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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

THE Society was founded in 1927. Its first President was Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I. ("Stalky") (1927-1946).

Members are invited to propose those of their friends who are interested in Rudyard Kipling's works for election to membership. The Hon. Secretary would be glad to hear from members overseas as to prospects of forming a Branch of the Society in their district

The Subscription is : Home Members, 25/- ; Overseas Members, 15/-; Junior Members (under 18, anywhere), 10/-; U.S.A. Branch, \$3.50 per annum. These include receipt of *The Kipling Journal* quarterly.

THE KIPLING SOCIETY ADDRESS—

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Be sure to telephone before calling, as the office is not always open.

THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

COUNCIL MEETINGS

The next Council Meetings will be held at 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I, on Wednesday, 17th June, 1970, at 2.30 p.m., and Wednesday, 16th September, 1970, immediately after the A.G.M. (see below).

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

This will be held at 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I, on Wednesday, 16th September, 1970, at 2.30 p.m.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

At St. George's Club, 4 Wilton Mews, S.W.I, at 5.30 for 6 p.m.

Wednesday, 15th July, 1970

Mr. J. H. McGivering will open a discussion on 'Kipling & Son : a Successful Partnership'.

Wednesday, 16th September, 1970

Lt.-Col. A. E. Bagwell Purefoy will open a discussion on: 'In the Same Boat,' 'The Wish House' and 'Fairykist.'

ANNUAL LUNCHEON

The Annual Luncheon of the Kipling Society will be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London W.C.2, on Thursday, 15th October, 1970. The Guest of Honour will be The Rt. Hon. The Viscount Cobham, K.G., G.C.M.G., P.C, T.D., President of the Society.

Application forms will be sent out in September.

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NEWS AND NOTES

'ON A MAGICAL ISLAND'

Of Kipling's visit to Jamaica no details have been published. It seems that he landed there on 1 March 1930, and the next day was working on his dog story 'The Woman in his Life'. Arriving there by air forty years later to the very day, I was able to feel no more than that Kipling had looked on the same scenes : Port Royal (mentioned in 'A Naval Mutiny') and Government House—but according to Professor Carrington (p.500), he and Mrs. Kipling refused 'an invitation to be the guests of the Governor'.

Two weeks later, flying down over the island of Bermuda and landing late in the evening, one came much nearer to Kipling—even though we were confined to the airport for the brief two hours. It was indeed 'a Magical Island' as an incredible sunset showed it to us—'that gem of sub-tropical seas'—and one would fain have wandered away 'along the white coral road' to see if the escaped green parrots had left any descendants.

Kipling spent much longer in Bermuda, owing to his wife's sudden illness : but 'He had his own resources, and was witness of a scene (the sailor and the parrot that misbehaved) which he worked up into the story 'A Naval Mutiny': and harking back to observations made years previously, into the background of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, he made a ballad of them.' ["The Coiner"]

MORE LETTERS

Kipling's letters continue to fetch high prices. At Sotheby's Sale on 4 March a one-page letter to Allan Ramsay fetched £80. According to the Catalogue it commented on the opening verse of Ramsay's translation into Latin of "Pro-Consuls"—'which, to my mind, gives the "overfaithful sword" idea quite perfectly,' and goes on:—

'I have written to Graves—C. L. Graves—asking him to come in and play too : and he says he will, so with luck there will be odes from him too—and beauties! It would be great fun if we could get a really good lot together and—after the War—put 'em forth with learned comments and, as you suggested I think, a facsimile or two.'

This letter, written from The Empire Hotel, Bath, on 23 Feb : 1918, supplies one of the earliest references to *Horace, Book V*, published in 1920. Ramsay's version of 'The overfaithful sword' appears in it as Ode VI—"solvisse votum", etc.

Several more letters were offered for sale by Bertram Rota Ltd. (Catalogue 163). They include two (price £180) to the Rev. Eric Robert-

son of some interest. The first (dated from Tisbury in 1894) refers back to the days when Robertson was Professor of English at Lahore University, and they were fellow members of the Punjab Club—'can't you smell the heat in those rooms yet—with Harris sick next door and . . . your namesake "Rosalie the prairie flower" coming in all hot and sticky after Polo . . . it was a good time in many ways.' Later in the letter he explains that he is now living near his parents and has a small daughter—'getting on for two and I feel unspeakably aged at times'—and has been writing *The Jungle Book*—'I got more pleasure out of writing it than anything I've done for a long time. Someday . . . I'll get a decent style all of my own.'

The other letter, written two years later from St. Marychurch (Devon) is in an altogether different tone. Robertson had just got ordained at the time of the previous letter, and now he had apparently turned round and produced one of the typical attacks on Kipling which were just beginning to appear (where I have, unfortunately, been unable to discover):—

'It is a "terrible" thing to say publicly of one's "friend" that the two things beyond his pale are "God and good women" . . . you and I both knew my mother and sister and several other good women at Lahore. Ten years ago—and it must be some ten years since we last met—your views on God and good women were not I fancy what they are now. You have married and gone into the Church—and I have at least given you the benefit of the doubt . . . you might today have shown me the like forbearance. I have had to take many misrepresentations from the worst of the American newspapers during the past few years but . . . your little statement, in all the force of its "friendship" and backed by your position in the Church, is, if it gains any notoriety, more subtly than any other calculated to cripple any power for good that may lie in my work.'

Two typed letters in the same catalogue (1924, to L. Reynolds, price £25) refer to 'Batemens':—

'Bateman's is an Elizabethan house . . . the late Sir Ambrose Poynter had no concern with its planning. He did, however, alter some oast-houses into cottages; and it may be that these are the plans to which you refer.'

TALES OF 'THE TRADE'

Another letter (offered by Rota for £110) is to the editor of *The Maidstone Magazine*—or rather, it is a draft for a letter (whether resulting in a letter actually sent, or not, is uncertain), and should probably be dated late 1915 or early the year after. Kipling wrote in humorous vein:—

' . . . I allude to my having done mottoes for the trade and destroyers. Owing to the war I have been reluctantly compelled to raise my rates which now stand at one navy button with Crown and Anchor, per motto used . . . said rates are retrospective . . . They take the mottoes and they go and kill Huns with them and I do not get my

button which may be war but is not business. I do not mind supplying mottoes, even to destroyers, but I will not be done in the eye by the trade

This apparently refers to Kipling's poem "The Trade", which appeared in *The Maidstone Magazine* in Dec: 1915. This was one of Kipling's few genuine 'Ballades'—but only in the periodical, which contains the "L'Envoy", which is omitted in *Definitive Verse* and all other reprints. This ran:—

' Even the *Maidstone Magazine*
For whom my ribald rhymes are made,
Strikes out far more than it strikes in,
That is the custom of The Trade.'

The Maidstone Magazine was issued by the officers and men of the Eighth Submarine Flotilla, at first only typed, but printed throughout 1915. 'The ship's company of H.M.S. *Maidstone*, the depot-ship for submarines, were his special friends and for them he wrote several songs and epigrams' [Carrington, p.440].

'MARY POSTGATE'

Mr. Malcolm Page's interesting article about Kipling's 'most notorious story' attempts to give a new interpretation of it which will surprise admirers and detractors alike. But the evidence for the usual reading seems conclusive: 'Meanwhile the ferocity of the German war-machine grew more apparent,' wrote Carrington (p.429). 'In January 1915 the first air-raids were made on undefended English towns.' And Mrs. Kipling noted in her diary for 8 March 1915 that Kipling was 'working on a new story, *Mary Postgate*'. [It was received by the Editor of *Nash's Magazine* in August, and published in December of the same year.]

To clinch the matter Mrs. Bambridge writes, after reading Mr. Page's article: 'There is no *possible* question but that the airman in this story was *German*. My father read me the story as it was being written, and we discussed it . . . I always thought it a grim story and it has been much criticized; and it certainly roused angry comment in Germany.'

THE LAW OF THE JUNGLE

How very differently the rôles of Beast and Man in the Jungle can be presented is aptly shown by Robert L. Platzner in an article published in the 'Fall' number for 1969 of *The Victorian Newsletter* (N.Y. University), pages 19-22, as 'H. G. Wells's "Jungle Book": The Influence of Kipling on *The Island of Dr. Moreau*.' Mr. Platzner finds many suggestions from the Mowgli stories and a kind of grim parody of Kipling's picture of the Jungle and the Jungle Law—the relationship between Kipling's *Jungle Book* and Wells's bleak island fable is built around philosophical as well as literary satire. If one were to regard the impact of Kipling's tales on Wells's imagination at the level of more literary invention, it would seem remarkable how much sinister suggestiveness Wells found in Kipling's unoffending nursery tales . . . It is just

this aspect of *The Jungle Books*—Kipling's faith in the purposiveness of the natural universe—that must have appeared so appallingly sentimental and unreflective to Wells.'

This is an interesting study, and could well be extended—for Wells in his earlier years admitted freely how deeply Kipling influenced him: 'The prevailing force in my undergraduate days was not Socialism but Kiplingism', wrote Wells in the thinly veiled autobiography of *The New Machiavelli* (1911). 'He helped to broaden my geographical sense immensely, and he provided phrases for just that desire for discipline and devotion and organized effort the Socialism of our time failed to express . . . He got hold of us wonderfully, filling us with tinkling and haunting quotations, he stirred Britten and myself to futile imitations, he coloured the very idiom of our conversation . . .'

Another new article on Kipling, 'Justified by Implication: The Imperial Theme in Three Stories by Kipling' is mentioned in the same periodical. It appeared in *The Dalhousie Review*, Winter 1968-69, pp.472-87, and is a study by Dennis Duffy on the theme of the justification of empire in 'The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin', 'The Bridge-builders' and 'The Church that was at Antioch'. Unfortunately no copy is available for a fuller report.

A rather silly article by Denis Ireland in *The Irish Times* (24 Jan: '69) is mostly taken up with thrashing the dead horse of Kipling's supposed jingo-imperialism. But he finds true poetry breaking through from time to time: 'No wonder Kipling is turning up again minus his cardboard imperialist background. He may have decorated the grand old harlot of financial imperialism with jingles and bangles, but he foresaw her doom, and, in his poets' way, said so with a classical, at times a Biblical directness. Ironically, history may be about to endorse his reputation as a singer of national sentiment so powerful that it overflows into the guts of nationalism:

" Scent of smoke in the evening,
Smell of rain in the night;
The hours, the days and the seasons
Order their soul aright . . ."

'What if it's the scent of Irish turf smoke, not Sussex wood smoke? Being the poet he was, he must have seen the objection. Anyhow, the verdict of history is "Objection sustained!"'

What a strange pre-conception on Mr. Ireland's part! Did he not know that Kipling had written:

' God gives all men all earth to love,
But since man's heart is small,
Ordains for each one spot shall prove
Beloved over all.
Each to his choice —'

Kipling's was Sussex; but he would certainly not have objected to another man's being on the other side of the Irish Sea, as Mr. Ireland seems to suppose.

KIPLING AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTER-AESTHETES

by Robert W. Witt

Artists at the end of the nineteenth century apparently gathered at opposite poles; these different positions can best be termed the aesthetic movement and the counter-aesthetic movement, although the aesthetes of the nineties had become decadent figures. It was the decadent artists, of course, whose objective was only to create beauty, not to try to find meaning for life as the earlier generation of Victorians had done. Art for them was a means of escape from the realities of life; life, in fact, became secondary to art, and their work is permeated by a morbid self-pity. At the opposite pole were the counter-aesthetes, those who took a "muscular, hair-on-the-chest" approach to life and to art. These artists in their work display a strength and a "make-the-best-of-it" attitude which contrasts sharply with the self-pity and overall morbidity of the aesthetes; theirs is a healthy view of the late Victorian wasteland.

That Kipling is representative of this counter-aesthetic movement is made clear by an examination of his view of art. He did not view art as a means of creating only beauty nor as a means of expressing self-pity. Art for him was a means of expressing truth—of finding meaning for life—and, consequently, of enlightening mankind. He approaches life and art with a strength and muscularity characteristic of the counter-aesthetes. For a statement of Kipling's view of art it is, of course, necessary to go to several of his stories and poems as well as the autobiography.

The idea that the primary function of art is to convey truth is expressed many times in Kipling's work. It is specifically stated in "A Song of the English", where he expresses the wish: "Through the naked words and mean/ May we see the truth between. . ."¹ In presenting truth, of course, the artist must be true to himself and to his art; he must not allow anything to obscure his vision or deter him from his purpose. In "The Last Rhyme of True Thomas", Thomas, the artist, has won the acclaim of the world and is offered the rewards which go with it. Thomas, however, is able to view this reward in the right perspective and to overcome the temptation of sacrificing his art for it. Material gain is, of course, of no importance to the artist. He, furthermore, refuses the offer of knighthood from the King—at least until the King himself has been made to see truth. The artist does not labour for gold or for honour. In fact, he does not labour for himself but for mankind. His purpose is to help mankind find the truth and not, as did the aesthetes, to indulge in self-pity.

That the artist must labour for mankind, that his art must be useful, is apparent in 'The Children of the Zodiac' and 'Cold Iron'—at least according to the interpretation of C. A. Bodelsen². In both stories the characters who represent the true artist must sacrifice themselves for the benefit of mankind. The task is far from easy, and the material rewards are few; mankind, though, is the better for the work which each does. In "The Children of the Zodiac" Leo, who represents the artist, realizes

the compensation for his sacrifice as he talks with a dying man:

'I die,' he said quietly. 'It is well for me, Leo, that you sang for forty years.'

'Are you afraid?' said Leo, bending over him.

'I am a man, not a God,' said the man. 'I should have run away but for your Songs. My work is done, and I die without making a show of fear.'

'I am very well paid,' said Leo to himself. 'Now that I see what my songs are doing, I will sing better ones.'³

The Boy in 'Cold Iron' puts on the slave-ring, and thus he must serve mankind as Leo has done; he, too, must live a life of sacrifice, but again mankind will benefit.

The Light That Failed also demonstrates the idea that the artist must labour for mankind and not for his own personal gain. Dick Heldar realizes that the artist must be true to himself and his art, but his conviction is not strong enough. He succumbs to the temptation which True Thomas overcame, and as a result redoes his portrait of the rifleman in order to give it a more popular appeal. He realizes, though, that the new version is not realistic, is not true, and he speaks of it in a sarcastic manner; the price, however, has become important to Dick, and he realizes that the new version will bring twice as much. Torpenhow, of course, destroys the work because he realizes the falsity of it. Art must present truth; it should not function as an indulgence for either the artist or his audience.

The description of the redone portrait smacks of the work of the aesthetes, and it has been suggested that the novel presents a picture of the decadence of the aesthetes.⁴ Kipling certainly had no respect for the aesthetes; indeed, he apparently held a "special dislike" for them⁵. In "The Children of the Zodiac" he describes the men who follow after the death of Leo in the following manner: "After his death there sprang up a breed of little mean men, whimpering and flinching and howling because the Houses killed them and theirs, who wished to live forever without any pain. They did not increase their lives, but they increased their own torments miserably. . . ."⁶ Kipling is, no doubt, referring to the decadents as the "little mean men."⁷ They were the ones, in Kipling's opinion, who "whimpered" and "howled" but accomplished nothing except to increase "their own torments miserably. . . ." Dick Heldar sacrifices his art in order to make money; it may well be that Kipling intended for the decay of Dick Heldar to represent that of the aesthetes.

This contrast between the true artist and the aesthetes, it seems, appears numerous times in Kipling's work; for example, in "The Song of the Banjo," the banjo represents the true artist while the other instruments represent the aesthetes—those who are ornamental rather than useful. The banjo, of course, can sing of all things, and always it speaks the truth. The muscularity of the banjo is undoubtedly representative of the counter-aesthetes and hence of Kipling's approach to art. The Broadwood, the fiddle, and the organ cannot meet life on its own terms, and their art becomes useless.

Dick Heldar's early work is in the same tradition of art which the

banjo advocates. When Torpenhow first meets Dick, he looks at some of Dick's sketches; they are typical of the work which Dick has done while he is still true to himself and to his art. Kipling gives a list of these sketches, and they are an obvious contrast with the "lovely" re-done portrait of the rifleman and, of course, with the "wan faces" and "pale lilies" of the work of the aesthetes.

This same muscular approach to art is represented in "McAndrew's Hymn." McAndrew speaks for the counter-aesthetes when he makes his plea for art that will "sing the Song o' Steam." Kipling himself, of course, sings the "Song o' Steam", but he will "never last to judge her lines or take her curve. . . ." Kipling here recognizes his own position. He has identified himself with the tradition of the muscular school; he, however, is not the leader; he is only a part.

In "The 'Mary Gloster'" the contrast between the muscular type and the useless effete is made quite clear. Sir Anthony Gloster is a self-made man. He has built a steamship line which has made him a fortune; the struggle was difficult, but he has been successful. His son, Dick, however, is quite different; he has never done anything useful. Sir Anthony in his death-bed speech to his son indicates Dick's pre-occupation with art ("For you muddled with books and pictures, an' china an' etchin's an' fans") rather than with life. Dick's marriage has been barren, and there is no heir to carry on the Gloster name. Dick has not faced life; rather he has escaped from the realities of life. He has thus become useless just as the art of the aesthetes is useless.

In *Something of Myself* Kipling states that "Every man must be his own law in his own work. . . ."⁸ The idea that art is an individual matter appeals to Kipling, for he alludes to it several times in his poetry, particularly in "When Earth's Last Picture is Painted" and "In the Neolithic Age". It would seem that with this attitude Kipling could not logically criticize the aesthetes, or anyone else for that matter. Perhaps he justifies his criticism, though, in the remainder of the statement, for he hastens on to add, "but it is a poor-spirited artist in any craft who does not know how the other man's work should be done or could be improved."⁹

In the autobiography Kipling, of course, discusses his method of composition. His best work, he states, is written from inspiration, or rather while he is under the influence of his Daemon. This Daemon more-or-less dictates to him, as he points out in the discussion concerning the composition of the *Jungle Books*. Later he again emphasizes the idea that the Daemon tells him what he must write. In *The Light That Failed* Dick Helder voices the same idea:

'Good work has nothing to do with—doesn't belong to—the person who does it. It's put into him or her from outside. . . .

'All we can do is learn how to do our work, to be masters of our materials instead of servants, and never to be afraid of anything. . . .

'Everything else comes from outside ourselves.'¹⁰

Dick obviously speaks for Kipling, for the same idea is expressed in several other works. For instance, in the story 'Wireless' Kipling explores the parallel between wireless telegraphy and poetic inspiration.¹¹

The artist, so to speak, receives a message which is transmitted to him from something outside himself. It is, then, by inspiration that truth is conveyed to the artist from some ultimate source; the artist becomes the instrument by which truth is made known.

It is certainly apparent that Kipling viewed art as a means of conveying truth—of making mankind know the truth. The artist lives a life of sacrifice, but mankind is enlightened. Kipling's approach to life is positive rather than negative, and there is a muscularity about his work which contrasts with the morbidity of the aesthetes. He thus can well be considered as a representative of the counter-aesthetes at the end of the century. As Noel Annan states, "he has been regarded as a strident geranium, red as a map of the colonies and the antithesis of the green carnations of the nineties. . . ." ¹² Indeed, he is in every way the antithesis of the decadent aesthetes.

NOTES

1. *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, Definitive Edition (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1940). All references to Kipling's poetry will be to the poems as they appear in this edition.
2. C. A. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964), pp. 42-52.
3. Rudyard Kipling, "The Children of the Zodiac", *Many Inventions* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1924), p. 422.
4. William S. Peterson, "The Light That Failed: Kipling's Version of Decadence", *English Literature in Transition*, IX (1966), 153-155.
5. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 120.
6. Kipling, "The Children of the Zodiac", p. 424.
7. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art*, p. 44.
8. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (London: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1937), p. 204.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Rudyard Kipling, *The Light That Failed* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1926), pp. 101-102.
11. J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Art of Rudyard Kipling*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1965), pp. 90-94.
12. Noel Annan, "Kipling's Place in the History of Ideas", *Victorian Studies*, III (June, 1960), 323.

OBITUARY: Mrs. Carl T. Naumburg.

We deeply regret to report the recent death of Mrs. Carl Naumburg (Peggy to her many friends). Her husband has been—and happily still is—Hon. Secretary of our U.S.A. Branch for many years, and we have had the great pleasure of meeting both of them on several of their visits to England. Peggy did much to help and encourage her husband in the painstaking work he does for us, and a year ago, when he had two long spells of illness, she practically carried the Branch on her own shoulders. The tragic news of her death arrived just as we were looking forward to another visit from them this Summer.

R.E.H.
A.E.B.P.

THE ISLAMIC TRADITION IN KIPLING'S WORK

By Shamsul Islam

Kipling was not, strictly speaking, a professing Christian. Though responsive to Christian ethical ideals, and imaginatively responsive to such things as village churches, characters of saints, and so forth, though he uses Christian symbols seriously (for example in "Cold Iron" and "The Gardener"), though his work is full of Biblical quotations and allusions, there is, in fact, very little evidence anywhere in Kipling's writings of an adherence to articles of Christian belief. Indeed there is much to show that no formal religion would have satisfied him.

In an early letter (9 December 1889) to Caroline Taylor, the daughter of a clergyman, to whom Kipling paid court while he was visiting the United States of America, he confesses :

' I believe in the existence of a personal God to whom we are personally responsible for wrong-doing—that it is our duty to follow and our peril to disobey the ten ethical laws laid down for us by Him and His prophets. I disbelieve directly in eternal punishment, for reasons that would take too long to put down on paper. On the same grounds I disbelieve in an eternal reward. As regards the mystery of the Trinity and the Doctrine of Redemption, I regard them most reverently but I cannot give them implicit belief.' [Carrington: p. 138.]

In another letter (16 October 1895) he expresses his dissatisfaction with Christianity in these words :

' It is my fortune to have been born and to a large extent brought up among those whom white men call "heathen"; and while I recognise the paramount duty of every white man to follow the teaching of his creed and conscience as "a debtor to the whole law", it seems to me cruel that white men, whose governments are armed with the most murderous weapons known to science, should amaze and confound their fellow creatures with a doctrine of salvation imperfectly understood by themselves and a code of ethics foreign to the climate and instincts of those races whose most cherished customs they outrage and whose gods they insult.' [Carrington: p. 361.]

However, Kipling was no atheist. Far from being an atheist, he had a deep, religious attitude of mind in the most philosophic sense of the term. His dissatisfaction with Christianity is proof of an inquiring mind that refuses to be content with only one approach to the Absolute :

Look, you have cast out Love ! What Gods are these

You bid me please?

The Three in One, the One in Three? Not so!

To my own Gods I go.

It may be they shall give me greater ease

Than your cold Christ and tangled Trinities.

This epigraph to the story "The Convert" tells a great deal about the way Kipling's mind works.

This philosophic attitude of mind was largely a result of his experiences in India—the land of diverse castes and creeds. It was here that he was exposed to various religious and philosophic systems, and he realized they were all concerned with one common object, namely

the moral and spiritual well-being of man. This perception of a common denominator among diverse religions confirmed his faith in the "hidden and veiled Power" that is working against the Dark Powers in its own mysterious ways. So he would naturally respect all religions, whether Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Sikh, Hindu or Mithraic* Mahbub Ali speaks for Kipling when he tells Kim: "This matter of creeds is like horse-flesh. The wise man knows horses are good—that there is a profit to be made from all . . . Therefore I say in my heart the Faiths are like the horses. Each has merit in its own country" (XIX, 234). In this article I propose to examine briefly the influence of Islamic tradition on Kipling.

Kipling's works are interspersed with references to Islam, Allah, the Prophet Mohammed, the Quran, Islamic ethics, and Muslim literature and folklore. For example, the Introduction to the "Outward Bound Edition" of his collected works begins with the well-known Quranic verse: "In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful" (Quran, I,1). This Introduction is in the form of a letter from the owner of the merchandise (that is, Kipling) to the *Nakhoda* (Persian for "skipper") of the vessel, which is carrying the rich cargo (that is, Kipling's works) to the Western ports. The writer prays to Allah for the success of this venture: "On Bhao Malung we pray before the voyage at the Takaria Musjid we give thanks when the voyage is over" (I, x). Similarly, he begins his autobiography, his final book, in the name of Allah: "Therefore, ascribing all good fortune to Allah the Dispenser of Events, I begin: —" (XXXVI, 3).

The story "The Enemies to Each Other" (1924) has a distinct Islamic flavour. Here the narrator, Abu Ali Jafir Bin Yakub-ul-Isfahani (an authentic Arabic name) tells the story of the creation of Adam. When the Archangel Jibrail (Islamic equivalent of Gabriel) went to bring from the earth the material that would make Adam, the earth "shook and lamented and supplicated", and Jibrail being moved by the laments, refrained. But the Archangel Azrael completed the task successfully. When asked why he did not refrain, he answered: "Obedience (to Thee) was more obligatory than Pity (for it)." Whence it was ordained that Azrael should become the Angel of Death. Azrael was further ordered to mix the clays and sands and lay them to dry between "Tayif and Mecca" till the time appointed. And when the Soul went through the agony of entering the body and the event was accomplished, "the Word came: *My compassion exceedeth My Wrath*.'" These words recall "The Lord is quick in retribution, but He is also Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful." (Quran, VII, 168-169.) The story is a good example of Kipling's use of Islamic tradition.

Kipling's special use of Muslim literature and history is illustrated by several poems and stories. For instance, he refers to Saadi, a famous Persian mystic and poet, in "One View of the Question" (1890):

* Kipling's attitude towards Hinduism is, however, ambivalent. While certain philosophic aspects of Hindu belief appealed to him, he remained unsympathetic to the Hindu religion on the whole. Nevertheless, he teaches respect for even the worship of Hanuman (Cf. 'The Mark of the Beast').

And ye know what Saadi saith : —

"How may the merchant westward fare

When he hears the tale of the tumults there?" (VI, 284)

"The Rupaiyat of Omar Kal'vin" (1886) and "Certain Maxims of Hafiz" (1886) indicate his familiarity with Omar Khayyam (at first no doubt through Fitzgerald's translation) and Hafiz Shirazi—two of the most celebrated classical Persian poets. There are also numerous references in his works to *The Arabian Nights*. As regards Muslim history, there are many references to Moghul emperors in particular. "Akbar's Bridge" (1930) and "The Amir's Homily" (1891), which introduces Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, are ready examples.

Kipling's attitude towards Islam may be gathered from an early story "The City of Dreadful Night" (1885). Here Kipling paints an impressionistic picture of Lahore on a hot and humid night in August. He approaches the city from a distance and gradually focuses his lens on the objects of his special interest. We get a bird's eye view of the city—the roof-tops, as far as one can see, are crammed with restless men, women, and children and the sleepers by the roadside, who look like corpses in the eerie moonlight. The entire city seems to be in the grip of the Dark Powers whose evil influence is ultimately broken by the call of a *Muezzin* (Muslim crier who calls the hour of daily prayers) : "Allah ho Akbar"; then a pause while another *Muezzin* somewhere in the direction of the Golden Temple takes up the call—"Allah ho Akbar". Again and again; four times in all; and from the bedsteads a dozen men have risen up already.—"I bear witness that there is no God but God." What a splendid cry it is, the proclamation of the creed that brings men out of their beds by scores at midnight! Once again he thunders through the same phrase, shaking with the vehemence of his own voice; and then, far and near, the night air rings with "Mahomed is the Prophet of God." It is as though he were flinging his defiance to the far-off horizon, where the summer lightning plays and leaps like a bared sword. (IV, 42-43.)

This image of Islam as a power of Light comes out sharply in *The Smith Administration* (1891), a series of sketches of an Anglo-Indian establishment and life in India. For instance, "The Bride's Progress" (which originally appeared in *The Pioneer Mail* on 8 February 1888) describes the visit of a newly-married English couple to Benares, the holy city—"Benares of the Buddhists and the Hindus—of Durga of the Thousand Names—of two Thousand Temples, and twice two thousand stenches." (XVI, 520.) As the couple wanders through the narrow streets, "the symbols of a brutal cult" become apparent, and they cannot bear "the city of monstrous creeds" any more. As they flee from Benares, they hear a *muezzin* defying the Hindu gods :

'In the silence a voice thundered far above their heads : " I bear witness that there is no God but God." It was the mullah, proclaiming the Oneness of God in the city of the Million Manifestations. The call rang across the sleeping city and far over the river, and be sure that the mullah abated nothing of the defiance of his cry for that he looked down upon a sea of temples and smelt the incense of a hundred Hindu shrines.' (XVI, 526-27.)

In "Egypt of the Magicians" (1913), a record of his impressions of his visit to Egypt, he writes :

'Christian churches may compromise with images and side-chapels where the unworthy or abashed can traffic with accessible saints. Islam has but one pulpit and one stark affirmation—living or dying, one only—and where men have repeated that in red-hot belief through centuries, the air still shakes to it.' (XXVIII, 274.)

Speaking about Islam in general, Kipling declares :

'Some men are Mohammedan by birth, some by training, and some by fate, but I have never met an Englishman yet who hated Islam and its people as I have met Englishmen who hated some other faiths. *Mussalmanni awadani*, as the saying goes—where there are Mohammedans, there is a comprehensible civilisation.' (XXVIII, 274.)

Describing his impressions of Al-Azhar—the thousand-year-old University of Cairo—he comments on the Quran-oriented curriculum of the university :

'The students sit on the ground, and their teachers instruct them, mostly by word of mouth, in grammar, syntax, logic; *al-hisab*, which is arithmetic; *al-jab'r w'al muqablah*, which is algebra; *at-tafsir*, commentaries on the Koran; and last and most troublesome, *al-ahadis*, traditions, and yet more commentaries on the law of Islam, which leads back, like everything, to the Koran once again. (For it is written, "Truly the Quran is none other than a revelation.") It is a very comprehensive curriculum.' (XXVIII, 275.)

Kipling felt at home in the Muslim world: the Panjab, where he spent five youthful years, was predominantly a Muslim area. "My life had lain among Muslims," he writes in his autobiography, "and a man leans one way or other according to his first service." (XXXVI, 68.) The 1913 visit to the East was for him a renewal of the sights, smells, and sounds of the familiar Islamic world :

'Praised be Allah for the diversity of His creatures and for the Five Advantages of Travel and for the glories of the Cities of the Earth! Harun-al-Raschid, in roaring Bagdad of old, never delighted himself to the limits of such a delight as was mine, that afternoon. . . . And I found myself saying, as perhaps the dead say when they have recovered their wits, "*This is my real world again.*" ' (XXVII, 273-4.)

The Muslims who appear in his writings give an indication of what attracted him to Islam. Almost all the Muslim characters in Kipling's works are men of action. Gunga Din ("Gunga Din") lays down his life in the discharge of his duties as a water-carrier in the Indian Army. (Gunga should not be confused with the river Ganges. Gunga is also an Urdu word meaning "dumb".) Kamal ("The Ballad of East and West"), the Pathan freebooter, wins the admiration of the Colonel's son for his courage, heroism, and sense of honour. The Sudanese Fuzzy-Wuzzy ("Fuzzy-Wuzzy") are worthy fighters. Khoda Dad Khan ("The Head of the District") is portrayed as an honest, strong-willed, and brave person. Mahbub Ali (*Kim*), the horse dealer of Lahore, stands for the life of action as opposed to the life of contemplation represented by the Lama. It is thus the Islamic stress on positive action, devotion to duty, discipline and order that seems to have impressed Kipling. On the

subject of Islamic emphasis on order, he makes a very explicit statement in *Something of Myself* :

' It is true that the Children of Israel are "people of the book", and in the second surah of the Koran Allah is made to say : "High above mankind have I raised you." Yet, later, in the fifth surah, it is written : "Oft as they kindle a beacon-fire for war shall God quench it. And their aim will be to abet disorder on the earth: but God loveth not the abettors of disorder." Israel is a race to leave alone. It abets disorder.' (XXXVI, 215.)

We find therefore that Kipling was deeply aware of Islamic literature and religion, and that the Islamic tradition has its place in Kipling's intellectual background.

THE NATIONALITY OF THE AIRMAN IN "MARY POSTGATE"

By Malcolm Page

" Mary Postgate," the story of a middle-aged English spinster who enjoys watching an airman dying slowly during the First World War, is well-known as Kipling's " most notorious " ¹ story, one that " has been more attacked than anything else Kipling wrote." ² Recent critical comment, however, has been admiring : Nevill Coghill in the *Kipling Journal* a few year ago found the story " a masterpiece of utter beauty." ³ All the commentators have assumed that the aviator is German: Stewart writes " he is an injured German airman"; Bodelsen mentions " Postgate's enjoyment of the German airman's agony " ; Tompkins states that the " companion refuses to help the young German airman " ; and Robson speaks of the " spinster gloating over the dying German airman " . ⁴ Kipling, however, nowhere definitely identifies the airman as German, and I want to argue that nationality is deliberately unspecified, so that the wounded man may possibly be a Frenchman, an ally, which increases the horror of the tale.

First, this story demonstrates considerable literary artistry, with Kipling commenting ironically on his characters' naivety in such lines as " the Great Exhibition of 1851 had just set its seal on Civilisation made perfect " (p. 381) ⁵ and that the war " did not stay decently outside England and in the newspapers, but intruded on the lives of people whom she knew " (p. 383). Kipling shows distaste for all the hatreds which kill innocent people : " ' Stop that " said Mary, and stamped her foot. ' Stop that, you bloody pagan ! ' The words came quite smoothly and naturally. They were Wynn's own words, and Wynn was a gentleman who for no consideration on earth would have torn little Edna into those vividly coloured strips and strings " (p. 398). But we know Wynn's conduct towards Mary was always *ungentlemanly*, and do not have to reflect much to grasp that, as Wynn's work is to drop bombs, he could well mutilate a small girl too.

Second, Mary's character and recent experiences are such that her only conclusion would be that the man she found lying in the shrubbery was German, to be treated accordingly. Even her name suggests stupidity : " as daft as a post " is a familiar English idiom. She lacks humanity and the habit of thinking, and the deaths of Wynn and Edna (probably,

but not certainly, killed by a German bomb) have predisposed her to hate Germans. Before she sees the man, she observes that Wynn's funeral "only makes me angry with the Germans" (p. 389). When she comes across the man, it is Mary who thinks "there was no doubt as to his nationality" (p. 396)—this is not Kipling speaking.

Third, I want to look closely at the sentences which describe the airman, and his few short speeches. "He was dressed . . . in a uniform something like Wynn's, with a flap buttoned across the chest . . . This man's [head] was as pale as a baby's, and so closely cropped that she could see the disgusting pinky skin beneath" (p. 396). Close-cropped hair and a uniform that may be unEnglish (for the reference to the jacket flap is ambiguous) are enough for Mary to identify the man. Surely the practised reader should not leap at once to the same conclusion as the man then speaks, not German, but bad English, "laty," which I take to be a foreigner's attempt at "lady." Then, "the head rolled from shoulder to shoulder as though trying to point out something. 'Cassée. Tout cassée'" (p. 397). French here at least raises the possibility that he is French: otherwise we must construct tortuous explanations: that a German speaks two foreign languages, and does not know whether he has crashed in England or France. He continues in French: "Cassée. Che me rends. Le Médecin! Toctor!" (p. 398). "Toctor" could be the only German word he speaks, but the word is also English with the same substitution of 't' for 'd' already seen in "lady". When Mary speaks in German, he does not reply.

I do not know whether there were French aviators over England in 1915, or whether the uniform's buttoned flap is proof of nationality. To me, a careful reading of the tone, of Mary's character, and of the picture of the airman all suggest that Kipling intends an uncertainty about nationality to underline his picture of the consequences of war—not only does war drive a woman to this cruelty, but also her cruelty is to a man who may be an ally.

¹ J. I. M. Stewart, *Rudyard Kipling* (New York, 1966), p. 204. My paper is indebted to suggestions by Wendy Dubbin.

² W. W. Robson, "Kipling's Later Stories", in *Kipling's Mind and Art*, ed. Andrew Rutherford (Stanford, 1964), p. 271.

³ "The Unfading Memory of Rudyard Kipling", *Kipling Journal* (December 1965), p. 69.

⁴ Stewart, p. 205; C. A. Bodelsen, *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (Manchester, 1964), p. 102; J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Art of Rudyard Kipling* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 2nd ed., 1965), p. 135; Robson, p. 272.

⁵ *A Diversity of Creatures*, Mandalay Edition (Garden City, N.Y., 1927).

THE WORST SLIP LETTER BAG

A minor error is to be found in "Bread upon the Waters", on page 284, line 30 of *The Day's Work*:

Madeira cigars: A misnomer. There is no available evidence of cigars or other tobacco products ever having come from Madeira, and it is possible that the author is referring to the cigars produced in the district of Madura in the Madras presidency from the tobacco grown chiefly near Dindigul. The mistake might in these circumstances be one of mis-hearing or an undetected printer's error.

P. W. INWOOD

THE DEATH OF DICK HELDAR

In his interesting article on 'The Work Theme in Kipling's Novels' [*Journal* 173, page 12], Mr. Keats Sparrow makes much of Dick Heldar's return, blind, to the Sudan as a return to 'the orderly life of work, duty, and action of the military campaign', in order 'to find again the artistic and emotional fulfilment for which he vainly groped in London.' He seems to treat his death as a mere accident.

Now, I have read *The Light that Failed* many times, over many years, and have always assumed that Dick's return to the Sudan in war-time was a direct and intentional case of suicide: "Put me, I pray, in the forefront of the battle." And Kipling's comment: 'His luck had held to the last, even to the crowning mercy of a kindly bullet through his head.'

Is there really any doubt? Or have I misunderstood Mr. Keats Sparrow?

G.K.

KIPLING'S USE OF INDO-PAKISTANI LANGUAGES

In answer to the comments of Mr. F. A. Underwood which appear in the December issue, I would like to say that Mr. Underwood seems to have missed my point. I may have hinted that Kipling deliberately uses Indo-Pakistani vernacular words and phrases in his writings on Indian subjects, but this is not important.

Perhaps I gave too many examples from his uncollected verse and prose. However, the fact remains that even in the revised versions of his serious works, Kipling retains Indo-Pakistani words, though at a reduced level.

My main thesis was that the use of the vernacular languages in Kipling's works is highly functional and artistic. I suggested that Indo-Pakistani words and phrases had the following uses :

- a) They contribute to a particular atmosphere.
- b) They add realism and conviction.
- c) They create a distance between the story and the reader.
- d) These vernacular phrases are instrumental in the production of a highly complex effect of involvement and detachment simultaneously.

I hope that you will bring these clarifications to the notice of the readers.

SHAMSUL ISLAM

THE PARNESIUS STORIES

" Some things they knew that we know not,
Some things we know by them unknown;
But the axles of their wheels were hot
With the same frenzies as our own."

The use of history—it has been said—is " to light the present hour to its duties "; and these grand stories bear witness to the truth of this assertion, be it only in nothing more formidable than the penalty imposed for declaring the plural of dominus to be dominoes !

C. E. Carrington says "I think that no characters from Kipling's works made a deeper impression on the generation that was young in the early years of this century than Parnesius and Pertinax, the two Centurions "who were prepared to sacrifice their lives in a cause that would bring them neither profit nor credit."

J. M. S. Tompkins reminds us of the magnificent paragraphs in which Kipling describes the Northward march of Parnesius to the Great Wall.

While Professor Dobrée claims that something of a nostalgic note creeps into Kipling's writing of the Roman stories, "lingering with Parnesius and Pertinax—those old time versions of Tallantire and Orde ".

And Edward Shanks maintains there was a deep meaning for Kipling in the stories about the defence of the wall against barbarians, quoting Parnesius who declares "it concerns us to defend the Wall, no matter what Emperor dies, or makes die!"

And those "same frenzies"—what of them? Well, Pax Romana was no idle dream, nor Pax Britannica a heedless fancy; and be it a dying bull or a cross on a lonely hill—"the Strength divine of Roman days, or Spirit of the age of Faith"—inspiration is the same—a striving after perfection "which will be with us, please God, when the lights are going out; a feeling for the honour that bids us hold on, and not let go"!

A.M. PUNCH

KIPLING'S KNOWLEDGE OF MALAY

I have always been intrigued by the name 'Pau Amma', used by Kipling for the King Crab. So far as I know, 'Amma' is not a Malay word; I may be quite wrong. 'Pau' or 'Pauh' is, however, Malay, e.g. 'Pauh Zanzi', 'The fruit (or nut) of Zanzi (or Zang)'. A common Malay word for 'fruit' is 'Buah'. But 'Pauh' could be used for fruit or kernels, having thick, or tough, or rough rinds or shells. Durians (the Malay name means 'prickly'), paw paws (or 'papayas'), bread-fruit, soursops, mangos and mangosteens, melons also; all these would seem to fall into the category of 'Pauh'; as would the 'coco-de-mer' of the Seychelles.

The 'Pauh' part of Kipling's name for the Crab, therefore, would seem clearly to refer to its tough shell or integument. But 'Amma' . . . ? As I wrote earlier, it looks as though we have another of Rudyard Kipling's ingenious flights of fancy—*vide* pp. 6-8 of the March 1968 *Journal*. Trying to put myself in the place of a Malay Teller-of-Tales for children, with these narrators' acute observation, and perception, of animal characteristics, I have sought to determine what allusive title, if any, *they* would have given to the King-Crab. In the hope that this might throw some light on 'Amma'. But this has not got me much further forward.

In one of the most fascinating of these Malay tales, a version of which I wrote down many years ago—the narrator was one Hadji Awang Abdullah, headman of a Malay community at Bagan Daton, near the mouth of the Perak River—the King Crab plays a part. Abdullah called him, simply, 'Sang Belangkas' ('Sir, or Master King-

Crab '). In this story 'Belangkas ', in the role of a would-be warrior, is made to 'trail his three-edged pike ' (The King-Crab has a long, sharp, bayonet-like tail-spike, three-sided, with short wing-points on each side at its base). His offensive weapon is, therefore, his tail. And that is the only Malay name known to me.

However, the story tellers would have been quite capable of thinking up or improvising other more 'allusive ' names for this antediluvian 'beastie ': 'Sir Shellback ', for instance; or 'Dato Shellycoat '; or 'Uncle Kelpie ', to adapt an old Scottish word.

Has the name 'Pauh Amma ' ever been discussed before in the annals of the Kipling Society? Could the School of Oriental Studies, in London, throw any light on the problem? I would very much like to know the answer.

I am persuaded that Rudyard Kipling's knowledge of Malay, though elementary perhaps, was quite good. As another example, in 'The Devil and the Deep Sea ', he makes the Dutch Governor consign the crew of the *Haliotis* to the 'Blakgang Tana'; a Malay expression, which he translates, quite correctly, as 'the back country '. More picturesquely maybe, it means 'the back of beyond ' or 'the outback '. I don't think Rudyard Kipling has got the Malay spelling right, though, perhaps '*blakgang* ' is the way the Dutch would spell it. It should be '*Blakang* '. Blakang Mati ('the Place Beyond Death ') is an island off Singapore Harbour, so called, if my memory serves, because there used to be a large Malay Cemetery on it. Also a village, built on stilts in a bay, of the 'Orang Laut ' (The Malay Sea-Gypsies).

J. CORRIE

IN THE MATTER OF THE 'DIMBULA'

"A simple explanation for the lay-reader" relating to her tonnage:

"Tonnage " in the maritime sense has a variety of meanings.

First, a clear distinction must be drawn between the ton avoirdupois of 2240 lbs and the shipping or measurement ton of 100 cubic feet, and also the ton, in respect of freight, of 40 cubic feet.

The following are definitions of tonnage as used in the shipping world :

GROSS TONNAGE: is the sum of the under-deck tonnage (at 100 cubic feet to the ton) and of all enclosed spaces above deck (with certain exceptions).

NETT or REGISTER TONNAGE: is the amount arrived at by deducting from the gross tonnage the cubic content of the non-earning spaces (those not used for cargo or passengers).

DEADWEIGHT TONNAGE: is the difference between the weight (in tons avoirdupois) of a vessel and its machinery, and the weight of the vessel and its contents when fully loaded.

FREIGHT TONNAGE: is the cargo space, reckoned on the basis of 40 cubic feet being equal to the ton avoirdupois, which derives from the average cubic content of a ton of coal.

DISPLACEMENT TONNAGE: is the weight in tons avoirdupois of

the ship fully loaded with cargo, fuel and stores, crew and passengers. It equals the weight of water displaced when immersed to the load-line. This system of tonnage applies almost solely to warships and will be ignored here.

THAMES MEASUREMENT TONNAGE: a formula applied to yachts.

In the first edition of "The Ship that found herself" (1898) the *Dimbula* is described as of 2500 tons, 240 feet long and 32 wide, with no mention of draught, freeboard or depth of cargo holds. A small ship for the Atlantic trade.

A typical steam cargo vessel of the period would have three or four holds with its machinery spaces in the middle of the ship, and her holds would be about 20 feet deep. On this basis the *Dimbula's* gross tonnage would be about 2300 tons, and her nett or register tonnage about half that figure, so that 1200 tons, Kipling's revised figure, is about right. In her four holds such a ship would be able to accommodate about 100,000 cubic feet of cargo, that is about 2500 freight tons at 40 cubic feet to the ton. But for reasons which will not be gone into here, this figure of 2500 freight tons cannot be related to the deadweight cargo, which would possibly turn out to be 2100 tons. It is clear that while 2000 tons is a likely figure it would be rash to say that a ship of this type and size could take 4000 tons deadweight of cargo without serious overloading.

Since the errors referred to were discovered and amended by the author they cannot have been the underided worst slip. Moreover, the men of the engine room are not concerned with tonnage except that of the fuel they take on board and consume.

I have not concerned myself with trying to explain why Kipling altered the tonnage from 2500 to 1200, or *vice versa*, but the inference may reasonably be drawn that in one case the author was referring to gross tonnage and to nett tonnage in the other, the latter being that which appears in the Register in respect of the vessel and by which she is known.

P.W.I.

REPORTS ON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

November 26th, 1969, at the Royal Society of St. George. Members this evening had special pleasure in hearing a scholarly discourse on Roman Britain, with particular reference to the Parnesius stories, by Mr. G. H. Newsom, Q.C.

He based his appreciation of the character of Parnesius as depicted in "On the Great Wall" and "The Winged Hats" on the concluding remarks by Lord Radcliffe in his speech to the Society at the Luncheon of 1966, to the effect that all his life Kipling was moved by his awareness of the burdens that men carry for one another, of the loneliness of the carrier and the inescapable nature of the burden. 'Like everything else it is one man's work'. Lord Radcliffe's good reason for sympathy with Kipling in this sprang from his experience in the Law as a leading advocate, for it is on the leader, in advocacy, that the burden uniquely rests. Other examples adduced by the speaker were the specialist in surgery, General Eisenhower in Overlord and its weather problem, the

Duke of Wellington at Waterloo, the driver of the train or lorry, the aeroplane pilot or the captain of a ship at sea. On each falls (or fell) the burden of responsibility and he is alone when the critical moment comes. Age, and consequently experience, lightens the burden. "But", Lord Radcliffe had continued, "the younger the shoulders that lift the unyielding burden . . . the deeper felt and more romantic the response. So in the end it is to the complementary relationship of the two friends Parnesius and Pertinax, or their peer, the young Valens of "The Church that was at Antioch", that I turn for what I have loved best in Kipling : boys ready to accept without heroics or self-pity the curse that follows all who rule . . ."

Though not sure that the case of Valens is so moving, and finding Pertinax a Pylades to the Orestes of Parnesius, the speaker felt fully with Lord Radcliffe about Parnesius and would speak of this romantic figure in his early twenties, a man with sketchy forces who held back the enemies of Roman rule until vital help arrived. So also, nine hundred years earlier, had Horatius held the bridge at Rome and, as he would hope to shew, Parnesius was the forerunner of the not quite mythical figure, King Arthur, perhaps 150 years later. Horatius's success was the more enduring. Rome was falling in Parnesius's day, and had fallen in Arthur's, and the night of barbarism was closing in: their efforts could only postpone the triumph of evil, but the merits of those efforts shine the more brightly.

The general called Maximus whom Parnesius served, seemingly of Spanish origins, but married into the Welsh Celtic nobility, and from whom Arthur was supposed to have descended, got himself hailed by the army in Britain as Emperor (A.D. 383), then left for the Continent with nearly all the army and established himself as Emperor of the West with Trèves as his capital. This establishes the central date of the Parnesius stories, and the date of Parnesius's birth as 360 assuming him to have been 23 when Maximus went abroad.

Maximus was a Catholic Christian and a persecutor of the supporters of the Arian heresy, condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325. Having tried—absurdly—to establish himself at Rome he fell foul of the younger Theodosius (Emperor of the East), lost a battle and was executed in A.D. 387. A clearly established historical character who finally denuded Britain of Roman-organized defence, he inter alia completely evacuated Hadrian's Wall, which seems not to have been occupied thereafter, despite some obscure efforts by the Vandal general Stilicho which seemingly came to little. In 406 A.D., following a barbarian occupation of all France, Britain was finally cut off from Italy. The conventional date for the ending of Roman rule in Britain is 410 A.D., which is correct. For then the Emperor Honorius spared the time from his chicken-keeping to inform the notables of Britain that they must henceforth look to their own defences. This is sometimes inaccurately referred to as the departure of the legions, which is quite incorrect: the troops had departed with Maximus in 383.

The British state ran its own course for some 40 years but after 450 had to defend itself against the overrunning of the lowland areas by the Saxons. Arthur, a Romanized Christian Celt, was one of the leaders of

the defence and for a time held back the overwhelming assault. It follows that no heroic battles took place on the Wall in 383-7, that Picts, Scots and Saxons were then quiet and the story of Parnesius is impossible, which is saying nothing new. There are indeed other inaccuracies and anachronisms in the stories, and the great Haverfield, father of archaeological study of Roman Britain, was quoted by the speaker as saying in 1907: "Mr. Rudyard Kipling's general picture of depleted garrisons and ambitious generals is not amiss" and is "sketched with much literary power." He adds "The effect is indeed produced by the employment of several improper elements, but if Mr. Kipling had not taught us to expect photographic accuracy in his sketches, we should hardly even trouble to notice that in a work of the imagination." There is, I suppose, continued Mr. Newsom, more than one standard of literary morality on this point. Thus, Shakespeare in *Henry VI*, part I, has Joan of Arc burned at the end of the play, years after the true date, and involves in her judicial murder Richard, Duke of York, who surely had no hand in it. On the other hand, Charlotte M. Yonge, writing her preface to "*The Caged Lion*", a novel about James I of Scotland, wrote on 24th November 1869 (a century ago last Monday) that in a novel dealing with "historical events and characters it always seems fair towards the reader to avow what liberties have been taken and how much of the sketch is founded on history." These liberties she explains carefully and tersely.

Be that as it may, the speaker went on, let us put the Parnesius stories into their historical perspective and see how far they are true to the sort of life that would be lived by, and surround, a young officer in Britain in 383 to 387. This he proceeded to do in a lengthy but vastly entertaining survey of the whole period of the Roman occupation (which equals in modern times that from the accession of Henry VIII to 1970). He raised particularly the following questions: What were the Romans doing in England at all? How did it pay them to have such an enormous proportion of their army there? Was the Wall any use, having regard to the facts that it was destroyed three times and could always be outflanked at either end? Was there a lobby of old-Britainhands in Rome in the reign of Vespasian? He drew attention to the *Barbarica Conjuratio* of 367, which appears to be Kipling's Great Pictish War, when most of England was overrun and ruined.

I return now, said Mr. Newsom, and from this point will be reported in full, to Parnesius, born 360 in a farm house (the archaeologists call them *villas*) in the Isle of Wight. The property, it is said, was given to his ancestor by Agricola at the "settlement". The word "settlement" suggests Englishmen settling Virginia, which is of course quite wrong. The Isle of Wight was conquered by Vespasian and Legion II Augusta in 43. This is expressly mentioned by one of the literary sources. Agricola's operations, except for one year in Wales, were all in the far north. Speaking to Una, dressed as a soldier and therefore in his twenties, Parnesius says the house was three hundred years old, which takes us exactly back to Agricola, and that the cow stables where the first ancestor lived, were four hundred years old, which goes back to B.C. and therefore before the conquest. After the visit to Bath, Par-

nesius's father said he had better join "a regular legion from Rome". No legion had come from Rome for several centuries. His father, an old-fashioned pagan, says that there is no hope for Rome, who has forsaken her Gods, and no doubt many people did feel like this in the fourth century after Constantine's conversion, when the Christians emerged from the underground. But Parnesius's father goes on to say that the great Pictish war broke out in the year that the temples were destroyed and that the Picts were beaten in the year in which the temples were rebuilt. This seems to be a reference to the attempt by Julian the Apostate to restore paganism. But Julian died in 363, before the war with the Picts which was in 367. Parnesius also says that the great war with the Picts had lasted 20 years. Actually it lasted two. Parnesius joins up and meets Maximus, apparently then the Commander in Britain, who makes him a centurion in Legion XXX Ulpia Victrix. This legion was never in Britain. He is posted to the 7th Cohort which is on the Wall. Legionary cohorts were only on the Wall when it was being built—they indeed built it. But the garrison of the Wall was always auxiliaries. The description of the march through southern England in the 380's is much too rosy after the *Barbarica Conjuratio* but when they got to the grim north it rings true. The Wall itself is said to be 30 feet high. It was never more than 20 and by this time it had groups of fortified villages where the old forts had been, not one long straggling town. This may not have been known in 1905. It then appears that Parnesius is to command the Seventh Cohort, a formation (if it still followed the familiar pattern of earlier days) of 600 men, a battalion. But a centurion commanded a century, one hundred men, unless he was a centurion *primi ordinis* or a *primus pilus*, and no one suggests that Maximus had given Parnesius such a double jump. There is, I think, a number of things that are quite wrong, but it would be tedious to enumerate them. It has been suggested that the description is of things two hundred years earlier and in relation to a few points that may be true. But legionary cohorts would not have been on the Wall in 180, junior centurions would not have been commanding cohorts at any time, and a legion would not have had its headquarters at Pevensey—they were always in the legionary fortresses of York, Caerleon, Chester (or at some stages Lincoln) until II Augusta was moved to Richborough in about 369. And, above all, in 180, no one would have heard of the Winged Hats, who only started to make trouble in Diocletian's time a century later. No, the description is moving, but it is of the never-neverland. And it is time that we return to my main contention. This story is artistically true of a somewhat *later* period. Curiously the Picts and Saxons gave no trouble while Maximus was trying for the throne. The Picts seem by this time to have recognized the Saxons as a common danger, as Allo says in the story, and according to the Ministry of Works' Guide it was no longer necessary to garrison the Wall at the end of the 4th century. As to the Saxons, Maximus seems not to have taken with him the British naval forces organized by the elder Theodosius, which would not be much use for fighting in Southern France. In these circumstances there was no need for the younger Theodosius, when he had beaten Maximus, to send reinforcements (let alone "two

strong legions"), nor was there anything at that date to justify giving Parnesius a triumph. (Besides, after the death of Augustus in 14 A.D., no one except a member of the Imperial family could have a triumph—Aulus Plautius himself only had the lesser honour of an ovation in 47 for conquering Britain and I don't think any commoner after him was allowed even that.) But after 406, with Britain on her own and the Theodosian arrangements breaking down, Parnesius's sort of situation could have arisen and constantly did. This is the meaning of the Arthurian Cycle. The current view of Arthur is that he did exist and was the descendant of the civilized and Romanized Celts who were the people left in charge after 406 or 410. To these people fell the fearful strain of the rearguard action without any real hope of relief, which was worked up by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Malory, with numerous anachronisms and embellishments, into the story of the King and the Knights of the Round Table, ending as it does in doom and defeat, lit only by the heroism of the endurance and by the mystical hope that Arthur will one day come again, *rex quondam, rexque futurus*, even as if Drake's drum is sounded Drake is to return to drive the Dons up the Channel. This, I think is where Parnesius belongs and not the reign of Commodus nor in the lull while Maximus was fighting on the Continent. But very moving the story is, whatever we pedants may say.

A last thought. After the happy ending with the arrival of the legions of Theodosius, I suppose that Parnesius went home to the Isle of Wight to help his father and perhaps (if his elder brother opportunely died) to succeed him in the estate. If Parnesius lived to be 70 he would not have died till 430. If so he will have lasted long enough to meet St. Germanus, the teacher of St. Patrick, who visited England in 429 to put down the Pelagian heresy. I imagine that under the influence of Maximus, Parnesius became a Christian despite his father's views. I wonder whether he was an orthodox persecuting catholic like Maximus, or a Pelagian? Or was the Isle of Wight too near the sea and was he kidnapped, like St. Patrick himself, by sea-robbers?

The ensuing discussion, opened by Professor Carrington, himself an authority on the period, wanted for nothing in the way of animation and entertainment; question, answer, opinion, suggestion followed one another with a speed that defied accurate recording. But from them the following emerged: that the Wall as a defensive measure was inadequate and wasted manpower; as a strategic concept following an the invasion and occupation of Britain it was a failure; tactically, as a fortification it could have been reduced by an attack from the sea at either end. The conquest had increasingly become a matter of principle—of prestige; it established the North-west Frontier of the Roman Empire (cf. the N.W. Frontier of India) which could equally well have been based on the north and north-western coasts of the European mainland with the Channel as a bastion, requiring no forces of occupation in Britain. Roman fleets were capable of coping with tidal waters by the time of Claudius.

Professor Carrington referred to the claim that the present Queen is descended from Maximus by his wife Helen of Carnarvon.

Mr. Cresswell mentioned Legion XXX, which is known never to

have served in Britain as an entity. Mr. Harbord considered that Kipling deliberately chose a legion which had never been stationed in Britain; but, said Professor Carrington, detachments from that legion might well have been posted from Germany elsewhere for special service and some of them in all probability came to England.

In reply to a question by Doctor Whittington, Mr. Newsom said that one thing is certain; the legionaries in Britain were not Italians, who did not like military service and were exempt from it after the 1st century. Professor Carrington emphasised that legionaries, whatever their origins, were *ipso facto* Romans (*Civis Romanus sum*). The further development of these and other interesting points was prevented by want of time.

Mr. Newsom received the congratulations and thanks of the whole company for his comprehensive conspectus of a period of English history whose length is often not realized, because the Roman system was so completely destroyed by our barbarous ancestors who succeeded them.

P.W.I.

February 18th, 1970.

Professor Carrington's talk on 'Browning and Kipling' (which will be printed in full in the *Journal*) was given in the new accommodation of the Royal Society of St. George, and had a packed and appreciative audience.

A majority thought that Kipling could not write a convincing love scene or produce realistic dialogue for such a situation, citing: "The Brushwood Boy" as evidence, although others considered that "Without Benefit of Clergy" disproved this. It was, however, generally agreed that for two persons, both on horseback, to embrace was easier on paper than in real life.

It was felt that Kipling was not at his best when writing about women; one of his more successful characters was more boyish than feminine, even to her name—"William".

By a coincidence, the Browning Society had been reconstituted but unfortunately it had not been possible to invite any members to Professor Carrington's talk, but this might be possible at some future date.

T.L.A.D

NEW MEMBERS. We are delighted to welcome the following :—
U.K.: Mrs. E. D. M. Hardie; Miss A. T. Callan; A. G. D. Crocker.
CEYLON: R. Goonetilleke. *GERMANY*: Miss E. J. Short; Dr. W. Gauger. *PORTUGAL*: Miss K. A. Short. *U.S.A.*: Brooklyn Coll. Liby; Cincinnati & Hamilton Liby, Ohio; East Meadow Liby, N.Y.; Illinois Univ. Liby, Urbana; Maltby Liby, Slippery Rock; Tarleton Coll. Liby, Stephenville.

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1969

1968	EXPENDITURE	1969	1968	INCOME	1969
£		£	£		£
168	Office Rent, Rates, Lighting and Heating	176	627	Subscriptions	824
61	Printing and Advertisements	94		Sales :—	
29	Postages and Telephone	53	126	Journals	389
228	Office Expenses and Purchase of New Equipment	386	21	Donations and Legacy	49
—	Entertaining	8	42	Interest on Investments	42
	Journal Expenses :—		—	Interest on Deposit Account (accumulated since 1964)	28
366	Cost of printing and despatch of Kipling Journals	460		Functions :—	
—	Adjustment in respect of previous year	105	3	Profit on :—Members Meetings	3
		565	6	Visit to Burwash	7
15	Transfer from Special Account	—	27	Annual Luncheon	29
15	Balance being excess of income over expenditure	89			
£852		£1,371	£852		£1,371

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1969

£	INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT	£	£	CASH AND BANK BALANCES	£
831	Balance at 31st December, 1969	846	4	Cash in Hand	5
15	Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year	89		Bank Balances :—	
		935	116	Current Account	140
846			100	Deposit Account	128
	SPECIAL DONATIONS FROM LIFE MEMBERS FOR ENLARGING JOURNAL		15	DEBTORS AND PREPAYMENTS	61
15	Balance at 31st December, 1968	—		STOCK OF STATIONERY	15
15	Allocated to 1969 Journal	—		INVESTMENT	
		25	611	£1,200 3½% War Loan Stock at cost less £253 written off (Market Value at 31st December, 1969, £478)	611
—	CREDITORS AND ACCRUED EXPENSES	—	£846		£960
£846		£960			

A. E. BAGWELL PUREFOY, Hon. Secretary.
M. R. LAWRENCE, Hon. Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE KIPLING SOCIETY

We have examined the above Balance Sheet at 31st December, 1969, and the Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December, 1969, with the books and vouchers of the Kipling Society, and certify that they agree therewith. The Society's Library, Office Equipment and furniture have not been taken into consideration.

5, Albemarle Street,
Piccadilly,
London, W.1.

Date.

MILNE, GREGG & TURNBULL,
Chartered Accountants.

The Kipling Society

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