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MANY thanks to members who have brought their subscriptions into line with the new rates, either by direct payment or Bankers' Order.

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# THE KIPLING SOCIETY

## Forthcoming Meetings

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### DISCUSSION MEETINGS 1979 & 1980

All at 'The Clarence' Whitehall, S.W.1. (near Charing Cross Tube Station on the Bakerloo, Northern and Jubilee Lines) at 17.30 for 18.00 hours.

*Wednesday 12 September:* Mrs. Lisa A. F. Lewis will open a discussion on *'The Prophet and the Country—the nastiest story?'*

*Wednesday 14 November:* Mr. Peter Bellamy will give a Musical Entertainment.

In 1980 Discussion Meetings will be held at the same place and time on Wednesdays 13 February, 9 April, 9 July, 10 September and 12 November. On 13 February Miss Audrey M. Ashley, B.A., will open a discussion on *Kipling and the Bible*. Details of subsequent meetings will be announced in future Journals.

### ANNUAL LUNCHEON 1979

The Annual Luncheon will be held at the Hanover Grand, Hanover Street, London, W1R 9HH (near Oxford Circus) on Thursday 25 October 1979 at 12.15 for 13.00 hours. The Guest Of Honour will be The Countess of Birkenhead, who will propose the toast of The Unfading Genius of Rudyard Kipling. A booking form is being sent with this Journal. Please come—in large numbers!

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1979

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on Thursday 25 October 1979 at 16.30 hours, at 50 Eaton Place, S.W.1 (near Victoria & Sloane Square Tube Stations). An important matter, the Revision of the Society's Rules, will come up for discussion; this is connected with the possibility of having the Society Registered as a Charity. There will be a meeting of the Council of the Society at the same place immediately after the Annual General Meeting. Please note that the Annual General Meeting is on the same day as the Annual Luncheon, but is to be held in a different place and at a later time.

### ADVERTISEMENTS

A Supplement containing Members' Advertisements of books and other Kipling items For Sale or Wanted will be included with future Journals. Rates: £1.00 for the first 25 words, 25p for each succeeding 10 words or part thereof. Copy for advertisements to Shamus O. D. Wade, 37 Davis Road, Acton, London W.3.

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## NEWS AND NOTES

### 'THE SONS OF THE SUBURBS'

A genuine poem by Kipling included neither in *The Sussex Edition* nor the *Definitive Verse*, 'The Sons of the Suburbs', was quoted and described in *The Sunday Telegraph* of March 18 this year. It has a curious bibliographical history. Kipling wrote it for the war-time periodical *Blighty* and gave it to be published in the Christmas Number 1916. But it did not see publication until the issue of *The Sunday Pictorial* (London) for 19 January and the New York Times for 6 February, 1936.

However, it had been mentioned as early as 16 October 1921 in *The Sunday Herald*. I miss from Kipling's Collected Poems, just published, one of his best works, 'Sons of the Suburbs'. Only a few people have read it, for, written especially for a war-time publication, the poem was rejected on account of gin being mentioned. Kipling wrote it for nothing, and was so furious that he would not allow it to be used afterwards'. (Quoted by Livingston: *Supplement* p.165)

Its first publication in *The Sunday Pictorial* (19 Jan. 1936) was introduced by the following paragraph:

'It is with pride that the *Sunday Pictorial* prints exclusively today a newly-discovered Kipling poem. It is our special tribute to the great Empire poet whose death yesterday brought sorrow not only to the Empire, but to the world. 'The Sons of the Suburbs' has never before been published. It was written in the middle of the War, but publication was withheld. With all its 'propaganda' it yet bears the unmistakable Kipling stamp—love of country and pride in fellow-countrymen'.

Although not published in the technical sense, the poem was first printed shortly after it was written. It is described by Stewart (No. 628, page 451) as: 'SONS OF THE SUBURBS (rule) (n.d.) 4to (101/8x 7 3/16). Broadside on newsprint paper; 'December, 1916—January, 1917' appears below the text'.

It is accompanied by a note: 'This poem, consisting of five stanzas of eight lines each, with a chorus of two lines to each stanza, was given by Kipling for the 1916 Christmas Number of *Blighty*, a weekly magazine published for the troops. The management committee of the paper, composed largely of clergymen and ladies, objected to the reference to clergymen's daughters and gin, and asked Mr Kipling to modify the poem. He, naturally, refused and withdrew the poem. Not more than half-a-dozen copies (proofs) were run off'.

to make such items, as, for example the *Flies in Amber* pamphlets, The first stanza, with the 'chorus' to which objection was taken, was as follows:—

'The sons of the suburbs were carefully bred,  
And quite unaccustomed to strife;  
The lessons they learned in the books they had read  
Had taught them the value of life.  
From Erith to Ealing they cherished a feeling  
That battle and slaughter was sin;  
From Hendon to Tooting they didn't like shooting  
And did not intend to begin.

(Chorus): If the clergyman's daughter drinks nothing but water  
She's certain to finish on gin.'

(The above is copied from the *Sunday Pictorial* version, which differs very slightly from that in the *New York Times*. The version in *Readers Guide* (Verse No. 1027, pages 5447-8) appears to conflate the two. I have not seen the original 'Broadside', nor the version in the *Ballard Catalogue*, 1935).

### EPHEMERAL PUBLICATIONS

anything by Kipling (or, presumably, any other author) which can be exhibited in print counts as a full-scale item to be listed in a bibliography and sought for by collectors—with the corollary that it is easy

It appears from the above account of 'The Sons of the Suburbs' that only two copies of which are said to have been printed.

Or, of course, rare items can be made by accident, as perhaps the proof copies of 'The Sons of the Suburbs' were. But this becomes almost ludicrous if driven to its logical extreme. For example, I possess what is probably a unique printed copy of Kipling's 'Selections from the Freer Verse Horace' (previously only printed in the *Magdalene College Magazine*, June 1932, and a copyright pamphlet). This came into being when I was editing *A Century of Humorous Verse* (1954) for Everyman's Library, and intended to include Kipling's verses in it. I received two galley-proofs of this item, one of which I returned, corrected, to the publishers and one of which I retained. Then the literary agents who looked after Kipling's copyright, suddenly refused permission to publish the verses (on the principle of those days that anything not in the *Sussex Edition* was not by Kipling) and it was omitted from the volume, never even reaching page proofs . . . So my one galley-proof may be the only one in existence.

But it may be said that this does not count—certainly not as a first edition—since 'Selections from the Freer Verse Horace' had already been published. So take another example. In 1964 my elder son, then a schoolboy, printed on his miniature printing press an unpublished limerick by Kipling: 'To Helen. The Doll's House' in an edition of ten numbered copies 'printed in April 1964 at the Lancelyn Press'. Does this count as a rare Kipling item to be included in the next Kipling Bibliography?

### THE EARTH IS FLAT

About once every ten years—this is the third time since I have been editing the *Kipling Journal*—a 'Flat-Earth' Society turns up. This time in the *New York Times* of 26 February of this year (thanks to Professor Joseph R. Dunlap, the Secretary of our American branch), where

it is reported that the 'International Flat Earth Research Society contends that such an explanation 'as the Copernican system' is merely part of a gigantic hoax. The President of the Flat Earth Society, Charles K. Johnson, of Lancaster, California, believes that photographs taken from space accounts of space travel and virtually everything else connected with modern science are all part of the hoax.'

'Ever since Copernicus, the new religion—science they call it—has been trying to fool the people with this notion that the earth is a ball', Mr Johnson said in an interview. 'Starting around 1600, the facts were cast away by the priests of the new religion', he said, 'and the vast global con game began. They got most people to accept their hoax, but not us'.

'Mr Johnson said that the society he heads, which was founded in 1888, now has about 1,600 formal members in the United States, in addition to some 2,000 believing outsiders . . .'

R.L.G.

## THE KIPLINGS OF YORKSHIRE

by the Reverend Dr. Arthur R. Ankers, M.A.

(Given at a discussion meeting on 11 July 1979)

There have been Kiplings in Yorkshire for over a thousand years, their name ante-dating the Domesday Survey. According to *English Place Names*—(Yorkshire East Riding) the name derives from an old English word CYBEL which was the diminutive of Cubba. In the Domesday Book it has become Clinbin; in the Pipe Rolls of 1190 Kibbling, and later in the Yorkshire Feet of Fines, Kyplyn.

There are three place names in the County which stand today as reminders of this ancient family; they are Kiplin Hall near Scorton, Kiplincotes Farm near Market Weighton and Kipping House in Thornton near Bradford. They will tell you that Kiplin Hall has no connection with Rudyard but through one of those odd coincidences of history it has, in an indirect way. Early in the 17th century there occurred one of the greatest ever expansions of the English-speaking peoples. During the first fifty years some forty to fifty thousand people crossed the Atlantic and began colonising the Western world. Among the instigators of this movement was George Calvert, Secretary of State to James I and one of the best of the Stuart statesmen. In 1620 he received a pension of £1,000 per annum and set about building Kiplin Hall. Eventually having failed through illness and the harsh climate to found a settlement in Newfoundland he succeeded further South and, North of the Potomac River, established a settlement which Charles I named "Maryland" in honour of his Queen-Consort. A hundred years later the chief city was called Baltimore, the title conferred on George Calvert after his retirement from politics with the gift of large estates in Ireland. But the movement of colonisation of which Calvert had been an instigator did not stop until it had grown into an Empire on which "the sun never set" and whose chief "public relations officer" was Rudyard Kipling.

Kiplincotes Farm is the starting point of the oldest endowed horse-race in the country. It covers four and a half miles of the Yorkshire Wolds and is still an annual event, run in March each year. Kipping House near Bradford was the home of Elizabeth Firth, friend of the Bronte family, whose generosity sent the little Brontes to school

at Cowan Bridge and their early deaths. Later in life she refused an offer of marriage from the widowed Rev. Patrick, first examiner and minister of Lockwood Kipling's old school, Woodhouse Grove.

Apart from these ancient place-names there is little evidence of individuals bearing the Kipling name until 1618 when the names of Thomas and John Kipling appear in the list of holders of tenements at Angrum in the parish of Muker. Another Kipling is to be found at Bowes of Dothebys Hall fame (or infamy); this is William Kipling, an 18th century cattle-dealer who sent his son Thomas to Sedbergh School and thence to Worcester College Oxford, where he became a classical scholar and later Dean of Peterborough.

To discover Rudyard's more direct antecedents we have to consult the parish record of Lythe, a village to the North of Whitby. There we find quite a clutter of Kiplings, one of them, John Kipling, born 1730, died 1792, seems to be Rudyard's great great grandfather. According to local tradition it was in 1759 that he and his cousin, Luke Hansell of Nineteen Lands, crossed the great moor between Whitby and Guisborough where they heard John Wesley preach. From that day on the Kiplings became identified with North Yorkshire Methodism. John Kipling's son married Ann Hansell, his cousin's daughter, and on the death of Luke Hansell in 1818 became a farmer rather than a farm labourer having taken on the small farm.

Ann Hansell, who was to become Rudyard's great grandmother, has been described as "a stern, self-reliant woman with an abhorrence of all that was mean but sympathetic and full of charity". Feeling that the local Methodists were not being treated fairly by the local squire and parson she and her husband opened their cottage in Lythe as a meeting place. When the locals accused John of having turned Methody his reply was, "Nay, but they be better folk than you and me!" Later two cottages were converted into a meeting house and eventually pulled down and a chapel erected on the same site under John Kipling's leadership.

It was in this cottage in Lythe, then known as Briar Cottage, that Ann gave birth to her two sons: Joseph in 1805 and John in 1807. The two boys were fortunate in there being in the village an exceptional school-master. One of his most distinguished pupils was Robert Newton, son of a farmer in the neighbouring hamlet of Roxby. He entered the Wesleyan Ministry and became one of the most distinguished preachers of the day as well as an ecclesiastical statesman who was elected four times as President of the Conference, a record never surpassed; and this during the hey-day of the movement whose membership was increasing at a faster rate than that of the population. Inspired no doubt by this local preceptor Joseph and John borrowed books from the recently formed Whitby Literacy and Philosophical Institute and so furthered their education. The family seems to have inherited a farm at Great Edstone near Pickering and it was there that their father, John Kipling, died aged 61, but not before he had seen his son Joseph received into the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

Joseph Kipling, like most of his family was short in stature with a pale complexion and piercing black eyes. (One of the "black Yorkshiremen" referred to by Rudyard's mother when she sought to reassure her son re "a touch of the tar-brush") By nature he was gentle

and reserved but, on entering the pulpit, he was transformed into a picturesque and dramatic preacher with a style of his own (described as "quaint") whatever the significance of that word in those days. His sermons were clear and orderly in arrangement, displayed an intimate acquaintance with the Bible and were long remembered. They were delivered in a voice of rare sweetness, "such as would charm a bird off a bush". The Rev. Amos Baraclough who features in Rudyard's story, "On Greenhow Hill" might well have been modelled on Lockwood Kipling's recollections of his father and passed the outline of the story on to his son. (see introduction to *Life's Handicap*).

The Rev. Joseph wrote a beautiful and artistic hand, took a delight in music, was a keen naturalist who set down his observations with meticulous care. He loved gardening and gained the reputation of being a skilful horticulturist.

Late in 1835 Joseph, now a fully accredited Methodist Minister, married Frances Lockwood at Skelton in Cleveland, Yorkshire. Her father, William had begun life as a house-carpenter of Topcliffe near Thirsk though his family seems to have been centred in the Burley in Wharfedale-Addingham area and were also in the building trade. Eventually William developed into an architect of distinction although he died eight years before the founding of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Miss Frances Lockwood must have been a member of the Wesleyan Society for there was a strict directive in those days which ran, "The marriage of a preacher with a female not connected with our Society would be an instance of culpable imprudence, perilous to the comfort and usefulness of the preacher himself and likely to be injurious to the spiritual interests of our people."

The suggestion has been mooted that in marrying a Methodist Preacher, Frances contracted a mesalliance. The idea springs in part from Edwardian snobbery and still more from the failure to recognise the respect with which the Ministry was held by the new aristocracy of industrial and commercial magnates which was then emerging. It was an honour to have either a son or son-in-law in the Ministry. Thus we find that the Rev. Dr. Robert Newton (already referred to) married Miss Elizabeth Nodes of Skelton Hall near York, whilst the famous MacDonald family, into which the Rev. Joseph's son was to marry, numbered among their close friends families like the Thorneycrofts of Wolverhampton, the John Hartleys of Tong Castle, Shropshire, and Henry Hartley Fowler, later Lord Wolverhampton and a member of Queen Victoria's cabinet, not to mention the Baldwins of Stourport whose memorials decorate the walls of the Methodist Church there.

Rudyard has described his grandmother as "an old-fashioned Puritan Saint with a face like a chaste cameo". This gives a somewhat prejudiced picture of the old lady for she was also known to be a woman of shrewd common sense and "practicability" who retained her clear intellect, charm and sense of humour right up to the hour of her death at the age of 86. During their childhood and youth Rudyard and his sister used to stay with their widowed grandmother in Skipton and on at least one occasion Rudyard was in disgrace. With the family he was a guest at the wedding of a local worthy in nearby Carleton Church. He Was caught sketching the guests and expelled. It seems



that already the reporter in him was trying to get out!

The lot of the Rev. Joseph Kipling was cast in what has been described as "the most toilsome of circuits". In practical terms this means that his penultimate charge, the Pateley Bridge Circuit, covered 400 square miles of rugged terrain, included 28 chapels over which Kipling had to exercise superintendency with the help of one colleague and 36 lay preachers. The local records tell of two visits paid to the Lodge Chapel in the winter of 1858 up the slopes of Great Whernside. For such labours his material rewards amounted to a rent-free and furnished manse plus £120 per annum. On this his family of two boys and four girls seem to have lived in comparative comfort, an example of plain living and high thinking one suspects!

Whilst Joseph was pursuing his high calling as a minister of the gospel, his brother John carried on the work of the farm at Great Edstone. He was a Methodist lay leader in those parts and was later described by one of his nieces, Jane Kipling, as "a gifted man who wrote." R. T. Gaskin, the local historian of Whitby, knew him well and described him as possessing the gift of poetical composition. He was also most eloquent and when preaching, "Words flowed from him in an impetuous torrent". He retired to Sleights near Whitby and died at the ripe old age of 93.

To return to the Rev. Joseph, his wife Frances and their six children, two boys, John and Joseph, and four girls. According to Hilton Brown the children alternated between apple-blossom blondes and Spanish brunettes. With his golden beard and blue eyes their first-born, John (later Lockwood), must have come under the first named category. At the tender age of eight John was entered at Woodhouse Grove, the Northern school for the sons of the ministry established at Apperley Bridge in 1812 as a companion to John Wesley's Kingswood School near Bristol which dates from 1739.

An advertisement for the property appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of 25th July 1811. It was described somewhat quaintly as, "an elegant mansion house adapted for the residence of a large genteel family". It had stabling for 12 horses, a double coach house, a farm conveniently detached with a big barn, cow house and pigging house. The pleasure garden covered 12 acres being laid out with taste and beauty. For miles around the country was ornamented by the seats of many families of distinction; the River Aire wound in front and afforded fine trout fishing whilst the countryside abounded in game.

Unfortunately, when little John Kipling arrived from Bridlington where his parents then lived, it was the Hungry Forties and money in short supply, the school being supported by Church Funds. Thus conditions were somewhat spartan. John was put in a dormitory with 40 other boys who slept in wooden cribs. Typhus, rheumatic fever and a variety of other diseases were rife and it was not uncommon for boys to die whilst at school. John Kipling was taken seriously ill but recovered. Two years after he entered there were considerable extensions including two large and airy dormitories, a new kitchen and dining hall.

Because funds were low the best teachers could not be afforded. Nevertheless John was put to study Latin, French, Mathematics and Scripture and, according to the late Wyndham Baldwin, he always acknowledged the splendid grounding received through the Methodist

educational system. When, at the age of 14, he left the Grove it was in possession of "a universal curiosity, an exacting diligence and a prodigious capacity for work".

In 1851, the year of his departure from Woodhouse Grove, John was taken on a visit to the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, an event which was to shape his whole future. He felt his inclinations lay in the direction of arts and crafts and his parents must have agreed. The next years of his youth and young manhood are somewhat indistinct but it might well be that, on leaving school, John was put in the care of the Methodist family called Pinder of the Burslem firm of Pinder Bourne and Co., Mr. Pinder was a leader in the local chapel and would be considered a suitable guardian for a boy who had led a most sheltered life. (When the railway station was built next to the Grove it was feared that the employees' language might corrupt the boys). John seems to have won a scholarship to an Art school in South Kensington where he studied design and modelling under Philip Cunliffe Owen. He also had a part in the building of the Victoria and Albert Museum for his head appears on a frieze designed by Geoffrey Sykes along with other officials and artists involved in the project.

In 1862 we find him back in Burslem and in association with his friends the Pinder family. Here he met the newly-appointed minister, fresh from a distinguished two years at Owen's College, Manchester, Frederic MacDonald, son of the Rev. George Browne MacDonald, one of the early scholars of Woodhouse Grove and, for one year, an usher there. On account of his academic attainments, instead of being sent to one of the Methodist Theological Institutions Frederic had been pitch-forked directly into Circuit life. His father, now retired through ill-health was living 35 miles away in Wolverhampton and it was natural that Fred's sisters should pay him a visit in his first appointment. It was also natural that he should introduce to them his new friend, John Kipling. Thus it was that Alice MacDonald met her future husband, some say at nearby Rudyard Lake, a reservoir built to replenish the Trent and Mersey Canal and a local beauty spot. The rewards for art in those days were meagre and it was not until three years had elapsed that John and Alice were able to marry. The wedding took place at St. Mary Abbot's Church, Kensington, and the reception was held at the home of Edward Burne Jones, Alice's brother-in-law. On 18th March 1865, John signed his name John Lockwood Kipling, for the first time, a self-appointed label which has identified him ever since and one of much help to his biographers. The honeymoon was spent in Skipton via Wolverhampton and on 12th April of that year Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood Kipling set sail for India where John had obtained a post at an art school. They sailed aboard the s.s. *Ripon*, and on 30th December of the same year Alice gave birth to her first-born, baptized Joseph Rudyard in Bombay Cathedral; "Joseph" after his grandfather (a name which he never used) and "Rudyard" after the place where his parents either first met or "plighted their troth".

So much for the Yorkshire background to the Kipling family; to what extent, if any, was it reflected in Rudyard's character, life and work?

In a letter written from Vermont in 1896 to a Dr. Vaughan Bateson of Bradford whom the Kiplings had known both in India and in England, Rudyard wrote, "If you yourself were not a Yorkshireman I

might well have used most vigorous language when you suggest I MAY have Yorkshire blood in my veins. I am the grandson of the Rev. Joseph Kipling of Pateley Brigg (sic) and son of Lockwood Kipling born in Skipton in Craven [. . . strange error in one renowned for accuracy in matters of detail. ] We used to be small Nidderdale yeomen and I believe that, in a humble way, few stocks carry back purer Yorkshire blood for so long a time. I think we were West Riding for a matter of 200 years, a thing of which I am not a little proud".

In spite of this alleged pride in his origins, the portraits Kipling presents of Yorkshire folk are far from flattering. Consider for example Silas Riley in "A Bank Fraud". He is described as, "a long raw-boned Yorkshireman full of that savage self-conceit that blossoms only in the best county in England." (*Plain Tales* p.188). Or take the case of Nafferton in "Pig" (*Plain Tales* p.223): "a peculiar man and his notions of humour were cruel . . . a dalesman from beyond Skipton will forgive an injury when the Strid lets a man live."

The best known of Kipling's Yorkshire characters is undoubtedly John Learoyd of that infamous trio known as "Soldiers Three". There are still Learoyds in North Yorkshire and this one is described as "six and a half feet of slow-moving, heavy-footed Yorkshireman, born on the Wolds, bred in the Dales, educated among the carriers carts at the back of York Station whose chief virtue was unmitigated patience which helped him to win fights . . . He lived coarsely, heavily in the memory of something fragile, delicate and refined . . . a girl dying of consumption who miraculously cared for him, an illiterate miner, for all that he had followed the Devil and gone for a soldier" Angus Wilson, p.80.

If Kipling's portraits of Yorkshiremen are unflattering his descriptions of Yorkshire Methodists are near to libellous. ". . . but for cast-iron pride of respectability there's naught like poor chapel-folk. It's as cold as th' wind o' Greenhow Hill—aye and colder for twill never change." *Life's Handicap* p.87.

Finally, what, if any, Yorkshire characteristics appear in Rudyard's own character?

In a lecture given before this Society in 1937 Vaughan Bateson submits the following—"a sense of proportion, a sane and healthy outlook on life, love of truth, a passion for work, the abhorrence of self-advertisement and the Puritan strain of his ancestors." To this catalogue I would add an extraordinary reticence regarding his private feelings and affairs; a capacity for taking pains so that, according to Cicely Nicholson, his secretary, every line, every phrase, every paragraph was polished and re-polished between three and five times before being presented for publication.

Lastly, I see in Kipling a self-confessed preacher. Whether he had a cause to plead, a fault to castigate or a warning to sound he was a true chip off the old block. Indeed, he himself was ready to acknowledge this. In a letter to his cousin, Florence MacDonald, he wrote, "Three generations of Methodist Preachers lie behind me—the pulpit streak will come out!" (*Methodist Times* Jan 23rd 1936).

One wonders if there is not a bit of self-portraiture in the story of Aurelian McGoggin (*Plain Tales* p109). "His grandfathers on both sides had been Wesleyan Preachers and the preaching strain came out in his mind." True, McGoggin's doctrines bore no resemblance to

those preached by his Wesleyan forebears (they were the antithesis of them) for "he wanted everyone in the Club to see that they had no souls too and to help him eliminate his Creator." But in the end the God of his fathers lost patience with McGoggin. "The collapse came as dramatically as if it had been meant to embellish a Tract" for in the very moment of uttering yet another declaration of unbelief he was struck dumb and so remained for two days. No doubt the readers of the *Methodist Magazine* which Rudyard's great grandfather had edited would have approved such retribution—that is unless they felt that the Almighty had been a trifle lenient.

## THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KING

by Oliver B. Pollak

*The Man Who Would be King*, completed in December 1888 has frequently been acclaimed as Kipling at his best and marking the end of what is commonly called his apprenticeship. One of his longer Indian pieces "the story is susceptible of innumerable interpretations."<sup>1</sup> It has recently been appropriated by filmmakers. The 1975, 129 minute screen production directed by John Huston and starring Sean Connery, Michael Cain and Christopher Plummer, lasts longer than it takes to read the 15,000 word short story. While the movie conveys the fantastic, heroic, romantic and mystic it misses the fine print of the mechanics of empire in which Kipling though only 22 was so well versed. It is these mechanics of empire and their maintenance that form the subject of this paper.

The adventuring vagabonds Peachey Taliaferro Carnehan and Daniel Dravot shift around India on the subcontinental skeleton of British control, the steam railway. While occupying an Intermediate carriage they deny the reality of their declassé status and look condescendingly upon the Indian middle class who also travel this mode. They utilize the electric telegraph, another British improving innovation, to arrange meetings and make the delivering of a message a vehicle for highlighting the Victorian notion of doing one's duty without reward. The protagonists claim a range of past occupations which are uniquely tied to British power, technology, communication and concept of the cavalier amateur. They served as soldier, sailor, compositor, photographer, proof-reader, street preacher, correspondents, boiler-fitters, engine-drivers and petty contractors. Nineteenth century knight errants were jacks of all trades.

Their goal is to *Sar-a-whack*, to create a personal kingdom as Raja Brooke had done earlier in the century. Kafiristan however is not an island but a remote range of hills, whose modern name is Nuristan, in eastern Afghanistan which borders on India, Russia and China. Why Kafiristan, one of the remotest parts of the 19th century world which makes Albania look cosmopolitan? In 1885-86 Colonel William Lock-intelligence mission." Although the book based on these travels did hard led the first Europeans into the area on a "highly confidential not appear until 1889 the rumour and information hungry Anglo-Indian community followed the mission with interest."<sup>2</sup>

Carnehan and Dravot acquired their knowledge of the region from 14 years in India and service with Roberts's army in Afghanistan in 1878. The various British difficulties in Afghanistan, dating back to the 'signal catastrophe' of 1839 are glossed euphemistically in a vague description of terrain and people:

You have to travel through Afghanistan to get to that country. It's one mass of mountains and peaks and glaciers, and no Englishman has been through it. The people are utter brutes, and even if you reached them you couldn't do anything.

They plan to interpose themselves between warring groups, mediate and raise a small army with their 20 Martini rifles providing the fire-power core. The characters have a fatal flaw. These vigorous men swear off liquor and women until they accomplish their grandiose goal.

After a heroic struggle they reach their destination where they meet fair men with yellow hair. This (Aryan race, apparently dating back to at least Alexander the Great and the fourth century B.C. have preserved their racial traits from mixing by isolation. The wandering pair bring peace to the first feuding factions they find by a timely demonstration of superior firepower and proceed to outdo their hosts with ritual:

For each dead man Dravot pours a little milk on the ground and waves his arms like a Whirligig and, 'That's all right,' says he. Then he and Carnehan takes the big boss of each village by the arm and walks them down into the valley, and shows them how to scratch a line with a spear right down the valley, and gives each a sod of turf from both sides o' the line.

The ceremony closes with Dravot's pastoral and civilizing injunction, "Go and dig the land, and be fruitful and multiply." Firepower had made the pair leaders among the clans. Their association with freemasonry would transform Dravot into a mystical deity and as they take possession of the kingdom Dravot intones to Peachey, "we don't want to fight no more. The Craft's the trick so help me!"

Military and economic development went on apace. Within six months an army with a combination of the original 20 martinis, Herat manufactured martinis and Kohat Jezails was drilling regularly. Ploughs turned the earth and rope bridges crossed previously separating chasms.

Success bred megalomania. Visions of forging a nation, striking into Russia's underbelly and creating a world empire whir in Dravot's head. He then turns to take a wife to insure his posterity and breaks the contract. The unwilling bride scratches him, draws blood and exposes his mortality. The dissaffected priests bolt. The "native" troops, reminiscent of the 1857 mutiny, are unreliable. The pair flee from the enraged populace. Dravot dies flinging himself from one of his rope bridges into the chasm below. Carnehan survives crucifixion to take his story back to India and the editor of the *Backwoodsman*. He dies a few days later in an asylum by the Superintendent's account "suffering from sunstroke."

Historians note that each generation rewrites its history. This phenomenon is compounded by the diversity of scholarly disciplines, including literary and film criticism, as well as the national perspective and sensitivities of the reviewer. Rudyard Kipling and his art within the past fifteen years, hardly a generation, has been the focus of two-

multi-authored studies with thirtyone contributors edited by Rutherford (1964) and Gross (1972) and a useful exhumation of sixty selections of Kipling criticism by his contemporaries, by the editor of the *Kipling Journal*.<sup>3</sup>

Kipling was a chronicler of his times and his imperial inheritance. He recognized the techniques of acquisition as well as the methods of control and pondered their longevity. Expanding empires continuously exhibited power and invincibility. A static empire permitted few openings for the energetic among the dominant class and invited the subjugated to question and test impregnability. British India had by the 1880's expanded to its limits with the buffer zones between it and the Ottoman empire in the middle east, the continental Russian empire in Central Asia and the French empire in Southeast Asia uncomfortably narrow. How then could empire continue to grow? How could its continuity be assured?

A limited number of energetic individuals with a self-proclaimed mission and technological expertise had the capacity to control far larger numbers of people. Kipling's reference to Raja Brooke draws from the early 19th century while the tactic of mediating between warring oriental potentates derives from the 18th century. Kipling anachronistically transposes the known exploits of earlier generations into a late 19th century locale of increasing interest.

Empires are human and corporate, that is they reflect dynastic bloodlines and institutions which transcend personality. The fatal flaw in Dravot's character addresses a weakness in the British Indian empire. The British maintained their power in India while isolating themselves from the masses they governed and by creating immortal institutions. Lack of social integration permitted the separated majority to shift from being passively estranged to active alienation. In India during the 1880's impersonal British rule was itself being questioned by the newly created Indian National Congress. Dravot's desire for a wife reveals his human biologic need for posterity as much as for female companionship. In either case, in exposing the human side of rule he loses his power to overawe—"you cannot be God and a sensuous human being."<sup>4</sup>

Empire is associated with romantic conquistadorian madness. The movie version does not capture this. German and French empire oriented films as *Aguirre, the wrath of God* (1975) and *Black and White in Colour* (1976) have been more successful. Men who go to the frontier, who take such chances, who seek so high and uncommon goals, tread a tightrope between sanity and aberration, hence the deranged nature of Dravot's and Carnehan's last days and deaths.

Victorian civilization and British power in India are symbolized by the railway, telegraph, power of the press, firepower, contrast between an ordered India and anarchy across the border and the potential for "improving" diverse classes and races. Precisely who these attributes benefitted more, Indian or Briton, has long been debated. *The Man Who Would Be King* indicates the tenuous nature of rule.

## NOTES

- 1 Louis L. Cornell, *Kipling in India* (New York: St. Martins, 1966), p. 162. The most extensive scholarly treatment of *The Man Who Would Be King* is by Paul Fussell, Jr. "Irony, freemasonry, and humane ethics

- in Kipling's "The Man who would be king," *English Literary History*, XXV, 1958, 216-33.
2. Schuyler Jones, *Men of influence in Nuristan* (London: Seminar Press, 1974), p.xi-xii.
  3. Andrew Rutherford, ed., *Kipling's mind and art* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1964); John Gross, ed., *Kipling: the man, his work and world* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972) and Roger Lancelyn Green, *Kipling: The critical heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971).
  4. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling: Realist and fabulist* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 156.

## REVENGE

DISCUSSION MEETING 11th APRIL 1979

Mr T. L. A. Daintith

After assuring us that his talk had nothing to do with Sir Richard Grenville, the speaker produced a few statistics and a dictionary of definition; after commenting on the high proportion of stories containing the 'Revenge' motif, he proceeded to examine some fifty examples at a speed which demanded instant recall and intense concentration. It was fascinating, and the small but select audience paid him the well-deserved compliment of close attention.

Musing on Kipling's reasons for writing so many stories containing this element, Mr. Daintith observed that the English are not a vengeful race and do not—unlike some others, nurse a grudge for long. He believed that Kipling's mixed ancestry might produce an answer and that such a theory was worthy of study. He went in for revenge from the first—*The Three Musketeers*, *Pig* and *Watches of the Night*—how, in the last, the Colonel's wife fell into the pit she had dug for herself, as the others remained silent and permitted it to happen: passive revenge, rather than active, which is the theme of *Dray Wara Yow Dee*.

*The Man who Was* showed cold-blooded Oriental revenge, similarly *The Mark of the Beast* and *The Return of Imray*. The speaker then looked at *Bertran and Bimi* and *Reingelder and the German Flag*, two macabre stories of a similar nature.

Another example of a character being hoist with his own petard is *The Finances of the Gods*.

Mr. Daintith then looked at some of the soldier stories and emphasised the vindictiveness of Ortheris when he was out to shoot the deserter who disturbed his sleep! The two threads of revenge in *On Greenhow Hill* and the different characters of Mulvaney, Ortheris and Learoyd. In the case of *The Limitations of Pambé Serang* he was of opinion that your Reporter would not nurse a grudge for years (little did he know . . .!) like Pambé the Malay and compared the feud with the Sicilian vendetta and Hill-Billy tribal wars. Still with the Oriental theme in mind, he noticed *One View of the Question* which contains veiled instructions for at least three murders for real or fancied insults.

On the other hand, *His Private Honour*, (Kipling's punning titles are worth investigation) shows revenge sacrificed for what can only be described as a good punch-up which seems to have delighted both parties! There were no winners in the dreadful "Love-o'-Women" or *The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot*.

Corporal Slane who marries his Jhansi in style comes out a winner in *The Matter of a Private* and so, up to a point, does Simmons, who has his revenge on Losson, who had it coming to him anyway.

Revenge backfiring—literally—is the theme of *Black Jack* with Mulvaney as the *deus ex machina*.

*The Jungle Books* proved a fruitful source of stories of revenge and poetic justice—in most cases pretty savage, as also shown in *A Walking Delegate*, while *The Devil and the Deep Sea* gives an account of an elaborate retribution worked on 'some foreign Power' for its ill-treatment of nautical miscreants.

The speaker then looked at *'Bread upon the Waters'* and wondered about the fourteen year quarrel between McRimmon and Holdock, Steiner & Chase: it is not explained in the text and may well be another example of Kipling's cutting.

The 'Stalky' stories mainly comply with M'Turk's book on Japanese wrestling—let the other chap do all the work and then upset himself!

*A Sahibs' War* is straightforward Oriental revenge modified by a touch of Western mercy, while *Steam Tactics* and *The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat* are rip-roaring stories of carefully-calculated revenge for its own sake.

*The Mother Hive* shows how revolutions devour their own children and *Little Foxes* gives an amusing account of an interfering politician who abuses an after-dinner confidence and is very properly ridiculed by the very people he thought he was rescuing from oppression: the joke being improved by the fact that they did not know they were being oppressed and preferred the Governor's methods anyway!

*The Honours of War* is more concerned with practical jokes, while *Mary Postgate* has been the subject of considerable study: "*Swept and Garnished*" shows the other side of the coin.

Mr. Daintith then wondered about the nationality of the neutral in *Sea Constables*, looked at *The Bull that Thought* and considered the differences between the French and Spanish systems of bullfighting.

Hickman—*A Friend of the Family*—was a good hater but would the fuzes of Mills-bombs have been recognisable after the explosions?

The elaborate scheme in *Dayspring Mishandled* was then considered—revenge which comes to nothing in the end—and *The Tie*: a curious story!

*Beauty Spots*—another punning title—and a terrible revenge on a man who really had it coming to him. On the other hand, Christian forgiveness is shown by the good Curé in *The Miracle of St. Jubanus* and by a pagan in *The Church that was at Antioch*.

Finally, the speaker looked at *Baa, Baa, Black Sheep* and *The Light that Failed*, and quoted Kipling's ". . . drained me of any capacity for real, personal hate for the rest of my days." Mr. Daintith considered the different views of Kipling's schooldays and concluded that childhood memories were not always accurate, and that he



had decided that revenge was not really worth it, in that a life devoted to such a pursuit left no time for the important things.

The discussion ranged over the various kinds of revenge noted by Kipling—real and fake, unbloodthirsty and, occasionally, ridicule, especially when the victim is unable to laugh at himself.

This was an interesting and amusing examination of an important theme, for which Mr. Daintith duly received the thanks of the meeting.

J H Mc G

## LETTER BAG

### CATCHPHRASES IN KIPLING

'Where have you come from?' said I.

'From the East,' said he. 'And I am hoping that you will give him the message on the Square—for the sake of my Mother as well as your own.'

*The Man who would be King*

That is probably the quotation that Mr. Paul Beale (Journal No. 208) is seeking—full of messages for those who are in the know!

I find it difficult to distinguish between *catchphrases in Kipling* and *catchphrases of Kipling*, but recall 'How's your father' as a remark in a certain rhythm followed by the reply 'All Right!' and as a synonym for a word which the speaker has forgotten or does not know.

J. H. MCGIVERING

### PLAGIARISM?

I have just read your discussion of the Birkenhead biography with the attention it deserves. But something remains to be said about the unpleasant issue of plagiarism.

In one case at least Birkenhead's guilt is unquestionable. On p.359 he writes of George Orwell's "fatuous generalization", that "his ability to comment" on Kipling was entirely vitiated" by his dislike, that his criticisms are meaningless and ludicrous, grudging and surly: "the hatred is naked" (p. 360). Yet, on pp.365-6, we find the following:—

'Nor did Kipling appear to realize that many of his lines, thus mangled, would not only have been improved but even rendered beautiful by being translated from cockney into standard English.

"As, if we omit the cockney:

So it's knock out your pipes and follow me!

And it's finish up your swipes and follow me!

Oh, hark to the big drum calling,

Follow me—follow me home!

"Or,

Cheer for the sergeant's wedding—

Give them one cheer more!

Grey gun horses in the landau,

And a rogue is married to a whore."

Anyone who will refer to Orwell's essay on Kipling (to be found on pp. 184-197 of the second volume of his *Collected Essays, Letters and Journalism*) will find exactly the same point made, with exactly the same examples, in the piece that Birkenhead took so much trouble to malign.

It is also my impression that the biographer lifted material, without acknowledgement, from the study of Kipling by Edward Shanks; but it would take too much of your space to go into that matter at the moment.

HUGH BROGAN

### "TRIX" AND OTHERS

Early in March 1979 Messrs Nestlé published in an advertisement a Literary Crossword, 13 Down seems to have given difficulty. 'Sister of Kipling's!' was the clue; three letters, E blank A. During the next ten days the Honorary Secretary had twenty six telephone calls and five written inquiries on the subject. He became quite practised at saying 'Sister EVA is a character in a story called *The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot* described as "the youngest and most impressionable of the Little Sisters of the Red Diamond" . . .'

Then, reading proofs for the Journal, he saw a reference to Kipling's sister 'Beatrice'. 'Should this not read Alice?' he wrote in the margin. The next day, consulting THE LESS FAMILIAR KIPLING AND KIPLINGANA by G. F. Monkshood (Jarrod & Sons, 1917), who does he find but Kipling's sister 'Beatrice' again, on pp 61 & 63!

Lord Birkenhead tells us, on p.13 of RUDYARD KIPLING (Wiedenfeld & Nicolson 1978) that Lockwood was shy of the baby and when she was five months old said that she was a 'tricksy baby'. From then on she became 'Trixie' or 'Trix' to all the family. 'Trix' can easily change to 'Beatrice'.

Of course the whole matter is completely clarified by Dorothy Adelson's authoritative article in Journal No. 204, December 1977. But would someone kindly ask Rudyard Kipling's female siblings, real, fictional or fictitious, to stop sitting around on the Honorary Secretary's work-table?

JOHN SHEARMAN

### THE PROVENANCE OF MRS. BATHURST

It is well known that Kipling's inspiration for the character of Mrs. Bathurst derived from a barmaid he had once glimpsed in New Zealand. I have not seen any speculation about the name Bathurst, yet a cursory glance at the various Bathurst entries in the *Dictionary of National Biography* reveals one or two small details which may possibly have appealed to Kipling's imagination had he ever consulted the *DNB*. The most intriguing of the Bathursts for readers of Kipling's story must surely be Benjamin (1784-1809), third son of Henry Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich. In 1809. Benjamin Bathurst, a diplomatist, was envoy to the court of Vienna. Returning to England with important despatches, he left Berlin with passports from the Prussian government, and travelled towards Hamburg without a servant. Between Berlin and Hamburg he disappeared into thin air, the only clue

to his disappearance being a small portion of his clothing. His presumed death has never been explained. Clearly his disappearance was as complete and as ambiguous as Mrs. Bathurst's.

Although there are small crossword-puzzle clues in several of the Bathurst entries which might appeal to Kipling readers, I will confine myself to just one more. Henry, the second Earl Bathurst (1717-1794), rose above his competence to become Lord Chancellor. He was married twice. His first wife died in 1758 after four years of marriage. He married his second wife, by whom he had six children, in 1759. The *DNB* states that "the *Case of the unfortunate Martha Sophia Swordfeager* (1771), an unhappy woman who was apparently entrapped into a pretended marriage, is attributed to the pen of Lord Bathurst." The earl's two marriages probably have no bearing on Vickery's story, but the case of the pretended marriage is certainly intriguing in the light of Vickery's possible bigamy. Did Kipling read the *DNB*?

T. L. WILLIAMS

Victoria, B.C.

### **KIPLING'S WORST SLIP**

R.L.G. in "News and Notes" for June, 1978, writes in "*Something of Myself* (p.212), Kipling wrote: "Luckily the men of the seas and the engine room do not write to the Press, and my worst slip is still underided." This definite reference makes it certain that he was not referring to 'Winning the Victoria Cross'."

I am a little puzzled by this. William Hall (the Nova Scotian V.C. in 'Winning the Victoria Cross' was himself a "Man of the Sea". He was serving with H.M.S. Shannon when he won his V.C. And, having served in the British, American and Chinese Navies, he would certainly have been known to quite a few other "Men of the Sea".

SHAMUS O. D. WADE

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We welcome to membership: U.K., Miss M. E. Brown; Lord Blake; Messrs J. R. Gambling; M. C. Jones; C. Leitch; R. G. C. McVittie; J. E. Phillips; M. L. Spargo. Australia, Miss R. Carpenter; Mrs T. Rensch; Mr P. Thakur. U.S.A., Michigan State University (Library Serials). South Africa, Mrs. C. Harbottle.

### **BACK NUMBERS OF THE JOURNAL**

Copies of all the issues of the Journal from No. 1 (March 1927) to No. 210 (June 1979) can be obtained from the Society's Office. A few are photo-copies, but most are originals. Here is an opportunity for Members to fill the gaps in their collection and for new readers to discover many items of interest about Rudyard Kipling and his works. Price £1.00 per issue, post free in the United Kingdom.

### **APOLOGY**

The Reverend Dr. Arthur Ankers has had his name mis-spelled in the Journal. Apologies from the Hon. Secretary, who was responsible for the mistake.

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