polling booth to vote? Would it have been the Albionist Kipling, clinging desperately to a mythic version of England? The Francophile Kipling, who was always happy in France? The German-hating Kipling (but he learnt so much from Heine, and Brecht learnt so much from him)? The recruiting Kipling ('Who dies if England live?')³⁹ The occult Kipling, who obsessed Strindberg (how would he have voted)? One of the many others? Personally, I hope Kipling who voted would have been the one who was 'always happy in France' and who quoted approvingly Defoe's lines about the mixed origins of the English people: 'The true-born Englishman's a contradiction; / In speech an irony, in fact a fiction.'⁴⁰ But that, as the young Kipling's journalist-narrator so often observed, is another story.

NOTES

- 1 The original version of this essay was given as a keynote address at the Kipling and Europe Conference, University of Bologna, 6–7 September 2016.
- 2 Quoted in Julian Barnes, *Through the Window – Seventeen Essays (and one short story)* (London: Vintage, 2012), p. 78.
- 3 Thomas Pinney (ed), *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 4: 1911–1919* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 322, 334.
- 4 Harold Owen and John Bell (eds), *Wilfred Owen: Collected Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 250.
- 5 *The Complete Stories of Katherine Mansfield* (Auckland: Golden Press, 1974), p. 68.
- 6 William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories, II, 1900–1922* (London: Faber and Faber, 1932), p. 25.
- 7 Ernst Lissauer, 'Haßgesang gegen England', *Worte in die Zeit: Flugblätter 1914 von Ernst Lissauer* 1. Göttingen and Berlin: Otto Hapke Verlag, August 1914, pp. 1–2; Ernst Lissauer, 'A Chant of Hate Against England', Barbara Henderson (trans), *New York Times*, 15 Oct. 1914, p. 12.
- 8 Thomas Pinney (ed), *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 975.
- 9 John Willett (ed), *Bertolt Brecht: Letters 1913–1956* (London: Methuen, 1990), p. 24.
- 10 John Willett and Ralph Manheim (eds), *Bertolt Brecht: Poems 1913–1956* (London: Methuen, 2000), p. 12.
- 11 Rudyard Kipling, *The Light That Failed* (London: Penguin Classics, 1988), p. 97.
- 12 *Bertolt Brecht: Poems 1913–1956*, p. 524.
- 13 Quoted in Ronald Hayman, *Brecht: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), p. 75.
- 14 Quoted in John Fuegi, *The Life and Lies of Bertolt Brecht* (London, HarperCollins, 1994), p. 132.
- 15 *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 1*, p. 460.

- 16 Two obvious examples are the early 'To Be Filed for Reference' and the late 'Dayspring Mishandled', but many other instances might be cited.
- 17 Stephen Parker, *Bertolt Brecht: A Literary Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 247; *The Life and Lies of Bertolt Brecht*, p. 216.
- 18 Rudyard Kipling, *A Book of Words* (London: Macmillan, 1928), p. 283.
- 19 Referred to in Beatrix Hesse, review of Christine MüllerSchollm, *Rudyard Kipling oder die Welt als Maskenball* (2015), *Kipling Journal*, December 2015, p. 62.
- 20 Thomas Pinney (ed), *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 3: 1900–10* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 193.
- 21 W. J. Strachan (ed and trans), *Towards The Lost Domain: Letters from London, 1905* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1986), p. 102.
- 22 *The Light That Failed*, p. 58.
- 23 A. G. Gardiner, *Prophets, Priests, and Kings* (London: A. Rivers, 1908), p. 293
- 24 Michael Millgate, *Thomas Hardy: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 452.
- 25 Elliot L. Gilbert (ed), 'O Beloved Kids': *Rudyard Kipling's Letters to his Children* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), pp. 55–7.
- 26 Michael Robinson (ed), *Strindberg's Letters, vol. 2: 1892–1912* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 649.
- 27 Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills* (London: Macmillan, 1890), p. 318.
- 28 Morton Cohen (ed), *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), p. 99.
- 29 'Kipling and the Red Army', The Keep, University of Sussex, Kipling Papers 28/14. "Dust, dust, dust etc" is presumably a slight transposition of the repeated line in Kipling's 'Boots': 'Boots—boots—boots—boots—movin' up an' down again!' (*The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 1*, p. 594).
- 30 Konstantin Paustovsky, *Story of a Life IV; Years of Hope* (London: Harvill Press, 1968), p. 119.
- 31 Thomas Pinney (ed), *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 132.
- 32 *Through the Window*, p. 78.
- 33 Andrew Rutherford (ed), *Early Verse by Rudyard Kipling 1879–1889: Unpublished, Uncollected, and Rarely Collected Poems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 101.
- 34 *Through the Window*, p. 85.
- 35 Rudyard Kipling, *Debits and Credits* (London: Macmillan, 1926), p. 226.
- 36 *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, p. 111.
- 37 Rudyard Kipling, *Limits and Renewals* (London: Macmillan, 1932), p. 326, 325.
- 38 *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 2*, p. 1140.
- 39 *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling, vol. 2*, p. 1070.
- 40 Quoted in *A Book of Words*, p. 178.

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