

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE KIPLING
VOGUE IN AMERICA

A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ENGLISH IN THE
GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE TEXAS STATE
COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

By

MAZIE C. PASS, B.S.

DENTON, TEXAS

AUGUST, 1938

Thesis
T. 1938
P285n

TEXAS STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

DENTON, TEXAS

August 1938

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared
under my supervision by MAZIE C. PASS
entitled THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
KIPLING VOGUE IN AMERICA

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

L. M. Ellison
In Charge of Thesis

L. M. Ellison
Director of Department

Accepted:

W. H. Harkins
Director, Graduate Division

68931

PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to measure the extent of the popularity of Rudyard Kipling in America during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first few years of the twentieth, and to account for that unusual popularity. The extent of his popularity has been determined by a study of the number of editions of his works published during this period, by the attention which he received in leading periodicals of the time, and by the opinions of social and literary historians. A study of his poetry and chief prose fiction published before and during this era, in relation to the trends of popular thought of the time, warrants the conclusion that his popularity was due to the fact that he accurately reflected popular American moods and sentiments of this age.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. L. M. Ellison, without whose kindly and sympathetic encouragement this thesis would not have been finished. I am grateful also to my mother and father, who have made conditions for this work possible, and to Miss Ailsey Forester, for aid and criticism.

.....

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | iii |
| CHAPTER | PAGE |
| I. THE COMING OF "SWEETNESS AND LIGHT" TO AMERICA . | 1 |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Matthew Arnold's Cult of "Culture" | 2 |
| Arnold's dictum of "sweetness and light" . | 2 |
| His criticism of American culture . . . | 3 |
| American acceptance of Arnold's ideas . | 6 |
| Resultant American Search | |
| for "sweetness and light" | 6 |
| Tennyson's Spirituality and Other-world | |
| Romanticism | 6 |
| His expression of spiritual ideas . . . | 6 |
| The other-world romanticism of | |
| "Idylls of the King" | 7 |
| Tennyson's influence on | |
| American thought | 9 |
| Oscar Wilde's Estheticism | 10 |
| The characteristics of estheticism . . . | 10 |
| The decadence in England | 11 |
| Literary figures of the decadence . . . | 11 |
| The effect of estheticism in America . | 12 |
| The Rise of American Feminism and Its | |
| Influence on American Literature | 13 |
| Louisa M. Alcott's work--an example | |
| of "rose-pink" literature | 13 |

CHAPTER

PAGE

| | |
|---|----|
| Feminine reformers | 14 |
| The influence of feminism on periodical literature | 15 |
| Conclusion | 16 |
| II. THE CULT OF "MANLINESS AND IMPERIALISM AS PARALLELS TO THE KIPLING VOGUE | 18 |
| Characteristics of the Cult of "Manliness" . | 18 |
| The love of the strenuous life . . . | 18 |
| Common Characteristics of the Literary Representatives of the "Cult" | 18 |
| The profession of journalism . . . | 18 |
| A lack of respect for established forms | 18 |
| The love of adventure | 18 |
| The vigorous style | 19 |
| Kipling as their model | 19 |
| The Literary Representatives of the "Cult" . | 19 |
| Stephen Crane | 19 |
| His personal and literary characteristics | 19 |
| His works | 20 |
| His style | 21 |
| Frank Norris | 21 |
| His works | 21 |
| His style | 21 |
| Jack London | 21 |

| | |
|---|----|
| His characteristics in accord with Kipling and his ideal of manliness | 22 |
| His adventurous life | 22 |
| His championship of Kipling | 23 |
| His works | 23 |
| Richard Harding Davis | 24 |
| His personal and professional characteristics | 24 |
| His representative works | 24 |
| His style | 24 |
| Mark Twain | 24 |
| His ridicule of Arnoldian "culture" in <u>Innocents Abroad</u> | 24 |
| Theodore Roosevelt and the "Strenuous Life" | 26 |
| Roosevelt as the embodiment of the "manly" ideal | 26 |
| His organization and leadership of the Rough Riders | 27 |
| Roosevelt's policies | 28 |
| The primitive virtues of Roosevelt | 29 |
| The Rise of American Imperialism | 29 |
| Kipling as an inspiration to imperialism | 29 |
| The economic causes of imperialism | 30 |
| The early evidences of American Imperialism | 31 |
| The concrete results of imperialism | 31 |

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|--|------|
| III. THE EXTENT OF THE KIPLING VOGUE IN AMERICA . . . | 33 |
| Introduction | 34 |
| The American Editions of Kipling's Works . . . | 34 |
| His publishers | 34 |
| The number of editions | 34 |
| Kipling in Periodical Literature | 35 |
| Prior to 1900 | 35 |
| From 1900 to 1904 | 35 |
| Caricatures and Articles in English and American Periodicals | 36 |
| American Acceptance of Kipling's Questionable Characters | 37 |
| The Kipling Vogue as Satisfaction for an American "Uncultivated Hunger for Pathetics" . . . | 38 |
| Kipling as a Reflector of Popular American Moods | 39 |
| His concrete expression of the revolt against repressive influences | 39 |
| Kipling as the authentic voice of the cult of "manliness" | 39 |
| The champion of imperialism | 40 |
| Kipling's American Residence as Bearing on his American Popularity | 40 |
| IV. THE POPULAR RECEPTION OF KIPLING'S POETRY IN AMERICA | 43 |
| Introduction | 43 |

| | |
|--|----|
| Kipling's Ideal of Life in Contrast | |
| with the Ideal of Matthew Arnold | 44 |
| A comparison of the theories | |
| of the two men | 44 |
| Examples from Kipling's poetry . . . | 45 |
| Kipling's Poetic Ideology as a Contrast | |
| to Tennyson's Spirituality and | |
| Other-world Romanticism | 47 |
| A comparison of Kipling's rugged empiri- | |
| cism with Tennyson's spirituality . . | 47 |
| The gods of Kipling's natives . . | 48 |
| The religious conception of | |
| Kipling's soldiers | 48 |
| Kipling's own conception of God . | 49 |
| A comparison of Kipling's realism with | |
| Tennyson's other-world romanticism . . | 49 |
| Kipling's Poetic Ideology as a Contrast to | |
| Oscar Wilde's Estheticism and Decadence . . | 51 |
| Estheticism <u>versus</u> virility | 51 |
| Kipling's contempt for the effiminacy | |
| of the decadents | 52 |
| Kipling's Poetic Ideology as a Revolt | |
| Against Aggressive American Feminism . . . | 53 |
| Kipling's attitude toward women as | |
| shown in his poetry | 54 |
| His kindness in the portrayal of | |
| native women | 57 |

| | |
|---|----|
| The "bad women" in Kipling's poetry | 58 |
| Fickle women in his poetry | 59 |
| Solitary admission of women's power over man | 60 |
| Kipling's Poetry as an Expression of the Cult of "Manliness" | 60 |
| Kipling as the outstanding exponent of the vigorous life | 60 |
| Examples of his portrayal of the British soldier | 63 |
| Examples of his portrayal of the British sailor | 65 |
| Examples of his portrayal of the adventurer | 66 |
| Kipling's Poetry as an Expression of Imperialism | 68 |
| The close relation between imperial- ism and the cult of "manliness" | 68 |
| Kipling's poetry as investing imperial- ism with righteousness | 68 |

V. THE POPULAR RECEPTION OF KIPLING'S PROSE

| | |
|--|----|
| FICTION IN AMERICA | 74 |
| Introduction | 74 |
| Kipling's Ideal of Life in Contrast with the Ideals of Matthew Arnold | 76 |
| A comparison of the theories of the two men | 76 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Examples from Kipling's prose fiction . | 77 |
| Kipling's Prosaic Ideology as a Contrast to Tennyson's Spirituality and Other- world Romanticism | 78 |
| A comparison of the theories of the two men | 78 |
| Examples from Kipling's prose fiction . | 79 |
| Kipling's Prosaic Ideology as a Contrast to Oscar Wilde's Estheticism and Decadence . | 81 |
| A comparison of the theories of the two men | 81 |
| Examples from Kipling's prose fiction . | 82 |
| Kipling's Prose Fiction as an Expression of Masculine Revolt Against Aggressive American Feminism | 83 |
| His attitude toward women | 83 |
| Examples from his prose fiction | 84 |
| Kipling's Prose Fiction as an Expression of the Cult of "Manliness" Ideology | 86 |
| Kipling's three soldiers | 87 |
| Kipling's delineation of the life of the British soldier | 91 |
| Kipling's expression of the life of the adventurers | 93 |
| The delineation of the vigorous life in Kipling's three chief novels | 96 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Kipling's Prose Fiction as an Expression of Imperialism | 99 |
| The relation between imperialistic ideology and the cult of "manliness" ideology | 100 |
| The attitude of Kipling's characters toward the Empire | 101 |
| VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS | 102 |

.....

CHAPTER I

THE COMING OF "SWEETNESS AND LIGHT" TO AMERICA

It seems unlikely that the enormous popularity of Rudyard Kipling in America during the late eighteen nineties and early nineteen hundred--the McKinley-Roosevelt era-- could have been due to purely adventitious circumstances. The fact that it synchronized almost exactly with certain strong currents of thought and feeling which were agitating the American mind during these years naturally raises the question whether a logical, as well as a chronological, relation cannot be discovered between them. This study undertakes, therefore, to investigate the question as to what extent Kipling inspired these currents of thought, and to what extent his popularity was due to the accuracy with which his works reflected ideas that were already current in the national mind.

It is the present writer's theory that the Kipling vogue in America is best understood as a vigorous protest and reaction against certain tendencies and standards of value that had established themselves in the American mind in the late eighteen eighties and early eighteen nineties. These were (1) the crusade of "culture" as preached by Matthew Arnold upon the occasion of his two visits to America; (2) the vogue of spiritual expression and other-world romanticism as presented in much of the work of Tennyson; (3) the Oscar Wilde theory and point of view--that life exists primarily as an opportunity for esthetic experience; and (4) an aggressive, sentimental feminism

which, since the Civil War, had been exerting an increasing influence upon American ideals and character.

The first of these movements, the rise of the "cult of culture," was a result of the preachments of Matthew Arnold. He was the apostle of culture in his native England, and he sowed the seeds of "sweetness and light" with a lavish hand. He explained that culture is not alone the endeavor to see and learn in order to have a more perfect individual life; it is also the endeavor to make prevailing the knowledge and experience gained, in order to provide a fuller life for everyone. Culture seeks to make prevalent an inner richness, a predominance of humanity, a limitless expansion of the powers of wisdom and beauty within a person, so that the nearest possible degree of perfection can be reached. It is a study in perfection, and "perfection is a harmonious expansion of all the powers which make the beauty and worth of human nature; and is not consistent with the over-development of any one power at the expense of the rest."¹ A finely tempered nature, one in which all phases of life are balanced, one in which both beauty and intelligence play equal parts, is perfection. These two balanced characteristics are what Matthew Arnold calls--from Swift's Battle of the Books--"sweetness and light." The finely attuned personality tends toward sweetness and light; the person not finely attuned takes the other direction, and is denominated by Arnold a Philistine.

¹Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 12.

Faith in machinery is, he says, the principal drawback to culture; while poetry and religion, in pursuing sweetness and light, are kindred spirits with culture. They, in common with culture, attempt to level, to do away with classes, to make the best thoughts of the world prevail everywhere, to make not only a few but all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, to be nourished rather than strangled by ideas. Summing up his theory of sweetness and light, he says:

The pursuit of perfection, then, is the pursuit of sweetness and light. He who works for sweetness and light, works to make reason and the will of God prevail. He who works for machinery, he who works for hatred, works only for confusion. Culture looks beyond machinery, culture hates hatred; culture has one great passion, the passion for sweetness and light. It has one even yet greater!--the passion for making them prevail. It is not satisfied till we all come to a perfect man; it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched with sweetness and light.²

Arnold, on the occasion of his two visits to America--the first a lecture tour in 1883; the second a visit to his daughter in 1886--was eagerly received in America by people who were anxious to acquire the mystic quality of culture but knew not how to proceed. Unfortunately, he could not give them a specific formula that would change a raw, crude American overnight into a polished, cultured European, but he did tell Americans in what respects they were sadly deficient in culture. Culture, he said, can be defined as

A pursuit of out total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which concern us, the best

²Ibid., p. 37.

which has been known and thought in the world; and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits which we now follow stanchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them stanchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically.³

It is the state of mind resulting from the effect of the powers of beauty and intellect and righteousness upon the human spirit.

He then enumerated American deficiencies. "In what concerns the solving of the political and social problem," he said, "they see clear and think straight; in what concerns the higher civilization they live in a fool's paradise."⁴

Americans, he declared, are vain and boastful; they blindly reiterate that America is the greatest nation in the world. They will not take an unprejudiced view of the situation and honestly attempt to correct it, but stick doggedly to their view that where there is perfection there can be no correction.

According to Arnold, a cultivated nation is an interesting nation, and the sources of the interesting are distinction, beauty, and a sense of elevation. These sources America sadly lacks.

In truth everything is against distinction in America and against the sense of elevation to be gained through admiring and respecting it. The glorification of the "average man," who is quite a religion with statesmen and publicists there, is against it. The addiction to "the funny man," who is a national misfortune there, is against it. Above all, the newspapers are against it.⁵

³W. C. Brownell, "Matthew Arnold," Scribner's, July, 1901, p. 111.

⁴Matthew Arnold, "Civilization in the United States," Nineteenth Century, April, 1888, p. 495.

⁵Loc. cit., p. 489.

Another cause for the lack of distinction and of a sense of elevation among Americans is that "Americans come originally from from that great class of English society amongst whom the sense for conduct and business is much more strongly developed than the sense for beauty." And still another cause is the absence in America of the cultural background of the feudal ages.

If we in England were without the cathedrals, parish churches and castles of the Catholic and feudal age, and without the houses of the Elizabethan age, but had only the towns and buildings which the rise of our middle class has created in the modern age, we should be in much the same case as the Americans.⁶

Mr. Arnold told his American audience that this very lack of culture in America was driving a highly selective group of Americans to Europe every year in search of "sweetness and light."

The American artists live chiefly in Europe; all Americans of cultivation and wealth visit Europe more and more constantly. The mere nomenclature of the country (America) acts upon a cultivated person like the incessant pricking of pins. What people in whom the sense for beauty and fitness was quick could have invented, or could tolerate the hideous names ending in ville, the Briggsvilles, Higginsvilles, Jacksonvilles, rife from Maine to Florida; the jumble of unnatural and inappropriate names everywhere?⁷

Apropos of the general scenery, he said that "there is little to nourish and delight the sense of beauty there. In the long settled states east of the Alleghenies, the landscape in general is not interesting, the climate harsh and in extremes."⁸

⁶Loc. cit., p. 488.

⁷Loc. cit., pp. 488-9.

⁸Loc. cit., p. 488.

This was harsh criticism, to be sure, but America became "culture conscious," and Europe's museums, cathedrals and historic ruins became the mecca of the American tourists. He took "culture" in large doses, and the American business man paid relatively huge sums so that his wife and daughters might travel on the continent and bring back tangible evidence of the acquired precious quality.

Mamma and the girls were abroad to see the world, and it was theirs. Europe beheld them jamming past the guardians of secret, obscene galleries in Naples, set there to guard their famed innocence; They aimed their cameras at William Hohenzollern, Donatello's simpering David and the Prince of Wales with equal zest. In spring the flooded New York's marmoreal hotels, waving steamer tickets from table to table and threatening to meet each other in London, and autumn saw them home again, radiant in fresh frocks, hats rejected by the prostitutes of Paris as too gaudy for their use.⁹

The second of these trends of thought was the other-world romanticism expressed in Tennyson's poetry, and the emphasis on and faith in the spiritual side of man's nature as dominant over the animal instincts. It is related closely to Arnold's theory of sweetness and light. It was the zealous belief of Tennyson that this spiritual side of humanity would dominate not only a chosen few, but the large majority of people, if not now, then at some later date in the world's upward struggle to attain perfection.

This emphasis on the spiritual permeates much of Tennyson's work. He was, in the period of his unusual American popularity, the leader of the spiritual side of human thought.

⁹Thomas Beer, The Mauve Decade (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), p. 57.

The existence of this undeniable spirituality, he contended, is the fundamental basis of religion. It is the reason for the existence of religion. It is responsible for the existence of culture, of sweetness and light, and of a desire to make beauty and intelligence prevail. Without it man would be but a brute. Tennyson is refined, idyllic, in his portrayal of this spirituality. He sings of brotherly love and beautiful friendship with a tender grace. Yet he is not a dreamer who sings with no object in view. He believed implicitly in the domination of the spiritual over the material, and would not despair of the destiny of man.

He spurned the materialism which at first seemed to all thinkers inseparable from the idea of evolution; he found for himself the hope which science seems within the last decade to be disclosing; the hope that the spiritual force called life--the maker of organism, and not the creature or organism....may, after all, be a something which uses the material world as a means of phenomenal expression.....He spiritualized evolution and brought it into poetry.¹⁰

Tennyson's other-world romanticism is best expressed in his "Idylls of the King," perhaps the most popular of the many works from his prolific pen, and certainly widely popular in America. He portrays medieval characters with a beauty and intensity found nowhere else in treatment of such characters. He imbues them with sympathy and tenderness, in short, with humanism, without losing any of the gorgeous color and rich symbolism with which these characters are endowed. He presents a sweeping panorama of the beautiful side of medievalism. His

¹⁰Theodore Watts, "Some Aspects of Tennyson," Nineteenth Century, Oct., 1893, p. 669.

knights are always brave and his ladies unbelievably fair..
 King Arthur is perfection itself, and so he seemed to his
 knights, who saw him as

That victor of the pagan throned in hall--
 His hair, a sun that rayed from off a brow
 Like hill-snow high in heaven, the steel-blue eyes,
 The golden beard that clothed his lips with light--

he seem'd to me no man,
 But Michael trampling Satan.....¹¹

He had a deep compassion for humanity, and showed utter self-
 lessness in pursuing the more abundant, the more righteous
 life for his people. His knights of the Round Table were
 bound by oaths of chastity and righteousness, and their mis-
 sion in life was to punish wrong-doing and aid the weak and
 needy.

Tennyson adds romanticism to the character of King
 Arthur by introducing the mysticism surrounding his birth.
 One theory of Arthur's birth was that Merlin, the magician,
 while walking near the sea on the night of Uther's death, had
 seen a huge ship shaped like a dragon, and peopled with shin-
 ing figures. It vanished, and a mountainous flaming wave de-
 posited a babe at his feet, whome he caught up and cried,
 "the King!" This was the baby Arthur. Another theory was
 that Arthur was King Uther's own son who had been kept in a
 secret place by Merlin until the time was ripe for his leader-
 ship of his people. Some people even said that Arthur had

¹¹Alfred Tennyson, "The Lost Tournament," The Poetic
 and Dramatic Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson (Cambridge ed.;
 Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898), p. 432.

dropped from heaven. Another note of romantic mysticism is struck in the character of Arthur's chief ally, the Lady of the Lake. She it is who reaches an arm clothed all in white samite out of the lake to give Arthur his magnificent sword, Excalibur. And she it is who receives it again at Arthur's death. Yet another mystic note is found in the three black-robed queens, accompanied by a mourning company, who carry Arthur off across the high seas to eternity.

This romanticism and spiritualism was a far cry from the humdrum, every-day existence of the average American. It was a magnificent dream-world which presented the opportunity for an escape from reality. Tennyson presented a rich galaxy of glittering other-world figures, elaborately wrought, which caught American fancy and remained highly popular for many years.

Undoubtedly Tennyson affected American thought largely in the period before the rise of the "cult of manliness" and the corresponding rise of imperialism. No less than one hundred and sixty-five articles and poems by or about Tennyson appeared in American periodical literature before 1899.¹² Some of these were reprints of the same article or poem in different magazines. Hallam Tennyson, son of the poet, gives evidence of Tennyson's American popularity, in a comment on a proposed copyright law regarding English authors. He says, "For some years past my father has not received a penny from

¹²Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. 1815-1899, pp. 746-8.

America, although we hear of huge sales of his poems."¹³ The attitude of many Americans toward Tennyson found expression in Henry Van Dyke's statement:

For this generation, at least, the poetry of Tennyson, which has interpreted so faithfully our aspirations and hopes and ideals, which has responded so directly and so strongly to the unspoken questions of men and women born into an age of transition and doubt, must continue to be a vital influence.¹⁴

The third of these attitudes against which the Kipling vogue came as a revolt was the Oscar Wilde theory and point of view--the belief that life was primarily an opportunity for esthetic experience. The esthetes believed in savoring life to the utmost degree, and they advocated beauty and intensity in everything. The ultimate in artistic, musical, and literary experiences was their goal, and intensity in fleshly experiences was no small part of their creed. In England, the highest and last phase of estheticism was that "new and beautiful and interesting disease"¹⁵ known as the decadence.

The chief characteristics of the decadence were

(1) perversity, (2) artificiality, (3) egoism, and (4) curiosity, and these characteristics are not at all inconsistent with a sincere desire to find the last fine shade, the quintessence of things; to fix it fleetingly; to be a disembodied voice, and yet the voice of a human soul.¹⁶

¹³R. Pearsall Smith, "An Olive Branch from America," Nineteenth Century, Nov., 1887, p. 612.

¹⁴"The Voice of Tennyson," The Century, February, 1893, p. 544.

¹⁵Arthur Symons, "The Decadent Movement in Literature," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, November 1893, p. 859.

¹⁶Holbrook Jackson, The Eighteen Nineties (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 64.

Decadence was a surfeit of the senses brought about by promiscuity in all experiences, and the decadents, after draining all ordinary sensual experiences,

....cried for madder music and for stronger wine.¹⁷

Decadence was a beautiful serpent nursed briefly in the bosom of England, and it ended suddenly with the arrest, trial and conviction to prison of its godhead, Oscar Wilde. Its quick death proved the power of outraged public opinion and the fact that English thought and morality "would neither understand nor tolerate the curious exotic growth which had flowered in its midst."¹⁸ Truly the decadence was a strange and fatal disease, which, burning the candle at both ends, could not last the night.

The decadence produced Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray, written in the jewelled, colorful, sensual, mystic style of Wilde at his purplest; it produced the artificial, whimsical, defiant, compelling genius of that short-lived wonder boy of decadent art, the consumptive Aubrey Beardsley, with his lewd figures which outraged respectable Britons, yet compelled their interest and admiration. It produced the temporarily compelling poetry of Ernest Dowson, the phrases bursting with ripeness, but little else; and it produced a school of minor poets, hangers-on, who sang madly but ineffectually of the hot

¹⁷Ernest Dowson, "Nom Sum Qualis Eram Bonae sub Regno Cyraeae," Great Poems of the English Language, compiled by Wallace Alvin Briggs (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1933), p. 1199.

¹⁸Jackson, op. cit., p. 67.

red cheeks and the cool white breasts of their lady loves. .

Oscar Wilde was quite the purplest of the purple patches on the framework of estheticism which dominated English literature and life for the brief interim preceding the rise of imperialism and the parallel sky-rocketing of Kipling in the public minds of England and America. He, more than any other figure in English letters of this period, is a personification of all the qualities and characteristics set up as standards by the decadents. He was a brilliant man, the author of many sparkling epigrams known to every student of English literature. His best known works are poems and some of the cleverest comedies in English literature. His wit scintillates like the play of light on precious gems. His very style is jewelled.

In America, the mania for Oscar Wilde and estheticism, while confined to a relatively small group of followers, nevertheless temporarily permeated American life and institutions. He was not a great figure to Americans in the early eightennineties. There was only a small demand for his books, and his plays were barely successful. It was after his lurid, highly publicized, ridiculous trial and conviction for paderasty that the current ideas of Oscar Wilde and estheticism received such a tremendous amount of attention and publicity in America. He became forbidden, and therefore luscious, fruit to staid, middle-class Americans, whose morals and conduct, even literary, were largely determined by what they heard from the pulpit and read from the press. Between 1895 and 1900 he was mentioned by

clergymen in at least nine hundred sermons. Denver, Colorado, considered him the king of England's intellectual circles. In 1899, a set of photographs in a scarlet cover labeled "The Sins of Oscar Wilde" was sold to college undergraduates at twenty dollars per copy.¹⁹

The fourth phase of American life against which Kipling came as a revolt was the rise of an aggressive feminism and the resultant "lavender and old lace" fiction of Louisa M. Alcott and other feminine later nineteenth century novelists and poets. Paralleling this were the too, too virtuous ideas of reform advanced by Frances Willard and sister reformers who believed in forcing purity down the throats of the people, regardless of the freedom bestowed on the individual by the Constitution. This phase was due to the increasing importance of women in the American scene. Increasingly American business demanded the attention of the American male, and cultural advancement was left to that vast body of women who seized on superficial indiscretions of individuals and exaggerated them into national mountains of immorality.

The pure, ugly volumes of Louisa M. Alcott occupied an important place in American life. The doctrines expounded by Miss Alcott had a large influence, directly or indirectly, on American life for two generations. They were safe doctrines, very, very pretty, and also very, very dull and superficial. Women were beginning to realize their social, intellectual, and even economic importance, but they stuck to safe, prosaic,

¹⁹Beer, op. cit., pp. 129-30.

virtuous principles as befitting what Grace Ralston called "The nobility of womanhood."²⁰ When pressed by William James for a meaning of "the nobility of womanhood," Miss Ralston could not elucidate, which fault seemed to be the trouble with a great many of the American feminists of this period. Mellifluous phrases sound beautiful, but words without meaning are futile, and this same shallowness of ideas, this prating superficiality and sentimentality, dominated not only Louisa M. Alcott's work, but also practically all of the "lavender and old lace" fiction of the time.

Man takes a relatively unimportant place in Miss Alcott's works, and her women are always pure and above reproach. In Rose in Bloom, Rose Campbell completely ostracizes her betrothed when he comes, in a state of champagne, to wish her a happy New Year. She also waltzes only with her male cousins. In Jo's Boys Miss Alcott says that a man who has ever been in prison, regardless of the degree of his guilt, should not be permitted to enjoy the company of pure young girls. Her idea of good clean fun is a jolly picnic or a set of patriotic tableaux. She also probably liked the family album.

In spite of satirical criticism and questioning by a few brave souls, American feminism went determinedly on its defiant, if oftentimes blundering, way. Politicians referred to "a pure, enlightened, and progressive womanhood," and no less a person than Chester Arthur referred to the ladies as "our cultured and enlightened womanhood."²¹ Mrs. Ada Channing

²⁰Ibid., p. 28.

²¹Ibid.

Walker damned California's favorite son, Leland Stanford, as a man who drank wine, raced horses, and was an atheist, and then went on to Chicago to see that the World's Fair was conducted in a manner that would not be offensive to noble American womanhood. In this she was assisted and encouraged by Chicago's own fantastic, zealous Frances Willard, Susan Anthony, and other examples of pure and enlightened American womanhood. Committees of women, who acted on emotion rather than common sense, were constantly demanding that incidents and persons who might taint pure American womanhood be abolished. One such group attempted to have painted women excluded from the World Fair grounds, and another traveled all the way from Chicago to New York to demand that Editor Charles Dana of the New York Sun put a stop to the dancing of a harmless Spanish woman known as Carmencita.²² Frances Willard declared that women were destined by the very substance of their natures to morally elevating deeds, to education, and to the work of God!

The influence which American women had on the periodical literature and popular fiction of this period is inestimable. Editors were afraid to print anything which might find disapproval in the minds of feminine America, since a great part of the reading public was made up of women. When anything offensive was published, American womanhood took up the pen and wrote. A collection of twenty-five such letters was made by Julian Ralph. They were addressed to "Harper's," "Century,"

²²Ibid., p. 32.

and "Lippincott's," and the majority were sent from the middle west. The chief complaints were three; (1) a good woman had been killed or had failed to marry the right man in some story; (2) liquor had been drunk or had been mentioned by respectable people; (3) the story teaches no moral lesson. By way of minor complaint, Lester Raynor's character, Mrs. Deepwater, who arranged dinners so that one celebrity might meet another, is an insult to "western womanhood."²³ So the editor who wished to avoid abuse and keep up the circulation of his periodical published stories of and for pure, enlightened womanhood.

The voice of Louisa M. Alcott echoes in these tales; Alice Perrine on a trip to Boston found that her betrothed had once tried to kiss the pretty wife of a professor during a dance. He is given no chance to explain. Tears dribble on a box which takes his ring back to him.....Miss Cornwall finds her affianced once lived, ten years before, in Rome, with a "woman". He is dispatched to find and marry the girl, and "with bowed head, he faced the long path of his duty."....Charles Milton's lungs have sent him to California, orange growing, and he is very comfortable and prosperous. But his wife yearns for Boston, the scene of her girlhood, and on finding that out he simply sells the orange grove and takes her home, "for he had learned what he owed to her womanhood at last."²⁴

A reaction against these four attitudes--the "culture cult" of Matthew Arnold, the spiritualistic and other-world romanticism of Tennyson, the estheticism of Oscar Wilde, and the aggressive feminism and rose-pink literature--was bound to come. Such a reaction did arrive with the growth of the new "cult of manliness," which reached its peak in the late

²³Ibid., p. 51.

²⁴Ibid., p. 54.

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and had as its disciple and principal portrayer of virile, courageous manhood the Englishman, Rudyard Kipling.

.....

CHAPTER II
THE "CULT OF MANLINESS" AND IMPERIALISM
AS PARALLELS TO THE KIPLING VOGUE

In reaction against the feminizing tendencies outlined in the preceding chapter, there grew up in America the "cult of manliness," the doctrine of the strenuous life, the glorification of the primitive, as illustrated in American literature by the writings of Jack London, Frank Norris, Stephen Crane, Richard Harding Davis, and others, among them Mark Twain, and in politics by Theodore Roosevelt, the idol of the middle classes. Although this "cult of manliness" was American in its origin, its dominating figure was the English Rudyard Kipling.

Practically all of the writers of this vigorous school have common characteristics. First, they were journalists who brought with them from their past experiences an enthusiasm for vigor and vitality, and a distinct lack of respect for old established forms and ideas. They wrote fiercely and defiantly, and cried for truth at all costs. They said that the novel, since it is the completest expression of life, should be absolutely truthful in its representation of life. They proposed to produce a new American literature which would be stripped of prudish ideas and outworn conventions. All of these journalists were young men whose lives followed the pattern of the vigorous, adventurous activity which they so strongly advocated. Stephen Crane had been a newspaper representative in the Graeco-Turkish war and in the Cuban campaign; Frank Norris had partici-

pated in the activity of the South-African war; Richard Harding Davis had gone from one storm center to another all of his adult life; and Jack London's existence was a constant adventure from the time when, a boy in his early "teens" he had, by long hours and heart-breaking labor, contributed much to the support of his family, he borrowed three hundred dollars from his black Mammy Jenny, bought a boat, and joined the fleet of oyster pirates in Oakland Bay. All had an intense zest for life, and for the adventures of new frontiers, unknown places, the battlefield, places in when men must be vigorous to withstand the dangers and hardships of such a life. Almost all died young, perhaps because human flesh could not stand this burning intensity for life. Stephen Crane died in 1900, at the age of thirty; Frank Norris, in 1902, at the age of thirty-two; Jack London, in 1916, at forty-one. Richard Harding Davis, however, lived to be fifty-two years old, and died in 1916.

Without a doubt, this sudden growth of a cult of vigor received its impetus from the sudden enormous vogue of Kipling, whose vigor, directness, and picturing power were qualities which made a strong appeal to young men of journalistic training. Hence, Kipling was the idol of this group of journalists; and his fresh, vigorous style frequently served as a model for the members of the group.

Stephen Crane, the genius of the group, was neurotic, intense, and possessed, possibly more than any of the others, a vibrant, driving energy that forced him to prodigious work. His training made him a realist, as training had made most of

the members of this group realists, but Crane was naturally lyrical, romantic, and impulsively creative. He was eager, dominated by moods, and driven by an irresistible urge to taste life in the raw and write the truth about life as he saw it.

Crane's work is realistic, at times depressing, but written with an unsurpassed ability for delving into the emotions and psychological causes back of man's most innate, elemental behavior. His Maggie, A Girl of the Streets is a dark picture of the brutal side of New York. His short story, "An Open Boat," high on the list of great short stories, is a picture of the emotional and physical experiences of four men in an enforced journey in the Caribbean in an unseaworthy craft, with that exact attention to minute detail which characterizes all great works of prose fiction. It is his Red Badge of Courage which shows Crane at his analytical, imaginative best. In this book he tells the story of a very brief period in a young soldier's life, the first few hours, and first battle after his enlistment. He frankly relates the soldier's fright, his subsequent desertion in battle, and the myriad emotions that chase each other madly through his frenzied brain. Even a brave man, says Crane, contrary to sugar-coated public opinion, can have all his accepted ideas of honor and bravery temporarily smashed out of him under stress of an insane, vital fear of something that he doesn't quite comprehend; and, after such temporary madness has passed, he can still be a brave man.

Frank Norris was, like Crane, a realist, but he was a much more brutal, sordid realist, particularly in his earlier works, McTeague and Vandover and the Brute. In this his brutal realism is carried to the extreme, bearing out certainly his idea that mere literature, with its graces of style and gentleness of theme, belonged to the effeminate past and was outworn unless it served as a representative of raw truth, about which nothing was common or unclean if it were really stark, unrelieved truth. These works are, accordingly, done in the only way Norris could work--in major key, in fortissimo, with themes of extraordinary variety presented with the vigor and swing of the Kipling manner.

The greatest of Norris's works is a trilogy, The Octopus, The Pit, and The Wolf, which was to depict "the epic of wheat, the allegory of financial and industrial America."¹ Only the first two books were finished, but they have an impressive power with the vastness of their theme, the unconfin ed sweep, that is Russian in its quality, and the elemental quality that seems to get at the base of things. The novelist's own excitement and enthusiasm reflect from every page, creating a feeling of ardor that is contagious. The whole continent seems to be in them; tremendous energy and truth and imagination interlace the pages of these two books.

Jack London, of all these young journalists, was the most enthusiastic and, contradictorily, the most reverent dis-

¹Fred Lewis Pattie, A History of American Literature Since 1870 (New York: The Century Company, 1915), p. 398.

ciple of the style of Kipling. He reveled in The Light That Failed and the Kipling stories and poems with an eager, constant delight, and the tremendous vitality and picturesqueness of the Kipling characters were qualities which were outstanding in his own later creations. Courage, particularly physical courage, physical stamina, a high, wide love of adventure, and the vigor and freshness found in Kipling, appealed to London's appreciation for the portrayal of virile, red-blooded masculinity.

No story that Kipling ever wrote was more adventurous than Jack London's own life. From his mother he inherited little more than emotional instability, but his father bequeathed him both physical and intellectual power and a certain intellectual intuitiveness and curiosity. His life is one long adventure, often sordid and almost always, in his early years, poverty-stricken; but often during this domestic and material depression, his virility and his intellectual zest sent his soul soaring to the very stars. Forced, when only a small lad, to supplement the pitifully meager family income, by selling papers and mowing lawns, he early acquired a sense of responsibility which held his adventurous spirit in bond. His early life was a constant struggle between this sense of responsibility and the burning desire for freedom and exciting, red-blooded adventure; and he vacillated between the two, now working like a beast for a mere pittance, and then flinging off all shackles, leaving the family to shift for it-

self, and rushing happily off to the excitement of the Alaskan gold rush, to trek to Washington with Coxey's army, to the hobo life of the road.

Always he wrote, took notes, studied intermittently at Oakland, California, High School and then at the University of California. He was a born story-teller; his words flowed, vigorous, fresh, often brutal, with a vitality that emphatically repudiated formerly accepted insincere, superficial standards; always with the thought, consciously or unconsciously, of his beloved Kipling in the back of his mind.

Elated as he was over a favorable comparison of his The Son of the Wolf, published in 1900 contemporaneously with Kipling's work, he was also angry because Kipling was not given what he thought proper evaluation, and he vented his anger in an article of direct reproof to the publishers of such sacrilege. The critical comment which aroused this diatribe was:

His (London's) stories are imbued with the poetry and mystery of the great north. The dominant note is always tragedy--in contrast to the formula of happy endings--as it always is where men battle with the elemental forces of Nature. He has brought to the comedy and tragedy of life in the Klondike much of the imaginative power and dramatic force of Kipling. But he has the tenderness of sentiment and a quick appreciation of the finer sentiments of heroism that are seldom seen in Kipling.²

His work is always brisk, vital, red-blooded. The very titles themselves are Kiplingesque: The Son of the Wolf, The Call of the Wild, White Fang, The White Silence.

²Irving Stone, "Sailor on Horseback," Saturday Evening Post, July 16, 1938, p. 53.

Richard Harding Davis, while not possessed of the intense zeal of Crane, the brutal realism of Norris, of the financial and emotional insecurity which make London's life such an interesting chapter in American literature, was nevertheless endowed with that same love of adventure which characterized these others of the "he-man" school. Editor, journalist extraordinary, most of his work, as is true of these others, possessed that outstanding characteristic of the newspaper man, the ability to sense the most exciting, most exhilarating experiences and hurl them straight into his readers' minds. He was an ubiquitous person, and managed--usually actually, sometimes vicariously--to savor the cream of all the most exciting things that happened during this most exciting period. Selections from his A Year from a Reporter's Note-Book, many of which articles had formerly appeared in periodicals, are accounts of events of world importance during 1896 and 1897. The titles themselves are themes from history--"The Coronation," "Cuba in War-Time," "The Inauguration," "The Queen's Jubilee."

In style, he is a true disciple of Kipling, lacking the scope and depth and perhaps the color, but with all the adventurous excitement, the glorification of vigor and action, and with perhaps an added mysticism. A copy of his short story, In the Fog, is a passport to adventure and excitement.

Samuel Langhorne Clemens, while not of this group and undoubtedly greater than the sum of all its members, should be mentioned here because of his attitude toward "culture" and be-

cause of one book which he wrote, Innocents Abroad. This is direct ridicule of the heretofore accepted ideas of Europe as the seat of all learning and culture, the Matthew Arnold idea of veneration of English and European antiquity as the basis of all worthwhile things, which was so eagerly received by credulous Americans during and following Arnold's lecture tour in America.

Innocents Abroad, an account of a journey to European and Asiatic countries, opened American eyes to the stupid acceptance of any statement regarding culture without once exercising one's own thinking apparatus. Clemens, who never had much respect for things classical or for the kind of culture advocated by Arnold, laughed with western breeziness at things which had heretofore been accepted as subjects for reverence rather than humor. Everything from the great European cathedrals to a Turkish lunch comes in as fit material for his satiric pen. He gives credit where credit is due, it is true, but very seldom does he find credit due.

Italian artists, he says, painted virgins and Popes enough, but they left untouched the broad field of Roman history. Anything relating to that must be looked for in books,

not among the rubbish left by the old masters-- who are no more, I have the satisfaction of informing the public.....They did paint, and they did carve in marble, one historical scene, and one only (of any great historical consequence). And what was it and why did they choose it, particularly? It was the Rape of the Sabines, and they chose it for the legs and busts.³

³Mark Twain, Innocents Abroad (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1899), Vol. II, p. 16.

Of the vault under the Capuchin Convent, which contains various decorations formed of the bones of monks dead for centuries, he irreverently observes:

Their different parts are well separated--skulls in one room, legs in another, ribs in another--there would be stirring times here for a while if the last trump should blow. Some of the brethren might get hold of the wrong leg, in the confusion, and the wrong skull, and find themselves limping, and looking through eyes that were wider apart or closer together than they were used to.⁴

He scorchingly denounces the Neapolitan upper classes for crowding by hundreds to the theatre to jeer and hiss at a former favorite, no longer young, whose beauty had faded with her voice. "What I saw their bravest and their fairest do last night, the lowest multitude that could be scraped up out of the purlieus of Christendom would blush to do, I think."⁵ In the famous Mosque of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, he can see nothing beautiful. "It is," he says, "the rustiest old barn in heathendom.....Everywhere was dirt and dust and dinginess and gloom.Nowhere was there anything to win one's love or challenge his admiration."⁶ This book is a direct denunciation of Matthew Arnold's gospel of culture, one of the attitudes against which the "cult of manliness" came as a reaction.

As a political representative of the "cult of manliness," Theodore Roosevelt was the idol of middle class America. Incorporating all the virtues of strength, virility, and clean-

⁴Ibid., p. 10.

⁵Ibid., p. 24.

⁶Ibid., p. 86.

liness in his own person, he had even stronger moral courage. Near-sighted, frail and asthmatic when a lad, he built his own superior strength of physique through a sheer indomitable will and perseverance. He was possessed of an unfailing sense of humor, the ability to remember faces and names, and a penchant for direct and vigorous action and leadership.

It was his organization and leadership of his famous "Rough Riders" which first made him a public hero. This company, organized in San Antonio by Roosevelt and Leonard Wood to fight in the war with Spain, was composed of cowboys, old Indian fighters, college men; in fact practically all professions and walks of life were represented. Under the vital and energetic leadership of so compelling a personality as Roosevelt, the renown of the Rough Riders became world-wide. The very name was synonymous with courage, daring, and red-blooded manhood. These were men who embodied all the characteristics possessed by Kipling's tremendously popular characters. Indeed, they might have walked directly out of one of Kipling's colorful tales. Their dominant leader possessed these qualities in a superlative degree. Newspaper stories and periodical articles enhanced such characteristics. Punch (London) pictured him on a rocky promontory, astride a big heavily-muscled horse, with jagged, dark rocks in the background. He was dressed in the uniform of the Rough Riders; gauntlets, a knotted kerchief around his neck, a cartridge belt around his waist, and wearing the familiar big hat with the dented crown

affected by the Rough Riders. His saddle blanket was an American flag. The caption was "The Rough Rider."

The public took him to its collective and usually fickle heart, but a heart never fickle to Roosevelt. Besides being possessed of those qualities which constituted what was, in the public mind, at least, "noble American manhood," he appealed to their sentiment. He was, with them, and sincerely so, a part of a great brotherhood of man. "When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable prerequisite to success in the kind of national life for which we are to strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him; but each man must remember also that he is indeed his brother's keeper, and that, while no man who refuses to walk can be carried with advantage to himself or anyone else, yet each at times stumbles or halts, each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him."⁷

In his activities as president after he, as vice-president, took office following the assassination of President McKinley in September, 1901, he upset conservative traditions. He intervened, without authority, in a coal strike and made gains for the workers; he prosecuted the Northern Securities Company, a procedure distinctly against tradition; he investigated the Post Office administration and uncovered fraud; he investigated the administration of public lands and, as a re-

⁷Charles A. Beard, Contemporary American History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 258.

sult, criminally prosecuted two United States senators.

He advocated the primitive, elemental virtues of honesty, sobriety, industry and self-restraint. Always he stood for a righteous cause, and damned dishonesty and dissimulation. Best of all, he was a soldier, a strong aggressive man of action who loved fighting for a noble cause. He declared that aggressive fighting for the right to be the noblest sport the world affords. These primitive virtues were so pronounced in the man that they were largely used to secure his election to the presidency in the campaign of 1904.

Republican leaders exhibited Mr. Roosevelt as the ideal American in a superlative degree. "Theodore Roosevelt's character....is no topic for differences of opinion or for party controversy. It is without mystery or concealment. It has the primary qualities that in all ages have been admired and respected: physical prowess, great energy and vitality, straight-forwardness and moral courage, promptness in action, talent for leadership."⁸

This was a man's man, endowed with those qualities so important to the public mind during the Kipling vogue in America.

Distinctly paralleling the rise of the "cult of manliness" and the consequent furor over Kipling in America was the imperialistic policy pursued by the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The extent of influence that this imperialism had upon the public taste for Kipling and Kipling's own work is problematical. It is more logical to assume that Kipling influenced Imperialism than vice-versa, inasmuch as many of his stories and poems glorifying the strength and vastness of the British army, colonies,

⁸Ibid., p. 226.

rulers, and people in general were published a decade before American expansion began or English expansion received a new impetus. It was in 1886 that Departmental Ditties was published; from 1887-1889 appeared Plain Tales from the Hills, Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black and White, Under the Deodars, The Phantom Rickshaw, and Wee Willie Winkie. At the time of the Boer War in South Africa Great Britain's imperialistic policies received a great impetus, and a frenzy of nationalism was reached in the colorful Jubilee of the English people, in 1897. In the meantime Kipling was swinging along quite in step with the emotional trend of imperial expansion; so consequently there is no doubt that Kipling literature which was so popular in America served as a mighty stimulation for the aggressive, though short-lived, imperialistic movement which began in America with the Spanish-American War. It would be a far-fetched assumption, indeed, to declare that imperialism had no cause except the encouragement of a novelist and poet, but it is quite reasonable to say that such a man pointed the way to a national policy by unconscious literary suggestions.

The actual conditions which made American imperialism necessary were the increased advancement of manufacturing and commerce and the resultant relegation of agriculture to the background. This ascendancy of manufacturing created a demand for markets for manufactured goods, and in turn the necessity for opportunities to invest surplus American capital. What better way than colonization to create markets? America felt that

she was faced with the alternative of creating such markets or of economic over-supply and consequent depression. This was the actual cause of American imperialism; Kipling was the inciter, by pictured example.

As early as 1844 there were evidences of American imperialism. In that year America, in the interests of the development of American commercial interests in the orient, sent Caleb Cushing to China to negotiate trade treaties, and again, in 1854, Commodore Perry's little visit to Japan opened that country to American trade and commerce. There was no attempt to gain territory then; America asked only for trade expansion; she had had no example set before her. In the summer of 1900, at the time of the Boxer insurrection at Peking, the United States had sufficient economic interest in China to warrant the employment of American soldiers in cooperation with Russian, English, French, Japanese, and other contingents, although she had not attempted to follow the examples of Great Britain, Russia, France, and Germany in seizing Chinese territory. This policy resulted in the development of amity between China and the United States, and the increased progress of American trade and commerce in the orient.

It required the Spanish War, the reign of Theodore Roosevelt, and the acquisition of insular dependencies, however, to make imperialism a definite political issue and to secure the frank acknowledgment of the new emphasis on world policy which economic interests revealed as necessary. This Spanish War re-

sulted in a treaty advantageous to American interests. The terms of this treaty, framed December 10, 1898, were as follows:

The independence of Cuba, the cession of Porto Rico, Guam, and the Phillippines to the United States, the cancellation of the claims of the citizens of the two countries against each other, the United States undertaking to settle the claims of its citizens against Spain, the payment of twenty milliam dollars for the Phillipines by the United States, and the determination of the civil and political status of the inhabitants of the ceded territories by Congress.⁹

In addition to the acquisition of this territory Congress realized the importance of the Hawaiian Islands, and they were annexed to the United States by joint resolution on July 6, 1898, after Kipling's stories of empire had showed the way for ten years.

After measuring the extent of the popularity and influence of Kipling in America during the period in which American imperialism and the "cult of manliness" reached their height, it will be the writer's purpose to study Kipling's works with a view to determining the extent to which their popularity was due to their accurate reflection of ideas already current in America.

.....

⁹Ibid., p. 214.

CHAPTER III

THE EXTENT OF THE KIPLING VOGUE IN AMERICA

In establishing the extent of Kipling's popularity in America during the late eighteen-nineties and early nineteen-hundred, it is obvious that the number of editions of his works and the attention which he received in periodical literature constitute a fair barometer. Added to this is the fact of his idealization by a heretofore too virtuous American public which rejected the works of American writers who exercised much more discretion in the selection of moral characteristics of their brain children than did Kipling--American writers who were rejected because of what the Americans called moral indiscretion. Then, too, Kipling satisfied the American craving for the pathetic. He also satisfied the unconscious desire for vigorous characters, a desire which was a revolt against the four trends of American thought discussed in a preceding chapter. In addition, he pleased the imperialists by heartily approving of their ideas and actions, and, most significant fact, he lived in America for a number of years, and wrote stories of and for Americans.

The amount of Kipling's works published during this period and up to 1912 is prodigious. Publishers vied for anything written by the versatile Englishman, for his enormous popularity assured a quick sale and redounding credit to the publisher of his work. Volumes of Kipling were on every bookshelf, and they did not remain there to collect dust, but were

eagerly read by everybody in the family, from the young son who gloried in the strength and resourcefulness of Kipling's heroes to the senile grandfather to whom Kipling brought back golden youth and glorious achievement. That such sensations were vicarious did not lessen the excitement. Imagined pleasures are often more intense than factual ones.

Prior to 1912, Kipling's American publishers numbered twenty-eight and the editions published ran to one hundred and forty-five. The works published range from the lavish edition of his works put out by Scribner's and, later, by Doubleday, to elaborate editions of single poems. They include novels, short stories, poetry, notes on travel, and children's stories from the author's versatile pen. Caldwell, Fenno, and Lamb published a ten-volume edition, and Burt printed two editions of selected works in five volumes. Of his publishers, Doubleday, formerly McClure's, is responsible for more than twice as many editions as any other publisher. The publishers, with the number of editions of Kipling's works, of one kind or another, which they put into circulation, are as follows: Doubleday, thirty-two; Altemus, fourteen; Hurst, eleven; Burt, ten; Caldwell, nine; Crowell, nine; Rand, nine; Brentano's, seven; Dodge, six; Donohue, five; Winston, five; Ogilvie, four; Century, three; Street, three; Fenno, two; Barse and Hopkins, two; Grossett, two; Estes, two; Lamb, one; Reilly and B, one; Sherman, French and Company, one; De Wolfe, one; Rickey, one; McLoughlin, one; Bartlett, one; Dutton, one; Stokes, one; and

Scribner, one.¹

In periodical literature, the interest in Kipling shows a decided gain from 1900 to 1904, the era in which his popularity was at white heat. This was, too, the period during which the cult of "manliness" and the rise of American imperialism reached its zenith. Prior to 1900, sixty-two, poems, stories, or articles by or about Kipling were published in eighteen American magazines. The Critic and Living Age led with six such articles or poems each; McClure's and the Bookman, each had five; Atlantic, Book Buyer, and Eclectic Magazine, each had four; Review of Reviews, Century and Arena, each had two; and Fortnightly, Outlook, National, Forum, Nation, now World, and New England Magazine, each had one.²

In the period from 1900 to 1904 there were one hundred and thirteen such publications, these including not only stories, poems, and articles, but also one novel--Kim, in McClure's, and notes and essays. Included were twenty-five poems, several child stories published in The Ladies Home Journal, and numerous articles on various phases of Kipling's life and works, with much space devoted to reviews of his works. Twenty-nine magazines are represented. The Bookman heads the list with fifteen such publications; Current Literature has fourteen;

¹Marion E. Potter et al (eds.), The United States Catalog (Minneapolis and New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1912), pp. 1370-71.

²Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1815-1899, p. 416.

The Outlook has nine; The Ladies Home Journal has eight; Athenaeum has seven; McClure's, Harper's, Independent and Critic each have six; Living Age, Dial, Atlantic, Nation, Scribner's, Cosmopolitan, Overland, and Contemporary have two each; and Century, Book Buyer, Fortnightly, International Studio, Lamp, Catholic World, Reader, Canadian Magazine, and Lippincott's have one each.³ This takes into account only articles in leading magazines, and does not attempt to measure references to Kipling in lesser magazines, or in articles not strictly about Kipling. Neither does it take into account the prodigious amount of Kipling material in newspapers which appeared during this period. By 1904, then, one hundred and seventy-five works by or about Kipling had been published in leading magazines in the United State. Beer says that before 1896--when he was only ascending the mountain of his unprecedented popularity, "he was mentioned or quoted in at least five hundred tales and essays in the magazines."⁴

R. Thurston Hopkins has made a list of caricatures, photographs, and various drawing of Kipling which appeared in leading American and English periodicals and newspapers. Prior to 1904, there were twenty-two such photographs, caricatures, or drawings. One, from the New York Herald of April 15, 1899, represents Kipling making an heroic effort to acknowledge the thousands of congratulations showered upon him after he recov-

³Ibid., 1900-1904, p. 794.

⁴Beer, op. cit., p. 252.

ered from a serious illness. Another, widely printed in America and showing America's keen disappointment at the selection of Robert Bridges as English Poet Laureate instead of Kipling, portrays Britannia as a small, stumbling, blind creature with a staff and lantern, unable to see the towering figure of Kipling, in spite of brilliant sun rays from the background.⁵

Another evidence of Kipling's stupendous popularity in America was the acceptance of liquor-drinking soldiers and "bad" women as characters about whom anyone could safely read. This was indeed a concession when we recall that the people who heaped lavish praise on Kipling's head were the very people who, a few short years before, had damned to an early and very blistering literary hades such books as Stephen Crane's Maggie, a Girl of the Streets and Frank Norris' McTeague. These were the very people who had risen in virtuous arms against the mere mention of intoxicating liquors in literature. These were the people who had raised shocked and disbelieving eyes at the idea that a prostitute house really existed. These were the people who said that drink was a thing which no "nice" person should recognize as existing, and that "whore" was a word that simply did not exist and therefore was not fit for Americans to view in print. These were the self-same people who had criticized the Victorian Tennyson's line in "The Miller's Daughter"--"over the walnuts and the wine,"--because a spiritous liquor was mentioned. Yet these very people allowed Kipling to mention the

⁵Rudyard Kipling (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1915), pp. 299-303.

shapelessness of a pregnant Cockney woman, howling in the street with naked breasts. They permitted subalterns to flirt outrageously with married women, take their whisky neat, and gamble indiscriminately. They permitted married women to flirt injudiciously back at the subalterns, and frequently get into scandalous situations as a consequence. They not only tolerated, but saw nothing wrong in references to women of ill repute.

Latun, of the world's most ancient profession, jested with her lovers in the gay room on the city wall and had the approval of Mr. Theodore Childs, who, elsewhere, saw, regretfully, that American writers, were attempting to introduce "depraved women, subjects for pity but not for literature," into the national fiction. The reporter passed through Indian slums and hauled out shadows of white women sold to the Hindu; Vice, draped in jewels, salaamed from her doorway. Salty words cropped everywhere on the verbal structure of the spreading illusion. Cheers for the sergeant's weddin' ! Give 'em one cheer more. Grey gun 'orses to the lando, and a rogue is married to an 'ore!⁶

Yet Americans swallowed all this and cried long and loudly for more.

Kipling's stupendous popularity was also due to what George Augustus Sala, through Sismondi, calls "an uncultivated hunger for pathetics."⁷ Kipling is not sentimental in the modern connotation of the word, but his pathos, sometimes subtle, sometimes simple and direct, appealed to a people who will elect a man to a high office because he speaks euphoniously and prates sentimental platitudes about God and motherhood and the common man. He fulfilled their hunger for "pathetics," and paraded

⁶Beer, op. cit., p. 251.

⁷Ibid., p. 107.

before their eager eyes a glittering column of men who did and dared, and suffered, and of women who also did and dared, in a very different way, and also suffered. Americans found in Kipling glitter and vice and "pathetics" all in one, and all at such a safe distance, too.

Then, he met the unspoken, only half-conscious wish of Americans who were sick of the sugary Alcott formula, of the too pure Victorianism of Tennyson, of estheticism, and of Arnoldian "culture." He produced manly, vigorous characters who would have been as out of place in an Alcott story as the very Devil himself, whom Tennyson would have regarded in shocked disbelief, at whom Oscar Wilde would have hurled brilliant, cutting epigrams, and who were distinctly foreign to the "sweetness and light" of Matthew Arnold. Here were characters who had an intense desire for living, who went out "for to admire an' for to see," who, like 'Omer, went out and took what they wanted and needed, "the same as me," said Kipling. He might have added, "and the same as you," for American individuals, vicariously, of course, went out "for to admire an' for to see" and also for to take, he-man fashion, what they required. Kipling was a new voice, a new language, and he was forceful enough to create an atmosphere of almost physical violence. He sang songs of healthy manhood, and the love of the masculine life is the impelling motif which runs through all of his works. He insists on a clean life and a dangerous and courageous one.

This same seeing and taking was practiced by American politics and government, but not vicariously. Kipling added largely to popular feeling with his imperialistic doctrines and ideas; and America went out "for to see" the East, found it to her liking, and cut off a sizeable slice for herself in both territory and trade. It is no wonder that Kipling's imperialism increased his enormous popularity. Aggressors, whether individuals or nations, like to be assured that they are acting ethically in taking something that might not belong to them. Assurance stills a troublesome conscience which is sometimes rash enough to raise a questioning eyebrow. Kipling not only assured America that she was right; he even told her it was her duty to guide the poor, benighted heathen. In "The White Man's Burden," widely published during the rise of English and American imperialism, he placed the whole burden of world guidance and enlightenment on Anglo-Saxon shoulders. Of course he was popular with American imperialists.

Another factor looming very large in Kipling's American popularity was his marriage to an American girl and his four-year residence in America, which would very probably have continued until his death except for a quarrel with his brother-in-law. His wife was Caroline Balestier, sister of Wolcott Balestier, whom Kipling had met in London. Kipling and Balestier became close friends and wrote, in collaboration, The Naulahka. When Balestier died in 1891, Caroline was with him. Kipling married her in 1892, moved to Vermont, bought

twelve acres, and built a home which he christened "Naulahka." Undoubtedly he intended to make this his future residence. He liked America and Americans. The long, cold winters, the brisk air, the snow-laden pines, the long, white hills were exciting to the India-born Englishman after the heat and mysticism and stench of the Orient. Now, to add to an already intense popular feeling, he wrote stories of America. He glorified American impulsiveness and championed Americans against European condescension. The Seven Seas, Many Inventions, The First Jungle Book, and The Second Jungle Book were written in Vermont. The material for Captains Courageous was gathered along New England's own seacoast. Kim, one of the greatest of his works, appeared in that most American magazine, McClure's. The few weak voices of criticism died away completely, and Kipling's mastery of American popular sentiment was complete. KIPLING was flung in twenty-four sheet letters across the public mind.

His sudden departure for England in 1896 was the result of a quarrel with his brother-in-law, Beatty Balestier, the scapegrace of the Balestier family, over a few acres of land which Beatty sold to Kipling. Beatty became enraged when he discovered that he would not always be allowed to take the hay that grew on this land, because Mrs. Kipling was going to turn it into a formal garden. A law-suit resulted, and Kipling, disgusted with his brother-in-law's injustice and worthlessness, and with washing the family's dirty linen in

public, left suddenly for England, and never returned to America to live, although he did make other visits. Much of his later bitterness toward America and Americans was the result of this unpleasantness, but in spite of his bitter quarrel with an American and his sudden leave-taking, his enshrinement in the American mind continued for many years.⁸

.....

⁸Frederic F. Van de Water, "Rudyard Kipling's Feud," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1937, p. 569.

CHAPTER IV
THE POPULAR RECEPTION OF KIPLING'S POETRY
IN AMERICA

That Kipling's poetry expresses a vigorous though unpremeditated reaction against the trends of American thought prevalent in the late eighteen-eighties and early nineties--against the "culture" of Matthew Arnold, the spirituality and other-world romanticism of Tennyson, the estheticism of Oscar Wilde, and the aggressive, sentimental feminism typified by the Frances E. Willard and Louisa M. Alcott schools--is evident from an examination of the three volumes of poetry which were largely responsible for the Kipling vogue in America. These three volumes are Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses, The Five Nations, and The Seven Seas. None the less evident is the fact that Kipling is by far the largest literary figure, and consequently the authentic voice, of the contemporary "he-man" cult and the "strenuous life" ideology, as well as the contemporary and parallel phenomenon of "imperialism."

Though his poetry was not addressed exclusively, or even immediately, to an American public, it could hardly have been a more complete expression of the dominant American mood at the time. According to popular conception, Kipling did not conform at all to the traditional American idea of the Britisher (for whom in America at that time--as a result of the Boer war and other irritating incidents--there was no great degree of admiration). Kipling's democracy was unquestioned. He was pre-

eminently a man's man. His cockney dialect could be readily translated into the salty idiom of the American vernacular. His ideas and sentiments waked a ready response from the man in the street. His themes were often a tribute to the heroic achievements of men whose deeds had not hitherto been celebrated in song or story. It is hardly surprising, therefore, especially since he had married an American wife, and was actually residing in America, that Kipling should have been taken to the American heart with the warmth and enthusiasm which is characteristic of the country. It is proposed in this chapter to show how Kipling's poetry caught the popular fancy because it gave homely and vigorous expression to ideas and sentiments which at that time were uppermost in the American mind.

Kipling's poetry is in direct contrast to the "sweetness and light" ideology of Matthew Arnold. The standards and values of the two men are as wide apart as the poles. Matthew Arnold was all for the domination of beauty and intelligence--sweetness and light--in the lives not only of a chosen few, but of everyone. He spent his life in attempting to teach man that the only perfect life is one in which culture prevails. The flaw in his philosophy lies in his too ardent faith in an ideal. Man being what he is, only a relatively select few have the capacity for "sweetness and light." Kipling, on the other hand, is unconcerned with "the best that has been known and thought in the world." The principal motivating forces in his poems are a love of the vigorous, the adventurous, the courageous life, and the ardent championship of a glorious Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

Arnold's theory of culture for all men presupposes a certain amount of education, particularly in literature, art, and music, and a continued interest in these phases of life. If the best that has been said, and thought, and conceived and sung in the world is to prevail, then men must first know what the best is, in order to set a standard. Arnold also presupposes a relatively high standard of intelligence in all men, since this is necessary to the acquisition of such knowledge. Kipling's characters had no desire to know what the best is, and many of them were not blessed with the ability to acquire that knowledge if such a desire had been present. Arnold's acquirers of "sweetness and light" must necessarily have books to read, time and place in which to read them, and quiet and peaceful surroundings in which to assimilate the best things that have been conceived in the world. Kipling's poetic heroes had neither books, time, inclination, nor ability for such study. But they were endowed with what was far more important to American public sentiment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries--vigor, manly courage, and a spirit of adventure.

This manly courage and spirit of vigorous adventure are quite evident in much of Kipling's poetry. One has only to glance through a volume of his poems concerning the life of the British soldier and sailor to find innumerable instances of it. The very impersonal attitude of the fighting man is in itself a badge of courage. Heat, inadequate food, bad water, fever and cholera, agonizing wounds, probable death, are all a matter of course for the British fighting man in a constant war

to maintain the strongholds of English imperialism. He is proud to fight and die for the Empire. In Kipling's poetry we find classic examples of these Empire-builders and maintainers. There are all types, from Lord Dufferin, of "One Viceroy Resigns," who, on resigning his viceroy-ship to Lord Lansdowne, looks back on years of struggle and gambling his own opinion against long odds, to see

.....The North
Safeguarded--nearly.....
A country twice the size of France annexed--1

to the drunken Tommy of "Cells" who is thrown in the "clink" for being "drunk and resisting the guard."² The life of battle is portrayed in many poems, notable among them being "Gunga Din," "Snarleyow," "The Widow's Party," and "That Day." Others portray all phases of the soldier's hard life--the heart-breaking long marches of "Columns," "Boots," and "Troopin'," the tavern spree in "Belts," the contempt of enlisted men for the unknowing authorities who sit at shiney desks and give orders, as in "The Instructor," the stench and fatality of the cholera as in "Cholera Camp," the wild delirium of fever as in "La Nuit Blanche," the poor rations and bad water as in "The Widow's Party." Even in the lighter poems dealing with social life among England's "foreign contingent," we are aware of a background of strength and indomitable will. Love and life laugh

¹Rudyard Kipling, Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses, Vol. III, p. 118, of The Works of Rudyard Kipling (Mandalay ed., Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1927), p. 118.

²Ibid., p. 159.

lightly, for tomorrow they may die. Such poems are "A Code of Morals," "The Lover's Litany," "A Ballade of Jakko Hill," and "The Fall of Jock Gillespie."

The native soldiers who fight and die for their adopted Empress are also endowed with these same manly qualities. One such example is found in "The Grave of the Hundred Dead." The men of the First Shikaris demand and collect the price of one hundred heads of the enemy as the price of their English Subaltern's death. They swear that their Sahib shall go to his God

With fifty file of Burman
To open him Heaven's gate.³

Another example of the courageous native is Gunga Din, the regimental water-carrier, of whom the soldier says,

Of all them black-faced crew
The finest man I knew
Was our regimental bhisti, Gung Din.⁴

This love of the adventurous, the vigorous life is also the motif of the many Kipling ballads, whether of fighting men or mere adventurers. Examples are "The Rhyme of the Three Captains," "The Ballad of the 'Clampherdown'," "The Merchantmen," "The Rhyme of the Three Sealers," and "The Ballad of Fisher's Boarding-House," where gathered Jake Without-the-Ears, Carboy Gin, the Guinea cook, the lean Bostonian, Salem Hardieker, and Hans, the Blue-eyed Dane.

Kipling's insistence on a clean, vigorous, active life

³Ibid., p. 94.

⁴Ibid., p. 161.

in the present is, likewise, a contrast to the spirituality of Tennyson. The gods of Kipling's characters, when they are mentioned at all, are varied and fearful and very real.

Tennyson's religion, on the other hand, is not a blind faith in an awful God on a golden throne, but a much deeper belief in the ultimate domination of man's finer spiritual nature over his base, animal instincts. Kipling writes of the material; Tennyson is the poet of spirituality.

Kipling's gods are more often than not the awful gods of the natives. In "The Sacrifice of Er-Heb," the fearful god of Taman exacts a human sacrifice before he will remove the plague from the tribe. Little Supi-Yaw-Lat of "Mandalay" worships "the Great Gawd Budd." There is no spiritual conception of God as an abstract goodness, which we find in Tennyson. God is a very real person who exacts harsh tribute for any offenses.

Kipling's soldiers sometimes think of God, and here, too, He is a fearful figure. Sometimes His anger is vented on them because of their lack of proper consideration for Him, or because of their straying upon the primrose path. Usually, however, He occupies a small place in their dangerous lives. They have small time to meditate on the inner meaning of life, even if they were possessed of the capacity for such thought. They are more concerned with dodging a native bullet or escaping the cholera, or withstanding the deadly heat; and their escape is usually celebrated in subservience to raw liquor and

the flesh pots. A vigorous life is not conducive to spiritual meditation. Such meditation comes only with an atmosphere of quiet and peace, and only to those endowed with intellectual intuition and a fairly high intelligence. An objective and impartial observation of spiritual forces is not common to the average man.

Kipling's own conception of God seems to have been a fearful one. God will be patient within limits, but will tolerate no encroachments beyond such limits. His God is a very real, demanding, and awful Deity, who, nevertheless, can sympathize with the soldier or the man who does his work well, and, finally, will see that justice is meted out to the deserving. He is a "Jehovah of the Thunders," who is harsh toward transgressors but ultimately just. In "L'Envoi," Kipling gives full credit to his God for anything worthwhile accomplished by his-- Kipling's--hands. He says,

If there be good in that I wrought,
They hand compelled it, Master, Thine;
Where I have failed to meet Thy thought
I know, through Thee, the blame is mine.⁵

His "Recessional" is a prayer to an awful God for forgiveness for spiritual neglect in favor of material gain. It is a warning to nations that had largely lost sight of God in the mad scramble for power and glory. He pleads for "an humble and a contrite heart" instead of the desire for gain.

The other-world romanticism of Tennyson concerns Kipling not at all. In "The Idylls of the King," Tennyson finds beauty

⁵Life's Handicap, Works of Kipling, XXV, 364.

and intensity in the symbolism of medieval life; Kipling's portrayal is of a life that is often crude and coarse, but very concrete and very much in the present. Tennyson looks on past beauties and perfections; Kipling's eye is always toward a raw present and an exciting future. Tennyson is highly romantic; Kipling is often brutally realistic. When he is romantic, it is not the deep spiritual and mystical romanticism of Tennyson, but a realistic romanticism that finds interesting the human strengths and frailties. Tennyson looks at life with a rapt face gazing heavenward; Kipling regards it with a cocked eyebrow and a twisted mouth. Tennyson believes in the triumph of the inherent goodness of man; Kipling thinks that most good deeds are insincere and only the result of seeking after material possessions--a fat political appointment, wealth, a woman. His brain children are vitally concerned with the present. There is the soldier in "The Young British Soldier" whose fatalistic instructor gives him the final warning word:

When you're wounded and left on Afghanistan's plains,
And the women come out to cut up what remains,
Jest roll to your rifle and blow out your brains,
An' go to your Gawd like a soldier.⁶

Even the poor galley-slave lived and loved vividly in the present, and thanked God that he had lived and toiled with men. The gallant crew of the "Clampherdown," the explorer, the yankee captain of the thieving sealer, Hans, the blue-eyed Dane, O'Kelly, who rode "Hell-for-leather" and didn't care whether he lived or died--Kipling's poetry is filled with men

⁶Ibid., p. 180.

and women who lived for the present and seldom looked back.

No other author is farther removed from the tenets of estheticism and decadence which dominated Oscar Wilde and his contemporaries in the latter part of the nineteenth century than is Kipling. His poetry is a distinct reaction against the artificiality, the femininity of the decadents. Oscar Wilde and his contemporaries loved the bright night-life of the big city; Kipling's characters take to the hard, adventurous life of barracks and battle-field. The decadents liked excellent wines drunk in lavish apartments rich in silks and scented down; Kipling's characters take raw liquor from a bottle in rough barracks, or homely beer served by a comely barmaid in an uproarious tavern. The decadents liked their visits to the flesh-pots swathed in jewelled splendor; Kipling's characters never let the "mutter of the dying" spoil the lover's kiss. The decadents made the constant search for beauty a large part of their creed; the British Tommy caught a glimpse of beauty only rarely, and then he seldom understood it.

The decadents were almost feminine in their love of luxury. On the other hand, the British soldier of Kipling's poetry would never have lived down the ridicule and derision of the least trace of femininity. Such traits were sneered at as being unworthy of a soldier of the Queen, God bless 'Er! Sights and sounds and smells which would cause a woman to blanch and faint are all taken, sometimes pleasantly, in the stride of the soldier. The driver in "Snarleyow" looks on impassively as his

brother, mortally wounded and in agony, is killed to put an end to his suffering, for

You 'aven't got no families when servin' of the Queen.⁷

In "The Young British Soldier," the recruit is warned thus:

If you're cast for fatigue by a sergeant unkind,
Don't grouse like a woman nor crack on nor blind.⁸

In "The Ballad of Boh Da Thone," the captain's wife faints when the grinning head of the Boh rolls from its wrappings on to the snowy cloth of the captain's breakfast table; but the captain, gazing at it grimacing among the shining silver, is pleasantly transported to past days of stench and bloody battle, and even flings a pensive pleasantry to the mortal remains of the Boh.⁹

That Kipling had an utter contempt for the softness and indolence of the decadents is evident upon examination of any of his poems depicting the vigorous British Tommy, who, through sweat and blood, keeps the British flag waving gloriously over England's far-flung Empire. The soldier takes the faith, the fevers, the short rations, the long marches, and the bitter fighting all in the day's work. Hardships are a part of his life. Kipling introduces the horrible details of the soldier's life with as much sangfroid as Oscar Wilde employed when leveling his barbed wit at an enemy. "Gunga Din," in praise of the regimental water-carrier, gives revolting details of battle, details which were every-day occurrences in the life of the soldier.

⁷Ibid., p. 172.

⁸Ibid., p. 179.

⁹Ibid., p. 228.

The British Tommy's wound is not given first aid treatment; it is "plugged." The water is described as "green and crawlin'," and it "stunk."¹⁰ In "Snarleyow," one of the wheels of the wagon is "juicy" because it has just been driven over a fatally wounded man to end his misery.¹¹ In "The Widow's Party," Johnnie says the soldiers' food and drink consisted of

Standing water as thick as ink,

 A bit o' beef that were three year stored,
 A bit o' mutton as tough as a board,
 And a fowl we killed with a sergeant's sword.¹²

Apropos of the battle, he adds,

And some was sliced and some was halved,
 And some was crimped and some was carved,¹²
 And some was gutted and some was starved.

In spite of all this suffering and hardship, however, the soldier, when asked what good came of such carnage, says, "What did we do?"

We broke a King and we built a road--
 A court-house stands where the reg'ment goed.
 And the river's clean where the raw blood flowed.¹²

Always arrogance and belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxons over other peoples cause the British Tommy to think his life gloriously spent if spent in serving his country.

Kipling's attitude toward women is a distinct revolt against the aggressive, domineering feminism of the eight-nineties and early nineteen-hundreds. Many of his poems exclude women completely, and tell of a manly life in the barracks and in battle; while in the poems in which women play a part he

¹⁰Ibid., p. 161.

¹¹Ibid., p. 170.

¹²Ibid., pp. 186-7.

relegates them almost to the position occupied by the feminine element in ancient and medieval life. He does not believe in a single standard of conduct, and his double standard places the so-called weaker sex in a far inferior position to that of her lord and master. Kipling's attitude toward the feminine sex is almost pugnacious. His insistence upon a clean and courageous life for men tends to place women in a very minor, almost degrading position of inferiority. He looks upon woman as a fickle, stupid, senseless piece of humanity, necessary to man but unworthy of any very great consideration. Woman ranks only slightly higher than man's other possessions--his horse, his dog, and his gun. In "The Betrothed," the male prefers a good cigar to the lady of his heart. Kipling's attitude toward women is seen in a relatively few poems scattered throughout his three volumes of poetry. In his chief patriotic poems and his verses on various phases of the soldier's life, woman plays no part at all.

Perhaps the lowest plane to which Kipling consigns woman is depicted in his poem, "The Vampire." This poem, which was suggested by a picture by Burne-Jone, Kipling's kinsman, portrays the woman in the poem as not only brutally selfish and inconsiderate, but also stupid and fickle. She not only is incapable of returning the love of the man who loves her, but also has no conception of the depths of his love for her. As a crowning insult, Kipling dubs her

.....A rag and a bone and a hank of hair.¹³

The pensive hero of "The Betrothed," after meditating at length on the relative merits of a cigar and of his fiancée, decides in favor of the cigar. Maggie, the woman in the case, is a pretty and loving lass, he says, but the loveliest women fade and the truest loves die, whereas a cigar is always faithful. Then, too, when a cigar is old and burnt away, it can be thrown away and another selected; but Maggie can never be cast aside for a younger and lovelier woman. In addition, the world is full of women who are not only willing but eager to marry. In conclusion he says:

A million surplus Maggies are willing to bear the yoke;
And a woman is only a woman; but a good cigar is a smoke.¹⁴

The cigar wins.

In "Certain Maxims of Hafiz" a father gives cynical and worldly advice to his son regarding women and marriage. Warning him against entangling alliances, he says:

Pleasant the snaffle of Courtship, improving the manners
and carriage;
But the colt who is wise will abstain from the terrible
thorn-bit of marriage.¹⁵

The young man is warned against women who suddenly become gracious. Perhaps it is not all for the man who receives her favors, but only to make another jealous. The father tells the son that the woman who pleads that she is misunderstood should

¹³Rudyard Kipling, Barrack-Room Ballads and Departmental Ditties (New York: Grosset and Dunlap), p. 156.

¹⁴Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, 82.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 102.

be shunned as if she had a plague. Finally, he warns against the woman who, after long refusal, eventually capitulates to the young man's pleas:

My Son, if maiden deny thee and scufflingly bid
 thee give o'er,
 Yet lip meets lip at the lastward--get out! She has
 been there before,
 They are pecked on the ear and the chin and the nose
 who are lacking in lore.¹⁶

In a few short poems from Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses, Kipling portrays woman as a flirtatious, fickle person who would sell her soul or her husband's secrets for attention and flattery. "Army Head-Quarters" tells the story of Ahasuerus Jenkins, indolent, a bit queer, but musical, and of Cornelia Agrippina, also musical, and fat. Through attention to Cornelia and lavish praise of her very mediocre voice, Ahasuerus secures an easy job on double pay. This is effected through Cornelia's influence with her husband, the head of a department.¹⁷ Another short poem, "Delilah," concerns Delilah Aberyswith--"not too young"--and Ulysses Gunne, journalist. Ulysses flatters Delilah with attention and lavish compliments, and she communicates to him an important governmental secret. His instant disclosure of the information results in a scandal and the recall of the Viceroy.¹⁸ "Pink Dominoes" tells of a contretemps which resulted because two women wear identical costumes to a masked ball. One is the be-

¹⁶Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 13.

trothed of the young man who tells the story; the other is the wife of Sir Julian Vouse, the "big political gun." In the garden, the young man ardently caresses a girl in a pink domino, thinking it is his Jenny. He finds the pink domino very willing. He discovers his mistake, and the next morning he finds out who wore the other pink domino. He says:

Sir J. was old, and her hair was gold,
And her eye was a blue cerulean;
And the name she said when she turned her head
Was not in the least like "Julian."¹⁹

The young man is appointed to a more desirable position by the "big political gun."

Though Kipling hardly ever in his poetry allows white women to act from motives of goodness and unselfishness, he is almost always sympathetic in his portrayal of native Indian women. The soldier in "Mandalay" expresses tenderness for the little native Supi-Yaw-Lat, and longs to get away from the English housemaids who "talks a lot o' lovin'" but understand little. He yearns for "a neater, sweeter maiden in a cleaner, greener land."²⁰ In "The Last Sutte," the dead king's queen, disguised as a dancing girl, passes through English guards placed in the palace grounds to prevent the ancient custom of suttee and goes to fling herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.²¹ In "With Scindia to Delhi," a beggar-girl selflessly follows to battle and dies with the Indian prince whom she

¹⁹Ibid., p. 33.

²⁰Ibid., p. 183.

²¹Ibid., p. 207.

loves.²² In "The Sacrifice of Er-Heb," Bisesa, a maiden plighted to the chier in war, sacrifices herself to save the tribe for a terrible sickness.²³ In "The Song of the Women," a paean of love and gratitude from the women of India to Lady Dufferin for her fund for their medical aid, the native women are portrayed as tender, kind, patient, and deeply grateful for service done them.²⁴ On the whole, Kipling has been much kinder in his portrayal of native women than in his representation of the women of his own race.

In only a few poems does he attach any importance to utterly depraved women. They are often mentioned or suggested, but the story seldom revolves around them. In "The Ballad of Fisher's Boarding-House", we meet Anne of Austria, who came

To eat the bread of infamy
And take the wage of shame.²⁵

She also caused the death of Hans, the blue-eyed Dane, and looted his body of his silver crucifix. "The Sergeant's Wedding" tells of the sergeant's marriage to a woman of ill repute, while his fellow soldiers, who knew her not wisely but too well, cough discreetly behind their hands. However, the sergeant's standing is little better. According to the raconteur,

.....a rogue is married to an 'ore.²⁶

²²Ibid., p. 222.

²³Ibid., p. 253.

²⁴Ibid., p. 77.

²⁵Ibid., p. 70.

²⁶The Seven Seas, Works of Kipling, IV, 327.

In a few poems we find his cynicism toward femininity made evident in one or two lines. In "The Mare's Nest" we get a fairly complete character sketch of Jane Austen Beecher Stowe de Rouse:

She was so good she made him worse
(Some women are like this, I think).²⁷

In "A Ballade of Jakko Hill," both lovers are fickle, yet since the man is telling the story, the chief slurs are cast upon the woman:

What came of high resolve and great,
And until death fidelity?
Whose horse is waiting at your gate?
Whose 'rickshaw-wheels ride over me?
No Saint's, I swear.....²⁸

In "The Young British Soldier," the trooper is warned against marriage. However, if he must marry, he is told to marry someone who is old,

For beauty won't help if your ration's
is cold,
Nor love ain't enough for a soldier.²⁹

If his wife should go wrong with a comrade, simply

Make 'im take 'er and keep 'er: that's
Hell for them both,
And you're shut o' the curse of a
soldier.²⁹

"The Married Man" pictures the bachelor as a gay, impulsive, lusty blade who gets a great deal of pleasure out of living and fighting. The married man is a dour, cautious, exact, almost effeminate individual whose zest for living has passed away

²⁷Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, 67.

²⁸Ibid., p. 83.

²⁹Ibid., p. 179.

with his state of single blessedness.³⁰

In only one poem does Kipling admit the deep, unbreakable power of woman over man. Usually he regards her as a necessary evil, as a high explosive labeled "caution," but in "An Imperial Rescript," he admits that woman is as necessary to man as the very air he breathes. In this poem the German Kaiser has called men together to sign a bond of brotherhood and become soldiers to aid the halt and the weak. As the first hand is cramped to sign the document, a girl's laugh rings out in the hall. The men refuse to sign, and arise to go back to their homes and their women.

They passed one resolution:--"Your sub-committee believe
You can lighten the curse of Adam when you've lightened
the curse of Eve.
But till we are built like angels, with hammer and chisel
and pen,
We will work for ourself and a woman, for ever and ever,
amen."³¹

This, we are told, is the tale of the council held by the German Kaiser on

The day that the laugh of a woman made light of the
Lords of Their Hands.³¹

The most vigorous and positive revolt of the nineties was that which took the form of the "cult of manliness," and found its inspiration in Theodore Roosevelt and his doctrine of "the strenuous life." This might be called the revolt of the smoking-room against the drawing-room. Though it was, in a sense, but an extension of the revolt against aestheticism and the

³⁰Ibid., p. 83.

³¹Ibid., p. 286.

women's club ideology, it was something more than this. Mark Twain had prepared the way for it by his ridicule of boarding school standards in art, literature, and life. The implications of the Darwinian doctrine that all existence is an inescapable conflict and struggle seemed to give it a basis in philosophy; Theodore Roosevelt's denunciation of all compromises which rested upon the desire of a life of ignoble ease supplied the moral sanctions, and the natural temper of the American mind did the rest. For a time it threatened to become a crusade. Even the German Kaiser approved it as the practical application to life of the Nietzschean philosophy of the superman.

The minor literary figures of this vigorous school are Americans--Jack London, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, and Richard Harding Davis--but the major figure, the literary personality around whom the others revolve and to whom they look, is Rudyard Kipling. The outstanding, the recurring motif which runs through all of Kipling's poetry, is the love of and insistence upon a vigorous, manly, courageous life of action. He is ever at his best in the delineation of such characters, and he never grows weary in the glorification of that "manliness" which was the ideal of American life and letters during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His phenomenal American popularity is due to his intense portrayal of the "manly" man. His freshness and vigor and romantic realism were eagerly acclaimed by a people who were sick of the insistence

on "sweetness and light." His intolerance of mediocrity, of people who were neither good nor bad, of inaction, of a placid, inactive life, of superficial ideas and virtues, was a very oasis in a desert of such qualities. His characters, adventurous, eager, seeking after excitement, do the things that men of all ages and climes desire to do.

The majority of Kipling's poems vividly portray the vigorous life. Of the two hundred and four poems contained in his three volumes of poetry published during the era of his enormous American popularity, more than half portray some phase of the vigorous masculine life. Many of them tell of the hardships of the soldier in battle, on the march, in camp. Others speak of the lighter phases of his life. Still others concern a life on the sea, or tell of the various experiences of the adventurer who roves and fights over the world's face simply for the love of the game. Even the minor poems which touch only lightly upon the life of action are set against such a background of masculinity that we are constantly aware of the powerful, primitive forces in the backdrop against which the characters play.

Of Kipling's major poems on the life of action, those depicting the experiences of the British soldier in England's dominions--particularly in India--are most common. A second division concerns the English sailor, who is as necessary to England's domination of the sea as is the soldier to the maintenance of the Empire on land. Still a third group takes into

account those adventurers of both land and sea whose great zest for excitement and for new frontiers leads them over the world.

The most characteristic of Kipling's songs of the active soldier are found in the volume, , Departmental Ditties and Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses, and in his service songs. In "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" the British Tommy says:

We've fought with many men acrost the seas,
An' some of 'em was brave and some was not;
The Paythan an' the Zulu an' Burmese;
But the Fuzzy was the finest o' the lot.³²

In "Screw-Guns," he says:

If a man doesn't work, why, we drills 'im
an' teaches 'im 'ow to behave;
If a beggar can't march, why, we kills 'im
an' rattles 'im into 'is grave.
You've got to stand up to our business an'
spring without snatchin' or fuss.
D' you say that you sweat with the field guns?
By God, you must lather with us.....³³

In "Loot" he says:

If you've knocked a nigger edgeways when 'e's
thrustin' for your life,
You must leave 'im very careful where 'e fell;
An' may thank your stars an' gaiters if you
didn't feel 'is knife
That you ain't told off to bury 'im as well.³⁴

In "Snarleyow," when the lead-wagon has been driven over the driver's brother to end his agony, a dreadful revenge on the enemy for his death is foretold in the brutally suggestive lines,

An' if one wheel was juicy, you may lay your Monday head
'Twas juicier for the niggers when the case begun to spread.³⁵

³²Ibid., p. 151.

³³Ibid., p. 157.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 167-8.

³⁵Ibid., p. 171.

An example of the every-day language of the soldier is found in "The Young British Soldier":

First mind you steer clear o' the grog sellers' huts,
For they sell you Fixed Bay'nets that rots out your guts.³⁶

A further example of the language which men actually use is,

When 'arf of your bullets fly wide in the ditch,
Don't call your Martini a cross-eyed old bitch.³⁷

The captain of "The Ballad of Boh Da Thone" is transported by sight of the Boh's head, to

.....the long-ago days--
The hand-to-hand scuffle--the smoke and the blaze--

The forced march at night and the quick rush at dawn--
The banjo at twilight, the burial ere morn--

The stench of the marshes--the raw, piercing smell
When the overhand stabbing-cut silenced the yell--

The oaths of his Irish that surged when they stood
Where the black crosses hung o'er the Kuttamow flood.³⁸

The loneliness of the night-guard is expressed in "Bridge-Guard in the Karroo,"

We stumble on refuse of rations,
The beef and the biscuit-tins;
We take our appointed stations,
And the endless night begins.³⁹

There is a grim and repellent concreteness in Kipling's diction always: note the following lines from the "Dirge of Dead Sisters," in praise of the Red-Cross nurses:

³⁶Ibid., p. 178.

³⁷Ibid., p. 180.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 235-6.

³⁹The Five Nations, Works of Kipling, IV, 93.

Who recalls the noontide and the funerals
 through the market
 (Blanket-hidden bodies, flagless, followed
 by the flies?)
 And the footsore firing-party, and the dust
 and stench and staleness.⁴⁰

In "That Day" Tommy says,

There was thirty dead an' wounded on the
 ground we couldn't keep--
 No, there wasn't more than twenty when the
 front began to go;
 But, Christ! Along the line o' flight they
 cut us up like sheep,
 An' that was all we gained by doin' so.⁴¹

In "The Men That Fought at Minden" the young recruits are told
 by the instructor that he'll make them soldiers,

....if we 'ave to skin you.⁴²

In "Route Marchin'" the weary soldier says,

An' if your 'eels are blistered an' they
 feels to 'urt like 'ell,
 You drop some tallow in your socks an' that
 will make 'em well.⁴³

In depicting the life of the sailor, Kipling, while not
 so prolific, is fully as deeply imbued with the love of the
 vigorous life. A few examples will suffice to show this adven-
 turous spirit, since the qualities expressed are the same as
 those shown in his portrayal of the soldier. In "The Ballad of
 the 'Clampherdown'" we find the lines,

Her two dumb guns glared south and north,
 And the blood and the bubbling steam ran forth.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 104.

⁴¹The Seven Seas, Works of Kipling, IV, 308.

⁴²Ibid., p. 312.

⁴³Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, 195.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 248.

Further on in the poem, we read,

It was our war-ship 'Clampherdown,'
Spewed up four hundred men;
And the scalded stokers yelped delight,
As they rolled in the waist and heard the fight,
Stamp o'er their steel-walled pen.⁴⁵

In "The Ballad of the 'Bolivar'," the sailor is exultant over English seamanship that safely brings an unseaworthy craft to port. He describes the ship as

Just a pack o' rotten plates puttied up with tar,
In we came, an' time enough, 'cross Bilbao Bar,
Overloaded, undermanned, meant to founder, we
Euchred God Almighty's storm, bluffed the Eternal Sea!

Seven men from all the world, back to town again,
Rollin' down the Ratcliffe Road drunk and raising Cain:
Seven men from out of Hell. Ain't the owners gay,
'Cause we took the 'Bolivar' safe across the bay?⁴⁶

"Soldier and Sailor Too" lauds the marines, the men who are

....kind of giddy harumfrodite--soldier and sailor too!⁴⁷

The land soldier says of him,

For there isn't a job on top o' the earth the beggar
don't know, or do--
You can leave 'im at night on a bald man's 'ead, to
paddle 'is own canoe--
'E's a sort of a bloomin' cosmopolouse--soldier and
sailor too.⁴⁷

Many and varied are the poems of Kipling which treat of the adventurers who roam and fight and love because an irresistible urge constantly drives them on. The men of "The Ballad of Fisher's Boarding-House," rough characters

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 248.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 252.

⁴⁷The Seven Seas, Works of Kipling, III, 302-3.

From Mississip to Clyde,⁴⁸

live by quick wits and a steady hand on the knife hilt.

They told their tales of wreck and wrong,
Of shame and lust and fraud,
They backed their toughest statements with
The Brimstone of the Lord
And crackling oaths went to and fro
Across the fist-banged board.⁴⁸

Nor did these adventurers allow the uncertainty of life to interrupt their questionable pleasures.

Since Life is strife, and strife means knife
From Howrah to the Bay,
And we may die before the dawn
Who liquored out the day,
In Fultah Fisher's boarding-house
We woo while yet we may.⁴⁹

Even the cattle thief in "Lament of the Border Cattle Thief"
moans from prison for the old free life:

O woe is me for the merry life
I led beyond the Bar.⁵⁰

The explorer in the poem of that name roams constantly over the face of the earth seeking new lands, new excitement. He is impelled only by a spirit of adventure, not by a sense of gain:

Have I named one single river? Have I
claimed one single acre?
Have I kept one single nugget--(barring
samples)? No, not I.
Because my price was paid me ten times
over by my Maker.
But you wouldn't understand it. You go
up and occupy.⁵¹

⁴⁸Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, 69.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 71.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 238.

⁵¹The Five Nations, Works of Kipling, IV, 48.

"The Rhyme of the Three Sealers" tells the story of the seal-thieves who make wild dangerous journeys to the Arctic regions. The adventurers are a variegated lot, with doubtful honors going to the Yankee.

English they be and Japanee that hang on the
Brown Bear's flank,
And some be Scot, but the worst of the lot, and
the boldest thieves, be Yank!⁵²

The spirit which ever urges a man forward is seen in these philosophical lines from "Sestina of the Tramp Royal":

It's like a book, I think, this bloomin' world,
Which you can read and care for just so long,
But presently you feel that you will die
Unless you get the page you're readin' done,
An' turn another--likely not so good;
But what you're after is to turn 'em all.⁵³

Closely allied with the rise of the "cult of manliness" is the rise of imperialism, of which Kipling so heartily approves. That these two trends of thought should arise side by side is only natural, since imperialism necessitates the development of a strong, courageous, national manhood. Imperial empires are built of sweat and blood and muscle, not of pink teas and culture and a haze of other-world romanticism. Imperialism rose with vigorous masculinity, and depended on masculinity for its life-blood. Kipling is by far the ablest por-trayer of both these ideals. Often they are so closely allied in his poems as to make them difficult of separation.

In his poems on the imperial theme, Kipling reaches the height of intensity and pride of race. Many of these poems

⁵²The Seven Seas, Works of Kipling, IV, 218.

⁵³Ibid., p. 289.

were widely published by English and American imperialists. . They place a glorious golden mantle around the shoulders of imperialism, and a virtuous halo of humanism and brotherhood on its head. They make imperialism so superior in altruistic motives, and helpful and considerate of other, less nations! While only a relatively small number of the two hundred and four poems of Kipling's three volumes of poetry can be classed as imperialistic--twenty-four, in fact--, many other of these poems are set against a background of imperialism or make mention of it.

Of the poems strictly imperialistic in theme, "The White Man's Burden" was the most popular, most widely published, and most pleasing to imperialists. In it Kipling places the leadership of the world on Anglo-Saxon shoulders. The white man, though he spend his life's blood in driving out sickness and famine and ignorance from lesser countries, will be blamed and cursed by such countries. This is a natural reaction from ignorant peoples. The Anglo-Saxon must act the part of the understanding mother, and continue to show more unfortunate brothers the way to a better life.⁵⁴

"Ave Imperatrix" was written on the occasion of an attempt to assassinate Queen Victoria. In it Kipling gives thanks to God for her safety, and assures Victoria of her subjects' loyalties. He says:

And all are bred to do your will
By land and sea, wherever flies

⁵⁴The Five Nations, Works of Kipling, IV, 66.

The Flag, to fight and follow still
And work your Empire's destinies.⁵⁵

"The Widow at Windsor" is a triumphal song to the power that is Britain. The author says,

Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor
For 'alf o' creation she owns:
We 'ave bought 'er the same with the
sword an' the flame,
And we've salted it down with our bones.

.....

We 'ave 'eard o' the Widow at Windsor,
It's safest to let 'er along:
For 'er sentries we stand by the sea
an' the land
Wherever the bugles are blown.

.....

Take 'old o' the Wings o' the Mornin',
An' flop round the earth till you're
dead;
But you won't get away from the tune
that they play
To the bloomin' old rag over'ead.⁵⁶

"Our Lady of the Snows" was written on the adoption of the Canadian Preferential Tariff, in 1897. Canada, although adult and with her own ideas, still abides by her mother's wishes. The daughter says,

Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own!
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I abide by my mother's house.⁵⁷

"The Overland Mail" tells of the indomitable will and

⁵⁵Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, p. 4.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 173-4.

⁵⁷The Five Nations, Works of Kipling, IV, 73.

perseverance that makes all barriers give way before the English mail.

For the great Sun himself must attend to the hail--
 "In the name of the Empress, the Overland Mail!"⁵⁸

"The English Flag" dramatically presents, through declarations of the four winds of the earth, the fact of the existence of the English flag in all corners of the earth. Always where the English flag is flown, conditions are made better.⁵⁹

"The Return" is the meditation of a British Tommy on the things he has willingly endured in order that the Empire might be maintained. These lines express a genuine love for and great pride in his country:

If England was what England seems,
 An' not the England of our dreams,
 But only putty, brass, an' paint,
 'Ow quick we'd drop 'er! But she ain't!⁶⁰

"A Song of the English" is in the same strain as "The White Man's Burden." It begins,

Fair is our lot--O goodly is our heritage!
 God has made for the English
a pathway to the ends of all the Earth!⁶¹

The Englishmen is urged to keep the peace, clear the land of evil, let justice prevail, and worship God. Thus will he see the truth and thus will he retain his superiority over other peoples of the earth. "The Coastwise Lights" sings of England's

⁵⁸Departmental Ditties, Works of Kipling, III, 58.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 274.

⁶⁰The Five Nations, Works of Kipling, IV, 165.

⁶¹The Seven Seas, Works of Kipling, IV, 176.

maritime power and glory. The coastwise lights of England will welcome her myriad ships back from the four corners of the earth, the bounds of Empire.⁶² "The Song of the Dead" praises English imperialism. England has bought and maintained her dominions for centuries with the price of blood, and therefore such a purchase is just.

If blood be the pride of admiralty,
Lord God, we ha' bought it fair!⁶³

"The Song of the Sons" is a declaration of love for England from the millions of subjects scattered from pole to pole. The concluding lines express the gratitude of these subject peoples:

Gifts have we only today--Love without
promise or fee--
Hear, for thy children speak, from the
uttermost parts of the sea!⁶⁴

"The Song of the Cities" is a declaration of faith in England expressed by the great cities of England's Empire. The cities range around the world, from Bombay and Calcutta, through the orient and America, back to Sydney and Auckland.⁶⁵ "England's Answer" is in praise of her many peoples of the earth and their professed love for and loyalty to the mother country. It expresses strong feeling of nationalism, and faith that England's peoples will stand together until the end of time. They are brothers. They bear a love for each other stronger than life,

⁶²Ibid., p. 177.

⁶³Ibid., p. 179.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 183.

⁶⁵Ibid.

deeper than speech. English reserve and depth and strength are highly praised.⁶⁶ "The Native-Born" is a declaration of loyalty to England from her foreign peoples. The natives aver that they are one in brotherhood with their white brothers.⁶⁷

"South Africa" sings praises of the land which cost England so much in blood. South Africa is compared to a woman, pagan and beautiful and irresistible, and her lovers are the men who succumbed to her Circe-like enchantment.⁶⁸ "The Settler"⁶⁹ and "The Explorer"⁷⁰ laud those qualities of the adventurous spirit which drives a man on to seek new frontiers. It is the spirit which built Britain's far-flung Empire.

In other poems not so strongly imperialistic, Kipling praises the indomitable will and courage and strength which builded England's Empire. In many other poems not strictly imperialistic in theme, we are made aware of the power and scope of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, either by direct statement or by implication and suggestion. Never does Kipling allow us to forget that Anglo-Saxon superiority has builded a far-flung Empire that stretches from pole to pole and that girdles the globe.

.....

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 186.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 211.

⁶⁸The Five Nations, Works of Rudyard Kipling, IV, 117.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 120.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 44.

CHAPTER V
THE POPULAR RECEPTION OF KIPLING'S
PROSE FICTION IN AMERICA

Kipling's fiction, no less than his poetry, expresses a reaction against the trends of popular American thought and feeling of the late eighteen-eighties and early nineties--against the "culture" of Matthew Arnold, the spiritually and other-world romanticism of Tennyson, the estheticism of Oscar Wilde, and the aggressive, sentimental feminism of Louisa M. Alcott, Frances Willard, and others. This is clearly evident from a reading of the short stories and novels which became the chief support of his stupendous American popularity. Clearly evident, also, is the fact that Kipling is the chief exponent of the ideal of the vigorous, masculine life, as well as the high priest of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. Although his novels and short stories, as well as his poetry, came to America by way of England, and although he was exceedingly popular among his own countrymen, it was in America that he expressed most fully the popular sentiment of the times. America took most to its heart his vigorous portrayal of the masculine life, to which his imperialistic views were a corollary. America is prone to accept anything new and exciting and vigorous, as were Kipling's stories, and the hearty American acceptance of his championship of the imperialistic idea is understandable, since it was during the period of Kipling's popularity that American imperialism was born, lived a brief though vigorous existence, and succumbed

to a renewed policy of "hands off" other and weaker countries. England, on the other hand, long a nation to which her colonies are her life's blood, took most kindly to Kipling's enthusiastic justification of English imperialism. England approved of his vigorous portrayal of the "manly life", but it is doubtful whether he would have been accepted so wholeheartedly in his native land had not his highly enthusiastic approval of English imperialism dominated much of his work. England had other champions and exemplars of the life of heroic action--Stevenson, for example--but no other writer approached Kipling as the apostle of Empire. America, herself young and adventurous, not, like England, cautious and conservative, took Kipling to her adventurous heart and enthroned him as the laureate of the strenuous life.

In this chapter, it is the writer's purpose to show, through a study of Kipling's chief short stories and novels of this period, that his American popularity was due to the fact that he accurately reflected popular American thought. The novels used in this chapter are The Light That Failed (1891), Captains Courageous (1897), and Kim (1901). The Naulahka has not been used, because it was written in collaboration with Wolcott Balestier, and is inferior to the novels which Kipling wrote alone. The volumes of short stories used include Plain Tales from the Hills (1887), Soldiers Three and Other Stories (1887-9), Under the Deodors (1887-9), Life's Handicap (1891), Many Inventions (1893), The Day's Work (1898), and Traffics

and Discoveries (1904).

That Kipling's prose fiction expresses ideals utterly at variance with the cultural traditions of which Matthew Arnold made himself the advocate and example is evident from even a casual acquaintance with the works of each. Arnold's aim was to teach "sweetness and light"--his terms for intelligence and an appreciation of beauty--to the multitude; so that a cultured existence would be possible to all mankind instead of only a chosen few. With education and intelligent application, he believed this "sweetness and light" would be the motif of all humanity, and he saw no reason why all men would not avail themselves of the higher, more perfect life which would undoubtedly result from the acquisition and application of such knowledge. He is the idealist whose vision of a dream-like, world-wise Utopia remains constant in his mind. He is unselfish in his idealism, since he wishes to share with his fellow man the knowledge which he possesses of the best that has been conceived in the world. The weakness of his philosophy lies in his very idealism. He does not take into account the variability of human intelligence. His idealism refuses to recognize a fact that any social service worker could prove to him many times over--that many human beings are in no wise equipped for the acquisition of knowledge, even if the circumstances for such acquisition are made painlessly pleasant. Kipling, on the other hand, is a realist. Sometimes his realism is imbued with romanticism, but he is none the less realistic. He portrays the

active, vigorous life of adventure. The very necessities of the preservation of life and limb leave no time for "sweetness and light" even if the desire for such were present; and the desire for "culture" plays no part in the lives of his adventurers. His characters lead lives in exciting present, and so much of their lives as it not required for self-preservation and preservation of the Empire, is devoted to forgetfulness in wine, and women and song. His men are vigorous characters, men who act rather than spend time in the quiet pursuit of "sweetness and light."

One has only to glance through Kipling's novels and short stories to find cumulative evidence of his portrayal of the vigorous life. Mulvaney, the cheerful, belligerent son of Erin, Learoyd, the loyal, stupid Yorkshireman, and little Ortheris, the Cockney, the principal figures in many Kipling tales of the barracks and battle-field, are perhaps the best known examples of the vigorous masculine life, but his stories are filled with other characters fully as hardy and adventurous. There are Disko Troop and Manuel, captain and first mate respectively of the fishing schooner, "We're Here" in Captains Courageous.¹ There are Dick Heldar and Torpenhow and the Nilghai of The Light That Failed,² all "ace" war correspondents who only came back to London intermittently between wars over the world. There is the beloved Kim of Kim,³ as well as Creighton Sahib, Lurgan Sahib,

¹Works of Kipling, Vol. XIV.

²Ibid., Vol. XV.

³Ibid., Vol. XIII.

Ali Mahbub, the horse-trader, and Huree Chunder Mookerjee, all principals in "The Great Game," the Indian Secret Service. These there are, besides the numerous characters in Kipling's short stories of war and life and love and adventure in far-away corners of the Empire. His prose works present a gallant, colorful, exciting parade of men who go out "for to see an' for to admire," and also "for to do."

Kipling's fiction is also a revolt against the spirituality and other-world romanticism of Tennyson which occupied such an important position in the American public mind prior to the nineties. Tennyson's popularity in America was largely the result of his "Idylls of the King," which presented medievalism as a beautiful, colorful, symbolic age in the history of man. He removed all the tarnish and ugliness of the Middle Ages, and upheld this era as an age in which the strong gallantly defended the weak and otherwise lived according to the loftiest ideals. His characters are chivalric, and always are concerned more with the welfare of the oppressed than with their own preservation or interests. King Arthur, the principal figure in "Idylls of the King," is portrayed as a leader who strove always to insure a better, a fuller life for his people. He is the shining example of what Arnold calls "sweetness and light," and his life is an expression of spirituality in itself. He is an example of the inner perfection that comes from spiritual contemplation and faith.

Linked with this spirituality and a part of it was

Tennyson's romantic presentation of other-world characters and ideas differing widely from the characters and ideas of late nineteenth century America. His medievalism was a dream-world to which Americans escaped from the rush and rawness of American life. It was a world which was unbelievably fair to behold, and one in which goodness always triumphed over wickedness. Americans regarded it as a rich panorama of idealism to which vicarious escape from their own problems was possible. They revelled in its glory and its symbolism as something entirely foreign to their own lives. Kipling, on the other hand, is unconcerned with spiritual expression. His characters are men too much engaged with the preservation of this life to have much time for speculating upon the next. The "soldiers three" Mulvaney, Learoyd, and little Ortheris, believed in God, but their spiritual lives--if they could be said to have any-- were ruled by blind superstition and belief in curses, rather than by a spirituality attained by meditation and prayer. Kipling's soldiers had little time, no inclination, and limited ability, to attain a fuller, spiritual life by learning and applying the best that has been conceived in the world. If beer was plentiful and a bloody battle was to be had at not too infrequent intervals, they considered that life was good. Likewise Kipling's native characters have very little conception of spirituality as Tennyson saw it. Their lives were dominated by demanding, awe-inspiring gods, but these gods are only figures who will blast the crops or send the sickness if they are not propitiated

often and well. Only occasionally in his portrayal of native characters does Kipling present spirituality as an inner force which makes for a more perfect life. Such a character is the beloved old Lama of Kim, a man who thought not of his own comfort, but wandered for many years over India in search of a river whose waters would cleanse him of all sin. He lived more in a spiritual world than in a hurrying world of the present.

Kipling is even less concerned with other-world romanticism than with spirituality. His characters belong to an exciting present; they give very little thought to a dead past, and an uncertain future. He says of the three soldiers, Mulvaney, Learoyd, and Ortheris:

They were in no sense refined, nor to be admitted to the outer-door mats of decent folks, because they happened to be private soldiers in Her Majesty's Army; and private soldiers of our service have small time for self-culture. Their duty is to keep themselves and their accoutrements specklessly clean, to refrain from getting drunk more often than is necessary, to obey their superiors, and to pray for a war.⁴

Never is Kipling imbued with the high spiritual symbolism and romanticism of Tennyson. He is principally realistic. When he is romantic, it is a romanticism tempered by realism, and a romanticism that sees distinction in a hard, courageous life of action rather than in the symbolic, dream-world romanticism of make-believe.

Kipling and the decadent Oscar Wilde are as far apart as the poles in the conception and portrayal of life and the ultimate

⁴"The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney," Life's Handicap, Works of Kipling, XXVI, 3.

aim of life. Wilde, the very essence of the decadence in England, promiscuously sought beauty and a variety of esthetic experiences. Such experiences led him from a contemplation of the French impressionists in art to lurid flesh-pots and, literally, from the high position in English letters which he occupied for a few years, to the shame and disgrace of a prison cell. The very eagerness to taste of all experiences led the decadents to a satiety which cried for new and stronger stimuli. The eagerness which had at first been fresh and young became mere rottenness and dissolution. Their experiences were trivial, temporary, and completely selfish. Wilde himself made the flip-pant remark that his aim in life was to live up to his blue China. Kipling's characters, on the other hand, are hard, harsh men of action, cheerful, sometimes naive, unselfish, and willing to die for the preservation of the Empire. They are fundamentally honest men, sometimes child-like in their simplicity, but endowed with loyalty and patriotism to a degree never remotely possessed by the decadents. A sheer love of vigorous adventure urges them to seek the places where exciting things happen, and when no excitement presents itself, they usually produce it themselves.

An examination of characters taken almost at random from Kipling's novels and short stories suffices to show the vast difference between his characters and the decadents. Always in such an examination, standing head and shoulders above other men, is the Irish Mulvaney, who had served with various regiments

from Bermuda to Halifax, old in war, scarred, reckless, resourceful, and in his pious hours an unequalled soldier.⁵

Learoyd, the Yorkshireman, is fully as adventurous and courageous as Mulvaney, but he looks to Mulvaney's superior intellect for guidance in all matters. Oftheris, the little Cockney, is as brave as the other two, but he has not the strength to support his decisions. Mulvaney, patronizingly and affectionately, calls him "little man." For examples of men who lead vigorous lives there are also the crews of the fishing schooners in Captains Courageous. It is they who, season after season, go out through storm and fair weather to the fishing grounds on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland's coast, and joyfully and dangerously labor for a meager subsistence. Still more exciting and adventurous are the lives of the players in "The Great Game," where life often hangs on a raised finger or a lowered eye-brow. There are also the war correspondents of The Light That Failed, who managed always to be in the thick of battle and to whom adventure is the breath of life. Always Kipling's characters are men who shun the soft, easy, effortless life for one of adventure and hardships and often paid and sudden death.

Although the attitude toward women as shown in a study of Kipling's novels and short stories is a definite reaction against the aggressive, sentimental American feminism of the eighteen-eighties and early nineties, his prose is not so harsh in this respect as his poetry. For one woman, indeed, Mrs.

⁵Ibid., p. 4.

Hauksbee, who appears frequently in his Plain Tales from the Hills, he has great admiration and regard. Perhaps his relative kindness toward woman as shown in his prose is understandable since women are far more prevalent in his prose than in his poetry. Always, in his prose works, however, women take a minor position in relation to the position which men occupy in these works. Maisie of The Light That Failed and Mrs. Hauksbee are the two women to whom Kipling gives most attention, but a bevy of other women flock through his prose works, sometimes appearing only once and briefly, sometimes reappearing in other stories as old acquaintances. There are Lispeth of "Lispeth", in Plain Tales from the Hills, the woman of Shamlegh, from Kim, an older, disillusioned Lispeth, Dinah Shadd, the wife of the beloved Mulvaney, in "The Courting of Dinah Shadd," from Life's Handicap, little Ameera of "Without Benefit of Clergy," from Life's Handicap, Miriam of "The Brushwood Boy," from The Day's Work, and numerous others who appear sometimes as major characters, and sometimes as minors, and sometimes only as background.

For only one woman in his novels and short stories does Kipling express unbounded admiration. This is Mrs. Hauksbee. She was little, vivacious, not too young, and she managed men for her own amusement. She was not a "woman's woman." Her reputation was often torn to shreds across the tea-tables, because women can never forgive a clever member of their own sex who snatches the most desirable males simply for the fun of observing the reaction of other females. At Simla she was called the "Stormy Petrel," and when she appeared on the scene there

was a fair chance that something exciting would happen.

She was a little, brown, thin, almost skinny woman, with big, rolling violet-blue eyes, and the sweetest manners in the world.....She was clever, witty, brilliant, and sparkling beyond most of her kind; but possessed of many devils of malice and mischievousness.⁶

One suspects that it is because of this very spirit of mischief coupled with a brilliant, ready wit, that Kipling is so heartily fond of Mrs. Hauksbee.

Maisie of The Light That Failed, the other woman to whom Kipling gives much space, is a rather stoical, determined, selfish, individual with a distorted sense of values in regard to the things that make for human happiness. She rejects the great love which Dick Helder lays at her feet in order to pursue a long-travelled, utterly futile road to artistic success. When Helder, a successful artist who had aided her greatly, becomes blind and can no longer be of any service to her, she steps completely out of his life. Much has been written as to whether she was justified in her actions. Justified or unjustified, beside the masculine vigor of Dick Helder and Torpenhow, Kipling's characterization of her becomes apathetic. We are reminded faintly of the woman in "The Vampire," who

.....could never know why
And never could understand.⁷

Most of his other female characters pass through his stories as rather frivolous persons whose chief aim in life is

⁶"Three and--an Extra," Plain Tales from the Hills, Works of Kipling, XVII, 10-11.

⁷Rudyard Kipling, Barrack-Room Ballads and Departmental Ditties (New York: Grosset and Dunlap), p. 157.

snaring some new man or cutting to pieces with feline ingenuity some female enemy, actual or potential. Of their intelligence powers he has no very high opinion. They were usually unconcerned with public affairs except as such affairs concern them personally. Kipling would have us believe that in events of political or economic significance they have little or no interest, perhaps because they are incapable of comprehending such weighty matters. On the whole, Kipling must be pronounced definitely unchivalrous where women are concerned.

It is in the delineation of the vigorous masculine life that Kipling most fully reflects prevailing American tastes and ideals of the late eighteen-nineties and early nineteen-hundreds. This is the spirit typified by that school of American writers of which Stephen Crane, Jack London, Frank Norris, and Richard Harding Davis are charter members, and of which the English Kipling is the central figure. His prose is elemental in its freshness and vigor. He puts aside all old, stale formulae, and tells stories of courage and adventure with the zest of Dumas, the romanticism of Stevenson, and the realism of Zola. His masculine characters are men of great courage and daring, who go joyfully forth to hard lives of adventure. They accept hardships with a casualness which comes of native resourcefulness plus long experience in a world where necessity imposes a rugged self-discipline. Hardships therefore are not something apart from life; they are life itself, life in the barracks, on the battle-field, on the high seas, in frontiers of the world.

Perhaps his greatest success in the portrayal of the vigorous, masculine life, is to be found in the stories concerning the lives and loves of the far-famed troopers, Mulvaney, Learoyd, and Ortheris. They are private soldiers in Her Majesty's Army in India--although Mulvaney tells us that he was once for a brief period a corporal, and their lives are one long adventure. If there is one variety of literature in which Kipling excels, it is in the short story. His poems are novels alone would give him a place in the hall of fame, but it is in the field of the short story that he achieves immortality. He is an adventurous raconteur who tells straightforward and unadorned tales of places he has seen and people he has known, and his "soldiers three" supply the character element in some of the most excellent tales of adventure in the English language. Mulvaney tells most of these stories, in a brogue so redolent of Erin that one can almost see behind him a background of emerald grass and Irish huts and peat bogs. Learoyd, the stolid Yorkshireman, has little to say, and Ortheris, with his Cockney characteristic of omitting h's where they should be and putting them in where they shouldn't, only occasionally breaks forth into a story all his own. Kipling himself explains this by remarking that "....the romances of Private Ortheris are all too daring for publication."⁸

A glance at several of Kipling's stories in which these three fighting men play leading roles will suffice to show his

⁸"Black Jack," Soldiers Three, Works of Kipling, XVIII, 103-4.

delineation of the soldier character. "The Taking of Lungtungpen" concerns the capture of that city by twenty-four young soldiers, a young officer, and Mulvaney. As to uniform, they wore the costume in which they first entered this world, exactly nothing. The necessity for this was due to the fact that a sudden native attack during the night, immediately after the soldiers had swum the river and before they had had time to resume the garments of civilization, forced them to drop their clothing and hastily grab rifles and bayonets. They took Lungtungpen, though they had no time to think of the slight negligence in the matter of their personal appearance until the morning sun crept out of the east. Mulvaney says of that sad hour of self-revelment:

Thin we halted an' formed up, the women howlin' in the house an' Lift'nint Brazenose blushin' pink in the light av the mornin' sun. 'Twas the most endasint p'rade I ever tuk a hand in. Foive-and-twenty privits an' an orficer av the Line in review ordher, an' not as much as wud dust a fife betune 'em all in the way of clothin'! Eight of us had their belts an' pouches on, but the rest had gone in wid a handful of cartridges an' the skin God gave thim. They was as naked as Vanus.¹⁰

"With the Main Guard" is Mulvaney's account of the experiences of the three as members of the wild Irish regiment known as the Black Tyrones, in a battle with the "Paythans." Of his regiment he says:

In barracks or out of it, as you say, Sorr, an Oirish rig'mint is the divil an' more. 'Tis only fit for a young man wid eddicated fisteses. Oh the crame av disruption is an Oirish rig'mint an' rippin', tearin'

105. ⁹Plain Tales from the Hills, Works of Kipling, XVII,

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 109-10.

ragin' scattherers in the field av war!¹¹

The battle was bloody and men died by the score. But according to Mulvaney, it was a glorious occasion. One incident of battle runs as follows:

I saw a sword lick out past Crook's ear, an' the Paythan was tuk in the apple av his throat like a pig at Dromeen Fair

'Thank ye, Brother Inner Guard,' sez Crook cool as a cucumber widout salt. 'I wanted that room.' An' wint forward by the thickness av a man's body, havin' turned the Paythan under him. The man bit the heel off Crook's boot in his death-bite.¹²

Little Ortheris, cursing his stature, fought gallantly from under Mulvaney's giant shoulder. A Homeric ardor drove them to the slaughter:

Oh, 'twas lovely, an' stiddy, too! There was the Sargints and the flanks av what was left av us, kapin' touch, an' the fire was runnin' from flank to flank, an' the Paythans was droppin'. We opined out wid the the widenin' av the valley, an' whin the valley narrowed we closed again like the shticks on a lady's fan, an' at the far ind av the gut, where they thried to stand, we fair blew them off their feet, for we had expinded very little ammunition, by reason av the knife work.¹³

And recalling the wild joy of it all, he says: "....but I d like to kill some more bloomin' Paythans before my time's up, War! Bloody war! North, East, South, and West."¹⁴

"The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney"¹⁵ concerns fur-

¹¹Ibid., p. 54.

¹²Ibid., p. 57.

¹³Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁵Life's Handicap, Works of Kipling, XXVI, 3.

ther and lighter adventures of this soldier of the Queen. The three soldiers painfully extract--by the strong-arm method--an elaborate palanquin from a dishonest foreman of native workmen who has, in turn, been using it to painfully extract from the workmen the greater part of their monthly wages. This is done by a system of lottery, and the palanquin has been used month after month, the winner of each month's lottery always presenting it again to the foreman. The three soldiers plan to use the money from its sale to buy beer. Mulvaney, far gone in his libations, hires bearers, hoists his huge body into the embroidered pink satin seat and, with his feet hanging out the window, and starts off on three days leave to find a prospective buyer for the palanquin. Ortheris says of his departure:

No, 'e wasn't drunk.....The liquor was no more than feelin' its way round inside of 'im; but 'e went an' filled that 'ole bloomin' palanquin with bottles 'fore 'e went off. 'E's gone an' 'ired men to carry 'im, an' I 'ad to 'elp 'im into his nupshal couch, 'cause 'e wouldn't 'ear reason. 'E's gone off in 'is shirt an' trousies, swearin' tremenjuss--gone down the road in the palanquin, wavin' 'is legs out o' windy.¹⁶

After overstaying his leave many days and causing his friends much worry he reappears. He is without shoes and hat, and is wearing a gorgeous pink silk robe, embroidered with the loves of the Hindu gods. This, incidentally, is the lining of the palanquin. He brings with him a fascinating tale of long sleep, presence in a temple where the women think he is the god Krishna, a fat priest who has much money, and subsequent escape. He is minus the palanquin, but he has four hundred and

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 19-20.

thirty rupees and a fat gold necklace which he forcibly extracted from the priest in payment for the palanquin.

Very numerous are the stories in which Kipling recounts adventure of the famous three. Notable among them are "The Courting of Dinah Shadd,"¹⁷ Mulvaney's own true love story, "The God from the Machine,"¹⁸ an account of Mulvaney's diplomatic rescue of the colonel's daughter from a scamp of a captain, "Private Learoyd's Story,"¹⁹ in which the three paint a mongrel to make him resemble a pedigreed animal, and sell him to secure beer money. "The Solid Muldoon,"²⁰ in which Mulvaney has some of his colossal conceit removed by Mrs. Bragin, and "Black Jack,"²¹ in which Mulvaney saves the life of his sergeant and insures his own safety.

In many another story Kipling celebrates the joys of the vigorous masculine life. Almost all tell of some phase of the soldier's life in India. "The Man Who Was"²² concerns the brief return to Her Majesty's White Hussars of a former lieutenant who has been held captive many years by Cossacks. He is brought in by the guard during a dinner of the Hussars to celebrate a victory at polo. He is demented and almost dead

¹⁷Life's Handicap, Works of Kipling, XXVI, 36.

¹⁸Soldiers Three, Works of Kipling, XVIII, 3.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 15.

²⁰Ibid., p. 39.

²¹Ibid., p. 82.

²²Life's Handicap, Works of Kipling, XXVI, 89.

from years of privation and rough handling. Kipling shows an unusual intensity in depicting the pride and glory of the White Hussars and in his delineation of the horrible, scarred piece of humanity that once been a lieutenant of that famous regiment.

"The Tomb of His Ancestors"²³ tells of Young Chinn, who, being the eldest son, followed family precedent and entered the army. Through diplomacy and resourcefulness and a subtle understanding of the native mind, he averts trouble among the Bhils, perhaps the strangest of the hill people, and wins their undying love. They consider him a reincarnation of his grandfather, their beloved leader, and therefore holy. Chinn is an example of the Englishmen whose resourcefulness and deep insight into the native Hindu mind have made possible England's continued maintenance of that part of her Empire.

"William the Conqueror"²⁴ tells the horrible details of a famine in southern India and of the courageous officers who valiantly fight it, working many hours out of each twenty-four, doling out grain to the starving natives at the famine sheds, feeding abandoned waifs on goat milk and condensed milk, and saving as many lives as possible, considering material limitations and the vagaries of the native mind.

"The Lost Legion"²⁵ is the story of how one hundred English soldiers and two hundred native soldiers of the Goorkhas were enabled to win a victory over the bandit-chief Gulla Kutta

²³The Day's Work, Works of Kipling, I, 94.

²⁴Ibid., p. 166.

²⁵Ibid., p. 167.

Mullah, by aid from the ghosts of the famous lost legion that was wiped out by Afghan hillmen during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Gulla Kutta Mullah's men hugely enjoy a fight with flesh and blood soldiers, but ghost men are something that they neither understand nor wish to know. They contend that it is better to fall into the hands of the English than into the hands of the dead. In their fright, they fall easy prey to the soldiers of the Queen. When asked concerning the dead regiment of whom he shows such abject fear, the man on the watch-tower says,

The Dead Regiment is below. The men must have passed through it on their journey--four hundred dead on horses, stumbling among their own graves, among the little heaps--dead men all, whom we slew....The dead are dead, and for that reason they walk at night. What need to talk? We be men; we have our eyes and ears. Thou canst both see and hear them, down the hillside.²⁶

Many other of Kipling's tales, while not of soldiers in the Queen's army, portray vividly the masculine life of action and adventure. "The Man Who Would Be King"²⁷ concerns the king-for-a-day adventures of one Daniel Dravot, a big red-bearded vagabond, and Peachey Carnehan, smaller, voluble, and black-browed. They go into the wild Afghan country, against which they have been warned, and become kings of a hill-tribe, whose members regard them as gods. In breach of their contract, Dravot becomes too interested in a girl of the tribe, and wishes to marry her. The result is a horrible death for Dravot

²⁶Ibid., pp. 180-1.

²⁷Under the Deodars, Works of Kipling, XXV, 183.

at the hands of the natives, and even more horrible torture for Carnehan before he is allowed to return to the country from which he came. More than two years after they started on their adventure, what was left of Carnehan crawls into the office of the newspaper editor who had advised them and warned them against their venture. He was bent into a circle, his head was sunk between his shoulders, and he moved his feet one over the other like a bear.²⁸ His mind almost gone, he slowly tells the story of the adventures which befell him and Dravot. A day later he dies. This story is one of the excellent examples of Kipling's power as a raconteur.

"The Bridge Builders"²⁹ is a story of one Findlayson and his helper, Hitchcock, and of their work in building a bridge across the Ganges River. For three years they endure heat and cold and hardships in building the bridge. Finally, when the work is almost completed, an unexpected flood on Mother Gunga threatens the greatest work of their lives, Findlayson, strained and tense, half-consciously swallows two or three pellets of opium which his chief native foreman hands to him, thinking that the opium will relieve his tension. He is flung into a boat by the force of a jerking cable, the foreman with him, and they are washed downstream to an island, where, opium-drunk, they hear an all-night conference of India's gods. In the morning they are rescued by Hitchcock, and they

²⁸Ibid., p. 201.

²⁹The Day's Work, Works of Kipling, I, 3.

discover that the bridge has withstood the ravages of the flood.

"The Devil and the Deep Sea"³⁰ is the story of a group of privateers who, to avoid detection, change the appearance and name of their ship many times. Finally captured, for a pearl theft, by the insignificant governor of an insignificant little tropical country, their ship damaged almost beyond repair, they are forced to spend many months in a tropical jungle as prisoners. Because of possible intervention of the British government, the governor brings them out of the jungle, and they are allowed to use the dismantled ship as quarters. Secretively and by dint of almost superhuman effort, they put the ship in order, working long hours in the tropical climate, while subsisting on a diet which consists chiefly of bananas. Escaping under cover of night, their ship sinks in a little harbor which is the turning point of a pearling sea-patrol, and the gunboat which was to have taken them back to trial and probable conviction, breaks her back on the sunken wreck. The story shows the incredible power and resourcefulness of the adventurer in his fight for self-preservation against overwhelming odds.

"In the Rukh" is a story of that fascinating character of Kipling's earlier child stories, Mowgli, the brown baby who was reared in the jungle as brother to the wolves. Mowgli is now a young man, who with the help of his brothers, performs feats which seem supernatural to young Gisborne of the Woods and Forests Service. Mowgli becomes a friend to Gisborne and aids him in many ways. Later the jungle lad steals the daughter

³⁰Ibid., p. 136.

of Gisborne's servant. The servant, through fear of Mowgli and propitiation by Gisborn, consents to their marriage. Mowgli becomes a forest-guard, and he and the girl live in the jungle with the wolves.

Very numerous are the tales in which Kipling depicts the vigorous life of the adventurous man, but these examples suffice to show the virile, masculine theme and treatment which was largely responsible for his American popularity.

The dedication to a life of adventure is the dominant motif which runs throughout the length of Kipling's novel, The Light That Failed. Dick Helder, a young vagabond and an unrecognized artist, troops about over the face of the earth seeking excitement and adventure. When asked by his friend Torpenhow, a newspaper correspondent, what his particular business is in that section of Egypt in which a war is being carried on, he answers, "Nothing; there was a row, so I came."³¹ The very sketches produced by his pencil show a love of adventure. Showing them to Torpenhow, he sententiously checks them off thus: "Row on a Chinese pig-boat,....Chief mate diked by a comprador.--Junk ashore off Hakodate.--Somali muleteer being flogged.--Star shell bursting over camp at Berbera.--Slave-dhow being chased around Tajurrah Bay.--Soldier lying dead in the moonlight outside Suakin,--throat cut by fuzzies."³² The newspaper syndicate for which Torpenhow works hires Helder as staff artist, and the two travel together. Their adventures are many and varied.

³¹Works of Kipling, XV, 20.

³²Ibid.

They had been penned into a square side by side, in in deadly fear of being shot by over-excited soldiers; they had fought with baggage-camels in the chill dawn; they had jogged along in silence under blinding sun on indefatigable little Egyptian horses; and they had floundered on the shallows of the Nile when the whale-boat in which they had found a berth chose to hit a hidden rock and rip out half her bottom planks.³³

In a battle in the Soudan, Heldar receives a vicious sword-blow which lays his skull bare. The two men return to England, where their apartment is the rendezvous for many members of their profession, who sit around a table and discuss excitedly the prospects of getting into another war. Heldar, who is troubled with head-aches, learns the horrible truth that he is going blind from decay of the optic nerve, the result of the sword-blow. Maisie, the girl whom he loves, steps completely out of his life. The war correspondents, including Torpenhow, are off to a new war, leaving him behind railing at a fate which leaves him helpless. Putting his affairs in order and burning all of his sketches, he sets out to find Torpenhow and to seek death. Fate is kind to him. Immediately after finding Torpenhow, in the midst of battle, a kindly bullet through his head delivers him into Torpenhow's arms. The book is filled with scenes of battle and the exciting war experiences of the correspondents. An intense love of adventure is the impelling motive of the lives of all the masculine characters.

Captains Courageous³⁴ is also a glorification of the life of action. It tells the story of Harvey Cheyne, a rich

³³ Ibid., p. 23.

³⁴ Works of Kipling, Vol. XIII.

spoiled, selfish lad who is washed overboard from a liner on which he and his indulgent mother are traveling. Picked up by a fishing schooner on the way to the fishing grounds of the Grand Bank, off the coast of Newfoundland, the boy tells a garbled story of great wealth, and demands to be returned to shore. Salty, honest old Captain Disko Troop thinks the boy is out of his mind, knocks him down, refuses to return, and says that he shall do his part of the work on the ship. Deciding that discretion is the better part of valor, Harvey works willingly. He becomes the fast friend of the Captain's son, Dan, a boy about his own age. The several weeks which he spends on the fishing schooner and the association with the simple, hard-working members of the crew, eliminate all the selfishness and conceit in his character and put in their place fairness, loyalty, and pride in his ability as a sailor. The story depicts realistically yet sympathetically the lives of those men whose whose very existence depends upon their successful grappling with danger and adventure and hard work. The sea is the breath of life to them, and they would not willingly relinquish it for an easier life, even though each year many of the fishing fleet succumb to the hardships of such a hazardous life.

Kim,³⁵ perhaps the greatest of Kipling's novels, is a story of the English Secret Service in India. Kim, the chief character, whose mother died at his birth, is the son of an Irish soldier. Leaving his regiment, the father goes to live

³⁵Ibid., Vol. XIII.

with a native woman, acquires the opium habit, and soon dies, leaving Kim to the native woman, also an opium addict. Kim passes for a native child, and begs and steals his way through the streets. Becoming attached to a helpless, kindly old Lama, Kim accompanies him on his journey in search of a river which will wash away all sin. On this journey, the boy comes upon his father's regiment, knows it by the sign of a red bull on a green field, and his identity is established through papers which he carries around his neck. Much against his will, he is sent to school. While still a lad in his "teens", he is removed from school and begins training for the Secret Service. This is accomplished principally at the hands of Ali Mahub, a horse-trade, and Lurgan Sahib, a jewel-merchant who deals in magic. Soon he becomes a full-fledged member of the Secret Service. The book is rich in details of the lives led by those adventurers whose zest for excitement keeps a sword hanging constantly above their heads. It is a more adventurous life than that led by the British soldier, because it depends on secrecy and an amazingly quick wit. To exist, such an adventurer must stay in advance of his opponent, always mentally, sometimes physically.

Kipling's stories, while not definitely imperialistic in theme as are many of his poems, nevertheless have a clearly defined imperialistic motif running through them. The majority of his stories are of some phase of the English soldier's life in India, and this is in itself imperialistic, since such

men are stationed in India to maintain the Empire. His admiration for and praise of the men who place the maintenance of Empire before their own preservation are in themselves definite tributes to imperialism. To "Missus Victoria's" soldiers, the Queen was second only to God, and to many she was a Supreme being herself. To Kipling's English soldier of the later nineteenth century, the crown was a highly revered symbol which held together the broad lands of English Empire. This is as true today as it was then, and has been for many centuries. Kipling fixed this attitude concretely and even added a flourish here and there. Possibly Kipling's concrete expression of this attitude was an underlying cause of the strengthening of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, both in England and in America, which occurred during the last few years of the nineteenth century and the first few years of the twentieth. If not a direct cause, Kipling at least gave an added impetus to the movement by his elaborate praise and justification of imperialistic policy.

His expression of superabundant physical strength and animal vigor were particularly appropriate to go hand in hand with imperialism, since the Empire requires such characteristics of its soldiers. Men who live by the ideas of Matthew Arnold and Tennyson and Oscar Wilde can only exist in a country which is maintained by men like Mulvaney and Learoyd and Ortheris. The path to Empire is not strewn with roses, but sweat and blood and dead men. And a man must have a very great love for and loyalty

alty to his Empire, or an irresistible urge to seek adventure, before he will willingly seek annihilation. Kipling's men are possessed of both these qualities in a marked degree.

Kipling's characters regard the Empire as above all reproach. The Queen is their mighty mother, for whom her sons would fight to the last man. They have an arrogant, unshaken faith in their country which never admits the slightest hint of disloyalty. They are a part of all the wealth and power that is England's and a man does not turn and rend himself. The price of Empire is great, but the power and the glory are ample reward. England is undoubtedly the leader of all the world, and looks on other nations as children to be led out of darkness. Kipling himself, immersed in a sea of imperialism, believes implicitly that England's colonial expansion is only her great-mindedness, her humanitarianism in leading weaker peoples out of darkness and guiding their faltering steps to higher ground. She, without doubt, takes precedence over all other nations ever created by God or man. He calls her "the whipping-boy of all the world,"³⁶ and he is utterly sincere in his beliefs. In the face of his stupendous American popularity, can it be doubted that he directly influenced the rise of American imperialism?

.....

³⁶"Judson and the Empire," Many Inventions, Works of Kipling, II, 298.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The America of the last few years of the nineteenth century and the beginning years of the twentieth was a kaleidoscopic, colorful, contradictory era, in many ways unlike any other age in the period from the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the scientific and globe-girdling activities of the present day. Names which have been applied to this era--"The Gay Nineties," "The Mauve Decade"-- suggest its insouciance and zest for life, as well as the physical and intellectual curiosity of the figures of this period of American history. It was the age of Theodore Roosevelt, that paragon of intellectual, political, and physical activity, in whom were compounded all the primitive, elemental virtues and the kindly sympathy for, and understanding of, the common man which enthroned America's "Teddy" in the collective heart of his people. It was the period of that short-lived but nevertheless vigorous spirit of American acquisitiveness known as imperialism. It saw the Spanish-American War, which, because it cost relatively little in life and property, was all the more effective in glorifying war and the adventurous, patriotic spirit. It was the period which saw the introduction of "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay"-- the song which became a second national anthem--by a cabaret singer in a popular music hall. It was a period which saw a complete reaction against the sentimentality and bombastic hypocrisy of the Victorian era. In addition, it was the period

of a frenzy of American nationalism, which persists to the present day, and instills in Americans the belief that they are the chosen people of the earth and the superiors of all other peoples in all fields of endeavor.

Most significant fact of all, it was the background against which the adherents of the ideal of "manliness" and the "strenuous life" played their very vigorous part in the American scene by giving concrete expression to the only half-conscious desire for vigor and masculinity in literature and life. Followers of this school were seekers after the truth, and enemies to hypocrisy in any form, yet they were also men who went out "for to see an' for to admire," and to seek rogorous adventures as a discipline best befitting man to understand the significance of the elemental ideas underlying human existence. The secondary figures in this "he-man" cult were a group of young journalists, four in number. Jack London wrote stories with all the dash and virility of the master, Kipling, and no story he ever wrote was more adventurous than his own life. Stephen Crane was an intense, emotional, neurotic individual whose realism reached to the very bottoms of the New York gutters. Frank Norris wrote with a vibrant power that smacks strongly of the epic. Richard Harding Davis covered all the storm-centers of his time in his position of foreign correspondent, and, when there was no news, made it himself. These four, it is true, express the vigorous, inquisitive, adventurous spirit of the "Gay Nineties," but the inspiration and the avatar--the

central sun around which they moved as satellites-- was undoubtedly the English Rudyard Kipling.

The evidence in a preceding chapter of the vast extent of Kipling's popularity in America is assurance that he did reach the common heart of America as scarcely any other writer had done before him. Prior to 1912, twenty-eight publishers had printed one hundred and forty-five editions of his works, these ranging from elaborate editions of his complete works to small volumes of select poems. An examination of contemporary newspapers and periodicals reveals an equal interest. Prior to 1904, sixty-two articles, stories, or poems by or about Kipling had appeared in eighteen leading periodicals. This does not take into account lesser periodicals, or the enormous volume of newspaper publicity which he received. Neither does it take into account the references made to him or his works in articles not strictly about him. This cumulative evidence shows that Kipling was accorded a degree of public interest which would have been unusual for any writer. He himself was news. His name became the symbol of a life of manly activity and achievement. Everyone spoke as familiarly of Mulvaney, Learoyd, Ortheris, Mrs. Hauksbee, Dick Helder, Maisie, and a host of other Kipling characters as of actual acquaintances. To be ignorant of the characters and sentiments of Kipling's more popular stories and poems was to place one's self definitely with the unlettered. It is the belief of the present writer that Kipling's stupendous American popularity during

this period was due to the fact that he so accurately reflected popular American trends of thought of the time. He gave concrete expression to a rather general mood of protest and revolt against certain repressive tendencies that had gained considerable strength in America during the decade preceding the McKinly-Roosevelt era. These were, first, the idea and pursuit of "culture" as expounded by Matthew Arnold, the apostle of "sweetness and light"; second, spirituality and other-world romanticism of Tennyson; third, the estheticism of Oscar Wilde and other decadents; and fourth, the aggressive, sentimental feminism typified by the works of Louisa M. Alcott and by the activities of Frances E. Willard and her sister reformers. On the positive side, Kipling expressed the intense contemporary interest in the vigorous, masculine life and the glorification of primitive virtues; and foreign though he was, he gave great impetus to the current philosophy which expressed itself in the rise of American imperialism.

The intense interest in the masculine life was in itself a revolt against the feminizing tendencies mentioned above. Kipling, by giving form and expression to it, became its authentic voice. He is the master; the secondary figures of the "manly" cult are only disciples striving to follow in his firmly marked footsteps. The outstanding tenet of his creed lies in action. He disregards all conventional ideas and forms, and strikes out in a language and meter all his own. He utterly disregards, or bitterly denounces, people who do nothing. Lack

of virtue he can forgive, and often even praise, if the character has any worthwhile characteristics at all. But for inactivity he has no toleration. He cares nothing for men's thoughts and theories; he is interested in their external life, their speech, their appearance, their actions. His characters are not conventional people who do conventional things; he writes of the soldier, the sailor, the adventurer, the tramp, the fighter; and he admires many characteristics in his enemies as well as in his friends. He dislikes convention, and he dislikes, even more intensely, hypocrisy. Nothing in the world is ugly to him. A ship's engine has beauty of a sort, just as a woman is beautiful.

In addition to his concrete expression of the "he-man" philosophy, he added undoubted weight to his popularity by an intense laudation of the policy of American imperialism which rose as a corollary to the "cult of manliness." In this respect he did more than crystallize public sentiment; he formed it. American imperialism was a weak, timid thing until Kipling's praise of its policies made it the outstanding theme upon which politicians played for a brief era in American history. He assured Anglo-Saxon imperialists that it was not only their right to take other countries; it was their duty to lead the heathen, unenlightened peoples of the earth out of darkness to the light of a nobler existence. American imperialists had not seen their policies in this light before Kipling appeared on the scene. Now they could acquire the property of weaker peoples, and be

assured that at the same time they were doing a service to humanity.

The evidence in a preceding chapter of the extent of Kipling's American popularity is assurance that he did reach the heart of America. The existence in America of the intellectual and emotional tendencies to which Kipling gave concrete expression has also been established. A study of his poems, short stories and novels of this period establishes, it is believed, the true basis upon which Kipling's American popularity rested.

.....

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, C. E. and Percival, M. O. (eds.). Poetry of the Nineties. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926.
- Arnold, Matthew. Culture and Anarchy. New York: Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Beard, Charles Austin. Contemporary American History. New York: Macmillan Co., 1914.
- Beer, Thomas. The Mauve Decade. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.
- Briggs, Wallace Alvin (ed.). Great Poems of the English Language. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1933.
- Davis, Richard Harding. A Year from a Reporter's Note-Book. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1903.
- Gilman, Bradley. Roosevelt, the Happy Warrior. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1921.
- Harris, Frank. Oscar Wilde. 2 vols. New York: Brentano's, 1916.
- Hopkins, R. Thurston. Rudyard Kipling. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1915.
- . Rudyard Kipling. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., 1915.
- Jackson, Holbrook. The Eighteen-Nineties. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.
- Kingsmill, Hugh. Matthew Arnold. New York: L. Macveagh, The Dial Press; Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928.
- Kipling, Rudyard. Barrack-Room Ballads. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, n.d.
- . The Works of Rudyard Kipling. Mandalay Edition. 26 vols. Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1927.
- Palmer, John. Rudyard Kipling. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1915.
- Pattee, Fred Lewis. A History of American Literature Since 1870. New York: Century Co., 1915.
- Tennyson, Alfred. The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson. Cambridge Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898.

Twain, Mark. The Innocents Abroad. 2 vols. New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899.

ARTICLES:

Arnold, Matthew. "Civilization in the United States," Nineteenth Century, April, 1888, pp. 481-496.

Brownell, W. C. "Matthew Arnold," Scribner's, July, 1901, pp. 105-120.

Fry, James B. "Mr. Matthew Arnold on America," North American Review, May, 1888, pp. 515-519.

Mabie, Hamilton W. "The Influence of Tennyson in America," American Review of Reviews, December, 1892, pp. 553-556.

Maurice, Arthur Bartlett. "Kipling's Women," Bookman, January, 1899, pp. 479-481.

McKnight, George Harley, "Kipling's View of Americans," Bookman, April, 1898, pp. 131-135.

Smith, R. Pearsall. "An Olive Branch from America," Nineteenth Century, November, 1887, pp. 601-624.

Stone, Irving. "Sailor on Horseback," Saturday Evening Post, June 25, 1938, pp. 25-30; July 2, 1938, pp. 16-47; July 9, 1938, pp. 16-53; July 16, 1938, pp. 20-51; July 30, 1938, pp. 16-33; August 6, 1938, pp. 14-63; August 13, 1938, pp. 20-61.

Symons, Arthur. "The Decadent Movement in Literature," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, November, 1893, pp. 858-867.

Van de Water, Frederick F. "Rudyard Kipling's Feud," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1937, pp. 569-577.

Van Dyke, Henry. "The Voice of Tennyson," Century, February, 1893, pp. 539-544.

Watts, Theodore. "Some Aspects of Tennyson," Nineteenth Century, October, 1893, pp. 657-672.

.....