



The
KIPLING JOURNAL

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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 KIPLING SOCIETY ADDRESS —

18, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2. (Tel. 01-930 6733)
Be sure to telephone before calling, as the office is not always open.

THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

This will be held at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 15th September 1971, at 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I.

In addition to routine elections, re-elections etc., the amended Rules of the Society (see Journal 177, p.7) will come up for adoption.

COUNCIL MEETINGS

At 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I.

Wednesday, 15th September, immediately after the AGM.

Wednesday, 15th December, 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, 15 September 1971: Mr. T. L. A. Daintith will open a discussion on 'Kipling and Children'.

Wednesday, 17 November 1971: Professor C. E. Carrington will talk on "'Baa, Baa Black Sheep": fact or fiction? Can we accept Kipling's account of his childhood as strictly true?'

ANNUAL LUNCHEON

The Annual Luncheon of the Kipling Society will be held at the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London, W.C.2, on Tuesday, 5th October 1971.

Application forms were sent out during August. **Please support this Luncheon; it's always a delightful party.**

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NEWS AND NOTES

KIPLING HOWLERS

Doubtless all of us have come across startlingly inaccurate statements about Kipling or his works, from the assertion that Kim was an Indian to that of a lady who corrected the Editor of a Rhodesian paper, which quoted "The Children's Song" a few years ago as by an unknown author, by informing him that it was 'a grand old hymn written by R. Kipling in 1865'. Mr. W. S. Tower, Jr., of Essex, Connecticut, sends a delightful example from 'a paper-back edition of *Captains Courageous* put out by Airmont Publishing Company, New York City, 1963' with an Introduction by one Lucy Mabry Fitzpatrick, according to whom Kipling was married in 1892 to Caroline Starr Balestier 'with whose brother, Wolcott Balestier, he collaborated on *Naulahka* (1891), a novel about our American Indians . . . Kipling's best known and most popular books are *The Jungle Book* and *The Other Jungle Book*.' And Mr. Tower adds 'Perhaps Lucy caught the disease from Edmund Wilson, who, in 'The Kipling that Nobody Read', refers to *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Scouts Masters*'.

After which the minor mistakes in early articles and reviews that needed to be corrected for the Critical Heritage volume seem very trivial, though one was amused to be told that Stalky had called Mr. Raymond Martin 'a jelly-bellied flam-flapper', and to find Mrs. Oliphant writing of 'Badaliah Hindsfoot—a name impossible both for fact and fiction: but this was the only thing unreal about her.'

MCANDREWS METRICAL ENGINES

An interesting correspondence followed a review of my volume in *The Sunday Telegraph*, begun by Stephen Roskill of Churchill College, Cambridge, on 25 April: 'Nigel Dennis may be justified in saying in his interesting review of *Kipling: The Critical Heritage* that Kipling's poetry can provoke laughter nowadays, but the lines he quotes from "McAndrew's Hymn":

"From coupler-flange to spindle-guide I see Thy Hand, O God—
Predestination in the stride o' yon connectin'-rod"

are in fact a remarkable example of onomatopoeia, as any marine engineer who served with the great "push and pull" reciprocating engines at the height of their development will readily recognise. Kipling uses that device again and again in the ballad, notably the lines:

"The crank-throws give the double-bass, the feed-pump sobs
an' heaves,

An' now the main eccentrics start their quarrel on the sheaves."
'Indeed, I doubt whether there can be found anywhere in English poetry a finer example of sustained and vivid onomatopoeia—a point missed

by T. S. Eliot in discussing Kipling's poems in the foreword to his anthology of 1941, which Mr. Dennis praises. In "McAndrew's Hymn" every sound made by the old reciprocating engines and their auxiliary machinery is recalled to the reader who worked with them by Kipling's astonishing use of words.

"The terminal "O God" which Mr. Dennis appears to find particularly risible is of course the regular thump of the feed pump. Charles Carrington in his notable biography was fully justified in describing Kipling as "the poet of steam".

This was confirmed in the same issue by T. V. Taylor of Wirral: 'I suspect Mr. Dennis never saw those connectin'-rods, thick as a man's thigh, keeping up that stride without pause over the oceans of the world.'

And C. T. Nichols of Llanfairfechan wrote the following week: 'I am surprised that Captain Stephen Roskill didn't quote the best example of Kipling's onomatopoeia in "McAndrew's Hymn":

"Clear to the tunnels, where they sit, my purrin' dynamos".

'As a young fourth engineer of a cargo ship on the China run, I used to come off watch at midnight on a tropical moonlight night, and relax in a deck-chair. It was a joy to listen to the "rub and a rumble, rub and a rumble" of the cranks, and the sob, heave, and sigh of the Weirs feed pump, the swish of the sea, the occasional scrape of a fireman's shovel, the clang of the furnace door, and the clunk of the ash hoist dumping ashes overside.

'Then to my bunk to be lulled by the rhythm of the machinery into sleep, knowing that if the engine stopped I would wake. These pleasures are, I'm afraid, denied to the modern more technical engineer, as his machinery is totally different.'

KIPLING AND ANIMALS

Mr. William A. Ramsay of 'Green Shadows', Callandar, has produced a charming little volume (price six shillings, post free) called *Animals our Kith and Kin* which contains many references to Kipling. He has allowed me to reprint here part of the section which will be of greatest interest to Members, which is called 'Glimpses of Rudyard Kipling'.

'Living as my late wife and I were doing right on the Bateman's estate we saw a lot more of Mr. and Mrs. Kipling than most people did. He was as keen as any schoolboy on Natural History items and pleased when he could tell us where to see a kingfisher's burrow or anything else that he knew would interest us. A hedgehog which arrived one evening and pushed his snout in amongst our cats while they fed, amused Mr. Kipling greatly for the cats very soon accepted their gate-crashing guest.

'Once, on a Sunday morning, Mr. Kipling asked me if I'd "seen any of these damned otter-hunters about—poking and teasing a defenceless creature to death with their beastly poles?" Kipling of the beetling eyebrows and flashing eyes looked formidable as we stood together by the river that runs through his estate, waiting for the "sportsmen" to appear—not to say "sportswomen". Fortunately for them they did not come to the Bateman's beat that morning.

'"I can smell a badger in your place today, Ramsay," he said once, "If you come down to the Rift" (a dell in our grounds) "in your pyjamas tonight and rig up a trip-wire, you'll get a photograph of one." While I

was waiting for warmer weather for this exploit, I got word that a badger had been killed in the darkness of early morning by the P.O. mail van on the road at the top of the dell. So Mr. Kipling's nose must have been registering very accurately—or it may have been a coincidence!

Kipling was once admiring three half-grown black cats on our lawn. He asked their names and I suggested that he might name them, as they were anonymous cats so far. "Well that big fluffy one is 'Ban-shee' to begin with," he said. But just then his Aberdeen terrier Jimmy appeared on the scene and was immediately set upon by those three Furies—and away fled poor Jimmy with them clinging to his back. Up jumped our author to rescue his pet, calling as he ran: "Sin!", "Death!" and "The Judgement!"—and that was all the names our poor pussies ever got from Rudyard Kipling. The dog Jimmy, by the way, is the hero of the poem "The Supplication of the Black Aberdeen" . . .

I did not find that Mr. Kipling liked his originals to be discovered in the flesh. Once he asked me if I had heard Sam Smith on Bees. I said, "He is the Bee Boy in *Puck of Pook's Hill* isn't he?" Mr. Kipling admitted it, but not too enthusiastically, I thought. When I recalled my meeting with Sam I was not surprised for I had asked Sam about Kipling and he had said reticently, "Me and Mr. Kiplin' doant speak to one another'." I gathered from that remark that someone had told Sam what was said about him in the book—"The Bee Boy, Hobden's son, who is not quite right in the head, though he can do anything with bees . . ."

There are several further anecdotes and references, and the book is worth reading for its many other excellencies as well.

'MOST MEN HARRY THE WORLD FOR FUN'

What were Kipling's views on Field Sports, and did they alter during his life? His description of 'these damned Otter-hunters' seems very much at variance with his views in 1905 when Lady Conant in 'An Habitation Enforced' makes her first entrance with the explanation 'I've been out with the otter-hounds all day', at which Sophie Chapin asks 'Did you—er—kill?' and receives the reply 'Yes, a dry bitch—seventeen pounds': and Lady Conant is rather the presiding genius whom the Chapins must emulate.

Fox-hunting occurs with approval in so many stories and poems that one is left in no doubt as to Kipling's views: and fishing (whether "dry-cow" or dry-fly) was his own particular sport. Midmore in 'My Son's Wife' (1913) takes up shooting as well as hunting (though he prefers the latter) as an accepted part of his rehabilitation; and Carrington records (p. 247) that at 'Rock House' in 1897 Kipling gave a gun to his cousin Hugh Poynter 'with whom he went out after the rabbits'. The following year, however, he was writing for the Shooting section of Nicholson's *Almanac of Twelve Sports*:

' "Peace upon Earth, Goodwill to men"

So greet we Christmas Day!

Oh, Christian, load your gun and then,

Oh, Christian, out and slay.'

The bad eyesight which prevented Kipling from being any good at football and cricket even at school would have made shooting difficult, and the games one cannot play are the games one is apt to treat with contempt—in "The Islanders" the same disparaging tone as that adopted towards 'the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs, at the

goals' is used towards the shooting man:

' Will the rabbit war with your foeman—the red deer horn him
for hire?
Your kept cock-pheasant keep you?—he is master of many
a shire.'

However good a reason Kipling had for using such forceful language in this instance, it is noteworthy that the huntsman does not come in for this withering invective, and fishing is only slipped in mildly (and perhaps for the sake of the rhyme):

' Will ye pitch some white pavilion, and lustily even the odds,
With nets and hoops and mallets, with rackets and bats and rods?'

It may well be that with advancing age Kipling, like many others, began to take a deeper interest in wild life, as Mr. Ramsay suggests (but he was already interested in Natural History while still at Westward Ho!, if Beresford may be believed) and was ready to condemn otter-hunting (as many of us are) while not positively condemning shooting and still taking a keen interest in hunting . . . Yet what about 'The Bull that Thought'? A splendid story, certainly: but could he seriously condone bull-fighting?

R.L.G.

THE GODDESS INDIA: KIPLING'S VISION OF CHAOS

By Shamsul Islam

The central character of Kipling's Indian writings is the "great, grey, formless India" which, like Nature in Hardy's novels, remains the permanent, relentless, malignant, and indefinable Being that broods over this little world of ours. And India attracts and repels Kipling simultaneously. On the one hand, the tender childhood bond between Kipling and this mysterious Being India—the land of "light and colour and golden and purple fruit"—draws him irresistibly towards her, and on the other hand, the mature Kipling who is preoccupied with ideas of order and discipline is baffled by this strange land where he cannot discover any well-defined pattern. Through *Kim*, Kipling confesses that his attitude towards India is ambivalent:

Something I owe to the soil that grew—
More to the life that fed—
But most to Allah Who gave me two
Separate sides to my head.¹

Although it is particularly in *Kim* (1901) that Kipling's love for India comes to the fore, on the whole India remains the "great Sphinx of the Plains" whose riddle of ambivalence cannot be solved.

Kipling's symbol for this lack of clarity in India is the duststorm, a symbol used effectively in "False Dawn" (1888). This story tells how Saumarez gives a moonlight riding party at an old tomb beside the bed of a river in an out-of-the-way station in order to propose to the elder Miss Copleigh. Everything is fine until supper is ready, and then suddenly:

. . . the moon went out and a burning hot wind began lashing the orange-trees with a sound like the noise of the sea. Before we knew where we were, the dust-storm was on us and everything was roaring whirling darkness . . . It was a grand storm. The wind seemed

to be pitching it to leeward in great heaps; and the heat beat up from the ground like the heat of the Day of Judgment.²

In the topsy-turvy created by the storm, Saumarez proposes to the wrong girl; the mistake is rectified only when the storm abates. The duststorm is a symbol of India's confusion.

Besides, there is a strange want of atmosphere in India that contributes to the blurring vision:

One of the many curses of our life in India is the want of atmosphere in the painter's sense. There are no half-tints worth noticing. Men stand out all crude and raw, with nothing to tone them down, and nothing to scale them against.³

As Mrs. Mallowe tells Mrs. Hauksbee in "The Education of Otis Yeere" (1888): ". . . you can't focus anything in India:"⁴ India's brightness is dazzling in that the blazing sun, ironically enough, becomes an instrument of blindness rather than light. India goes dead by day, and she comes to life only in darkness. Thus, one can understand Kipling's pre-occupation with night, dark *gullies* (streets) in the walled areas of an Indian city, dark *divans* (halls) of old castles, *chandoo-khanas* (opium houses) in a *gully* (street) near the Mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore, ghosts, and grave-yards. After his office hours, young Kipling loved to roam around the walled city of Lahore at night:

Often the night got into my head as it had done in the boarding-house in the Brompton Road, and I would wander till dawn in all manner of odd places—liquor shops, gambling and opium dens, which are not a bit mysterious, wayside entertainments such as puppet-shows, native dances; or in and out about the narrow gullies under the Mosque of Wazir Khan for the sheer sake of looking. . . . One would come home, just as the light broke, in some night-hawk of a hired carriage which stank of hookah fumes, jasmine-flowers, and sandalwood; and if the driver were moved to talk, he told one a good deal. *Much of real Indian life goes on in the hot weather nights.*⁵ (Italics mine.)

Despite his frequent night prowls, Kipling's India remains inscrutable:

You'll never plumb the Oriental mind,
And if you did it isn't worth the toil.
Think of a sleek French priest in Canada;
Divide by twenty half-breeds. Multiply
By twice the Sphinx's silence. There's your East,
And you're as wise as ever.⁶

Nevertheless, the baffling and inscrutable India manifests herself as evil and cruel, a malignant and negative force in Kipling's works. The first and foremost of the negative traits is the adverse and hostile Indian climate which turns India into the "grim step-mother" and "the land of regrets". Private Simmons's tragedy in the story "In the Matter of a Private" (1888) and Dicky Hatt's motive for committing suicide in "In the Pride of his Youth" (1887) are largely due to the intense heat of India. The adverse weather seems to be an instrument of war against all outsiders in particular. This point is brought out in detail in "At the End of the Passage" (1890). The story is about four lonely Anglo-Indians who are stationed in isolated places in the Indian Empire away from home and civilisation. Mottram of the Indian Survey, Lowndes of the Civil Service, and Spurstow of the Medical Department get together at Hummil's house to relax for a few hours. However,

cruel India cannot tolerate any aliens—it has already killed Hummil's assistant—and now it is Hummil's turn :

The atmosphere within was only 104°, as the thermometer bore witness, and heavy with the foul smell of badly-trimmed kerosene lamps; and this stench, combined with that of native tobacco, baked brick, and dried earth, sends the heart of many a strong man down to his boots, for it is the smell of the Great Indian Empire when she turns herself for six months into a house of torment. . . . The night-light was trimmed; the shadow of the punkah wavered across the room, and the 'flick' of the punkah-towel and the soft whine of the rope through the wall-hole followed it. Then the punkah flagged, almost ceased. The sweat poured from Spurstow's brow. Should he go out and harangue the coolies? It started forward again with a savage jerk, and a pin came out of the towels. When this was replaced, a tomtom in the coolie-lines began to beat with the steady throb of a swollen artery inside some brain-fevered skull.⁷

And Hummil does die of heat-apoplexy in the end.

Death, decay, and disease going hand in hand with heat in India are further signs of her malignancy. "India", Kipling comments, "is not a golden country, though poets have sung otherwise. There men die with great swiftness, and those who live suffer many and curious things."⁸ In his autobiography, Kipling goes on to say :

Heaven knows the men died fast enough from typhoid, which seemed to have something to do with water, but we were not sure; or from cholera, which was manifestly a breath of the Devil that could kill all on one side of a barrack-room and spare the others; from seasonal fever; or from what was described as 'blood-poisoning'.⁹

At another place in his autobiography, Kipling writes :

Death was always our near companion. . . . The dead of all times were about us—in the vast forgotten Muslim cemeteries round the Station, where one's horse's hoof of a morning might break through to the corpse below; skulls and bones tumbled out of our mud garden walls, and were turned up among the flowers by the Rains; and at every point were tombs of the dead. Our chief picnic rendezvous and some of our public offices had been memorials to desired women; and Fort Lahore, where Ranjit Singh's wives lay, was a mausoleum of ghosts.¹⁰

One is always conscious of the presence of death in Kipling's stories about India. It claims the only son of poor Imam Din, it makes Lispeth an orphan by killing her parents through cholera, it snatches away little Tota—that frail bond of love between Holden and Ameera—through seasonal fever, it takes away five children of McKenna at Jhansi, it adopts the form of a furious revenge in "Dray Wara Yow Dee" (1888), and it lays waste entire villages and towns in a sweep. While reading these tales, one can imagine that familiar Western medieval figure—black-robed Death—fast at work in India.

The negative character of India is further revealed in the chaos and confusion that is rampant there. For Kipling, India is a cruel deity which promotes disorder rather than harmony among the people who are doomed to live under her sway. This disorder usually takes the form of religious and linguistic riots—a ritual through which the people in India have to go periodically. Orde's perceptive comment in "The

Enlightenments of Pagett, M.P." (1890) that racial and religious prejudice is "the plague and curse of India" is well illustrated by the story "On the City Wall" (1888). The story is set in the house of Lalun, a dancing girl of Lahore, where men of all faiths and all walks of life come to hear her songs on the *sitar*. "Outside of a Freemason's Lodge," we are told by one of the admirers of Lalun, "I have never seen such gatherings." However, this scene of mirth and fellowship is not tolerated by the gods of India who only enjoy sending affliction to humanity at large. So this happy picture of harmony seen in Lalun's room is set within a contrasting framework. The city of Lahore is engulfed in a tense communal atmosphere for Muharram, the great mourning-festival of the Shi'ah Muslims, is close at hand. On the night of Muharram procession the cries of "Ya Hassan, Ya Hussain" fill the air and the Muharram drums beat in the city when the Hindus start throwing brick-bats on the procession. Soon there is general fighting :

The *tazias* rocked like ships at sea, the long-torches dipped and rose round them, while the men shouted: "The Hindus are dishonouring the *tazias*! Strike! Strike! Into their temples for the Faith!" The six or eight Policemen with each *tazia* drew their batons and struck as long as they could, in the hope of forcing the mob forward, but they were overpowered, and as contingents of Hindus poured into the streets the fight became general.¹¹

One gets another glimpse of communal riots in "His Chance in Life" (1887):

Tibasu was a forgotten little place with a few Orissa Mohammedans in it. These, hearing nothing of the Collector-*Sahib* for some time and heartily despising the Hindu Sub-Judge, arranged to start a little Moharrum riot of their own. But the Hindus turned out and broke their heads; when, finding lawlessness pleasant, Hindus and Mohammedans together raised an aimless sort of Donnybrook just to see how far they could go. They looted each other's shoes, and paid off private grudges in the regular way. It was a nasty little riot, but not worth putting in the newspapers.¹²

This lawlessness which is promoted by the cruel goddess India takes many shapes. Besides riots, one of the forms in which these forces of disorder manifest themselves is devotion to the primitive code of honour and revenge which the modern civilised man fails to understand. In "Dray Wara Yow Dee" (1888) we see this primitive force in the insatiable thirst for revenge of a fierce Pathan who is pursuing his wife's lover through deserts, isolated hamlets, flooded rivers, and humming cities. He does not care for the Englishman's law; he is following his own code sanctioned by the spirit of India that has already allowed him to mutilate his wife's body:

And she bowed her head, and I smote it off at the neck bone so that it leaped between my feet. Thereafter the rage of our people came upon me, and I hacked off the breasts, that the men of Little Malikand might know the crime, and cast the body into the water course that flows to the Kabul river.¹³

And then the elderly Pathan frankly expresses his attitude to the Englishman's law:

Your Law! What is your Law to me? When the horses fight on the runs do they regard the boundary pillars; or do the kites of Ali Musjid because the carrion lies under the shadow of the Ghor

Kuttri? The matter began across the Border. It shall finish where God pleases. Here, in my country, or in Hell. All three are one.¹⁴

Besides her adverse weather, death, decay, disease, darkness, and disorder, India makes one feel her hostility and malignancy in more subtle ways. The first of these is the utter isolation to which it condemns its victims, especially the foreigners. The loneliness of the four young men in "At the End of the Passage" is a ready example :

They were lonely folk who understood the dread meaning of loneliness. They were all under thirty years of age—which is too soon for any man to possess that knowledge.¹⁵

Moreover, there is something in the very air in India, Kipling seems to suggest, that poisons all communications with Indians, and this evil influence of India is particularly seen in the love affairs between Englishmen and Indian girls which always end in tragedy. Malignant India makes it impossible for Anglo-Indians to establish human relationship with the natives. Wali Dad's remarks to the narrator in the story "On the City Wall" are pertinent :

I might wear an English coat and trouser. I might be a leading Muhammedan pleader. I might be received even at the Commissioner's tennis-parties, *where the English stand on one side and the natives on the other, in order to promote social intercourse throughout the Empire.*¹⁶ (Italics mine.)

Thus India, an entity separate from Indians, is seen by Kipling as a monstrous being, restless and bewildering, an embodiment of Darkness, Chaos, and Disorder which remains a constant challenge to the positive forces of Light, Order, and Law. With his historical imagination, Kipling seems to argue that the Aryans first conquered this land but they were subjugated by the Dark Powers; then came the Greeks, but even Alexander the Great failed to affix any pattern on India; the Muslims struggled with these negative forces for almost ten centuries without much success; and now it is the turn of the Anglo-Saxons to perform the God-given duty of making order prevail :

We were dreamers, dreaming greatly, in the man-stifled town;
We yearned beyond the sky-line where the strange roads go down.
Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the Need,
Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent us to lead.¹⁷

As Dobrée points out, one must note that the Power was lent, not given, to the English to lead the world¹⁸. This is a very important observation, for Kipling was acutely conscious of a deeper purpose behind the Empire: he never failed to warn that the Empire was not eternal and that the English would be deprived of this trust the moment they forgot that they were only agents in the hands of a higher power which was using them for the promulgation of the Law:

*Keep ye the law—be swift in all obedience,
Clear the land of evil, drive the road and bridge the ford,
Make ye sure to each his own
That he reap where he hath sown,*

*By the peace among our peoples let men know we serve the Lord!*¹⁹

The Law that the Empire Builder is commanded to keep is an equivalent of peace, order, justice, and public works. Kipling's concept of Empire is not jingoistic, but it is in fact a much deeper concept than is generally recognized. Essentially Empire stands for the forces of law, order, and discipline which are engaged in a constant struggle against

the negative forces of chaos, confusion, and disorder. So Kipling's imperial drama assumes the proportions of a morality play in a non-theological sense.

This pattern is well illustrated by "The Bridge Builders" (1893). The dusky goddess India symbolises the Dark Powers. Empire means the Forces of Light. The struggle between the two forces is symbolised by the bridge-building over the Ganges that has been going on for three years in spite of every conceivable obstruction. Incessant toil at last makes the black frame of the Kashi Bridge rise plate by plate, girder by girder, and span by span. Old Peroo knows that Mother Gunga cannot take this bridling any more, and sure enough Gunga wakes up in all her fury. The great flood comes, and Findlayson and Peroo are drifted to a little island where they rest near a Hindu shrine. Both men are drugged; at this stage the tale passes into the trance of these men. They witness a *punchayet* (meeting) of the Indian gods.

Mother Gunga starts speaking with the complaint: "They have chained my flood, and my river is not free any more . . . Deal me the justice of the Gods!" Indra does not like the impatience of Gunga: "The deep sea was where she runs but yesterday, and tomorrow the sea shall cover her again as the Gods count that which men call time. Can any one say that their bridge endures till tomorrow?" Gunga repeats: "They have changed the face of the land—which is my land. They have killed and made new towns on my banks." Ganesha tries to calm her down by arguing: "It is but the shifting of a little dirt. Let the dirt dig in the dirt if it pleases the dirt." Hanuman adds: "Ho Ho! I am the builder of bridges indeed—bridges between this and that, and each bridge leads surely to Us in the end. Be content, Gunga. Neither these men nor those that follow them mock thee at all." Once again Indra sums up the case in these words: "Ye know the Riddle of the Gods. When Brahm ceases to dream the Heavens and the Hells and the Earth disappear. Be content. Brahm dreams still. The dreams come and go, and the nature of the dreams changes, but Brahm still dreams . . . The Gods change, beloved—all save One."

This is the riddle. All is *maya* (illusion)—nothing remains. The toil and trouble of the men working for sweetness and light come to nought in the ultimate analysis. The Kashi Bridge may be spared by the gods today, but tomorrow it will be washed away by angry Gunga. The goddess India refuses to be tamed. Kipling puts this idea in a rather light-hearted manner in an unsigned poem, "An Interesting Condition" published in the *Pioneer* on 20th December, 1888 :

Above all reposes the East.

She is old, but she is beautiful.

A beautiful woman is always old. As old as Beauty.

. . . The East intrigued with Alexander. It was a *liaison passenger*.

With the Toorkh. It was an *affaire militaire* only.

Again with the Toorkh. That was not constancy but a coincidence.

. . . With the Rajput; with the Hindu. It was to pass the time.

With the Portuguese. It was an aberration erratic.

With the Frenchman. It was an affair of the heart.

But she was a woman. The Englishman came. With him the gold
of Perfide Albion.

Encore she was a woman !

. . . The Englishman believes that he has married her. By the high

mass of the rope and the low mass of the sabre

The others also believed.

. . . She has *seen* many lovers.

A woman who has seen many lovers will see more.

This woman will exist for ever, and she will always be beautiful.

An eternity of beauty and an eternity of liaisons!

Such is the mystery of this oriental deity—India. However, in spite of an awareness of final defeat, Kipling exhorts men to accept the challenge and put up a heroic fight against the forces of *nada* (Spanish for "nothing"). The odds may be against him, but the final result does not matter. Man's victory lies in the struggle which he puts up against darkness, chaos, and disorder. In the ultimate analysis, Kipling's message is a very positive message.

Notes

1. "Outward Bound" Edition of *Rudyard Kipling's Works* (New York, (1897-1937), 36 Vols., XIX, 214. Subsequent references to Kipling's prose works, unless otherwise indicated, will be to this edition.
2. I, 60-61.
3. I, 322.
4. VI, 9-10.
5. XXXVI, 52-53.
6. The Definitive Edition of *Rudyard Kipling's Verse* (London, 1954), p. 69-70. ("One Viceroy Resigns") Subsequent references to Kipling's verse will be to this edition.
7. V, 345.
8. II, 42.
9. XXXVI, 55.
10. XXXVI, 41-42.
11. IV, 327.
12. I, 88-89.
13. IV, 8.
14. IV, 9-10.
15. V, 330.
16. IV, 321.
17. "The Song of the Dead", *Verse*, p. 172.
18. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling: Realist and Fabulist* (London, 1967), p. 82.
19. "A Song of the English", *Verse*, p. 170.

HON. SECRETARY'S NOTES

Melbourne Branch. We are very grateful to the following, who are now retiring from office:

President: Mr. John White.

Hon. Secretary: Mr. J. V. Carlson.

Respectively, they have served the Society for 6 and 23 years. We wish them the best of luck. A.E.B.P.

NEW MEMBERS. We are delighted to welcome the following:—
U.K.: C. Blanford, H. F. Budden, D. G. Drayson, S. A. Husain, R. W. King, E. Lansley, D. Oulton; Mmes H. F. Budden, P. J. Carr, M. Donaldson. *CANADA:* Mrs. S. M. Treggiari. *INDIA:* K. Venkata Ramiah, V. Narayana Rao. *MALAWI:* G. D. Hayes. *U.S.A.:* Mrs. A. Taylor; Auburn Univ., Alabama; Florida Univ., Orlando; Hillman Liby, Pittsburgh; Millersville Coll., Penn.; W. Florida Univ., Pensacola; Wake Forest Univ., N.C.

THE NAULAHKA: A NOVEL OF EAST AND WEST

A Study by C. E. Carrington

Who reads the NAULAHKA eighty years after its date of publication? Not many, I suppose, except those Kipling addicts who possess the complete edition, and feel obliged to, having read all the other volumes in the series more than once. It is a book of not much consequence, the weakest on the shelf. The plot, mere melodrama, is concerned with an attempt by an American engineer to get possession of a famous jewel from an Indian treasure-house in order to impress a woman in his native Colorado. The subject is the contrast between the dynamic life of the west and the unshakeable tradition of Rajputana. If the book is loved, it is for the Indian palace-scenes and the pathetic picture of the little Hindu prince, not for any comment on life or love. When Kipling came to his final version of KIM, ten years later, he had something more profound to say about the meeting of East and West.

Who wrote THE NAULAHKA? I shall assert only that Kipling wrote the chapter-headings, the last three pages which, his wife tells us, were completed on his honeymoon, after Wolcott's death, and the greater part of Chapter Twelve, on which I'll stake my reputation. As for the rest of the book, the amateur critic can run his eye down the columns, as he can with TITUS ANDRONICUS or HENRY VI, Part I, saying to himself with fancied assurance, 'This passage comes from the hand of the Master and that from the collaborator', and no-one can say him 'Nay'.

We have three records of the partnership; Balestier wrote to his friend, W. D. Howells, on 18th February, 1891, to say: 'Kipling and I have been wading deep into our story lately and have written more than two-thirds of it. It begins in the West where I have a free hand for several chapters. Then we lock arms and march on India . . . We hit it off together most smoothly'. Chapter Five, one might guess, where 'Tarvin', the American engineer, arrives in Rajputana, may have a little pure Kipling in it, and successive chapters rather more, until we reach number twelve with 'Tarvin's' visit to the ruined city, which in theme is closely related to Kipling's own visit to the ruined city of Chitor, as described in LETTERS OF MARQUE, with some variations from his story, BUBBLING WELL ROAD. In style, it suddenly changes from Balestier's easy, flowing, conventional narrative to Kipling's vibrant rhythm, taut composition, and visual insistence.

'Tarvin smelt the acrid juice of bruised camel-thorn between his horse's hoofs. The moon rose in splendour behind him, and, following his lurching shadow, he overtook a naked man who bore over his shoulder a stick loaded with jingling bells, and fled panting and perspiring from one who followed him with a naked sword. This was the mail-carrier and his escort running to Gunnaur.'

Not vintage Kipling, perhaps, but recognisably different from Balestier's smooth statement:

'As he trotted towards the missionary's house, he looked at the hopeless landscape with a new interest, for any spur of the low hills, or any roof in the jumbled city, might contain his treasure.'

A second witness described how the work of composition was shared between the two. Will Cabot of Brattleboro, a young friend of the Balestiers, came to London as secretary to Wolcott and wrote an account of his observations for the local paper.

. . . the work was done by the two friends—Balestier, who is an accomplished typewriter, sitting at the machine and dashing off sentences and chapters, while Kipling paced the room, each composing, suggesting, and criticising in turn, and the mind of each stimulating the other to its best work.*

Though we need not suppose it was all as easy as that, the degree of collaboration was remarkable. While the American scenes resemble an earlier novel** of Balestier's, using the same landscape and some of the same place-names, the plot and the characterisation are completely integrated. 'Tarvin' moves easily from 'Topaz', Colorado, to 'Rhatore', Rajputana, still the same man in the episodes borrowed from Kipling's Indian narratives. There is no cleavage of interpretation nor visible gap between the British and American points of view. My impression is that most of the conversations were written by Balestier. For the only time in his life Kipling was swept off his feet by an impulse of hero-worship, seeing in his new friend the qualities of Western energy and independence that Balestier pictured in his pioneering hero. Forgotten was the British superiority that young Kipling, two years earlier, had contemptuously displayed in San Francisco. What his own visit to the West had not revealed came to him in London through the voice of Wolcott Balestier. Shall we observe, too, that both young men, one short-sighted and the other weak-chested, compensated for their disabilities by devising outdoor heroes. The raffish 'Dick Helder' of *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED* is surpassed in resourcefulness by his American counterpart, 'Nicholas Tarvin'.

The intimacy between these two friends lasted no more than about twelve or thirteen months, from July 1890 to August 1891. Each had come to London, unknown, to capture the attention of the literary world, and they had been brought together as early as December 1889 according to Edmund Gosse. † The American, the elder by four years, had already been a few months in England, and had acquired a reputation for literary scalp-hunting before he set out to collect Kipling's. The victim seems to have resisted capture, and it was as late as Match 1890, I think, that Balestier waited a whole long evening at Embankment Chambers for Kipling's return. Throughout the spring and summer, Kipling was almost overcome by the events that made a background to *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED*, a drama lived and recorded at the time. It is astonishing that in July, about the date that Kipling finished his first novel, Balestier was able to write an American friend that Kipling had agreed to join with him in writing a second.

The friendship ripened during the next six months, though both men were often out of London, and both in bad health. After Kipling's colossal output in the first half of the year—several of the stories in *LIFE'S HANDICAP*, most of the *BARRACK-ROOM*

* *Vermont Phoenix*, 13 Nov. 1891.

** W. Balestier, *The Average Woman*.

BALLADS, and THE LIGHT THAT FAILED—the second half of 1890 was, by comparison, unproductive, and it was not until February 1891 that Balestier made his progress report to Howells on THE NAULAHKA. If we can accept his statement that two-thirds of the book was already written, we may guess that it had reached the point where 'Tarvin' gets a glimpse of the famous jewel that gives its name to the book, page 208 in the standard edition. At least they had got beyond the significant Chapter Eight, to which I shall return, and had reached Chapter Twelve. Somewhere between these points, Kipling had taken over, and had become the predominant partner. The Indian chapters were his, but I am inclined to think that he still supplied the notions and painted the verbal pictures for Balestier to weave into the pattern on the loom of his typewriter.

In August 1890, Kipling had been near nervous breakdown with emotional strain and overwork. Such few letters as survive frequently refer to ill-health, with recurrences of his Indian 'fevers'. He relaxed at Rottingdean with the Poynters and, in October he went by sea to Naples, visiting Lord Dufferin at Sorrento. His restlessness can be demonstrated from press-reports, for his name was never long out of the papers that year, much though he hated the publicity. As his parents were in London, there were few home-letters and on his relation with the Balestiers, he was mute. Wolcott Balestier was no less secretive. The Brattleboro gossips, proud of their townsman's success in fashionable London, exchanged such information as came through, telling one another, with admiration and some disquietude, that Wolcott was so domineering and reserved as to be a 'czar' in his own household. When his mother and sisters came to London, about June (?) 1890, they were disappointed to find that Wolcott would not, or could not, introduce them into 'society'; his was a man's world and he knew only the bookish people. The centre of his circle was Edmund Gosse, who kept open house for literary London on Sunday evenings, and here Mrs. Balestier with her two daughters, Carrie the clever one and Josephine the pretty one, were always welcome. His visitor's book, now in the Cambridge University Library, shows them as regular attenders in the summer of 1890 and again in the summer of 1891, but the name of Rudyard Kipling appears only once in 1890 and not again until the following August. While he had been away in Italy, Wolcott had also been ill, nursing his weak chest in the Isle of Wight where his women-folk lived in his seaside cottage, and were not often invited to join him in London.

We do not know when Rudyard Kipling was introduced to Wolcott's sisters. He told a friend, Lady Milner (who told me) that he first caught a glimpse of Carrie from his window at Embankment Chambers, but the family legend is that he met her outside Wolcott's office in Dean's Yard, with the housekeeping books under her arm. This meeting may have been in the summer, but was more probably in November, when he and they returned to London. All we know with certainty is that an entry made, years later, in Carrie's diary refers to 28 November, 1890 as an anniversary that she and Rudyard used to celebrate.

† E. Gosse in the *Century* magazine, April 1892.

The books he left behind tell us how full and varied Rudyard's life had been between February and November. If we are to pry into the personal affairs that he strove so hard to keep secret, and so to extract more meaning from those books, we must look back to the beginning of the year 1890, when he was still under the spell of the charming Mrs. Hill and her sister, Caroline. The love-affair with the Methodist Minister's daughter, surely reflected in *ON GREENHOW HILL* (July 1890), had come to an end in February, not without social complications. Caroline's father, Dr. Taylor, passed through London on 1st August, and met Rudyard for what was, as far as we know, a civil if not a cordial exchange of courtesies. A few weeks later, Mrs. Hill's husband died suddenly, as men died in India in those days. Might not the widow have dreamed that she could replace her sister in Rudyard's affection? They passed through London together on their doleful return to America, at this crisis of his affairs, and no record remains of his conduct. It was his own mother, Mrs. Lockwood Kipling, who met and befriended Mrs. Hill and Caroline on 3rd December.

But off with one old love and on with a new love was not even the central disturbance of Rudyard's life in those months. Between the two came the rediscovery and the loss of Flo Garrard, an episode that seemed more shattering than it proved to be. He rid himself of this emotional flux in the catharsis of *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED*, and faced life exhausted but heart-whole. Quickly he made new friends, again in an American family, but for the moment it was men-friends that he needed. Hence the anti-feminist conclusion to *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED*, and the escapist dedication to his mother. Christmas 1890 was the last festival of Kipling's 'family square'. Apart from that, he was out of humour with women. It was not until the half-loves were eliminated that Love would arrive.

These months had been crucial in his professional career as in his private life. In the same week of November when he denounced the American publishers as 'pirates', in his ballad, *THE THREE CAPTAINS*, he allowed the American J. W. Lovell to deposit the 'copyright' edition of *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED* at Washington as evidence of publication, rather than the dismay of his British agent, A. P. Watt; but Lovell's London representative was the new friend, Wolcott Balestier.

The first six months of 1891 are the only period of Kipling's life on which we lack precise information. We can say little more than that he lived as a bachelor at Embankment Chambers, often visiting his parents at Earls Court, and accordingly writing few home letters. He was elected to the Saville Club in January 1891. The longer version of *THE LIGHT THAT FAILED* was sent to press on 16th February, and was published in March, just when, with his mother's help, he was writing *THE ENGLISH FLAG*, the most outspoken of his patriotic odes. On the other hand this was the moment when Balestier announced with pride their happy collaboration in the pro-American *NAULAHKA*. The Balestier influence was already gaining on him.

In May, after another bout of illness, he visited New York with his uncle, Frederick MacDonald, but in mid-June he was back in England, staying with the Balestiers at Chale in the Isle of Wight, where he picked up the notion for a story, *DISTURBER OF TRAFFIC*. By this time, a draft *NAULAHKA* must have been completed, for

Kipling was again in London on 3rd July, 'packing for a long sea-voyage' ostensibly on his doctor's advice, and getting ready to leave Embankment Chambers for good. Other friends were urging him to travel: 'Go East', Edmund Gosse had written in the *CENTURY*, as early as April, 'Disappear, another Waring, Come back in two years' time with another budget of loot out of Wonderland,' which may not only have been critical advice on the grounds that Kipling's overseas vein was exhausted; it was the period of his London stories, *BRUGGLESMITH* and *BADALIA HERODSFOOT*. This, too, was the moment when he wrote that strange allegory, *THE CHILDREN OF THE ZODIAC*, published in December, of which I need say here only that it deals with the marriage of a young poet who, like Kipling, was ill with an affliction of the throat. It is prefaced by the lines from Emerson, 'when the half-gods go, the gods arrive'. Perhaps Gosse had something more in mind than literary criticism.

He was straining to leave London, yet, before he sailed on 22nd August 1891 he must have written the draft of *THE LONG TRAIL*, now in the Berg collection at New York, in which the refrain runs:

'Have done with the tents of Shem, Dear Lad,'

If not addressed to Wolcott, then to whom? And what can be meant by the 'Tents of Shem'* if not the Jewish publisher, Heinemann, and his circle of friends? Break away from your partnership with Heinemann, he implies, and travel round the world with me. In its revised form *THE LONG TRAIL* was printed in a periodical at Cape Town, where Kipling lingered in September, the refrain having been modified from 'Dear Lad' to 'Dear Lass'. The appeal had shifted from Wolcott to Wolcott's sister.

Rudyard left South Africa on 25th September; from 18th October to 5th November he was in New Zealand; from 12th to 29th November he was coasting Australia from port to port. About 20th November, unauthorised and inaccurate gossip in the Melbourne papers reported that this much-publicised globe-trotter was obliged to 'return to India' having received bad 'news'. It cannot have been Wolcott's illness for Wolcott was not yet ill. At Colombo, where Rudyard's ship called on 10th December, he might have heard that Wolcott had died four days earlier at Dresden, but it seems unlikely. More probably, he did not hear until he reached his parents' house at Lahore, about the 18th. Cutting short his visit, he left Bombay on 27th December, to make a remarkably rapid journey to London in fourteen days, for a stay in England that was not much longer. Having arrived on the evening of 10th January at Victoria Station, where he was met by Mrs. Balestier and her daughters, he married Carrie, by special licence, on 18th January, 1892, none of his own relatives except Ambrose Poynter, the best man, being present at the church. On 2nd February, the newly-wedded couple left Liverpool for a sea-going honeymoon with the proofs of *THE NAULAHKA* in their baggage.

Though Mrs. Heinemann had been at Wolcott's deathbed, and Mr. Heinemann at Rudyard's wedding, Wolcott's death had broken the partnership; the Balestiers had done with the Tents of Shem. It now fell to Rudyard to conclude some unfinished business of Wolcott's. In September, *THE NAULAHKA* had been announced as forthcoming,

* See *Genesis*, 9, 27.

with all the publicity at Wolcott's command, and, in November, when Rudyard was in New Zealand, the first three chapters had appeared in the *CENTURY* magazine. In December and January (1892), further instalments carried the story to the end of Chapter Nine, and, so far, Wolcott must have been responsible for the state of the text, while Rudyard was out of reach. Since Wolcott was taken ill on 30th November and died on 6th December, we cannot be sure who saw the February and March Instalments through the press. Chapters Fourteen to Seventeen published in April, Eighteen and Nineteen in May, Twenty in June, and Twenty-one in July were almost certainly passed for press by Rudyard on his honeymoon tour.† The chapter-headings in verse were written on board ship for the cloth-bound edition, and the last few pages, perhaps only the last three which provide a happy ending, were polished off at Brattleboro in March. Why they had been left unfinished we do not know.

Let us now take another look at Chapter Eight, sent to press before Wolcott's death and published while Rudyard was still at sea, so that the text in its final form cannot be his responsibility. Not a soul-stirring chapter, not attributable to either partner with assurance, it includes a conversation between 'Tarvin' and the Indian King, in which the accurate eye of Mr. Roger Lancelyn Green has detected a phrase that seems so irrelevant as to contain a hidden meaning. Protesting his friendship, the King says that he is 'more than a brother' to 'Tarvin' like the brother of one's beloved', as intimate - that is - as a future brother-in-law. There is no hint in the story of any such relation between 'Tarvin' and the King, and no apparent reason for any mention of brothers-in-law. Surely it is an echo, perhaps, unconscious, of the relation between the two brother-authors, of the Rudyard-Wolcott-Carrie triangle, and if so, it must have been inserted by Rudyard before his departure. No-one was the brother-in-law of Balestier's beloved. Rudyard and Carrie must then have been betrothed, with Wolcott's approval, before he left England in August 1891, though no announcement had been made to Rudyard's other friends, perhaps not even to his own family; and no provision had been made for immediate marriage. The Press, avid for gossip of the best-selling author's private life, picked up no hint about his beloved or her brother. Such scraps as leaked out, even as far away as Australia, still connected Rudyard's name with Flo Garrard; and Olive Schreiner in Cape Town, pressing him for revelations in September, just when *THE LONG TRAIL* dropped a new hint, was still on the same tack.

One more series of clues is to be found in the chapter-headings to *NAULAHKA*, the scraps of verse which, according to Carrie's Diary, he composed or arranged while crossing the Atlantic. He used this device with much ingenuity and fun in many books, presenting his fragments as if they were quotations from some other writer, and composing them in appropriate styles. Some were extracts from his own rough notebooks, not always strictly relevant to the stories they preceded, but too good to be thrown away; some were comments of his own upon a story told in the words of a feigned character; some were sardonic, some cryptical. Four of the chapter-headings to *NAULAHKA* are des-

†Carrie Kipling's *DIARY* provides this third witness for the share taken by R.K. in writing *THE NAULAHKA*.

cribed as taken from 'Libretto to THE NAULAHKA'. Is this a private joke? Had he indeed written some sort of skit upon his own work, for domestic consumption with the Balestiers? We must not presume to guess, but we know that while he was abroad, Wolcott had prepared a dramatised version of NAULAHKA, which was read through on the stage of the Opera Comique Theatre, in the presence of Henry James and Edmund Gosse, on 29th October††, a practice among writers of the nineties, who used this method of securing theatrical copyright. The play was never published nor produced, and there is nothing more to be said of it here, except that he may have amused his friends by reducing some part of it to the light verse that flowed so easily from his pen.

While several of these chapter-headings are romantic pieces, two of them adverting to the buccaneering character of the hero seem to give an indirect comment on Rudyard's elation with his beloved and her brother. Chapter One is headed by the lines:

'There was a strife twixt man and maide . . . '

* * *

'T'was, 'Sweet, I must not bide with you,'
And 'Love, I cannot live alone';
For both were young and both were true,
And both were hard as the nether stone'.

The heading to the significant Chapter Eight begins:

'When a lover hies abroad . . . Heaven smiles above . . . !'

But in the next chapter, the voyager is less confident:

'I wait for thy command
To serve, to speed, or withstand,
And thou sayest, I do not well?

* * *

And thou sayest, 'tis ill that I came'.

When we reach Chapter Fourteen, with 'Tarvin's' glimpse of the Naulahka, the verse-heading carries some deeper meaning:

'Because I sought—I sought it so
And spent my days, to find—
It blazed one moment ere it left
The blacker night behind'.

The Naulahka jewel is no longer the material prize that Tarvin hopes to possess, by fair means or unfair; it is a symbol of love, revealed and withdrawn.

Chapter Seventeen begins with a paean of triumph that seems to have nothing to do with 'Tarvin's' acquisitive errand, and not much more with Rudyard's tortuous love-affair. This rhapsody he picked out of the miscellaneous chapter-headings in his collected works, and

†† *The Star*, 29th October, 1891.

published as a poem in its own right, under the title THE SACK OF THE GODS.

'She with the star I had marked for my own—
 I with my set desire—
 Lost in the loom of the Night of Nights—
 lighted by worlds afire—
 Met in a war against the Gods where the
 headlong meteors glow—
 Hewing our way to Valhalla, a million years ago'.
 Great Heavens! What does it mean?

But with Chapter Eighteen all this bravura has vanished. To be sure 'Tarvin' has failed in his scheme to acquire the jewel and to recompense the people of 'Rhatore' with public works, as 'Kate', his beloved, has failed to provide them with a hospital, but this is not the note on which the book ends. THE NAULAHKA is a recantation of Rudyard's earlier comments on marriage in THE STORY OF THE GADSBYS and THE LIGHT THAT FAILED. He no longer fears that 'a good man married is a good man married*', or supposes that 'he travels the fastest who travels alone'. 'Tarvin' and 'Kate' are to be awarded the prize of love that had been denied to 'Dick Helder' and 'Maisie'; they are to go back to Colorado, and to live like good Americans in a world that appreciates their talents. This chapter-heading scarcely refers to the plot of THE NAULAHKA, but mourns over the private tragedy that has struck at Rudyard and Carrie at the moment of their union.

'Now we are come to our Kingdom,
 But my love's eyelids fall,
 All that I wrought for, all that I fought for,
 Delight her nothing at all,
 My crown is of withered leaves
 For she sits in the dust and grieves'.

Rudyard's final comment, on the last chapter, was also a verse that stands on its own feet in the Collected Works, MY LADY'S LAW:
 'The Law whereby my lady moves
 Was never Law to me,
 But 'tis enough that she approves
 Whatever Law it be.

* * *

With even mind I'd put behind
 Adventure and acclaim,
 And clean give o'er, esteeming more
 Her favour than my fame'.

This came near to unconditional surrender. Abandoning THE LONG TRAIL, Rudyard moved into the world of the Balestiers for his American years.

* It is not always noticed that Kipling borrowed this aphorism from ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

Note on the name, Naulakha

Naulakha is a common Hindustani word meaning 'nine hundred thousand'. A *lakh*, that is a hundred thousand *rupees*, was worth £10,000 sterling in the undepreciated currencies of the eighteen-eighties. Figuratively, a *lakh* was used as a round term for any large number, and nine *lakhs*, a *naulakha*, for any very large number, as we might talk about 'millions of money'. Not only money. There is—or was—a ward of Lahore City called *Naulakha*. The *Naulakha Jewel*, which still may exist in some Indian treasure-house, was the subject of many romantic tales; it was believed to be in the possession of the infamous Nana Sahib, who slaughtered British women and children in the Indian Mutiny; and, when he escaped into Nepal, it was supposed that the *Naulakha* had gone with him. The legendary history of the jewel may be found in Perceval Landon's *HISTORY OF NEPAL* (1928).

While Kipling was on his travels, Balestier sent their book to press and with surprising carelessness, misspelt the title. NAULAHKA was not a Hindustani form, and means nothing at all. We may well imagine what fury the quick-tempered Kipling would have expressed if any other publisher than Balestier had made such a blunder. It is evidence of his submission to the friend he had loved and lost that he allowed this vulgarity to appear in edition after edition, no doubt in spite of the disapproval of his father, his Indian and Anglo-Indian friends, and especially of Perceval Landon.

But when he built himself a house in Wolcott Balestier's hometown of Brattleboro, he corrected the error, naming it 'The *Naulakha*'.

KIPLING QUIZ : 18 NOVEMBER, 1970

By T.L.A. Daintith

1. The name of the hero of "Captains Courageous" (Harvey Cheyne).
2. What did he smoke? (A Wheeling Stogie).
3. What ship picked him up? (The We're Here).
4. Who was the Captain (Disko Troop).
5. Why was he christened Disko? (He was born in Disko in Greenland).
6. What was the name of the railway car owned by Mr. Cheyne? (The Constance).
7. How long did the train journey take? (87 hours, 35 minutes).
8. How many animals from the Jungle Book can you name, other than the main characters? (Chil the Kite; Mang the Bat; Tabaqui the Jackal; Ikki the Porcupine; Mao the Peacock).
9. What was the fate of Tabaqui? (Killed by Grey Brother).
10. What was the name of Mrs. Wolf? (Raksha the Demon).
11. Where was Bagheera born? (Oodeypore).
12. What was the name of Mowgli's presumed mother? (Messua).
13. What was the name of the herd bull? (Rama).
14. What was the name of the White Seal? (Kotick).
15. What was the name of the father of the White Seal? (Sea Catch).
16. What was the name of the mother of the White Seal? (Matkah).
17. What was the name of the Walrus? (Sea Vitch).
18. Who told the story of the White Seal? (Limmershin the Winter Wren).
19. What was the name of the European elephant hunter? (Petersen).

20. And his chief hunter? (Machua Appa).
21. And his elephant? (Pydmini).
22. Who was Sidney Latter? (A female Music Hall singer in Sea Constables).
23. Name the four naval officers in "Sea Constables". (Maddingham, Tegg, Winchmore and Portson).
24. Who "lounged around and suffered"? (The Padre in Stalky & Co.).
25. In "The United Idolaters", who were the nominal leaders of the factions and what were they? (Brer Terrapin—a tortoise, and Brer Tarbaby—a football, disguised).
26. In "The Wish House", what was the address of the house? (Wadloes Road).
27. What was inside? (A token).
28. Rahere and Gilbert the Physician saw what and where? (A leper at Smithfield).
29. What was "A whisper of Angels' wings, the breath of Eden and the foam and pulse of Youth renewed"—from "The Bull that Thought"? (Champagne).
30. What was the name of the Bull? (Apis).
31. What was "horrible, hairy, human"? (Adamzad—the Bear that walked like a man).
32. What was the name of the landowner in "Stalky"? (Col. Dabney).
33. What had the gamekeeper been previously? (A fisherman).
34. Who took his place? (The lodgekeeper).
35. Name the two animals presented to the Natural History Society by Stalky and Co. (A squirrel and a badger).
36. What was the nickname of the carrier in Stalky? (Rabbits-eggs).
37. Name four of the servants at the school. (Richards—Prout's House servant; Gumbly—the Dining Hall; Lena—the laundry; Oke—the Common room butler).
38. Name the four houses (Kings; Hartopps; Prouts; McCreas).
39. Who were—Foster, Carton, Finch, Longbridge, Martin and Brett? (Members of Prouts house).
40. Who was the politician who addressed the school? (Raymond Martin).
41. What was he called? (A Flopshus Cad; an outrageous stinker; a Jelly bellied flag-flapper).
42. From whom did Stalky quote? (Jorrock—R. S. Surtees; Uncle Remus—Joel Chandler Harris).
43. From whom did Beetle? (Browning).
44. From whom did M'Turk? (Ruskin).
45. What did Stalky chalk on Kings door? (a cross and "Lord have Mercy on us").
46. Name two old boys (Fatsow Duncan and Toffee Crandall).
47. Who bullied whom? (Campbell and Sefton bullied Clewer).
48. What two school stories were referred to? (Eric, or Little by Little and St. Winifred's, or the World of School).
49. What was the quotation from Lewis Carroll? (They said it very loud and clear, they went and shouted in his ear).
50. What punishment did Stalky & Co. inflict upon the two bullies? (Head knuckle; Brush drill; Corkscrew; Rocking; Making an Ag-ag).
51. What was the cigar that floored Stalky & Co.? (A cheroot).
52. What were the Christian names of Beetle's friends? (Lionel Corkran and Willy M'Turk).

53. Who were the two principals in the story "In the Same Boat"? (Conroy and Miss Henschill).
54. Who was the heroine's fiancé? (George Skinner—"Toots").
55. Who was her Mother? (A Tackberry from Jarrow Way).
56. What was the drug that they took? (Najdolene).
57. Who was the British officer in "Kim"? (Col. Creighton).
58. What was his Christian name? (Will).
59. What is bad for baby seals? (Summer gales and killer whales).
60. What did Puck quote to the children? (What hempen homespuns have we swaggering here etc.).
61. What were the names of the children's dinghy? (Daisy, Golden Hind and Long Serpent).
62. Who were in charge of which sides of the Viking ship in "Puck"? (Hugh—the left side and Thorkild of Borjum—the right side).
63. "It is not given for goods or gear, but for—what? (The Thing).
64. What is the craziest road of all? (The road to Endor).
65. Who was a little, red faced man? (Bobs).
66. Who was hanged? (Danny Deever).
67. Why? (He shot a comrade sleeping).
68. What whimpered overhead? (His soul).
69. Who were the Ladies in the Poem? (Aggie de Castra; a tiddy live heathen—Burma; the wife of a nigger at Mhow; a convent girl of 16 on a troopship).
70. Give the two lines *preceding*: For the Cols. lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin. (When you get to a man in the case, they're like as a row of pins).
71. What was McAndrew's official post? (Chief of the Maori Line).
72. In the Ballad of the Bolivar, the ship sailed from where to where? (Sunderland to Bilbao).
73. Who were not so old in the Army List? (The Irish Guards).
74. Complete the quartet of names: Ballard, Dean, Bland and..... (Lancaster).
75. Complete: "There's peace in a....., there's calm in a..... (Laranaga and Henry Clay).
76. Give the two preceding lines to: And a woman is only a woman, but a good cigar is a smoke". (A million surplus Maggies are willing to bear the yoke).
77. What can you (not) trust at the end of an Indian June? (The temper of chums, the love of your wife and a new piano's tune).
78. Who were the two Viceroys in the poem? (Lords Dufferin and Landsdown).
79. Who "fume and fret and posture"? (The Gate keepers of Baal).
80. In the poem about the banjo, what other instruments are mentioned? (Broadwood piano, fiddle, organ, trumpet and lyre).
81. What were the ships in "The Three Sealers" and who commanded them? ("The Baltic"; "The Northern Light (Tom Hall); "The Stralsund" (Reuben Paine)).
82. What "dipped and surged and swung"? (The Bell Buoy).
83. What are the lines preceding "And the wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of Khatmandu, and the crimes of Clapham chaste in Martaban" (Still the world is wondrous large—seven seas from marge to marge, and it holds a vast of various kinds of man),

84. Complete : "The pious horse to church may trot, A maid may work a man's salvation (Four horses and a girl are not, however, aids to reformation).
85. What creatures were mentioned in "The Way through the Woods"? (Ring dove—badger—trout—otter).
86. Oak, Ash and Thorn; what other trees are mentioned in the poem? (Yew, Alder, Beech and Elm).
87. What was "crowned by all time, all Art, all Might"? (Rome).
88. Whom did Queen Elizabeth see in the mirror? (Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Leicester).
89. What was the motto of A.B.C. (Transportation is Civilisation).
90. Who were the men mentioned in the story "As easy as A.B.C"? (Dragomiroff, Takahira, Victor Pirolo and De Forrest).
91. Who, at various times, were Hobden's landlords? (Julius Fabricius, Ogier the Dane and William of Warenne).
92. What were the names of the mine-sweepers? (Unity, Claribell, Assyrian, Stormcock and Golden Gain).
93. What are the four things that are never content? (Jacala's mouth, the glut of the Kite, the hands of the Ape and the Eyes of Man. From "The King's Ankus").

The quiz was enjoyed by everyone, not least the quiz-master, who was relieved to find that he had achieved a happy medium between questions that everybody knew and questions that were impossible. The audience, as one might expect, showed, collectively and singly, a remarkable knowledge of Kipling's works and the quiz-master congratulates himself on his ability to puzzle them at all.

BOOK REVIEW

The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction, by P. J. Keating. 310 pages, 12 plates, notes and index. Routledge, London, 1971. £3.50.

Working-class stories of the 1890s, edited, with an introduction by P. J. Keating. 158 pages, bibliographical note. Routledge, London, 1971. £1.60.

Mr. Keating advances an interesting proposition on social history, in two books which may prove to be of greater value to the historian than to the literary critic. It is the subject-matter rather than the aesthetic merit of these stories on which he concentrates, and even his stylistic criticism has a social implication. For my part I have been more stimulated by Mr. Keating's own observations than by reading, or re-reading, these half-forgotten tales of mean streets, so that the first book grips me more firmly than the second. Perhaps this will be the reaction in constant readers of the *Kipling Journal*, and all I need say to them about the volume of stories is that it includes *Badalia Herodsfoot*, which no student of Kipling should overlook, though few will place it among his best dozen. While it stands out, as Kipling's work usually does, by the sharpness of its edge and impact, it is not alone here in literary importance. To mention two only, H. W. Nevinson, whom I had forgotten, and Clarence Rook, whom I had never heard of, are well worth reading. Arthur Morrison, the founder of the 'mean street' school, does not wear well, or so it seems to me. Morrison claimed to have been a life-long friend of Kipling; and both were members of the group of young writers

that gathered round W. E. Henley, though it appears that Morrison did not meet Henley until after Kipling's departure from London in August 1891. *Badalia Herodsfoot* is anterior in date, and in influence, to the earliest of Morrison's tales.

These considerations bring Mr. Keating to his main theme, that the Victorian conscience became aware, in the late 1880s, of the social gulf between the two nations of the rich and poor, and that this awareness gave birth to a new literary form. The cockney archetypes of Dickens, and even of Zola, were now studied with deeper sensitivity and sympathy. His argument cannot be reproduced in a few words, but it makes the young Kipling a focal point of reference.

'While in India Kipling came to realise the bare horrors of the private's life . . . but now he learned that exactly the same was true of society in England. In *Badalia Herodsfoot* . . . Kipling ceases to be an outsider and enters the main stream of social criticism', in his search for the home-life of Stanley Ortheris.

'Unlike Gissing and Besant, he refuses to acknowledge that middle-class culture is inherently superior to working-class culture', says Mr. Keating, and even asserts, in words that may astonish some readers, that Kipling admires 'the spontaneity and freedom' that are lacking in his own middle-class . . . 'The class judgment comes over to the readers as a form of cultural envy . . . Kipling was the first important Victorian writer who was not scared of the working-classes.'

Not the least remarkable chapter of Mr. Keating's book is on 'the phonetic representation of cockney'. For a new literary form, a new literary language was invented, and here again Kipling was the innovator, deriving his cockney dialect rather from the London music-halls than from the soldiers. 'It is not treated as corrupt standard English, but as a dialect in its own right . . . it is not phoneticised in order to make the reader laugh . . . it is consistent. Kipling succeeded in capturing the sound of a cockney voice and in making it comprehensible to the general reader.' Here, Mr. Keating has made a substantial contribution to English linguistic studies.

C. E. CARRINGTON

LETTER BAG

THOMAS KIPLING

Thomas Kipling, D.D. is mentioned on page 14 of the *Kipling Journal* of December 1970 and the question of his relationship with Rudyard Kipling is raised. My father's papers contain some relevant information. Thomas Kipling was born in 1745 and died in 1822. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge in 1764 and was Dean of Peterborough from 1798 to 1822. He was unmarried. The branch of the family to which the Dean belonged moved south to Suffolk about 1818. There is no evidence that Rudyard Kipling was related to the Dean, and he himself is known to have disclaimed any such relationship.

CHARLOTTE KIPLING

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1970

1969	EXPENDITURE	1970	1969	INCOME	1970
£		£	£		£
176	Office Rent, Rates, Lighting and Heating	178	824	Subscriptions	801
94	Printing and Advertisements	51	389	Sales—Journals	418
53	Postages and Telephone	36	49	Donations and Legacy	45
386	Office Expenses and Purchase of New Equipment	320	42	Interest on Investments	42
8	Entertaining	—	28	Interest on Deposit Account	7
	Journal Expenses:			(1969—accumulated since 1964)	
460	Cost of Printing and Despatch of Kipling Journals	509		Functions:—	
105	Adjustment in respect of Previous Year	—		Profit on—Members Meetings	—
565			3	Visit to Burwash	12
89	Balance being excess of Income over Expenditure	234	7	Annual Luncheon	3
			29		
£1,371		£1,328	£1,371		£1,328

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER 1970

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT			CASH AND BANK BALANCES		
£		£	£		£
846	Balance at 31st December 1969	935	140	Cash in Hand	1
89	Excess of Income over Expenditure for the Year	234	128	Bank Balances:—	
				Current Account	492
935		1,169	61	Deposit Account	135
25	CREDITORS & ACCRUED EXPENSES	144	15	DEBTORS AND PREPAYMENTS	59
				STOCK OF STATIONERY	15
				INVESTMENT	
			611	£1,200 3½% War Loan Stock at cost less £253 written off (Market Value at 31st December, 1970, £437)	611
£960		£1,313	£960		£1,313

A. E. BAGWELL PUREFOY, Hon. Secretary
PETER MORTIMER, Hon. Treasurer

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

We have examined the above Balance Sheet at 31st December, 1970, and the Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December, 1970, 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: 1st June, 1971.

MILNE, GREGG & TURNBULL
Chartered Accountants.

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