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RUDYARD KIPLING

A study in the pattern of critical comment on Rudyard Kipling among the periodical reviewers during the period from 1890 to 1900.

by Edward J. Buckley

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis intends to study the attitude of the periodical reviewers towards Rudyard Kipling and his works as they appeared from 1890 to 1900. The period under study was not only Kipling's most productive, but also the one during which his reputation was made. "The development of Kipling's genius in that decade is one of the most exciting literary phenomena of our time".[1] This was Harper's evaluation a quarter of a century later but what were the opinions at the time? When Kipling's works appeared, one by one, either as original publications or subsequent editions of earlier printings, the reviewers set upon them from all possible angles. Most reviews were laudatory, most contained some sound critical comment, and many were openly, even violently, hostile to the man and his ideals. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to study these reviews as they appeared year by year, and, thereby, to attempt to ascertain whether there was any definite pattern of critical opinion manifested towards

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1 Gerould, K. F., "The Man Who Made Mulvaney", in Harper's Magazine Vol. 172, April 1936, p. 531-538.

INTRODUCTION

Kipling and his artistic talent.

Much has been written about Kipling and his works, and so at the outset of this study it is well to attempt to give a brief catalogue of the critical matter already prepared along with some evaluation of its relationship to the intended topic of this thesis. The studies on Kipling that have appeared in printed form fall into three general groups. First, there are those works that have no bearing on this topic at all. These deal, for the most part, with Kipling's biography or environment. The most important volumes prepared in this class are by such writers as G. C. Beresford,[2] N. Bradley,[3] R. Carpenter,[4] Wm. Clemens,[5] W. J. Courtney,[6] R. T. Hopkins,[7] H. C. Rice,[8]

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2 Beresford, G. C., My Schooldays With Kipling, Lond., Putman, 1936, p. 493.
3 Bradley, Nellie, Rudyard Kipling, Son Of Empire, Lond., Messner, 1941, p. 256.
4 Carpenter, L. R., Rudyard Kipling, A Friendly Profile, Chicago, Argus, 1942.
5 Clemens, Wm., A Ken Of Kipling, Toronto, Morang, 1899.
6 Courtney, W. J., Rosemary's Letter Book, Lond., J. M. Dent and Sons, 1909, Letter Number 26.
7 Hopkins, T. R., Rudyard Kipling, Story of a Genius, Lond., Palmer, Co., 1930, p. 212.
8 Rice, H. C., Rudyard Kipling in New England, Lond., Day, 1936.

F. F. Vanderwater,[9] and W. Worseter.[10] Then follow the studies that constitute a great body of critical treatment on the man himself and his literary art. While these may be roughly divided into those which deal with his works as literary creations, and those which study his ideals as revealed through his works, nevertheless a clear division among them is not possible for most volumes contain criticism in both fields. However, such works as those by P. Braybrooke,[11] F. Cooper,[12] R. Durand,[13] T. S. Eliot,[14] E. Gosse,[15] P. Gaudella,[16] R. T. Hopkins,[17] C. Falls,[18]

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9 Vanderwater, F. F., Rudyard Kipling's Vermont Feud, Weston Vermont, Countryman Press, 1938.

10 Worster, W., Merlin's Isle, A Study of Rudyard Kipling's England, Lond., Gyldendal, 1920.

11 Braybrooke, P., Kipling and His Soldiers, Lond., C. W. Daniel, Co., 1926.

12 Cooper, F. T., Some English Story Tellers, Lond., Grant Richards, 1912.

13 Durand, Ralph, A Handbook To The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling, Lond., Hodder, Stoughton & Co., p. 317.

14 Eliot, T. S., A Choice of Kipling's Poetry, Lond., Schribners, 1941, p. 306.

15 Gosse, Edmund, Questions At Issue, Lond., W. Heineman, 1893, p. 321.

16 Gaudella, Phillip, Men of Letters, Lond., Hodder, Stoughton and Co., 1927.

17 Hopkins, R. T., Rudyard Kipling, A Literary Appreciation, Lond., Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1915, p. 348.

18 Falls, Cyrill, Rudyard Kipling, A Critical Study, N. Y., Mitchell Hennerly, 1915.

F. Knowles,[19] W. Leeb-Lunberg,[20] R. Le Gallienne,[21] G. MacMunn,[22] G. F. Monkshood,[23] E. F. Oaten,[24] J. Palmer,[25] G. N. Pocock,[26] W. Robertson,[27] James Scott,[28] A. Ward,[29] and A. M. Weygandt,[30] can be said to deal primarily with the mechanics of his writing while touching but briefly on other aspects. The studies prepared by G. K.

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19 Knowles, F. L., A Kipling Primer, Lond., Chatto Windus Co., 1900, p. 219.
20 Leeb-Lunberg, W., Word Formation in Kipling, Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, 1909.
21 Le Gallienne, R., Rudyard Kipling, A Criticism, Lond., John Lane Co., 1900, p. 163.
22 MacMunn, Sir Geo., Rudyard Kipling, Craftsman, Lond., Robert Hale, Co., 1937.
23 Monkshood, G. F., Rudyard Kipling, The Man And His Work, Lond., ( ) 1899.
24 Oaten, E. F., A Sketch Of Anglo-Indian Literature, Lond., Keegan Paul & Co., 1908.
25 Palmer, John, Rudyard Kipling, Lond., Nesbit, Co., 1915, p. 124.
26 Pocock, G. N., Pen And Ink, Lond., J. M. Dent & Sons, 1925, p. 159.
27 Robertson, W., The Kipling Guide Book, Birmingham, Holland Co., 1899, p. 51.
28 Scott, James, Personalities In Literature, Lond., Martin Secker, Co., 1913, p. 204-210.
29 Ward, Alfred, Aspects Of The Short Story, Lond., University Press, 1924, p. 307.
30 Weygandt, A. M., Kipling's Reading And Its Influence On His Poetry, Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn. Press., 1939.

Chesterton,[31] H. Brown,[32] R. Crofte-Cooke,[33] B. Dobree,[34] W. M. Hart,[35] H. Jackson,[36] C. Kernahan,[37] A. Maurios,[38] E. Shanks,[39] and E. Wilson,[40] deal essentially with Kipling's ideals and philosophy.

Thirdly, apart from the better lengthy works, just listed, there are numerous short studies on Kipling. The most important ones have been prepared by such writers as,

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31 Chesterton, G. K., Heretics, Lond., John Lane, 1919.
32 Brown, Hilton, Rudyard Kipling, N. Y., Harper, 1945, p.224.
33 Crofte-Cooke, R., Rudyard Kipling, Lond., Home & Van Thal Ltd., 1948, p. 107.
34 Dobree, Bonamy, Rudyard Kipling, Lond., Longmans Green & Co., 1951, p. 55.
35 Hart, Walter Morris, Kipling The Story Writer, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1918.
36 Jackson, Holbrook, The Eighteen Nineties, Lond., Grant Richards, 1913, p. 280-295.
37 Kernahan, C., Nothing Quite Like Kipling Happened Before, Lond., Thornton Butterworth Co., 1926.
38 Maurios, Andre, Poets & Prophets, Lond., Cassell Co., 1936.
39 Shanks, Edward B., Rudyard Kipling, A Study In Literature and Political Ideas, N. Y., Doubleday Co., 1940, p. 267.
40 Wilson, Edmund, The Would And The Bow, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1941.

Frank Harris,[41] David Murray,[42] T. Cooper,[43] A. G. Gardiner,[44] and Alfred Ward,[45] None of these however use periodical reports other than to clarify a point or to corroborate an opinion of their own. In fact many of the shorter reviews grew out of a periodical article by the same writer and the presentation of the short review was little more than an extension of an earlier, and usually a periodical report.

Finally there are the original periodical reviews dealing with Kipling's works as they appeared. It is with this field of writing that the proposed study intends to deal, and more particularly with that period from 1890 to 1900.

By critical periodical material is meant all that body of criticism that appeared in newspapers, and especially in literary magazines and periodicals during the stated ten year period.

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41 Harris, Frank, Contemporary Portraits, Second Series, N. Y., Bretano, 1920.
42 Murray, David, My Contemporaries In Fiction, Lond., Chatto Windus Co., 1897.
43 Cooper, F. T., Some English Story Tellers, Lond., Grant, Richards, Co., 1912.
44 Gardiner, A. G., Prophets, Priests, And Kings, Lond., J. M. Dent & Sons, 1914.
45 Ward, Alfred C., Aspects Of The Short Story, Univ. of London Press., 1924.

In order that this thesis may be presented as a work by itself, a survey of the volumes already prepared which most closely approach the intended purpose of this thesis is essential. It would appear that nothing prepared to date deals with the suggested topic. Some are excellent criticisms but they represent the opinions of a single writer. For example, Crofte-Cooke[46] studies Kipling in a systematic manner by dividing his works in the natural divisions of the Indian Tales, Early works, Short Stories and Later Novels, and Later Short Stories. His references to original reviews are scarcely apparent.

A valuable work was prepared by F. L. Knowles in his A Kipling Primer[47] and it contains a fine, if brief, biographical sketch, a good analytical survey of his literature and ideals, an index to his early writings and a short resume of story plots. The appendix carries a few quotations from some important editorials of the day, a bibliography of his works and of some reference articles. While this work is of value to the Kipling student, yet it

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46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

does not attempt to evaluate the reviews of the period. Rather, Knowles has used some quotations to present or support his own views. For example in his index to writings he makes great use of quotations from periodical reports in his summary of the short stories. These quotations are selected to substantiate his own observations. Any reference he uses was merely a calling upon another writer to corroborate Knowles' point of view. His work is not an objective study of the reviews themselves for while it is evident that he was familiar with the reviews, it is also evident that they are not the object of his study. Therefore, even though this work comes closest to the study of this thesis it is no solution to the problem.

The next notable work was by Richard Le Gallienne.[48] This is a critical study of Kipling's poetry and stories with an evaluation of his general significance and influence. A bibliography of his early works completes the book. Once again a valuable work is at hand, but once again a work that presents the view of one man, supported when necessary by slight references to a periodical review.

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48 Le Gallienne, Richard, Rudyard Kipling, Lond., John Lane, 1900, note pages 3, 7.

Hilton Brown[49] has prepared a good work which is perhaps among the best and most thorough evaluations of Kipling and his works. In it he studies first, the author's career and then his writings. It is a work filled with candor and it arouses a keen interest in Kipling from several points of view. However it is a recent work presenting a whole picture of Kipling's career and can be described as a good summary of all criticism to the date of publication.

Thurston Hopkins[50] has prepared several works on Kipling. In his study, The Story of a Genius he gives a biography of the man with a slight summary of his works, a glimpse of his philosophy and a final attempt to ponder on the fate of his fame. In A Survey of His Literary Art[51] Hopkins gives a detailed appreciation of various Kipling stories which prove of value in understanding the tales and

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49 Brown, Hilton, Rudyard Kipling, A New Appreciation, Lond., Hamish, Hamilton Co., 1945.

50 Hopkins, R. Thurston, Rudyard Kipling, The Story Of A Genius, Lond., Cecil Palmer, 1930.

51 ------- Rudyard Kipling, A Survey Of His Literary Art, Lond., Long & Co., 1914.

in interpreting their meaning. Once again in A Literary Appreciation,[52] by the same author, the complete works are evaluated and Kipling's philosophy is read from them. A further work by Hopkins, A Character Study,[53] is little more than a repetition of earlier works with particular emphasis on literary and character development while a final work Rudyard Kipling's World[54] presents a portrait of Kipling's environment, a suggestion of his philosophy and a few critical comments on his work. Though it is evident that Hopkins has made a wide study of Kipling and his works it is also evident that he has not prepared a study of the reviews in an analytical light.

Cyril Falls[55] provides a study which is critical as to Kipling's knowledge, ability, philosophy and craftsmanship.

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52 Hopkins, R. Thurston, Rudyard Kipling, A Literary Appreciation, Lond., Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1915, p. 357.

53 ------- Rudyard Kipling, A Character Study, Lond., Simpkin Marshall & Co., 1915, p. 251.

54 ------- Rudyard Kipling's World, Lond., Holden Co., 1925, p. 276.

55 Falls, Cyril, Rudyard Kipling, A Critical Study, Lond., Martin Secker, 1915.

W. M. Hart[56] is another critic who, in treating of Kipling's ability as a story writer and the methods used by him to reach his readers, also studies Kipling's shortcomings both as a writer and as a philosopher. Edward Shanks[57] has a good study on Kipling's works and their relationship to his political philosophy. His study, concentrating on this aspect of Kipling's works, is none too successful, but it is still a work of value. G. K. Chesterton[58] gives Kipling some attention in his work Heretics which is a brilliant assessment of the latter's value as a philosopher.

Of the few theses[59] already prepared and presented to universities there does not seem to be any that have studied the intended topic of this thesis.

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56 Hart, Walter Morris, Kipling the Story Writer, Berkeley Calif., Univ. of California Press., 1916.

57 Shanks, Edward B., Rudyard Kipling, A Study In Literature And Political Ideas, N. Y., Doubleday Doran Co., 1940, p. 267.

58 Chesterton, G. K., Heretics, Lond., John Lane, 1919.

59 See Bibliography of Theses, page 10

Wm. B. Schneider[60] in his thesis approaches the intended topic more closely than anyone else, but even here his approach is more in technique than in subject matter. At the start of his thesis Schneider states;

> The aim of this study has been to write the history of the reception given in England to the works of Rudyard Kipling from the beginning of his career until after the World War.----------It seemed likely that a record of his ups and downs in public esteem would serve as a gauge of the vicissitudes through which Imperialism itself was passing during the thirty years 1889 to 1919.[61]

In pursuing his aim Schneider used the comments from newspapers rather than from literary periodicals. His most quoted sources were The London Times, The Daily News, and The Manchester Guardian. He showed that the period from 1888 to 1896 was a "purely literary" period when the political note, though growing stronger, was not the dominant one, and that the period 1897 to December 1899 was the period of Kipling's ascendency as "Imperialist Prophet" and national councillor.[62]

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60 Schneider, Wm. B., Rudyard Kipling And Imperialism, Thesis for Ph. D. in English Language and Literature, University of Chicago, December 1938, p. 219.

61 Ibid. p. 1.

62 Ibid. p. 8.

In order to arrive at the above conclusions Schneider reviewed the more favourable comments from papers on pages ten to twenty-three of his thesis and the adverse comments on pages twenty-four to thirty-five. In other words in the space of twenty-five pages of a two hundred and nineteen page thesis Schneider dealt with the same period of time this thesis intends to cover. Of his own treatment of this period Schneider states that "the criticism just recorded, though reasonably exhaustive, including minor notes of many sorts, is yet scattered and disorganized, derived from relatively few critics."[63]

It is evident that Schneider had little interest in Kipling's literary works. His study was to determine the attitude of the public towards Imperialism rather than towards Kipling either as a man or a writer and so, while he approached the intended topic of this thesis the most closely of all works prepared to date, yet he did so only in technique and not in subject matter.

From this brief examination of the more closely allied works on Kipling it would appear that the topic of this thesis

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63 Ibid. p. 36.

has remained untreated to date. Therefore, since it remains untreated and since the period 1890 to 1900 was Kipling's most important decade it seems pertinent that the pattern of critical comment be investigated. It was during this ten year period that Kipling won for himself a right to literary consideration, and so too, during this time the greatest volume of periodical criticism was presented. It is logical that this colourful period should have been the object of intensive study on the part of critics of that day. Yet as has been noted, these critics themselves have been overlooked. Their writings appeared originally in numerous papers and magazines during the period; frequently their articles were republished later, either in their original form, or after alterations by the author, in critical anthologies. Sometimes they became the central element of a larger study by the same writer. This thesis therefore intends to attempt a review of the critical periodical material with a desire to seek out any pattern of behaviour that might be suggested as to the ebb and flow of critical opinion concerning Rudyard Kipling and his works during the ten year period from 1890 to 1900.

CHAPTER I

THE YEAR 1890

Kipling's "boyhood" works were not of literary interest. His first production to obtain public comment was Departmental Ditties.[1] The birth of this is interestingly told by Kipling himself[2] and he described it as a little brown baby with a string around its middle. As new quantities of this work were called for Kipling kept them coming from the press, and each successive issue was altered in some respect to conform with public desire. By 1889 this work had reached London as a fine bound volume where it received a surprising reception. The Critic declared in April, 1890, "the literary hero of the present hour is the man who came from nowhere, and who a year ago was consciously nothing in the literary world".[3] Of his first works to reach London the Athenaeum stated. "Mr.

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1 Departmental Ditties was first published in 1886 in India by Kipling himself, working after hours with the assisstance of the staff of the Civil and Military Gazette.

2 Livingston, L. S., "The First Books of Rudyard Kipling" in The Bookman, Vol. 10, p. 329.

3 "Rudyard Kipling" in The Critic issue of April 26, 1890, p. 212-213.

Kipling is a new writer who has something both new to say and to sing."[4] At the same time it predicted that "Mr. Kipling's verse is clever but it is as a prose writer, in our judgement, that he will make a permanent reputation."[5] By August, 1890 the first wave of applause had started to die out and the more observant critics were recording their views. Andrew Lang[6] in his brief comment on Kipling was perhaps among the first to voice the prophetic future of Kipling. This writer criticizes Kipling's comments on vice and raises the question of his ability to excel at a long novel. "Whether he can write a long novel remains to be seen. Very few men have excelled at

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4 "Departmental Ditties" in The Athenaeum, Vol. 95, April 26, 1890, p. 527.

5 Ibid.

6 Lang, Andrew, "Rudyard Kipling" in Harper's Magazine, Vol. 34, August, 1890, p. 688.
Harper's Magazine was considered rather Methodistic in outlook.
Andrew Lang was born in Edinburg, Mar. 31, 1844. Became Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Was the writer of several books on criticism as well as some novels and poetry. His favourite authors were Homer, Herodotus, Lucian, Virgil, Horace, Rabelais, Moliere, Dumas, Shakespeare, Fielding, Jane Austin, Thackeray, Scott, Burns, and Haggard. Lang was regarded as a gifted critic.

both forms of the art, and he certainly excels in one."[7] Lang then concludes his study by expressing his doubts as to Kipling's ability to weave a consistent fable. He does not expect for Kipling too enthusiastic a popularity because "his subjects are too remote and too unfamiliar."[8] The attempted appraisal of Departmental Ditties soon died out in the avalanche of comment that arose upon the appearance of his first prose works. While still in India he had collected his short stories from the papers and had re-presented them in a series of books under the titles of Plain Tales From The Hills,[9] Soldiers Three,[10] Story Of The Gadsbys,[11] In Black And White,[12] Under The Deodars,[13]

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7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Kipling, Rudyard, Plain Tales From The Hills, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1888, 28 of the 40 tales appeared in the Civil And Military Gazette.

10 -------- Soldiers Three, Allahabad, Pioneer Press, 1888.

11 -------- Story of the Gadsbys, Allahabad, Pioneer Press, 1888.

12 -------- In Black And White, Allahabad, A. H. Wheeler, 1888.

13 -------- Under The Deodars, Allahabad, A. H. Wheeler, 1888.

The Phantom Rickshaw,[14] and Wee Willie Winkie.[15] When these works did appear in London they were the cause of considerable comment. The Athenaeum on reviewing Soldiers Three stated that the characters "positively palpitate with actuality and we make bold to say that there had never been a thing like them in literature before."[16] It has already been noted that Andrew Lang doubted Kipling's ability to excel at a long novel but The Athenaeum had this to say. "What position Mr. Kipling may ultimately attain to is impossible, upon his present performance, to predict with any certainty. Yet if he should prove capable of filling a larger canvas than he has as yet assayed he might conceivably become a second Dickens."[17] The Catholic World advanced the same thought in its review on Forty Tales From The Hills. It expressed the hope that Kipling's pen would not run dry, but declared that a larger

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14 -------- The Phantom Rickshaw, Allahabad, A. H. Wheeler, 1888.

15 -------- Wee Willie Winkie, Allahabad, A. H. Wheeler, 1888.

16 "Soldiers Three" in The Athenaeum, Vol. 95, Apr. 26, 1890, p. 528.

17 Ibid.

story was needed to correct the impression of entire artlessness made by the slighter sketches. "One is inclined to believe that the novelty of scene and subject is all, or mainly all, that gives them their unique flavour."[18] This article concludes by suggesting that Kipling has greater ability than he has as yet exposed, and implied that a larger work might display these greater qualities.

The Critic was not quite as anxious to see the proposed novel as was The Catholic World, but nevertheless, in spite of its praise for Kipling's ability to seek out and portray romantic elements from the life around him, like The Catholic World it was not satisfied and said, "we await hopefully his promised novel."[19] The Athenaeum, however, was not concerned at this time with any new medium for Kipling. Its review on In Black And White felt that Kipling should be "unreservedly" congratulated on the result for each succeeding

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18 "Forty Tales From The Hills," in The Catholic World Vol., 51, Sept. 1890, p. 834. This magazine was looked upon as the standard Catholic paper of the United States from 1872 to 1898.

19 "Plain Tales From The Hills," in The Critic, Vol. 17, (n. s. Vol. 14), Sept. 13, 1890, p. 127.

tale seemed to be increasingly enjoyable. His technique was especially appealing to the reviewer who liked to experience one event after another without an interval of two hundred pages. Finally in a complete disregard of the clamor for a longer novel the article concluded that if Kipling did not become an Anglo-Indian Dickens "he will at all events occupy a high place in the literature of our day."[20]

The Review of Reviews had two points of view. It pointed out the confusion that seemed to exist among the reviewers. Mr. Howells[21] in an earlier article in Harper's had declared that the public was mad to follow this man, that

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20 "In Black And White" in The Athenaeum, Vol. 95, Sept. 13, 1890, p. 348.

21 William Dean Howells was born at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, March 1, 1837. His father was a country editor and Howells gained most of his education in newspaper offices. He published some poems in Ohio papers and in The Antlantic Monthly. He was United States consul to Venice from 1861-65. He was associated with the New York Nation 1865-1881. He was an editor or contributor to Atlantic Monthly, Harpers, Cosmopolitan. He prepared several volumes of poetry, biography and travel sketches. He was regarded as something of a "pessimist" but always "a high-minded American Gentleman." See-Peck, Harry Thurston, "Living Critics, William Dean Howells" in The Bookman Feb. 1897, p. 529-41. Also, The Weekly "Notes" column of the Nation, August 7, 1890, p. 111-12.

they were ignoring good literature for the thrills found in the wild and strange tales of Kipling. The other point of view pointed out by the article was advanced by Mr. Julian in Lippincotts in which he praised Kipling highly. "Whatever he writes becomes literature . . . It is genius to say more than you know, and to seem to know more than you say, to be young and to seem old."[22] This theme of admiration is perhaps partly explained in an article from the Nation.

> Occasionally an author is so lucky as to capture the public before the critics "get after him", and one or two of their generation manage to obtain a verdict so tremendously favorable that the power even to modify enthusiasm is in their hands alone. Such is the happy fortune of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, the young Lochinvar of fiction, who about a year ago came out of the East, came unannounced and came all alone. No herald with brazen trumpets sounded his approach, and no host of friendly spirits whispering, winking, and nodding through the press made straight and smooth his path to glory.[23]

The Critic points out how his success was due to his ability to tell a story, to his ability to create imaginative

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22 "Mr. Rudyard Kipling" in The Review of Reviews, Vol. 2, October, 1890, p. 341.

23 "Plain Tales From The Hills", in The Nation, Vol. 51, December 11, 1890, p. 465-466.

tales, and to his ability to present India in a different and truer light than did those who preceded him. Finally, this writer makes an observation, which T. S. Eliot confirmed years later, that Kipling was not a poet, but only a writer of verses that told a tale.[24] This same notion was further advanced by The Critic in a review on Departmental Ditties when it pointed out that some of the qualities found in Kipling's verses were also found in his tales, such as wit, pathos, cleverness, terseness and a style of expression which is striking beyond measure.[25] "In all, Mr. Kipling's verses are admirable and full of vigor and vigorous music. They reveal the same genius of story telling shown in Plain Tales From The Hills."[26]

S. R. Crachett while reviewing Kipling's stories in The Bookman, declared that, "as each succeeding book came to

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24 Ibid. See also T. S. Eliot, A Choice of Kipling's Poetry, Lond., Schribners, 1941. In his introduction to this work Eliot declares that Kipling's works were criticized by a standard that did not apply. As a result Kipling was condemned as a poet. Eliot holds that he never intended by anything other than a story teller and his poems tell a story in verse form.

25 "Departmental Ditties" in The Critic, Vol. 17, Dec. 20, 1890, p. 317.

26 Ibid.

us it grew clearer that the romance writer of the specialist had come to us."[27] The specialists, doctors, engineers, sailors, generals, had all come to feel, when reading one of Kipling's tales which touched their trade, that he was one of their profession. His knowledge seemed sound and true.

In review, the year 1890 saw Kipling arrive as an unknown, and all alone. His new books had seized the public imagination from the start and he kept "flinging" them at his readers with such speed that the critics, who were unaware of his arrival, were unable to review them fast enough. The public had formed their own impressions while the critics were trying to form theirs as well. Along with the general public the reviewers liked him for the most part and expressed the hope that greater things were to come. Especially did they call for a long novel that might prove a greater masterpiece than the multitude of short stories that had appeared in prose and verse.

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27 Crachett, S. R., "Some Tales Of Rudyard Kipling" in The Bookman, Vol. 1, 1890, p. 23.

CHAPTER II

THE YEAR 1891

The predominant call of the critics in the year 1890 was that Kipling should provide a longer work. They felt that if he could produce a long novel that would be as good as his short stories then he might become an Anglo-Indian Dickens. The Light That Failed[1] was prepared and presented. The reviewers were ready this time and they pounced upon his new creation with vigor. The Spectator of January 1891[2] praised the work as enjoyable with the statement that "our first idea is that here is a bit of true life photographed for us by an experienced hand."[3] The review then proceeds directly to the assertion that

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1 Kipling, Rudyard, The Light That Failed, Lond., Macmillan Co., 1891. This story first appeared in Lippincotts Magazine issue of January 1891, p. 1-97.

2 "The Light That Failed" in The Spectator, Vol. 66, January 31, 1891, p. 174.

3 Ibid.

> we must say that in our estimation Mr. Kipling has not succeeded in adding to his literary reputation by using a larger canvas. We do say that judging from his book, it is extremely doubtful if the Kipling mind will ever acquire the power to write a sustained work. But then is it necessary that he do so?[4]

and concludes by pointing out that this work is a series of short crisp photographs strung together, each excellent, but failing, when united, to make a perfect whole. Kipling according to this reviewer, cannot be raised to the position some had hoped possible, but instead had already found a special place of his own.

In reference to The Light That Failed, similar thoughts were expressed by Lionel Johnson in his article in The Academy.[5] He pointed out how Kipling had power and wanted to

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4 Ibid.

5 Johnson, Lionel, "The Light That Failed" in The Academy, Vol. 30, April 4, 1891, p. 319-320. The Academy was a magazine devoted to literary criticism only and reached its highest prestige during the 1890's. Lionel Johnson was an "intellectual poet" but was not "old fashioned" in the critics sense. "He had a certain exquisite sense of fitness, and had a natural affinity with, and love for, ancient and venerable things." See also, Tynan, Katharine, "Lionel Johnson" in The Bookman (Lond.,) Nov. 1915, p. 50-52.

use it constantly; this was his weakness. He was not a thinker, but an observer, and it was not possible to take all sides of life by storm for literary purposes. He was truly the master of human nature in the primitive and unconventional aspects, and his rapid sketches could give the impression of immense capacity, but could scarcely show a delicacy of sympathy and understanding. Hence his first novel was held by Johnson to be heavy in interest as to things of action, but light in interest as to things of character.[6] The Critic agrees with this contention by saying "the book is a strong one, its strength being, in fact, almost brutal."[7]

While The Light That Failed seemed a disappointment to the critics, new collections of short stories, namely Life's Handicap, Being Stories Of Mine Own People[8] brought new praise. The Nation pointed out that,

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6 "The Light That Failed" in The Critic Vol. 18, April 4, 1891, p. 178.

7 Ibid.

8 Kipling, Rudyard, Life's Handicap, Being Stories Of Mine Own People, Lond., Macmillan Co., 1891. Contained some twenty-eight stories.

> since this author first appeared, opinion about him has ranged from abhorrence to idolatory, but we believe, to such as have read him most, the young luminary will most clearly appear as a writer with staying power.[9]

This point of view is further corroborated by the review on Mr. Henry James' introduction to the stories. Of his introduction The Nation said, "An introduction by Mr. Henry James has an enthusiasm we have never known this critic to previously bestow on an Anglo-Saxon."[10] The Catholic World pursued this opinion by saying that "Mr. James is ample, unstinted, and yet discriminating in his praise."[11] The article continues to point out that this critic has surprised all by his generosity and lavish commendation. Mr. James pointed out that in his opinion Kipling had gained his own place in literature with the same certainty as did Mozart in music. Harpers continued this discussion on Mr. James' review by saying;

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9 "Mine Own People" in The Nation Vol. 52, June 11, 1891, p. 483.
The Nation reviewed world events, art and literature. During the 1890's it was politically opposed to American Imperialism.

10 Ibid.

11 "Mine Own People" in The Catholic World, Vol. 53, July 1891, p. 603-604.

> it is an admirable criticism, like all criticism he writes, and if Mr. Kipling has done no more than to make such a friend he might well feel himself a most successful man; this is not done everyday.[12]

Apart from expressing surprise that Kipling had won the unstinted praise of a foremost critic, Harpers' reviewer also pointed out a new cause for delight in Kipling's work, this was his keen study of animal life, a study in which he seemed to penetrate the realm of lower consciousness and to have understood the inarticulate moods of dumb animals. The Catholic World's article observed how Edison had once stated how he had put himself in place of inarticulate things and by so doing had found the secret of many of his marvelous inventions. The Catholic World then suggests that this was also, apparently, Kipling's method when preparing intimate scenes of animal life. All this led Harpers to declare that Kipling's new ability "provoked the interest anew."[13]

The year 1891 also produced some broader criticisms of the man and his works than those which dealt only with his individual works as they appeared. It has already been noted

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12 "Mine Own People" in Harpers Vol. 83, Sept. 1891, p. 641.

13 Ibid.

that such men as Henry James had studied Kipling. This same year J. M. Barrie presented a lengthy criticism of Kipling in the Contemporary Review.[14] He pointed out how dramatically Kipling had come to them. "Most writers begin with one book, but he came from India with half a dozen ready and fired them at the town simultaneously."[15] Barrie pointed out that Kipling was in search of the devil that is in everyone, and having found him brought him forth for inspection in a series of lightning flashes. It was the ability to produce these flashes that became Kipling's power. This speed of picture production, however, made many uneasy. All the light was on one spot and its relative relationship could never really be determined. Hence the critics had called for a longer story

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14 Barrie, J. M., "Mr. Kipling's Stories" in The Contemporary Review, Vol. 59, March 1891, p. 364-372. The Contemporary Review was an organ of social reform begun in 1866 and published articles on politics, science, religion and all important questions of the day. Was usually Liberal in politics.
James Barrie was born at Kirriemuir in Scotland May 9, 1860. Obtained M. A. from Edinburgh University and an LLD from St. Andrews. He was a journalist and novelist of note. "In him Scotland had secured both its Richardson and its Dickens happily rolled into one." See also Wallace, William, "The Reader" in The Bookman Nov. 1900, p. 40-41.

15 Ibid.

with a more familiar locale, one that they could examine, as it were, on their own ground. Barrie pointed out how Kipling in his earlier works had frequently dealt with the "dirty corner" of life. In The Record of Bedalia Herodsfoot, Kipling had gone again to the "dirty corner," London's East End,[16] and attempted a tale based on scenes with which he was none too familiar. Barrie felt that in presenting Dick Heldar, Kipling presented many of his own ideals. Heldar believed that having knocked about the world in shady company he had arrived at a stage where there was no more to learn. He had disregard for those with no artistic talent; had no sympathy with humanity, only an affection for the picturesque which might, under ordinary circumstances, be most ordinary. Heldar's ideals were "smart and gaudy" and Kipling, like Heldar, was blind to the best in life. Barrie felt that Kipling was out of touch with life and was somewhat unwilling to look for the key. He concluded his observations however

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16 Kipling, Rudyard, The Record of Bedalia Herodsfoot. This story was originally published in the Christmas number of the Detroit Free Press, no date. There seems to be some confusion in the statement that this story originally appeared in the Christmas number of the Detroit Free Press for it had also appeared in Harper's Weekly on November 15 and November 22, issues of 1890.

by pointing out that if Kipling could come to realize this fault he could learn much from grocers and other ordinary folk and could make a giant step in the direction of greater success. The Light That Failed was, to Barrie, a remarkable work when all things were considered, for here Kipling was not only ignorant of life, but in attempting a medium entirely foreign to him he had created a true novel, even though it was not a great one. This was proof that he had latent capabilities which he might later develop.

> If he is as conscientious in the future as he has been in the past, and discovers that nothing lives in literature, save what is enobling, he may surprise us again, for the like of him at his age has seldom been known in fiction.[17]

The year 1891 closes with a renewed appreciation and broader esteem of Kipling's works. In The Fortnightly Review, F. Adams presented a broad appreciation of the man and his place in literature, by pointing out how the writers immediately preceding Kipling had reduced literature to a very feminine aspect and the critics had praised writers and articles of a most mediocre sort. Kipling, according to Adams, had aimed high and by taking his work seriously had

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17 Ibid.

deliberately added something of consequence to the vast store of English literature. "From the very beginning Mr. Kipling struck a strong solemn note."[18] Adams regrets that nature had not given Kipling as much brain power as pictorial talent because his second great ability was his power to present pictorial scenes. Kipling contents himself with presenting the scene, never evaluating it. He accepts the contention that white men, and Englishmen in particular, were destined to conquer and to rule other races, who in turn were made for that purpose. His pictorial magic makes his works enjoyable, his critical limitations make them hard. In presenting Anglo-Indian society he sets his characters up rough and raw, with no half tints to tame them down. His women had little, if any, reference to a religious faith and his men display a nature of eternal barbarism - that atavistic impulse of ruthless action that lies deeply buried under civilization's polish. He worked at white heat continuing to produce works of good quality surrounded with mediocre and even "wretched stuff." Adams pointed out that in spite of successive stories he had failed to improve the quality of these works. Unless he

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18 Adams, F., "Rudyard Kipling" in The Fortnightly Review, Vol. 55, (n. s. 50), Nov. 1891, p. 686-700.

became more critical and more concerned with his efforts Adams predicted that "his vogue may pass, - it seems passing somewhat already, - as all vogues pass."[19]

The year 1891 opened with a call for a larger canvas. The critics felt that they could estimate Kipling more easily if he would give them a larger subject to examine and preferably a novel dealing with scenes familiar to them. Hence when The Light That Failed appeared it was immediately dubbed "the novel that failed". As the critics settled down it was felt that the novel's failure was due to two causes; first, it was a new technique with which Kipling was unfamiliar; secondly, his knowledge of life was faulty as the long tale revealed. There was, however, hope for the future for these evils could be remedied. His short stories continued to please but as was pointed out he failed to improve in his understanding of life and unless this improvement could come soon Kipling might find that he had been little more than a

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19 Ibid.

vogue which might soon pass away as some critics felt he was already doing. A study of the remaining years will reveal the actual results as compared with these early criticisms from the second year of his popularity.

CHAPTER III

THE YEAR 1892

In 1892 another collection of verse came to the public in The Barrack Room Ballads[1] followed by the mixed opinions from the critics. The Spectator pointed out that "for the most part his ballads are as wonderful in their descriptive power as they are vigorous in their dramatic force. His ballad East And West is worthy to stand beside Sir Walter Scott's Border Ballads for its martial spirit, its fire, its rapid movement and its ringing eloquence."[2] This however, was the most complimentary remark to be made on these verses by this reviewer who felt that other considerations minimized their good qualities. He regretted the brutal force which the poems lauded for to him they revealed just how many degraded instruments there were in the conquest of empire.

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1 Kipling, Rudyard, Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses, Lond., Methuen Co., 1892, pp xx, 208.
Many of the twenty-two poems in this collection had already appeared in such periodicals as The National Observer, Macmillan's Magazine, St. James' Gazette, and The Athenaeum. Six were new.

2 "Barrack Room Ballads," a review in The Spectator, Vol. 68, May 7, 1892, p. 644-5.

He felt that the best thing to be said for both the verses and the soldiers, was their ability to recognize and admire a sense of duty greater than their own, even when found in the enemy.

The Athenaeum on the other hand, was quite pleased with the new collection of verses. "Barrack Room Ballads, contain some of the best work Mr. Kipling has ever done, which is saying a good deal."[3] However Lionel Johnson in The Academy felt a little less confident when he pointed out that the Barrack Room Ballads were good in themselves, but the "other verses" were especially poor. In these poems Kipling was too inclined to display the grandiose aspect of things, and the glory of empire in particular. He certainly harped on the necessity of impressing the "poor little street-bred people" with the vastness of empire and in so doing he allowed good taste and good style to suffer.[4] The same sentiments were expressed by G. A. Simcox in The Bookman. "Like everything Mr. Kipling has written hitherto it is

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3 "Barrack Room Ballads" in The Athenaeum, Vol.99, May 14, 1892, p. 629.

4 Johnson, Lionel, "Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses", in The Academy, Vol. 41, May 28, 1892, p. 509.

sparkling and vigorous, it is sufficiently melodious and suggestive and very disappointing."[5] The Critic was more easily satisfied for it described the works by saying, "here is a volume of verse which offers to the lovers of balladry the best product of the times."[6] The Dial was rather uncertain as to the place the Ballads would attain. Its reviewer felt that the poems, for the most part, were "sound and fury" but he would hesitate to say that they "signified nothing."[7] The Overland, the most certain of all the reviewers as far as the future of the Ballads was concerned, pointed out how Kipling's earlier poetical works were such a

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5 Simcox, G. A., "Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses, in The Academy, Vol. 41, May 28, 1892, p. 509. George A. Simcox received his M. A. from Corpus Christi College Oxford, in 1862; was Fellow of Queen's College starting in 1863 and was librarian there from 1866. He prepared several works on the classics his most important being A History Of Latin Literature. While Simcox has been criticized for the lack of system and a tendency toward flippancy yet his keen critical insight and his power to appreciate what is good and valuable even in authors with whom he is not in sympathy make him a critic worth considering. See also "A History Of Latin Literature from Ennius to Boethius" in The Saturday Review, May 19, 1883, p. 645-6.

6 "Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses," in The Critic, Vol. 21, July 19, 1892, p. 15.

7 "Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses," in The Dial, Vol. 13, September 16, 1892, p. 186-7.

puzzle that the critics were stunned by the volume of real power displayed but were also aware that "the main body of verse was so crude and commonplace that there was hesitation in deciding whether the occasional flashes of divine fire were frequent enough to make up for the murky cloud of vulgarity and snobbishness out of which they came."[8] This review continued by pointing out that this collection was better than Departmental Ditties and this was because Kipling had the qualities of a ballad writer. A ballad should tell a tale and deal with the dynamics of emotion. In the ballad there should be no time to analyze. The tale must be told in straightforward simple construction that mounts in feeling to an irresistable pitch before the end is reached. The final effect must really be one of the heart rather than of the mind. Kipling is a master in this medium. He is objective and is able to present a series of flash pictures, one hurried upon the other with the climax coming from the cumulative impression.

One other work appeared in 1892 when Kipling collaborated with his brother-in-law, Walcott Balestier, to

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8 "Barrack Room Ballads And Other Verses," in The Overland, Vol. 20, September, 1892, p. 324-5.

present Naulakha.[9] This work was not particularly successful nor did it produce much comment in the literary world. Both The Saturday Review[10] and The Spectator[11] were content in their reviews to point out that Kipling's hand was readily evident in the work. Even the characters had many of the same qualities and defects as found in The Light That Failed. Not only were the characters weak, the plot was poor and the reader was constantly confused as to just what was the real cause for the action of the story.

> Taken altogether, The Naulakha, is worth reading though it falls far below the standards of Mr. Kipling's general work. - It would be most unfair, in lack of distinct evidence, to put down its failure to the collaboration of the late Mr. Balestier, but one cannot help remarking how strongly wanting the story is in Mr. Kipling's ordinary conciseness, strength of diction and direction of purpose.[11]

The year 1892 brought little new praise to Kipling; his Barrack Room Ballads were praised merely as ballads; his

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9 Kipling, Rudyard, and Walcott Balestier, The Naulakha, A Story of East and West, Lond., W. Heineman, 1892.

10 "The Naulakha", in The Saturday Review, Vol. 74, August 20, 1892, p. 226. The Saturday Review was very helletristic in nature during the 1890's.

11 "A Story of East and West", in The Spectator, Vol. 69, August 6, 1892, p. 196-7.

collaboration on The Naulakha failed to win him much favour. Even such foreign reviewers as W. Bentzon[12] found Kipling too willing to accentuate the rough and brutal, with too little regard for things truly human. According to the reviewers Kipling seemed to be standing still at the end of the year 1892.

12 Bentzon, W., "French Criticism of Rudyard Kipling," in The Review of Reviews, Vol. 5, June 1892, p. 605.

CHAPTER IV

THE YEAR 1893

If the critics had little to say in 1892 they had less to say in 1893 for this was a very quiet year, partly because Kipling presented little to the public during the year and partly because he had left London to take up residence in Vermont. He had plans for a new house drawn up and undertook its construction early in 1893. This fact seemed to please the American readers who looked forward to having him in their midst as a freind and a possible teller of American tales.[1]

His one work to appear in 1893, Many Inventions[2] was almost disregarded by the critics at large. It had followed the other tales so closely in style and content that the reviewers scarcely thought it worth much comment. The only consistent criticism that appeared was a firm complaint against Kipling's persistent over-use of technical terms.

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1 "Kipling At Home In Vermont", in The Critic, Vol. 22, January 21, 1893, p. 34.

2 Kipling, Rudyard, Many Inventions, Lond., Macmillan, 1893.

In November, 1893, his poetry received an excellent review from Francis Adams[3] who pointed out that Kipling disregarded the old fashioned idea of an intellectual reader. Rather, he prepared verses to be accompanied by the banjo so that they could be enjoyed by all. Adams regretted that these poems failed to improve as they came along. He could not find a conscious or critical development in Kipling's work and because of this he felt that Kipling would not advance from his original position, a journalist of genius. In reviewing Kipling's success he pointed out how most writers work so hard for recognition that when they do attain it they are too fatigued really to care. But Kipling's experience was the experience of the chosen few, to awake and find himself famous.

> His vogue was the most universal one of our time. His achievements were so real and striking, his contribution to literature was so undeniable that no one possessed of candor and intelligence could refuse to take him seriously. He had lifted the short story, as an expression of thought and emotion, a whole plane higher than he had found it.[4]

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3 Adams, Francis, "Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Departmental Ditties", in The Fortnightly Review, Vol. 60, (n. s. 54), Nov. 1893, p. 596-603.

4 Ibid.

In the light of his short story success his Barrack Room Ballads suffered. In some respects they present Kipling's most genuine personal expression but the logical question that comes forward is "is this product good enough, strong enough, verifiable enough to last."[5] Adams pointed out how Kipling has no middle place. "The drop in Mr. Kipling is always straight from the stars into the puddles."[6] He spoils some of his best works with flaws in workmanship or by uncertainty of touch "but in his happier moments with thought and emotion at white heat, he again and again transcends his tricks of inferior workmanship."[7] Adams then severely criticized Kipling for his lack of critical advancement. "Truly at this hour of the day, a writer of ability should be ashamed to do such dirty work, - can a man's self-respect survive it?"[8] The conclusion of this study of Kipling's verses is reached by his comparing their frailty with the strength of the short stories. He describes the short stories like the visits of

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5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

angels which come to us "as a sudden and sheer delight, for what is rarer than freshness wedded to sincerity and strength at one with beauty."[9] His hopes for the poetry is far less certain. "Little, very little, of Mr. Kipling's poetry has the element of permanence in it. - - He contributes no appreciable body of work. It is mostly tour-de-force, exceedingly brilliant, delightfully clever, monstrously "taking", but it does not wear, it has come like a meteor, to pass, not like a star, to stay."[10]

The year 1893 passed as the most unimportant one, from this literary point of view, since Kipling's arrival in 1890. His work was one in number and slight in importance. His critics were silent except for Francis Adams who offered a calm yet effective review. To those who foretold that Kipling was but a vogue which seemed to be passing the year 1893 seemed a fulfillment of their predictions.

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9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE YEAR 1894

While the years 1892 and 1893 saw a decline in the volume of critical comment it came to the fore again in 1894 with the appearance of Kipling's new creation The Jungle Book.[1] This work caused his fame to take a step forward and to have himself hailed as a new Aesop. The Spectator found that this work was new and exciting; it felt that Kipling's tales of animal life were "far bolder, stronger, and more impressive pictures than those of Aesop."[2] "He even reaches the sublime in his pictures of the python, of whose chivalry and ghastly fascination he draws one of the most splendid and lurid pictures which has ever been printed in the English Literature."[3] His tales of animal life reveal that he was essentially a romantic rather than a naturalist.

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1 Kipling, Rudyard, The Jungle Book, Lond., Macmillan, 1894, p. viii, 212.

2 "Mr. Kipling's Studies of Animal Life," in The Spectator, Vol. 72, June 2, 1894, p. 747-748.

3 Ibid.

> Mr. Kipling is a sort of Rembrandt to the animal world, and when he finds a promising subject, of either admiring or indignant portraiture, he deepens all the lines and brings out a most impressive portrait not of the creature itself, but of that which the creature suggested most forcibly to his vivid imaginative touch.[4]

Kipling painted for effect rather than for scientific accuracy. Even his portrait of the man-cub is founded on fiction rather than on fact. "His power is that of a visionary, imaginative, not of a naturalist's keen insight."[5] The Spectator's article finally points out how animals are of a much simpler organization than human beings and hence are easily used to portray the simpler truths of life. Therefore Mr. Kipling's great imaginative power is capable of impressive creations along this line and so he is certainly "a master in allegory of a much higher kind than any which Aesop ever produced."[6]

The popularity of The Jungle Book marched on. The Athenaeum opened its review by saying,

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4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

> Mr. Kipling has done many good things in his time, but it is questionable whether any of his numerous inventions will be more widely popular than The Jungle Book. Take it all together with its queer stories, its clever verses, and its capital pictures, it is in every respect a most desirable possession.[7]

The Bookman also was laudatory but at the same time much more critical than The Athenaeum, of the work. It liked the stories and especially the poems heading them even though some of them were not "at his highest point of vigor." The Bookman's reviewer deplored Kipling's constant invention of political allusion which lies at the bottom of the imperfect sympathy found in much of the criticism of Kipling and his works. "Mr. Kipling has some splendid visions, for all his love of discipline and order. It is when his spirit gets away into the wider paths of nature that he touches real greatness."[8] The Critic while stating, "we acknowledge a real addition to the library in this book,"[9] is critical

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7 "The Jungle Book," in The Athenaeum, Vol. 103, June 6, 1894, p. 766.

8 "The Jungle Book," in The Bookman, Vol. 6, July, 1894, p. 116.

9 "The Jungle Book," in The Critic, Vol. 25, (N. S. 22), 1894, p. 37.

of the reviews themselves by saying, "we have read the learned reviews of this work but we have not found the secret of their charm."[10] Adachi Kinnosuke in an article in The Arena presented a rather critical estimate of Kipling. As to the Jungle stories he felt that devoid of wit, they were merely impressions of one who looked into the forests of India and fell in love with the inhabitants there. The reason for his good treatment of Jungle tales, according to this reviewer was that Kipling's mental constitution was a jungle also.[11]

> In Kipling, constructive imagination is lorded over with fancies and a brilliant series of pictures. His imagination salaams to his memory. Let us grant all that are his; and that means much that is excellent; grant that he strikes key notes and in a few strokes images forth a picture real and vivid as life; grant him that calm reserve, the conscious strength that is silent, that dislike for the superfluous, grant him that simplicity wherein the Athenaeum catches the Homeric accent; grant him the poetic fire that glances laughs, sings throughout his pages; grant him his horse-laugh wit, which is very pleasant sometimes; grant him all these, and much more if you please, - what then?[12]

All these allowable qualities were behind the acceptance of

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10 Ibid.

11 Kinnosuke, Adachi, "A Japanese View of Kipling," in The Arena, Vol. 21, p. 707.

12 Ibid.

Kipling by the English and American readers but they add little to real literary merit even though they make the author popular.

W. H. Bishop presented a review on Mr. Kipling's Works So Far in The Forum and in it he found Kipling particularly attractive.

> He is a belligerent and even a decidedly pugnacious spirit, one of those who appear in due course to unceremoniously knock about accepted traditions, disturb apathy that tends to settle down upon the arts if too long let alone, and to clear the literary atmosphere.[13]

Bishop pointed out the means by which Kipling's works had attained such a position. First of all his field of study was original, - the comparison of two great civilizations, Indian and Western, - and those who became fatigued found here, a fresh interest. The criticism advanced against Kipling's works, Bishop remarked, was usually a comparison

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13 Bishop, W. H., "Mr. Kipling's Works So Far", in The Forum, Vol. 19, p. 476-483.
The Forum was published in New York and has been described as a large general magazine of controversy. While it dealt with all subjects relating to such items as religion, race, science, or domestic politics yet it always addressed itself to the thinker. It attempted to bring real thought to real questions.
William H. Bishop was born at Hartford, Conn., Jan. 7, 1847. Was a professor at Yale and wrote several volumes of novels and travel impressions.

between the works of Kipling and of those most gifted in the short story telling profession. While in itself this speaks of his value, he deplored the idea of trying to determine Kipling's reputation so early in his career and pointed out how the public should expect a large volume of work still to be produced since Kipling was still a very young man. His observation was that although Kipling was chiefly a romanticist there should be little more determination of his role in literature than that.

> There is time enough in the span of years before him, in the natural course of things, for much change, for evaluation, possibly a new period, or even many of them; then we may well enough use deliberation in considering the true place in literature of his latest and most interesting literary phenomena.[14]

The year 1894 saw an upsurge in Kipling's literary reputation. The years 1892 and 1893 almost seemed to prove true the forecast of his passing away. However, with the appearance of the Jungle Book he again became the object of attention. His earlier works had brought him a comparison with Dickens; his latest work found him a comparison with Aesop. His telling of animal stories had presented a new

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14 Ibid.

side to his nature and a new cause for further psychological study of his works. The reviewers now felt that periods of lull were not to be regarded as indications of his passing away but rather as periods preceding new advancement. They even expected that there would possibly be many changes and new periods in the years to come.

CHAPTER VI

THE YEAR 1895

The Second Jungle Book appeared in 1895, and the praise earned by the former volume was renewed and continued. The Outlook stated simply;

> The Second Jungle Book is as difficult of description as its predecessor. It can only be said of it that it is the work of a man of genius, for it is in these two books Mr. Kipling has certainly disclosed his most characteristic qualities of thought, sentiment, and style. These volumes remind one of nothing else in literature.[1]

The Critic observed;

> Not since Adam was driven from the Jungle has there been anyone to let us in. He has created one of the most masterful illusions in literature. In the second volume he is to be congratulated upon a very readable imitation of what no man could do but once. But what the second volume lacks in newness it gains in Kiplingness. Mr. Kipling has gone further into himself, further under the overhanging branches of that living Jungle-soul of his.[2]

The Jungle Books, therefore, produced only praise for they

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1 "The Second Jungle Book", in The Outlook, Vol. 52, July 6, 1895, p. 959.
Up to 1897, the Outlook was particularly Baptist in viewpoint while dealing with problems of current life.

2 "The Second Jungle Book", in The Critic, Vol. 27, (N. S. 24), November 23, 1894, p. 338-339.

were so new and original that the critics, once again, were found to be at a loss for comparison and were forced to stand by just as they did when Kipling first arrived in England.

In 1895 a review appeared in The Spectator which seemed to give Kipling a new purpose and evaluation. It was expounded that the poet could act as an interpreter for the whole nation and present it in a true relationship. The general public are never impressed by statistics or maps, but the poet can give them a picture just as real if he has the gift of interpretation, and "without that gift in some shape or form he is hardly a poet whether he works in prose or verse. Mr. Kipling's fascinating poem, The Native Born, published in Monday's Times, is a reminder to us how much interpreting power he possesses. His work is of extraordinary value in making the nation realize itself especially as regard the Empire and the oneness of our kin."[3] With great ease and a flash of his favorite lightning he is able to make his readers see how the various peoples of the Empire can love their own lands and at the same time see and appreciate the oneness of

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3 "The Poet's Function as Interpreter", in The Spectator, Vol. 75, October 19, 1895, p. 516-517. The Native Born was first published in The Times, October 14, 1895.

Empire. This idea may not be grasped by all peoples at one time but it will gradually pervade the nations. Kipling is also an invaluable interpreter of the East to the West and of the soldier to the home people. According to the Spectator's reviewer, therefore, only a good poet, (in prose or verse) can be a true interpreter to the public. Since Kipling had succeeded so well in this regard it is assumed that he is an excellent poet. This idea is furthered by a review by E. Dowden in The Critic when he starts out by saying,

> Mr. Kipling ought to be pleased with the acoustic properties of the globe, his voice fills the building. To have something to say no doubt helps the voice to carry far; people cease from chatter and look up; and Mr. Kipling, especially in his verse, has things to say; he says them in no halting or hesitating manner, but "after the use of the English", as he himself described that use, "in straight-flung words and few".[4]

Dowden continues his article by pointing out that it is remarkable that such a morsel of verse could evoke or guide

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4 Dowden, E., "The Poetry of Mr. Kipling", in The Critic, Vol. 38, p. 219-220.
Edward Dowden, M. A., L. L. D., D. C. L., Litt. D., was born in Cork, May 3, 1843. He was educated privately and at Dublin University. He was Clark Lecturer in English Literature at Trinity College, Cambridge, from 1893 to 1896, at the time the above article was written. He held numerous positions of trust and responsibility and has prepared many volumes of literary criticism.

the feelings of nations and to determine action in great affairs. "However we may explain it, such is the fact".[5] Kipling had been most fortunate in striking the chord of sympathy with the public, and they in turn found in his work an expression of their own inarticulate feelings and sense of religious duty. His appeal lies in his depth of knowledge of Empire for his is not only fostering a pleasant idea but is revealing the vital cast of empire as well. To him expansion of empire must be accompanied with blood and a religious fervour for a desired perfection suitable to the Perfect Overseer.

All this to Kipling was a sort of romance. Kipling had no interest in the feminine type of romance which fled from all things coarse and common - this perhaps partly explains his crude handling of feminine characters, - for to him there was only one kind of romance, a masculine form. This form is to be found in the hearts of modern men who dream things to be, who plan and toil and incarnate a dream in a deed. The greatest dream to Kipling was the Empire. The

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5 Ibid.

greatest romance was its reality and it was this romance he was attempting to reveal to the world.

The year 1895 came to a close. The delight of his early works was now history. He had recently created new satisfaction with his Jungle Books. And the deeper critics were starting to find a new purpose and meaning in his works for they were now beginning to regard him as an interpreter of the romance of empire.

CHAPTER VII

THE YEAR 1896

The imperial theme continued during 1896. With the publication of The Seven Seas[1] the reviewers discovered a new step up in Kipling's imperial ideas. In McClure, W. D. Howells pointed out how Kipling, who in his earlier works had hidden himself behind the characters he had created, in this work, came to the front himself. His imperial ideas are valuable in that he was not of English birth, that is born in England itself, rather he was one of the "native born" and has attempted to reveal the Empire to the English themselves. His song of patriotism is a large conception. He is not concerned with the little island of England alone but with that vast conception of empire that includes all English language places on earth.

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1 Kipling, Rudyard, The Seven Seas, Lond., Methuen Co., 1896, p. xviii, 230.

> He is, by virtue of his great gift, the laureate of that larger England whose wreath it is not for any prime minister to bestow, but wherever the English tongue is written or spoken, those who are native to it may claim a share in his recognition. He stands for the Empire of that language which grows more and more the only English Empire which has a common history and a common destiny.[2]

The Canadian Magazine hailed Kipling as a new star in the literary field and expressed the belief that this new collection of poems, filling a long expectant hope, placed him far ahead of his own contemporaries. His theme was patriotism and the reviewer declared that if ever a party needed material to plead the cause of British connexion then this work would be a powerful weapon on their behalf. The review concludes by anticipating greater poetical work yet from Kipling. "It may be said however that the book is greater in promise than in achievement, and it is impossible to yield higher praise than that."[3]

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2 Howells, W. D., "The Seven Seas", in McClures, Vol. 8, p. 453-455. See also foot note page 23.

3 Miller, J. O., "The New Poet Of The English Race" in The Canadian Magazine, Vol. 8, p. 456-459.
J. O. Miller was born in Indiana, Nov. 10, 1842, and lived for various periods of time in Oregon, California, and then spent seven years just wandering around. Took up law in Eugene Or, was wounded in Indian wars, managed the Democratic Register at Eugene; became County Court Judge for Grant County, 1866 to 1870. Prepared several works of a western flavour.

Charles E. Norton in The Atlantic Monthly pointed out how Kipling fulfilled the prophesies of Wordsworth who defined a poet by saying "he is a man speaking to men, carrying everywhere with him relationship and love, he binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society."[4] Norton revealed how Kipling, because his realism presented the world as it is, spoke to men with a fascinating grip on their imaginations. His works contained an imaginative sympathy with all varieties of life which in turn found an interest in his works possibly because of the common patriotic interest found therein.

> And it is the tone of the new patriotism that inspired England, which holds, as one, all parts of her wide stretched empire, and binds them close in the indissoluable bond of common motherhood.[5]

Norton closed his estimate on the same note as did Miller by

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4 Norton, Charles, E., "The Poetry Of Rudyard Kipling", in The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 79, p. 111-115. Charles Eliot Norton was born in Cambridge, Mass., Nov. 16, 1827. Graduated from Harvard in 1846; entered mercantile office in Boston in 1849. He travelled to India and made several trips to Europe. He was regarded as a Dante scholar and an authority on art. During his life time he prepared several volumes on social, historical and literary items. He was editor of the North American Review from 1862 to 1868.

5 Ibid, p. 113.

saying, "and more than this, it gives assurance of better work to come than which Kipling has yet achieved."[6]

In Poet Lore, C. Porter complained that Kipling's song should be regarded as songs of things as they were rather than as songs of things as they are. She felt that the past had fascinated Kipling to such an extent that he had failed to see the greater cause for rejoicing found in the English expansion, and that the brotherly ideal of democracy rather than the imperial one he loved to extol.[7] The Saturday Review in its essay on The Seven Seas drew sharp attention to the fact that Kipling was in danger of sliding from his high post. It deplored particularly the abuse of technical terminology which seemed to be increasing with his works and which had

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6 Ibid, p. 115.

7 Porter, C., "Kipling's Seven Seas, An Atavism", in Poet Lore, Vol. 9, p. 291-295.
Charlotte Porter was born in Towanda, Pa., in 1859. She was educated at Wells College and moved to Philadelphia in 1882. Travelled through Europe; contributed to leading magazines; was Editor of Shakespeariana, March, 1886, to Dec. 1888, and Ethical Record April to Dec., 1888. Founded Poet Lore, Jan., 1889. She has prepared several volumes on literary topics particularly on Browning.

> now reached the proportion of a mental disease, and unless he checks it in time it must end in the ruin of his work. We see magnificent force and resonance, indomitable high spirits, extraordinary knowledge, and sympathies of the finest temper, but we cannot disguise from ourselves that the artist has retreated.[8]

The Critic described The Seven Seas as "variations on the theme Rule Britannia."[9] It observed that while his patriotism was beyond question yet he now lacked his old aggressiveness. Aware that the empire was sparsely scattered over the face of the globe, and seemed to be coming apart at certain points he had come to distrust political history and political poetry. In the light of this changing scene he did not dare the world to come on, nor did he threaten the "inferior races" with fire or slaughter. In fact he even apologized for the past and pleads for a flowing spread of civilized rule. The Spectator felt that while Kipling undertook to reveal things as they were it would be much better if he revealed the better

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8 "The Seven Seas", in The Saturday Review, Vol. 82, Nov. 21, 1896, p. 549-550. This same article appeared in The Living Age, Vol. 211, Dec. 19, 1896, p. 827-830.

9 "The Seven Seas" in The Critic, Vol. 29, (N. S. 26), November 28, 1896, p. 337-338.

things of life as clearly as he revealed the more sordid.[10] The Bookman contained this idea that much was good and much was bad in The Seven Seas.

> I have examined it with wonder, reluctant admiration, repulsion and dismay. I shed no tear, not once did I laugh, just now and then a smile at some brilliant flash of wit.[11]

The reviewer continued to deride Kipling's trend to teach that the brute in man was after all a noble animal in its way. This constant presentation, the reviewer felt, will cause the public to passively admire the lawless force, the furious passions, the sordid vulgarity, the wildly picturesque sins of the Brute-Man.

> The man which Kipling has revealed to us is but a part of humanity, a fine, an interesting, a sympathetic part, but surely not the best part.[12]

The Nation[13] was not so critical after pointing out that Kipling was the first poet of drum-beat of empire, and the unsurpassed writer of marvels and mysteries, but it did

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10 "The Seven Seas", in The Spectator, Vol. 77, Nov. 21, 1896, p. 728-730.

11 "The Seven Seas", in The Bookman, Vol. 11, Dec., 1896, p. 65-7.

12 Ibid.

13 "The Seven Seas", in The Nation, Vol. 63, Dec. 10, 1896, p. 441.

question his ability to hold his position. The Book Buyer had no such fear.

> Would he become the fashion? Would he last? Is he the greatest among us? - Since his fugitive stories began to attract the flattering attention of his skeptics Mr. Kipling has answered all these questions through steadily accumulating tales of love, of adventure, of East Indian politics, and of sea life; [14] to which he has added fables, ballads, and alas, novels.

The year 1896, then, was Kipling's first great "imperial year". His works extolled the empire to almost excessive heights and the reviewers were divided in their estimate of his philosophy. Some held it to be broad and brilliant while others felt it to be narrow and small. From a literary point of view he found a new height in the poetical level. His earlier poetical works had been branded as doggerel and his force of style and expression, which seemed to be primarily his own creation, made his works somewhat unwelcome in polite society. Mr. Kay Robinson, who was a former associate of Kipling on the Civil And Military Gazette at Lahore, pointed out "that in Mr. Kipling's ballad writing, after the topic, and before the literary motive, came the rhythmical motive,

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14 "Rudyard Kipling", in The Book Buyer, Vol. 13, Nov., 1896, p. 589-591, The Book Buyer was a magazine dealing with new books published by Schribner & Son.

the tune."[15] Even though he may not have been unwelcome in all circles, yet his poetical ability seemed established by the end of 1896. In a review by Montgomery Schulyer his poetical ability is clearly appraised.

> To think in images is called the distinction of the poet. To reduce a cloudy abstraction to a concrete expression, to sum up a vast miscellany of facts into a striking and memorable symbol, is the sign of poetical power that Mr. Kipling shows us in a high and rare degree.[16]

Kipling did reduce the cloudy abstractions of the British Empire to a concrete and conceivable expression and after observing that fact Schuyler concluded his remarks and his estimate of Kipling's place at the end of 1896 by saying in his reference to The Seven Seas:

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15 Robinson, E. K., "Kipling As An Indian Journalist", in The Review of Reviews, Vol. 14, July, 1896, p. 83-4.

16 Schulyer, Montgomery, "Rudyard Kipling As A Poet" in The Forum, Vol. 22, 1896, p. 406-413.
Montgomery Schulyer was born in Ithica, N. Y., August 19, 1843. He entered Hobard College in 1858 but did not graduate after which he worked for the New York World from 1865 to 1883 then as editorial staff member for the New York Times. He has prepared several poems and critical papers on architecture.

There is something very big in the sentiment to which Mr. Kipling has first given expression, but it is more than big; it is an expression of high poetical power. The author of that volume is the unchallenged laureate of Greater Britain, and has won his place among the English poets.[17]

17 Ibid, p. 413.

CHAPTER VIII

THE YEAR 1897

1897, like the year 1893, was another quiet one and for the same reason. Kipling had returned to England and had taken a house in the resort town of Torquay, but later settled, in the summer of 1897, at Rottingdean. This moving about during 1897 was part of the cause for a lack of literary output and of the resulting lack in literary criticism. Also, like 1893, only one work appeared and it failed to attract much literary interest.[1] D. C. Murray, in an article in The Canadian Magazine, pointed out how Kipling had been popular now for half a dozen years. Half way through this period (that was in 1893) "people began to be afraid that he had emptied his sack. Partly because he had lost the spell of novelty, and partly because he did too much to be always at his best, there came a time when we thought we saw him sinking to a place with ruck."[2] Though some had prophesied that the

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1 Kipling, Rudyard, Captains Courageous, Lond., Macmillan Co., 1897.

2 Murray, C. D., "My Contemporaries in Fiction, in The Canadian Magazine, Vol. 8, p. 475.

lull of 1893 would be of a lasting nature he gained a stronger position in the three years following than he really had during the first three years. His quality of poetry improved. His tales were still popular and his new creation in the Jungle Books gave him extra fame. His imperial theme became more pronounced and at the end of this second period of "repose" it flourished to new heights with his famous poem Recessional[3] which appeared for the first time in The Times of July 17, 1897. The Spectator of July 24th, just seven days later, reviewed this poem.

> His poem has moved his fellow countrymen, not by any subtle dose of imperial flattery, or by any sugared draught of adulation, but by the simplest and sternest and most direct appeal which men are capable of feeling. Mr. Kipling's new verse speaks almost solely to the religious sentiment of the nation.[4]

In this review it was recalled how a poet's function is to be an interpreter to the nation on which point Kipling had succeeded once again. He perceived that the only sound note which could reach the nation's heart was a religious one.

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3 Kipling, Rudyard, "Recessional" in The Times, Lond., July 17, 1897.

4 "Mr. Kipling's Hymn" in The Spectator, Vol. 79, July 24, 1897, p. 106-107.

"In his Recessional, Mr. Kipling has interpreted the feeling of the nation with an insight and a force which are truly marvelous."[5] While people were boisterous in their happiness during the year of Jubilee yet there was a fear that pride would blind their hearts but,

> Kipling has seized the nation's half-formed thought, and with a poet's insight and a poet's passion, has brought it forth in conscious and coherent words. He takes the awe-inspiring thought-what is all this but dust and ashes unless God is with us till the end?[6]

By this note he had touched the deep, serious and elemental piety of the nation. The Spectator felt that the warning was not wasted as had so often happened in the past but that in the nation's enthusiastic acceptance of this poem there appeared a hope for future greatness.

> Truly nations move to their destiny as a man who walks in the dark at the edge of a precipice. While he remembers and takes care of his footsteps he is in no danger, but if once his heart grows light with the insolence of success, and he rushes along flushed, self-confident and unheeding he is in deadly peril.

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5 Ibid, p. 106.

6 Ibid, p. 107.

> Then indeed may he bless the man who in a moment's
> flash shows him the precipice at his feet and
> recalls to his mind the prayer of men and of nations;-
> "Lord God of Hosts be with us yet
> Lest we forget - lest we forget."[7]

The year 1897 was uneventful for the most part, at least as far as the critics were concerned. Yet a new trend was foreshadowed by the depth of the acceptance allowed Recessional. In the following pages the estimate of this new period will be studied.

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7 Ibid, p. 107.

CHAPTER IX

THE YEAR 1898

The year 1897 closed on a high note with the publication of the Recessional, a poem which continued to influence the critical reviewers on into 1898. A violent attack on the philosophy behind the Recessional came from W. B. Smith in The Critic. He felt that Kipling was a Hebrew Psalmist who regarded the British People "as the elect of God, the true Israel of the modern age."[1] He deplored the way Kipling had diverted the trend of history; the old psalmist called his people to God in time of adversity for in times of fortune they were inclined to forget Him. Because, on the other hand, Kipling called the nation to God in time of exceptional good fortune the reviewer felt that it was cheap to want to obtain "the humble and contrite heart" without paying the price. He thought that Kipling's humility was insincere and his poem little more than nonsense. T. F. Watson, however, takes keen exception to this attack when he objects to Smith's quoting just enough from the Recessional

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1 Smith, W. B., "Gentile Criticism" in The Critic, Vol. 32, (n. s. 29), January 1, 1898, p. 12-13.

to support his prejudice, an old trick used by bad reviewers. Watson felt that the belief that they were the elect of God could do much to keep the people mindful of their destiny and of their duty. He pointed out that after a nation had found its feet it needed a God to direct its activities. Even if this concept of Kipling were of a tribal nature, Wilson felt it better to have a "tribal God than a godless tribe."[2] This effect of the Recessional is summed up in the review by R. Ogden in The Nation. He observed that during the year of Jubilee the "skirts of all the poets of England were flapping in the wind".[3] They were in a dithy over the army, the navy, the colonies and the expanding Empire. "But their shrill notes

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2 Watson, T. F., "Mr. Kipling's Recessional Again" in a letter to The Critic, Vol. 32, (n. s. 29), January 29, 1898, p. 77.

3 Ogden, R., "Kipling's Recessional" in The Nation, Vol. 67, October 28, 1898, p. 292.
Ogden turned from the Presbyterian ministry at the age of 31 due to a change in religious outlook and a growing inclination for literary work. After four years as a free lance writer he became, in 1891, a member of the editorial staff of the New York Evening Post where he remained until he went to the New York Times in 1920. When he died, at the age of 81, in 1937, his life had constituted one of the longest chapters in the history of the American newspaper profession.

were at once extinguished when the organ of the Recessional was set pealing".[4] The only regrettable note this reviewer felt was Kipling's insistence that imperialism could be won and maintained only by military might.

Kipling's first publication of 1898 was The Day's Work,[5] and the critics, whom the Recessional had aroused, set upon it. The review in The Bookman started by pointing out how this new work was selling faster than any previous work but supported this trend by saying "it is by his best work that a man makes his reputation, while it is by his worst work that he makes his money."[6] The reviewer hastens to point out that this is not Kipling's poorest work, and that his poorest work is frequently better than many writer's best work, but that a good many of the tales are of inferior quality. The writer hopes that Kipling can be urged to concentrate on his stories.

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4 Ibid, p. 292.

5 Kipling, Rudyard, The Day's Work, Lond., Macmillan Co., 1898, p. 381.

6 Peck, H. T., "Mr. Kipling At The Crossroads" in The Bookman, Vol. 8, p. 350-351.
Harry T. Peck was born, Stamford, Conn., Nov. 24, 1856, and graduated from Columbia in 1881. Was professor of Latin at Columbia and later became editor of The Bookman in 1895. He has prepared several volumes for publication and was editor for several notable publications, Harper's Classical Dictionary, International Cyclopedia, Masterpieces of Literature, etc.

> He can keep straight on if he will and remain unique - a master, a marvel, a genius, - or he can go down the pleasant easy path along whose borders bank cheques are forever bursting into bloom. His verse still stands at his highest level, but we see very clearly in his prose something symptomatic of deterioration, something which makes it seem not impossible that he may be destined to illustrate the truth of Dr. Johnson's maxim that no man was ever written down save by himself.[7]

P. C. Mortimer in The Book Buyer, was particularly fascinated with the stories in The Day's Work. "Masterpiece followed masterpiece in inexorable sequence for more than four hundred pages."[8] Mortimer felt that Kipling had caught the drama of work and that the faults which over-critical reviewers might mark up against it were of little consequence. In a review in The Academy,[9] this same idea, devotion to duty, was foremost when it pointed out that this theme was common to Kipling's work and especially important in this collection. The Spectator[10] questioned the majesty of work, not so much work itself as the value of the work of Empire in India.

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7 Ibid, p. 351.

8 Mortimer, F. C., "For Men Must Work," in The Book Buyer, Vol. 17, p. 298-299.

9 "The Day's Work" in The Academy, Vol 55, October 15, 1898, p. 76-77.

10 "Rudyard Kipling's New Book" in The Spectator, Vol. 81, October 15, 1898, p. 526-528.

Nevertheless it felt that Kipling was never insignificant no matter what he wrote and that some of his stories in The Day's Work struck a deeper note than the public were accustomed to perceive. To The Spectator, The Bridge Builders was a tale that signified the English in India which in turn aroused speculation on the question of England's lasting achievements in India. Could the West ever come to the East; could the bridge built by Western Civilization stand against the onslaught of "Mother Gunga"? If so, the reviewer pondered on the nature of the new creature that would be born. To The Spectator, The Day's Work appeared to be more than a collection of interesting tales, it seemed to be a possible compilation of Kipling's philosophy.

The Critic declares this to be so in an article entitled "Mr. Kipling's work is the art form of Calvinism". "In his latest book the poet's message is unmistakable. Not only is it written across the title page in bold faced type, "The Day's Work", but every tale bears the same burden. It is Mr. Kipling's Theology in a nutshell."[11] Then continues an

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11 J. P. B., "Mr. Kipling As A Moralist" in The Critic, Vol. 33, 1898, p. 360-362, p. 473-475.

elaboration on the idea that Kipling's theology was inspired by Deuteronomy and was essentially Hebraic rather than Christian. Kipling tells every man, machine, brute and beast that they must work, and what is more important that they must work together. While the reviewer in The Bookman allowed certain mild praise to Kipling for his The Day's Work, yet he felt that there were to be found many faults. Here all Mr. Kipling's manias break loose at once, - there is the madness of American slang, the madness of technical jargon, and the madness that believing silly talk, chiefly consisting of moral truisms, is amusing because you put it in the mouths of machines, for machines, with Mr. Kipling, have mouths."[12] To this reviewer, Kipling's greatest fault was his indulgence in technical terms and his excessive abuse of symbolism.

J. C. Ridpath in The Arena, did not share any pessimism concerning Kipling for he starts out by saying "the political ascendency of Rudyard Kipling cannot be doubted. It is no longer a question of fact, but only a question of interpretation. His success is phenomenal; his fame, as we

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12 "The Madness of Mr. Kipling" in Macmillan's Magazine, Vol. 79, p. 131-135.

believe, will remain an enduring part of the glory of English Letters."[13] Ridpath goes on to declare that the secrets of his mastery are, his wide range of information, his great power at condensation, his wild use of words and cogency of expression, and finally his independence of opinion. All these have endeared him to the English reading public.

The reading public of America, however, were not, apparently, always so enthused with his power of expression. Their attitude is displayed to some extent in The Bookman with an article from G. H. McKnight.[14] He felt that Kipling's remarks on Americans were frequently colored by circumstances and that the row over copyright did not endear him particularly to American methods. He seems to satirize them in his

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13 Ridpath, J. C., "The Ascendency of Rudyard Kipling" in The Arena, Vol. 19, March 1898, p. 424-428.
John Clark Ridpath was born Putnam County, Indiana, April 26, 1841. He graduated from Asbury (now De Pauw) University in 1863, obtained LL. D. from Syracuse University, 1879; became professor of English Literature, history and political philosophy at De Pauw 1869-85, and vice president from 1879-85. He was editor of The Arena 1897-8, and then literary director of Jones Brothers Publishing Co., he prepared several volumes on history, grammar and literature.

14 McKnight, G. H., "Kipling's View of Americans" in The Bookman, Vol. 7, April, 1898, p. 131-135.

description of the "Bander-log" in the First Jungle Book. Americans, however, are always amused at outsider's descriptions and estimates of them. They are equally entertained by Kipling's outbursts on their way of life.

The depth of Kipling's psychological study became more evident as the year 1898 wore on. In an article in The Atlantic is found: "Kipling has indeed explained relationships in psychology of the animal world as far reaching as those which Darwin discovered in his "morphology".[15] Mowgli became master of the jungle because the animals are animals and he is man. By living with them he can hear what they hear, can smell what they smell, can talk their talk, but they cannot think as he thinks. The whole picture arouses the specualtion that the phenomena known as hypnotism, clairvoyance, and mediumship of today may be only a rudimentary vestige of former powers of perception and communication possessed by primitive man.

If Kipling aroused speculation in the field of psychology, he also aroused speculation in the field of modern art. "We may say that a twelve-year-old classic is no classic,

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15 "Rudyard Kipling, Comparative Psychologist" in The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 81, June, 1898, p. 858-9.

the fact remains that in the world of art here is a man who has become a law unto himself, which is perhaps another way of saying that he has adjusted his work to the laws of creation."[16] In The Jungle Books he seems to have achieved this, and he does so again in The Day's Work. "For the poet today, to whom the power and mystery of machinery, the hurrying hum of modern life, the interlocking of man and machine does not appeal, is no poet. He is a maker of verse, a ballad singer, it may be he belongs to an age that is past and his art is of the past. A great poet shall be known by this sign, that he sings of a new god. Whether he sings well or ill is of little moment."[17] So there has come to life the worship of a new god, not a god of nature but a god of humanity for the god of machinery is born of man. Just as in The Jungle Book, Kipling does not attempt to illustrate human life by displaying animal life, he simply makes them akin. So "when he shall apply the same quality to machinery, he may give us an art that is at once greater, more modern and more human than any we have known."[18]

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16 "Kipling As An Artist" in The Critic, Vol. 33, December, 1898, p. 473-475.

17 Ibid, p. 474.

18 Ibid, p. 475.

The publication of a collection of Kipling's work[19] was the cause of a brief estimate by J. H. Miller. He pointed out that "to form a concise yet exhaustive judgment upon Mr. Kipling is impossible, so various are his gifts, so rich his endowments".[20] He noted how fortunate Kipling had been to gain the ear of the non-literary reading public, and at the same time to win the enthusiastic applause of that limited body of people who enjoy the method in a work of art as well as the end. He gains this hold by the strength of his work. "You may lay your finger on faults, real or imaginary. You may find his verse flashy and his prose irritating but you cannot pass him by."[21] He handles such a wide range of topics with such ease and intimacy that he garners a wide audience. His imperial sentiment falls on willing ears; in fact it was especially well timed. At a time of national consciousness he brought patriotism "from the closet to the street" and diffused its influence among the populace who had been

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19 The Writings In Prose And Verse of Rudyard Kipling, 12 vols., Lond., Macmillan Co., 1898.

20 Millar, J. H., "The Works of Mr. Kipling" in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 164, October, 1898, p. 478-482.

21 Ibid, p. 478.

untouched before. On the political level he was able to apprehend the magnitude of the work of Empire.

In keeping with the timeliness of his topic his method was striking. He had learned, through writing for papers, and for the Anglo-Indian reader, to dispense with commentary and to plunge into a strange atmosphere. In spite of the faults that could be found, his fertility of imagination and his sweeping method continued to keep him important in the field of literature. Furthermore his philosophy was another cause for his popularity. "Law, Order, Duty, Restraint, Obedience, Discipline, - these are the foundations of a prosperous state. The laws of the jungle are the Laws of the Universe."[22]

The trend to estimate Kipling's philosophical ideas continues with W. B. Parker's study of "The Religion of Mr. Kipling".[23] He regards the appearance of Kipling's Recessional as one of the "chief religious events of the past two years."[24] It sent a thrill of reverent patriotism through all Anglo-Saxon people. Parker wished to point out that this writer

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22 Ibid, p. 481.

23 Parker, W. B., "The Religion of Mr. Kipling" in The New World, Vol. 7, December, 1898, p. 662.

24 Ibid, p. 662.

who is "continuing the tradition of Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning"[25] has always had a note of piety in his works. His earliest works in Allahabad in 1888 were offered to the Supreme Being for judgment, "at Thy feet I lay my wares ere I go forth to sell."[25] Then he offered his work as a prayer in the Envoi to Life's Handicap when he says

> By my own work before the night,
> Great Overseer, I make my prayer.

Underneath his intolerant energy there had been from the start a strain of religious feeling. This religious sentiment was however, of a simple nature, almost primal. It arose from the militant ideas of the Old Testament. His religious ideals were not those of the head but of the heart, they were simple with a slight skeleton of theology and basically racial. "Do your work and fear nothing" was the creed and all barriers to this creed were swept away for it was to apply to all men, to bind all men together, and to give all men a common ground for religion. This creed found a solemn resting place in Freemasonry; a sect which recognizes no barriers in adoring the "Supreme Architect of the Universe"; a religion which is

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25 Ibid, p. 663.

reduced to a fraternity. The second point of his creed was action. Do your job as best you can and have no fear of the result. Heaven and Hell were realities which had to be won not by a negative process but by a positive course of action, both were to be gained by honest toil. Of God Himself, he was a God of might, a God of stern realities, of battles and storms. He was not a god to be wheedled into pity and indulgence. In the face of battle and great danger Kipling's characters pray that this God of strength will help them to complete their task. His characters express their faith in the fact that their hearts must beat in unison with the heart of the universe if success is to be attained. This basic concept of faith is common to all Kipling's works, is common to all religions and is caught up in the Recessional where all can feel its encouraging power and strength.

1898 was a particularly significant year for Kipling among the reviewers. It opened in an arousing manner following the outburst of the Recessional. Then came The Day's Work which was taken as a basic element in Kipling's philosophy. The work of life was the final cause of life. Men of the empire won immortality by the conquering of the ancient gods of the east. The reviewers found cause for complaint in

Kipling's excessive use of symbolism, slang and technical jargon, but they also found hope for a new experience if Kipling should learn to integrate man and machine in the new age as effectively as he integrated man and beast in The Jungle Book. Finally the year 1898 produced a critical estimate of Kipling's philosophy. To him God, Heaven, Hell and the Empire were essentially housed together. His religious philosophy found an ideal in Imperialism and a social unity in Freemasonry.

CHAPTER X

THE YEAR 1899

Kipling's religious views, which came in for discussion during 1898, were dissected further during 1899. J. T. Sunderland in The New England Magazine, felt that the interest in Kipling's works and philosophy was in part a sort of a mania, yet he had found favor in too many circles and among too many classes of people to be passed off simply as a mania. His voice was fresh, his method original, his life cosmopolitan. He travelled his own way with disregard alike for precedent and critic. He was enamoured of vitality and power and the might and power of empire fascinated him more than the liberty and freedom it had won for men by centuries of struggle. The strength of his writing had given his few religious utterances wider attention than they deserved; after all they were found in but a few of his numerous works. His characters are primitive from a religious point of view and his idea of God, Heaven, Hell and retribution were retrogressive. His religion, like his politics, is a religion of power, and with power is associated some sense of retribution. "His God is the Jehovah of might and wrath and

war."[1] He seems to have neither a conception of the God of love of Christianity, nor an interest in the religious problems of the day. His religion can make men fight but cannot make them love. His Recessional came at a most opportune time and its powerful construction created the effect that God had spoken from Heaven a solemn warning against pride and a forgetting of justice, humility and duty to Himself, but in reality it was only a belief in the God of might. Sunderland felt that the best expression of Kipling's religion was to be found in McAndrew's Hymn. McAndrew was theologically a Calvinist with the old Calvinistic doctrines of education and fore-ordination. His best quality, his love for his engine, seemed to epitomize Kipling's ideals in his love of duty, strength and good deeds. "We can only wish it made more

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1 Sunderland, J. T., "The Religion of Rudyard Kipling" in The New England Magazine, Vol. 20, July, 1899, p. 604-612. Jabez Thomas Sunderland, was born in Yorkshire England, Feb. 11, 1851. He was a Unitarian clergyman, graduating from Union Baptist Theological Seminary, 1870. He was pastor of churches in Milwaukee, Wis., Northfield, Mass., Chicago, Ill., Ann Arbor, Mich., and Oakland, Calif., went to India 1895-6 on commission from British Unitarian Association to study and report on the education, social and religious conditions of the Indian people. He was a lecturer and extensive traveller as well as editor of The Unitarian Monthly, 1886-95.

difference with him whether the deeds were good or bad."[2] To Sunderland, Kipling's religious quality of merit to both man and the nation was his strong "hatred for cant and pretense, his love of sincerity and reality".[3]

In an article in The Month, Kipling's hold on the public was assessed as the effect of his inherent ability to interpret his times. The world of commerce and expansion of his day had become contented with its success and felt the world to be held in trust for humanity. His theme of empire enhanced this idea and in his poems the general public of all classes found spiritual consolation and justification. Yet to The Month's reviewer in spite of the fact the public had voted Kipling their greatest living poet he could find no cause for this in the works themselves for he declared, "most of his poems are either realistic impressions, vivid character sketches of imperial commonplaces which could all be described as "noble nonsense".[4] There was little in Kipling's writing ability to justify the great clamor the public aroused over him.

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2 Ibid, p. 611.

3 Ibid, p. 612.

4 "The Cult of Kipling" in The Month, Vol. 95, p. 28-33.

All this adverse criticism was swept away in a review by Frank Gilman in The Arena. To him Kipling was the modern step in the long evolution of poetry and nationalism. All English verse had been a growth towards a larger vision and Kipling had presented the largest vision of all. He had attempted to present the common man to himself and to give him a place in the world of expansion. This he achieves with a poetry on homely topics, with a boldness and imagination that applies to all. "At times in the sweeping marching movement there seems to be almost a miraculous power that makes the lame forget their crutches and the old their staves."[5] His close contact with the common people, his painting the elemental world in elemental colors have caught up an audience who follow him to his new heights in a poetic interpretation of the highest life of the nation. To Gilman, Kipling, despite his many faults, is the final culmination of the ideal of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Burns, Wordsworth and Tennyson. Man, according to Gilman, is to rise century after century to a larger comprehension of his duties and his powers. Kipling has added a new and vital chapter to this theory of progress.

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5 Gilman, F. G., "Rudyard Kipling as a Poet" in The Arena, Vol. 20, p. 312-313.

"He is interpreting to us our own material, scientific, democratic life; he is expressing in poetry the more inclusive modern conception of the importance of every individual; he is a part of a world movement that makes for the exaltation of man."[6]

The Spectator supports this idea to some extent. Kipling's illness during 1899 created a fear for his life and in the danger of his death The Spectator saw a loss to the Empire should he die. "His absence must leave us poorer in respect to what a people have always needed most, - an influence which, while bright, living, concentrated, attractive, is also an influence that makes for national righteousness, which helps to build up the national character and makes us think less of the material and petty things of life and more of the great and lasting issues."[7] His ability to interpret the Empire to itself and to give the fact of Empire a significant relationship in time and creation, and man a purpose in the creation of Empire has been the source of his popularity. His outlook and ideals have caused him to be regarded "as one of the

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6 Ibid, p. 313.

7 "The Great Interpreter" in The Spectator, Vol. 82, March 4, 1899, p. 302-3.

original voices of our time."[8] His illness during the Spring of 1899 caused much concern over his recovery and many comments on his works. As is to be expected most of the reviews at this period were laudatory expressing amazement at his fabulous success at the early age of thirty-three. He was not a public figure in any way, only a private citizen yet the volume of comment his illness produced testified to his hold on the public imagination.

As a result of this illness a review of interest appeared in The Review of Reviews that presented a new evaluation of Kipling and his work. The writer pointed out that Kipling had become the Laureate of Empire without her Majesty's approval by the strength of his works. "Kipling is a revolving mirror reflecting many moods of myriad man. But he is more than a mere mirror, he is a prophet with a message of his own."[9] It was pointed out that his message was to be found primarily in The White Man's Burden and A Song Of The English, and that it was completely condensed in the Recessional.

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8 Bridges, Robert, "Rudyard Kipling" in The Outlook, Vol. 61, March, 1899, p. 281-2.

9 "Mr. Rudyard Kipling, The Banjo Bard of Empire" in The Review of Reviews, Vol. 19, 1899, p. 319-327.

His hold on the public and their attitude towards him was shared by several nationalities other than the English. The German and American people seemed to enjoy him as much as the people of the Empire. Finally this review felt that the multitudinal reviews of a testimonial nature, provoked by his illness, left one incapable of giving any real evaluation to the man.[10]

This thought was carried a step farther in The Saturday Review, whose critic felt that Kipling's youth and extreme popularity were causes for alarm. But the sanity with which he had accepted praise was remarkable.[11] The article concluded by expressing the hope that Kipling would never become inflamed by this excessive praise, but that he would remain his aloof self, an original artist.

In 1899 two books appeared. The first was From Sea To Sea.[12] During the years 1889 and 1890 Kipling had written numerous letters of travel to the press, and now he found that,

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10 Ibid, p. 376.

11 "The Case of Mr. Kipling" in The Saturday Review, Vol. 87, June 24, 1899, p. 776-778.

12 Kipling, Rudyard, From Sea To Sea, N. Y., Doubleday, 1899.

due to his popularity many of these letters were being republished frequently with mutilations and exaggerations on his original remarks. Special attention was paid to his early derogatory remarks on America. He declared therefore that this collection From Sea to Sea was to set the record straight, but there was some evidence that Kipling did censor his own letters before presenting them in this new volume.[13] The reviewer of the Bookman made a detailed study of the letters as they appeared in the press and compared them with those collected in the new publication and his judgment was "something has been struck out of every letter, sometimes several pages, occasionally only a few lines or words."[14] While the reasons for this pruning were often dictated by the necessity of shortening the article and improving the structure, there was also ground for belief that, especially in regards to articles on the United States, they were dictated by a change of heart on Kipling's part. Therefore the value of the reviews on this work seem to lie in their pointing out that Kipling had adjusted his early prejudice towards things American.

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13 "From Sea To Sea" in The Bookman, Vol. 9, July, 1899, p. 429-432.

14 Ibid, p. 430

The other work to appear in 1899 was Stalky & Co.[15] Once again the reviewers found little to delight them. Perhaps the whole picture of the critical review on Stalky & Co. can be summed up in the estimate of it in The Spectator.

> We expect it will not attain any great popularity. The lazy will say that they cannot understand it, and that it bores them. The superfine will declare it to be coarse fibred, harsh and crude. The conventionally minded will condemn it as absurdly overdrawn and over-emphasized, while those who have what they call a high literary standard, and those who think it their special duty to preserve the Queen's English from contamination will pronounce the book an outrage on the decencies and civilities of the language. Finally there are those who will feel that this book will have a corrupting influence on schoolboys and it is calculated to turn them into brutal savages.[16]

Such indeed was the trend of the critics. One reviewer took exception to the needless fear as to its affect on boys. He found in his study of the problem that the book appealed more strongly to men than it did to schoolboys themselves who were quite critical of the antics displayed.[17] Teachers opposed

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15 Rudyard Kipling, Stalky & Co., Lond., Macmillan, 1899.

16 "Stalky & Co." in The Spectator, Vol. 83, October 21, 1899, p. 570.

17 A public School Master, " Stalky & Co." in The Spectator, Vol. 83, October 28, 1899, p. 607.

the portrayal of the professors in the story.[18] The contents of the book were attacked on almost every point. Some critics even went so far as to suggest that this schoolboy trio would equal Kipling's famous soldier trio.[19] On the whole, however, the opinion of The Spectator was correct for while the book amused its readers it failed to bring any special renown to its author and the whole thing has been passed off as another expose of his belief in might and his method of training future empire builders. To him only the rough and rugged could succeed in the business of Empire, and these must start their training at school. "Mr. Kipling, as the apostle of muscle and aggressive imperialism has uttered many battle cries in his time but this is his completest incitement to war, his crowning achievement as the supreme Recruiting Sergeant."[20]

Kipling's desire to recruit employees for Empire is perhaps one of the reasons for the type of character he presents

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18 "Stalky & Co." in The Bookman, Vol. 17, November, 1899, p. 44-46.

19 "Stalky & Co." in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 166, November, 1899, p. 703-705.

20 "Mr. Kipling As Recruiting Sergeant" in The Academy, Vol. 57, October 14, 1899, p. 421-422.

and a reason for the weakness in other character portrayals. His women, for example, have no place in Empire building and his treatment of them can be divided into five groups. The married flirts; the nice girls; the women who suffer; the barrack heroines and the native types.[21] In none of his stories does any woman play a large or lasting part but are usually presented as an interlude in the life of his heroes, little more than a contrasting feature for the sake of effect. He sees no use for the steadfast lofty affection and as far as his tales are concerned love is almost a debased feature of life.

This attitude to love and life was frequently a cause for controversy. The Literary World, pointed out that Kipling had displayed "twenty-two distinct types of disreputable women",[22] and with exception of Captains Courageous and The Jungle Books, Kipling's works were for men only, of little

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21 Maurice, A. B., "Kipling's Women" in The Bookman, Vol. 8, January, 1899, p. 479-81.
Arthur Bartlett Maurice was born at Rahway, New Jersey, April 10, 1873 and was educated in Paris, France, New York, and Princeton University. He was editor of Woodbridge Register, Woodbridge, N. J., 1895; city editor Elisabeth (N.J.) Daily Herald, 1896; special writer to New York Commercial Advertiser, 1897-8, and junior editor of The Bookman, Sept. 1899.

22 "Mr. Kipling And Sunday School Libraries" in The Literary World, Vol. 30, January 7, 1899, p. 298.

interest to women, and not suitable for children at all. F. Gratz, however was not so one sided in his criticism in The Living Age.[23] He sought to explain the causes for Kipling's popularity. He noted that the love for reading on the part of the English people, and the timid forms of literature which they had been receiving prepared a welcome reception for the original, brief and colorful tales which Kipling offered them. Then too, his technique was new, fresh and filled with life and vigor. R. H. Marshall concludes the estimate of 1899 by supporting the ideas of F. Gratz and by adding a few of his own.

> Ever fascinating is the study of one who moves deeply through his own age and generation, and certainly, Rudyard Kipling, our most famous living writer, has moved in quite a unique manner among the thoughtful, yes, even superficial men and women of his time. Indeed he has aroused a sense of intimate acquaintance in the breasts of many, who until the anxious moments of last winter, failed to realize that they had learned to love him as a man of the widest sympathies, not devoid indeed of the failings of our race, but nevertheless displaying its virtues in an exceptional manner.[24]

In analyzing the causes for the sentiment displayed, by the

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23 Gratz, F., "Contributions to a Critique of Rudyard Kipling" in The Living Age, Vol. 221, April 15, 1899, p. 139-50.

24 Marshall, H. R., "Rudyard Kipling and Racial Instinct," in The Century Magazine, Vol. 58, (n.s.36), July 1899, p. 375-7.

public towards Kipling, Marshall observed that he had been granted the gift of genius and this he held in great modesty. He even felt that in spite of his great popularity, Kipling's modesty and critical self judgment would not suffer. Apart from this Kipling led the people along paths they loved to tread and "he strikes chords which resound within us to which we are capable of vibrating sympathetically."[25]

This year, 1899, declared that Kipling was truly the interpreter of his time and gave, to the people of his day, a poetic interpretation to the higher life of the nation and Empire. He is held as the modern link in the chain that led from Chaucer, Shakespeare, Wordsworth which was supposed to develop the concept of civilization one step at a time. His concept was an all embracing one of the Empire fulfilling the Will of God.

But just who Kipling's God was was a point of contention for a few reviewers in the Spring of 1900. The Outlook of February, 1900 pointed out how Kipling's works had been criticized from every possible angle but his idea of God had been left pretty much alone. It did not feel that Kipling's love of war and might, his presentation of women and his love

25 Ibid, p. 376.

of men of action, even though they had no morals, bore evidence that Kipling could be regarded as a Christian or a believer in the teachings of Christ at all. In fact Kipling's love of Cecil Rhodes and his exploits caused The Outlook to regard the God they served as a composite of the four devils of Milton. "Lucifer, who leads men to war for pride of Empire; Molach, who tempts them to it for love of sport and "manly exercise"; Mammon, "the least erected fiend that fell" who entices them by gold and gems; and Belial, who inspires them with the "lust of territory".[26]

This opinion was quickly attacked in the March 24th issue of The Outlook. The opinions of C. S. H. were regarded as those based on a half knowledge and hence of little merit. It is pointed out that first of all that C. S. H. had given no indication as to his own interpretation of "Christian Ethics". Kipling, an admirer of action could not be expected to admire a passive form of Christianity that just tries to be good, yet does no good. Kipling also portrayed in his works that sin brought retribution as a consequence. In The White Man's Burden, he expounded further a very basic Christian philosophy.

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26 C. S. H., "Mr. Kipling's God" in The Outlook, Vol. 64, February 10th, 1900, p. 372.

By all ye will or whisper
By all ye leave or do
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.

"What is this but an expression of the spirit, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."[27] Kipling's ideal was to work in such a way that other nations would admire and see a way to their own glory through it. All that England did was not correct to Kipling. Almost all the early stories were critical, particularly of the administration in India. He frequently praises the missionaries and the women who work so hard to civilize their charges. He is openly critical of natives who acquire the technical skills of Christian society without making any effort to study Christianity itself. Finally this review asked "Who is the God of Kipling?" and answered it with "He is the Creator, the Master of all Good Workmen".[27] Kipling was interested in the work of the world and while his writings were not essentially religious yet he appeared to hold the belief that all good work in the world should lead to God.

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27 R. B. B., "Mr. Kipling's Theology" in The Outlook, Vol. 64, March 24, 1900, p. 692.

Speculation on Kipling's religious and philosophical ideals dominated the criticism of 1899 and overflowed into the year 1900. The criticism of his works as isolated items had come to a close for the time being and the critics were absorbed in a wider estimation of the man's inner self. The critics arrived at the conclusion that work, especially the work of Empire, faithfully performed was a spiritual exercise that would lead men to God, the Creator and Supreme Architect of the universe. The critics had drawn from Kipling's works what was supposed to be his idea of the ultimate good, the final cause of life.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to determine whether any definite patterns of criticism were evident among the periodical reviews on Rudyard Kipling and his works during the period 1890 to 1900. It is evident that there are positive trends of criticism ranging all the way from belated surprise to weighty estimates of religion and philosophy. First of all, Kipling was one of those rare writers who had the good fortune to be born at an acceptable time and to be able to catch the hearts of the reading public before the critics could effectively influence literary opinions concerning him. His exotic tales fired the imagination of a nation weary with long involved novels. His were so new that the readers enjoyed them caring little for their worth as literary creations. So it was, then, that when Kipling returned to England he found that his fame had preceeded him, and taking advantage of the situation, he literally flung volume after volume to the reading public who eagerly devoured them. The public had accepted the work and the author and the critics could do little more than at first ride the wave of applause. In fact the few comments they did make during the year 1890 only

served to reveal their surprise and confusion.

From the start, however, Kipling was accepted as a short story writer of unusual merit and his position in this regard was the only one that was never seriously questioned during the ten year period. All his other qualities as a writer were violently discussed.

His ability as a poet was most roughly treated. From the start his poetry was regarded as mere doggerel: that it was not poetry at all but rather an attempt to tell tales in verse. This idea was left at that and all through the ten year period his poetry was regarded as balladry, and that of a questionable quality. That the ballad should tell a tale and deal with the dynamics of emotion was a rather standard definition and within this definition Kipling's poems were placed. That his poems should attain a higher appreciation was deemed impossible for his few occasional flashes of divine fire were too drowned in the clouds of murky vulgarity and snobbishness. The critics felt that there was little permanent about his poetry.

While the above outlines the general trend of the criticism on the structural aspects of his poetry yet the content of his poetical works was such that the poems could not be

dispatched entirely. Despite the flaws in construction they forced themselves forward. Some critics held that a poet could be an interpreter to the nation and in this role Kipling found acceptance. While his earlier works were regarded as doggerel by 1896 he was being regarded as the unchallenged Laureate of Greater Britain without official approval. By 1899 his poetry had reached a remarkable position particularly through the efforts of his Recessional. The critics were pointing out that the long succession of poets was an unbreakable chain of evolution, a chain which revealed the nation to itself. Kipling was being regarded as the modern link in this chain which was composed of such men as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Burns, Wordsworth, and Tennyson. According to the theory of these writers, man was to rise century after century to a larger comprehension of his duties and power. Kipling, despite his structural weaknesses as a poet, had added a new and vital chapter to this theory of progress.

Kipling was soon dismissed as a novelist. Within the first year, 1890, the critics called for a long novel. This was essential to them, for his short tales were something new and they found themselves on strange ground, and Kipling found himself on just as strange a ground when he prepared his

novel which was immediately dubbed a failure. The power and impact which made his short stories so effective only served to make his longer work unpleasant. It was a collection of high powered incidents that, when strung together, failed to please. The critics pointed out that his views on life were faulty: that he did not understand women: and that he was too interested in the "dirty corner" to be a great novelist. Other critics however were not so positive in their condemnation. They pointed out that most of the faults recorded were possible of remedy and that Kipling in writing something so strange to his technique had in fact created a novel, though faulty, yet a novel on a par with many other accepted novels. His collaboration on The Naulakha did nothing for his reputation as a novelist. His novel writing was let stand at this stage for the remainder of the ten year period.

In essaying reasons for his unprecedented popularity critics pointed out from the start that Kipling had something new to say and to sing and this idea certainly kept pace throughout the ten year period. His tales were short, easily read and understood; they were new in content and form. He was so successful in the short story field that the critics felt he had lifted the short story a whole plane higher than

when he found it. Following the lull found in 1893 he started forward again with the Jungle Books. They became the second sensation of his career and while his short stories won him a comparison with Chaucer his new tales found him compared with Aesop. Then as his philosophy began to emerge the public found that his successful interlocking of man and beast in the jungle was being repeated with his interlocking of man and empire in an imperialistic age and with his interlocking of man and machine in an age of mechanical evolution. Throughout the whole ten year period he kept saying something new.

Along with this development of saying something new there arose a complaint that was never reduced. His early works were eagerly devoured because of their strange scenes, pictorial descriptions of exotic places and people, and their far from common story content. The critics pointed out how this exotic content became less apparent as Kipling became more obsessed with the value of work. His keeness for detail in the early works gave way to a keeness for technical jargon. This mania for technical terms was first observed in 1893 and continued to increase with The Seven Seas in 1896 becoming worse than ever in 1898 with The Day's Work.

From the outset Kipling was studied on religious

grounds. In 1891 the critics held that his characters had little faith; certainly religion was not apparently a part of their lives. This was explained by the fact that Kipling himself had little use for organized forms of religion as he knew them. He was also influenced by the religious ideals of the East. The fact that his religious notions did not fall along the usual lines was not observed at first but as the decade wore on the critics found a religious conviction that might be described as Kipling's own. He was profoundly influenced by the religious elements found in Freemasonry and consequently he regarded God as the Supreme Architect of the universe. He felt that all men could serve Him by working for the betterment of humanity especially in the civilizing work of empire. He regarded his own writing as his life's work and that by it he could attain an eternal reward. At the outset he dedicated it to the "Great Overseer". The critics attempted to tie his religious ideals to an organized form of religious expression and they felt that his work was an "art form of Calvinism". For the most part however, his religion was simple, primitive and elemental. Nevertheless, simple as it was, it certainly found a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the British people for with the publication of Recessional, its

religious note mirrored the acceptable conception of the race as the elect of God.

Closely allied and scarcely separable from his religious views was his conception of empire. His life in India provided him with a first hand picture of colonial conditions and the attempted fusing of an ancient pagan culture with a modern Christian one. He became enamoured with the blessings the empire could bring to the "dark sullen peoples" and so he came to regard the work of empire as the work of the Lord. The critics pointed out that Kipling held the "white man's burden" to uplift those not so fortunate as himself; that his conception of empire was essentially British but he felt that all white nations should share in the project. The critics also traced from almost all his works his determination in this direction.

Finally, the quality of the reviewers themselves who studied Kipling in this ten year period, indicated his influence and power during the decade. Such men as Andrew Lang, and Henry James reviewed his works early upon his return to England. The applause handed out by Henry James surprised many. Some critics held that if Kipling did no more than to make such a friend he had done well. Other important

reviewers during the ten year period include such names as, Francis Adams, J. M. Barrie, E. Dowden, Edmund Gosse, Lionel Johnson, Andrew Lang, and C. Porter. While the critics were not all in love with the new writer yet the fact that he was reviewed to the extent he was testified to his hold at that time.

None of the reviews were especially deep in their estimates during the period under study. It is expected that a study of the years after 1900 will provide deeper explorations on the work and nature of Rudyard Kipling which may prepare the way for a fuller appreciation of the recent and somewhat revolutionary appraisal by T. S. Eliot.

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THE ABSTRACT

This thesis has attempted to discover the pattern of periodical critical comment on Rudyard Kipling and his work during the period 1890 to 1900. This period was Kipling's most productive and the one during which his reputation was made.

During this time his works and ideals were seriously considered from many points of view. His explosive arrival upon the London scene caught the reviewers napping and he succeeded in obtaining public applause before the critics were really aware of his presence. Their feeble attempts to appraise his works during the first year did little more than re-echo the popular applause. However, they found his short stories to be a strange medium and so they called for a long novel. This Kipling provided in The Light That Failed and the critics truly dissected it and declated Kipling to be a poor writer; failing to see life as a whole he focused the spot light on isolated facts. As a result of the novel's failure some critics felt that both his arrival and his works were the sensation of a moment and would soon pass away. In fact the

next collection of verse failed to raise his standard any higher and his year of silence in 1893 seemed to indicate the truth of the prediction that the possible "Anglo-Indian Dickens" had slid from view.

The publication of The Jungle Books saw a rapid return of public interest. His studies of animal life won him a comparison with Aesop and aroused the interest of the deeper critics who were starting to find an association between his tales and his philosophy. The works which followed The Jungle Books strengthened his position as a writer of Empire and an exponent of Imperial ideals. The Seven Seas and The Day's Work seemed to present a relationship between his "Jungle" ideas and his "Imperial" ideals. The whole trend was highlighted by the publication in July, 1897 of Recessional, a short poem which received more attention than any other item he created. In fact the year 1899 was taken up with reviewers' attempts to evaluate and tie together Kipling's philosophical notions relative to men, to work and to empire.

That there were definite patterns in the critical comment is evident. It rose steadily, except for two periods of lull, from surprise at his arrival to an attempted interpretation of his philosophy. Within the ten year period his techniques,

and story content were well explored, and from his works the critics had drawn his ideals of empire, its place in the lives of men and men's place in the concept of empire.