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KIPLING JOURNAL



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There is much to interest members of the Kipling Society, and there are not infrequently items directly related to Kipling's writings. We have recently published an article by George Webb on *The Irish Guards in the Great War*; another by Peter Lewis on *The War in the Mountains*, Kipling's evocative impression of the Italian front in 1917; and two reviews of new collections of Kipling. We have further items of this sort in mind.

The annual subscription for 1992 is £44 — but for members of the Kipling Society there is a special rate, £39.50. Enquiries and remittances to the *AQ & DJ*, 1 West Street, Tavistock PL19 8DS, Devon, England.

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## SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

### FORTHCOMING EVENTS, FROM NOVEMBER 1992

**Wednesday 18 November 1992** from 5.30 to 7.30 p.m., in the Special Collections Room of the Library, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1, an informal **Evening in the Society's Library** – by kind permission of the University Librarian, John McGuirk. Drinks will be available in the Staff Bar on the 6th floor. (For instructions on how to get there, see the enclosed leaflet, sent to United Kingdom addresses only; or telephone Mrs Lewis, 0491-38046.)

**Wednesday 10 February 1993** and

**Wednesday 14 April 1993** at 5.30 for 6 p.m., at Brown's Hotel (Dover & Albemarle Streets, London W1) – programmes to be announced in the next issue of the *Kipling Journal*.

**Wednesday 5 May 1993** at 12.30 for 1 p.m., at the Royal Overseas League (Park Place, off St James's, London W1), the Society's **Annual Luncheon**. Fuller particulars, and the name of our Guest of Honour, will be announced in the next issue of the *Kipling Journal* – which will also enclose an application form for members resident in the United Kingdom.

**Wednesday 14 July 1993** and

**Wednesday 15 September 1993** at 5.30 for 6 p.m., at Brown's Hotel (as above) – programmes to be announced.

*Note:* For certain other events relating to Kipling but not connected with the Society, see the first item under "Points from Other Letters" in the present issue.



LITTLE TOOMAI AND KALA NAG. A lyrical episode in "Toomai of the Elephants" (*The Jungle Book*), when the boy, "all alone among the elephant-fodder", sat contentedly thumping his borrowed tom-tom "as the stars began to come out". [For the attribution of this fine woodcut, see another at page 8.]

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[see over]

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"HE JUMPED UP IN THE AIR . . ."

" . . . and just under him whizzed the head of Nagaina . . . and he heard her savage hiss as the stroke missed." A critical moment in "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" (*The Jungle Book*) when, thanks to Darzee, Nag's calculated prevarication fails in its object. Another illustration [see page 6; also page 20 of our March 1992 issue] by the accomplished artist, Zdeněk Burian, in *Knihy Džunglí* (Albatros, Prague, 1965) – *The Jungle Books* translated into Czech by Aloys and Hana Skoumalovi.

## EDITORIAL

### JOHN KIPLING'S GRAVE

In September 1915 Kipling's only son John, a well-considered young subaltern of the Irish Guards, was killed in the Battle of Loos. His death was not at once established: he had been seen leading his men in action, he had been seen wounded, after which – like many fellow-victims of the confusion and obliteration that typified the carnage of the Western Front – he had disappeared.

He was listed 'missing', and the likelihood that he had been killed was obvious; but for some time his parents hoped he might have been taken prisoner. Attempts were made through neutral channels to establish if this were so. Moreover his father's standing was such that the Royal Flying Corps took the unusual step of dropping leaflets over the enemy lines near Loos, to ask for German help in ascertaining whether this "son of the world-famous author" ("Sohne des weltberühmten Schriftstellers") was dead or alive. No news was ever received; the assumption that he had been killed in action hardened; and he was eventually listed as such in the relevant appendix to *The Irish Guards in the Great War* — Kipling's monumental literary tribute to his son's regiment.

To say that John's parents never fully recovered from his death – as though parents should be expected to – is a truism of Kipling biography. But undoubtedly an addition to their grief was the fact that his body had never been found – that is, identified. It comes therefore as a notable event, no less tinged with irony and melancholy for the passage of the years, that a confident identification by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission has now at last been made.

The actual detective facts are mundane, devoid of drama, but they reflect credit on the vigilance of a member of the War Graves Commission staff, who noticed an apparent anomaly in the records and took the trouble to investigate it.

The basic clue was no more than a discrepant map-reference. The Commission's general map of the Loos area was partitioned by squares, on the usual grid basis. One large bloc of such squares comes under the overall heading 'G'; the adjacent bloc, to the east, is 'H'.

The anomaly was as follows. The body of an unidentified Lieutenant of the Irish Guards, on being re-buried long ago at St Mary's Cemetery north of Loos, had been listed as having been recovered from a map-reference in the 'G' series, five miles west of

Loos: yet it appeared from campaign records, on recent investigation, that the Irish Guards had never been in action (had certainly not lost an officer) at the place specified. On the other hand, the simple transposition of 'H' for 'G' would pinpoint the exact location, near Chalk Pit Wood north-east of Loos, where John Kipling had disappeared.

Because the battle of September/October 1915 was the only action involving the Irish Guards near Loos, and because John Kipling was the only missing Irish Guards Lieutenant whose body was still unaccounted for, from that action, it is beyond doubt that the new identification of him is correct. The Commission are duly altering the headstone – hitherto shown as that of an unknown soldier – to show John Kipling's details.

The erroneous map-reference, direct cause of the Kiplings' enhanced sense of loss, can readily enough be explained. The task of locating, identifying and re-interring the dead of the Western Front was gigantic, and for years unremitting. Some errors must have occurred. In this case, there had been casualties in both the 'G' and 'H' areas; the dividing line intersected Chalk Pit Wood itself; so if there was a misattribution, to the extent of one letter of the alphabet, on the part of a clerk in a Labour Company seventy years ago, it is understandable.

## NAULAKHA

While in the U.S.A. recently, I visited Brattleboro, Vermont, where Kipling once lived; and called at Naulakha, the curiously imposing house he built there on a fine site in 1892-3 – as he vividly and nostalgically recounted in *Something of Myself*.

I went by invitation of the new owners, the admirable Landmark Trust, to see how their ambitious plans to restore and refurbish the long-neglected house and grounds were progressing. I was given a detailed tour by the Trust's project manager, whose enthusiastic commitment was most contagious. He has agreed to write an illustrated account of his task for the *Kipling Journal*.

The work on Naulakha, which will be elaborate, radical and thorough, was at an early stage; but on completion in 1993 it will have brought about the conscientious restoration of that striking house to its original configuration – modified only by some modern requirements of safety and convenience. It will then be available, in conformity with the standard practice of the Landmark Trust, to receive guests — including, I hope, many members of our Society.

**A NEW STUDY OF KIPLING'S POETRY**

The first page of our June 1992 issue carried an advertisement for a new book by Ann Parry, recently Chairman of the Kipling Society's Council. This is *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling* [Open University Press, 168 pages including 25 of references; available in paperback at £12.99], which was published in July.

It is an important contribution to the study of a subject which has not, I think, had a book devoted to it before. I must make clear, though, that despite its title it does not attempt to address the whole range of Kipling's poetry: it could not anyway treat adequately so broad a subject in so narrow a compass. Rather, as indicated by its sub-title ("Rousing the Nation"), it focuses on the significance of Kipling's output of what one might call 'imperialistic', 'journalistic', 'political' or 'military' verse, notably the collections in which a calculated underlying theme may be discerned – *Departmental Ditties*, *Barrack-Room Ballads*, *The Seven Seas*, *The Five Nations* and *The Years Between*.

It is not, therefore, a general critical analysis of Kipling's prosody, nor a literary examination of his style. However, it is no less interesting for that, being a social and cultural historian's objective account of the background against which Kipling wrote his more political and polemical verse; of the audiences he cultivated, the targets he assailed, the causes he made his own, the popular impact he had, and the price he paid.

Mrs Parry has legitimate doubts about Kipling's place in the highest poetic tradition of English letters (though the parameters of her study actually exclude some of his finest poetry): she has none at all about his towering stature as a publicist – and that is the central subject of the book. There she speaks with the authority of careful scholarship. Her work is well researched, helpfully annotated, skilfully woven together from disparate source material, and easy to read (though not totally immune from echoes of contemporary analytical jargon).

The book is specially useful for the lateral light it casts on the timing and 'message' of some of Kipling's best-known verse — which it is always well to read against the political, social and intellectual environment that existed when it was written. In fact it is a worthy contribution towards a chronic critical need. Because Kipling had a lifelong interest in the political events of his day; and because the Empire and the whole international system that he knew have passed away; and because, with more or less intrusiveness, his assumptions and predilections show through in his prose and verse (even in what was written with no conceivable political message), his literary output, with its distinctive tone and habitual allusiveness, is best appreciated

when read with some awareness of the context of his times.

To say so may seem to derogate from his stature as a writer for all seasons. I cannot help that: he is big enough to survive. Nor is it surprising if some of what he wrote is nowadays better enjoyed – particularly by foreign readers – with the advantages of hindsight. Given the topics Kipling chose, and the technically detailed way he treated them, and the subsequent overthrow of the world he knew, it is plain that lack of historical perspective is a handicap in reading him today, and may be a contributory factor in his being out of fashion.

Though this consideration applies to other writers of the past, it applies particularly to Kipling who – perhaps it was a journalistic attribute – was often consciously up-to-the-minute in what he wrote, with that telling blend of factuality and allusiveness which always risks becoming irritating or obscure when times have changed.

The distinctive niche where Mrs Parry places Kipling, as "Britain's last popular political poet", is a setting that now requires, even for the oldest among us, some adjusting of focus and nudging of the memory. His last major political poem, "The Storm Cone", appeared in 1932. For young readers, such as Mrs Parry's students at Staffordshire University, Kipling's political and 'occasional' verse, whether its technique allures them or its content repels, must stand in need of explanation.

Though she provides much guidance, and does so with scholarly objectivity, and is too wise to be prejudiced by the meretricious inhibitions of current 'political correctness', the reader can hardly doubt that Mrs Parry finds some aspects of Kipling's political beliefs alien. This will be more than a mere matter of generation. A century ago, in 1892, many sensitive academics of intellectual tastes and liberal inclination felt the same. Mrs Parry, for all her awareness of Kipling's potency as a writer, and her respect for his eloquence, stands at a little remove from him and is disinclined to uncritical approval of his strongly felt ideals.

I respect her learning, but would not myself agree with every inference that she draws from Kipling's political verse, nor do I suppose that her judgments will all pass unchallenged. What she has achieved is a valuable step forward in a salutary and useful mode of historical appraisal. Her book, with its compendious cross-references bearing on a whole facet of Kipling's achievement, is one which all subsequent writers on the subject will need to take into account.

# RUDYARD KIPLING AND MARK TWAIN

## A LITERARY FRIENDSHIP

by WILLIAM J. GRAVER

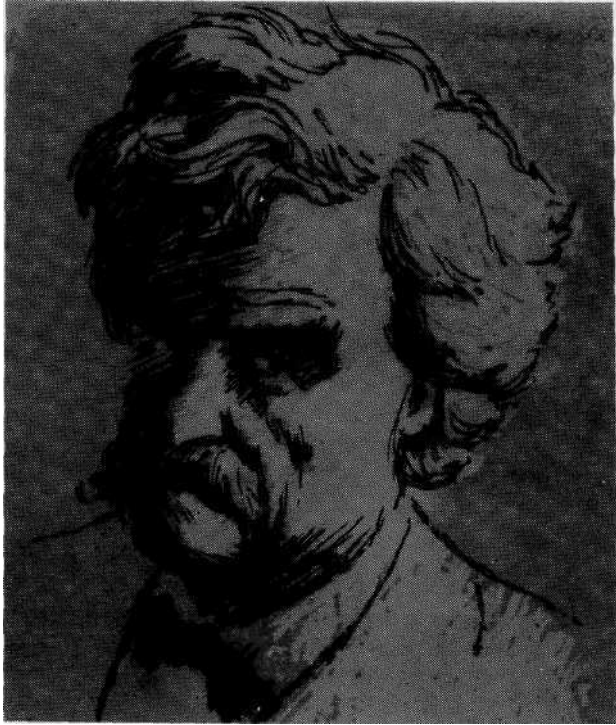
[Bill Graver is one of our United States members, now living in Bethesda, Maryland: he is also a member of the Mark Twain Society. He graduated in English Literature at Washington & Jefferson College in Washington, Pennsylvania ("the oldest college from the Alleghanies west"), and stayed on briefly as a teaching Fellow until joining the U.S. Army Air Corps in World War II. Wartime experience in Italy, and postwar experience in Austria, decided him upon his eventual career in the U.S. Foreign Service.

After long service and a variety of postings abroad (including one to the U.S. Embassy in London) he retired in 1989. He is characteristically modest about the limited extent to which he was able during those years, given the exigencies of a diplomatic career, to keep up any serious study of English or American literature; but he has enjoyed compiling material for this useful article on Kipling's friendship with Twain; and may be assured that our readers will enjoy the product.

The Kipling/Twain association is not of course news: the first meeting of the two writers in 1889 — Twain at the zenith of his great fame, Kipling still unknown outside India but destined shortly to rise to equal or greater heights — is recorded in Kipling's *From Sea to Sea*; and their joint appearance at Oxford in 1907 has not been overlooked by biographers.

However, Bill Graver valuably puts the relationship into perspective, bringing out the warmth of esteem that each felt for the other. He has made Elmira three-dimensional for us; has found some notable little discrepancies between the account in *From Sea to Sea* and the earlier newspaper version of the same text; has drawn our attention to the disapproval Kipling felt for Twain's strange fantasy, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court* (a satirical book well described by Margaret Drabble as "disturbing and not wholly amiable"); and has brought in another literary cross-reference, to Mrs Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*.

An engaging piece of whimsy in one of Twain's letters to Kipling reflects the jocularity with which their relationship was imbued. In 1895 Twain set out on a protracted lecture tour that took him round the world. Intending to visit India, he wrote to Kipling (who then lived in Vermont), pretending to expect to find him in India. "I shall arrive next January," he wrote, "and you must be ready. I shall come riding my ayah with his tusks adorned with silver bells and ribbons, and escorted by a troop of native howdahs richly clad and mounted upon a herd of wild bungalows; and you must be on hand with a few bottles of ghee, for I shall be thirsty." — *Ed.*



MARK TWAIN

[I would have liked to record the usual attributory acknowledgment regarding this sketch, but I lack information about the artist. – *Ed*]

"You are a contemptible lot, over yonder. Some of you are Commissioners, and some Lieutenant-Governors, and some have the V.C., and a few are privileged to walk about the Mall arm in arm with the Viceroy; but *I* have seen Mark Twain this golden morning, have shaken his hand, and smoked a cigar – no, two cigars – with him, and talked with him for more than two hours . . ."

Thus, in triumphant tone (similar to the gleeful "*Ti-ra-la-la-i-tu!* I gloat! Hear me!" he struck a few years later in *Stalky & Co.*), Kipling jubilantly proclaimed, in an article for an Indian newspaper,<sup>1</sup> that he had met Mark Twain, the author he had "learned to love and admire fourteen thousand miles away".

That he had found Twain at all that day may have added to his elation, for he had set forth to meet him without making any prior arrangements, nor even knowing where he might be found.

It was mid-August 1889, and Kipling was nearing the end of his homeward journey from India – a journey which had taken him from Calcutta to Burma (his only but never-to-be-forgotten visit to that land), Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton and Japan, and had landed him at San Francisco.

There he had left his travelling-companions from India, the British Professor S.A. (Aleck) Hill and his American wife Edmonia ("Ted"); and, alone, had travelled about America, visiting among other places San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), Salt Lake City and Chicago, all of which he had described (in generally unflattering terms) for readers of the Allahabad *Pioneer* — adding to his description reflections on the weakness of American coastal defences; and on what he perceived as the virtually unlimited authority of the States of the American Union; also decidedly graphic accounts of preparing tinned tuna fish, and slaughtering pigs and cattle.

In July he had rejoined the Hills at Beaver, Pennsylvania, where "Ted" Hill's father, Dr RT. Taylor, was President of Beaver (Methodist) College. He had remained there several weeks, during which time he had made the acquaintance of "Ted's" younger sister Caroline Taylor, to whom he briefly became engaged (perhaps mistakenly having hoped to find in her the same qualities which so clearly attracted him to "Ted" — but that is another story and outside the scope of this article). In August he had resumed his travels, visiting Buffalo, Niagara Falls and Toronto, and then set off to find Mark Twain.

The precise date of Kipling's meeting with Mark Twain is in doubt, but fortunately all the while he was in America he continued to write long, warmly friendly letters at frequent intervals to "Ted" Hill (as he had done in India after their meeting in Allahabad), from which a fairly detailed itinerary of his travels can be constructed: they suggest 15 August 1889 as the most likely date.

He wrote to "Ted" on 13 August from Toronto and, after describing in entertaining terms his visit to Buffalo and Niagara Falls, informed her that "tomorrow" he would "start upon the home track and never was a man more glad to return". Then, in surprising contrast to his description of Twain in his article for India, as "the author I had come to love and admire", he added, quite mistakenly in a geographic sense, "I hope old Mark Twain is well out of the way in Maine where they say he rusticates".<sup>2</sup> Whatever may have been the meaning of that statement (perhaps simply to amuse "Ted"?), Kipling's account of his journey reveals that he was intent upon meeting Twain.

He evidently went from Toronto to the Buffalo rail centre on 14 August, intending to board a train for Hartford, Connecticut, Twain's home. Conversation with fellow-passengers in the station, however, raised doubts that Twain would be there – a prospect which so upset Kipling that he boarded the wrong train and was "incontinently turned out by the conductor" while it was still in the Buffalo rail yard. Fortunately, he found there a stranger who confidently asserted that Twain would be in Elmira, New York; and Kipling took the next train there.

Having arrived in Elmira late that evening, he soon found that the search was not over. The hotel staff could not tell him where Twain might be; next morning, taking to the streets of Elmira, he encountered a policeman who "had seen Twain or 'some one very like him'", driving a buggy in town only the day before. He told Kipling that Twain, when in Elmira, lived on East Hill, about three miles from his hotel.

In fact, Twain and his family had for the previous 19 years spent practically every summer at Quarry Farm, owned by Theodore Crane and his wife Susan, Mrs Twain's adopted sister. Quarry Farm is on the outskirts of Elmira, at the top of East Hill, some 2½ miles up a narrow, winding road occasionally so steep that even today's high-powered motor-cars best traverse some portions in bottom gear.

Elmira, as any "York Stater" can tell you, shares the sharply contrasting climate of most of the rest of New York State: freezing cold in winter and uncommonly hot in summer. As Twain wrote on 27 April 1874 (when one might expect it to be springtime there) to his

Edinburgh friend Dr John Brown, author of *Rab and His Friends*, Elmira

"is in the interior of the State of New York and was my wife's birthplace . . . Although it is so near summer, we had a great snowstorm yesterday, and on the day before . . . It gets fearfully hot here in the summer, so we spend our summers on top of a hill 600 or 700 feet high."

The Cranes, who had no children, enjoyed having the Twains and their three daughters spend the summer with them, and Twain liked it there because its isolation gave him the privacy he needed for writing. The Cranes made it even more comfortable for Twain by having a separate study built for him. Twain wrote to a Hartford friend, the Reverend Joseph Twichell, in 1874,

"Susy Crane has built the loveliest study for me you ever saw. It is octagonal, with a peaked roof, each octagon filled with a spacious window, and it sits in complete isolation on top of an elevation that commands leagues of valley and city and retreating ranges of distant blue hills."

And to Dr Brown he wrote again in September 1874, that

"the study is nearly on the peak of the hill. . . 100 yards above the dwelling house – it is remote from all noises."<sup>3</sup>

In this study Twain wrote many of his most famous works, including *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885).

Kipling, with years of living in India behind him, probably would not have been daunted by the August heat, and would have been unaware of the steepness of the hill. His goal at last near at hand – or so it seemed – he hired a hack [cab], and embarked upon the "tedious and blistering journey" (as years later Twain termed it in his autobiography)<sup>4</sup> up East Hill. His hack driver, glaring at him "savagely", observed that "very few of the city hacks take this drive, specially if they know they are coming out here".

Enquiring of a person they met near the top of the hill, they at last found their way to Quarry Farm, only to learn that Twain had a short time before walked down-town, and was probably at the home of Charles Langdon, his brother-in-law, scarcely quarter of a mile from

Kipling's hotel. This news was given him by Mrs Crane and 18-year-old Susy Clemens, Twain's beloved and precocious daughter, whom Kipling encountered on the spacious verandah of Quarry Farm, and who hospitably invited him to rest for a little while before returning to the city. Kipling quite fascinated the ladies with his tales from India, making an especially lasting impression upon Susy, who long thereafter treasured his calling card with its Allahabad address.<sup>5</sup>

Then, rested, down the precipitous hill Kipling fled in the skidding hack, and at last stood on the doorstep of the house in which he hoped to find Mark Twain. Only then did it occur to Kipling that "Mark Twain might possibly have other engagements than the entertainment of escaped lunatics from India, be they never so full of admiration"; but the journalist and Twain-admirer in Kipling quickly overcame any hesitation.

\* \* \*

Then "things happened . . . a big, darkened drawing-room; a huge chair; a man with eyes, a mane of grizzled hair, a brown moustache . . . a strong, square hand shaking mine", and he was face to face with Mark Twain.

Twain was 54 years old, at the height of his literary fame. His best-known works had already been published. Behind him lay a life on the frontiers of the American West, where among other occupations he had been variously printer, Mississippi River pilot, gold prospector and journalist; he had eventually become a world traveller, and had achieved fame as author and lecturer.

Kipling was not yet 24, and little known outside India. His age may not have been so apparent. "Ted" Hill, on first meeting him in Allahabad in 1887, described him as "of uncertain age . . . Mr. Kipling looks about forty, as he is beginning to be bald"; and Kipling intimated much the same thing in a letter to W.E. Henley early in 1890, "Yes, men tell me I am young in this country, but I have put seven years in India behind me and they do not make a man younger or more cheerful."<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, the contrast in age and achievement on that day in August 1889 was marked, nor in all probability would either have anticipated that within a year the young Kipling would achieve renown as an author in America as well as in England.

There appears to be no contemporary account other than Kipling's of the meeting with Twain. Twain's brief mention of it in his autobiography was written in 1906, seventeen years later, and gives no indication of his impression of Kipling at their first meeting. There is no account of how Kipling was dressed – whether in a black suit or in

India-style "tropicals" which would have somewhat matched the colour of Twain's customary white suit. One can with some confidence guess, though, that however attired, Kipling would have appeared in Twain's eyes to be the embodiment of British colonialism.

For Twain was very well acquainted with England by the time of this meeting; and as Professor Baetzhold has described in detail in his book *Mark Twain and John Bull*, he had kept in close touch not only with the British literary scene but also with developments in English politics and social trends, upon which he had formed some strong opinions.<sup>7</sup>

He made his first visit to Great Britain in 1872, and returned for a stay of a few months the following year, when he also visited Edinburgh and his friend Dr John Brown, whom he had consulted for medical treatment during his London visit the previous year. He returned to the U.S. in October 1873, but came back to London in December of that same year, on a brief lecture tour during which he was given honorary membership of the Athenaeum.

He developed a great interest in English history, inspiring him to write *The Prince and the Pauper*, for which, as he wrote in his autobiography, "about 1876 . . . I had been diligently reading . . . ancient English books with the purpose of saturating myself with archaic English to a degree which would enable me to do plausible imitations of it in a fairly easy and unlabored way . . ." <sup>8</sup> (His studies inspired him also to write a ribald parody for the amusement of some close friends, purporting to be an authentic depiction of life in Tudor times, a little-known work entitled *1601: or Conversation as It Was by the Social Fireside in the Time of the Tudors*. It was not published, but only privately – indeed surreptitiously – printed and distributed to those friends in Twain's lifetime.)

He enjoyed life in England, writing to his wife, "I do like the English people – they are perfectly splendid." He liked the pageantry of Empire, the uniforms, the naval reviews. He made many English friends, and occasionally drew upon his experiences there in his writing: he wrote, for example, "A Memorable Midnight Experience", published in *Mark Twain's Sketches* (1874), describing his night-time tour of Westminster Abbey in the company of Canon Charles Kingsley. On his visits he had made the acquaintance of many prominent people, among them Robert Browning, Charles Darwin, Charles Reade and Anthony Trollope; and he was well versed in British perceptions and opinions of the day.

For a reason which Kipling must have appreciated a few months later, Twain's awareness of English sentiments quite certainly imposed a degree of caution upon his conversational exchange with his

unknown British visitor on that August day in 1889. Kipling's account of their meeting leaves no doubt that Twain sought to take the lead in the conversation and to guide it throughout. He did not entirely succeed in this, however, nor persuade Kipling of all that he said, as will be seen in two passages in the original newspaper article which are omitted from the version Kipling published nearly ten years later in *From Sea to Sea*.

Twain opened their talk with a lengthy denunciation of then-prevailing copyright laws, an issue which had long preoccupied him, describing to Kipling as an example a pirated publication of a collection of tales which had implied that all were written by Twain, when in fact only one of the tales had been his.

He then turned to the topic of international copyright, asking Kipling, "Are you interested in it? So am I." Twain would not have known that Kipling had already become aware of American pirated editions of some of his stories by the time of his San Francisco visit – which perhaps explains at least in part the passage in the newspaper version (omitted in *From Sea to Sea*), giving Kipling's reaction to Twain's question. Kipling wrote:-

I don't think he meant to be crushingly ironical, but I would cheerfully have wrapped myself up in the carpet and burrowed into the cellar when those eyes turned on me.

Apparently Kipling did not wish to respond to the question – perhaps on the journalistic principle of encouraging the person being interviewed to express his opinions – and he seems to have suspected that Twain's piercing look meant he could guess Kipling's reaction. He said later in the article that "Twain spoke always through his eyes."

Twain went on to expand upon his view that the product of an author's mind was property which his heirs were entitled to inherit, just as they were entitled to inherit real estate; and that such a right should be enjoyed in perpetuity – however long an author's words might produce any income<sup>9</sup>.

There appears to have been a pause in the conversation after this perhaps over-long dissertation on the copyright issue; and Kipling again attempted to turn discussion to Twain's writings, asking if Twain planned further adventures for Tom Sawyer. Twain turned the question aside with the humorous response that he had considered writing a sequel in two ways – one in which Tom was elected to Congress, the other in which he was hanged – letting the "friends and enemies of the book take their choice". Twain then related an anecdote about an old friend, to illustrate his thesis that no man can

write an honest autobiography, as "it is not in human nature to write the truth about itself".<sup>10</sup>

Eventually, after some discussion of the human conscience (which Twain termed a "nuisance"), their talk returned to books, and Twain averred that "I never read novels . . . except when the popular persecution forces me to."

Kipling seized upon this opening to ask Twain's opinion of a current novel which "popular persecution" had probably forced Twain to read – the 1888 best-seller, *Robert Elsmere* by Mrs Humphry Ward.

Twain tried to turn this question aside as well, saying,

"I read it, of course, for the workmanship . . . the effect on me was exactly as though a singer of street ballads were to hear excellent music from a church organ . . . I listened, and I liked what I heard. I am speaking of the grace and beauty of the style. . ."

and he claimed not yet to know "exactly" what his "public opinion" of the book would be.

Kipling quite certainly not only did not share what he must have perceived as Twain's favourable opinion of *Robert Elsmere*, but also did not believe what Twain had to say about it, as is evident from the passage in the newspaper version of the interview which he excised from the version later published in *From Sea to Sea*: –

How is one to behave when one differs altogether with a great man? My business was to be still and to listen. Yet Mark – Mark Twain, a man who knew men – "big Injun, heap big Injun, dam mighty heap big Injun" – master of tears and mirth, skilled in wisdom of the true inwardness of things, was bowing his head to the laboured truck of the schools where men act in obedience to the book they read, and keep their consciences in spirits of home-made wine. He said the style was graceful, therefore it must be graceful. But perhaps he was making fun of me. In either case I would lay my hand upon my mouth.

Twain made no further comment about the book, and quickly changed the subject, telling a story about the sorts of interruptions which beset him at his home in Hartford, and the contrasting advantage of his isolated study atop East Hill. He then followed this with the statement that he did not

"care for fiction or story-books. What I like to read about are

facts and statistics of any kind . . . Just now . . . I was reading an article about 'Mathematics' . . . I didn't understand a word of it; but facts, or what a man believes to be facts, are always delightful..."

He added in conclusion the advice to Kipling, "Get your facts first . . . then you can distort 'em as much as you please." With that, the interview was over. Outside the door, Kipling thought of other questions he would like to have asked, and mused that "it was sad to think of the things he had not spoken about."

\* \* \*

Within the next few months Kipling must have come to realise that there was indeed one item which Twain had not spoken about, and perhaps to recognise how carefully Twain had avoided mentioning contemporary issues in Great Britain, his own work-in-progress, and – as Kipling had surmised – his real opinion of Mrs Ward's best-selling novel, about which his comments to Kipling had been extremely disingenuous. For throughout his conversation with this unexpected British caller, it must have struck Twain as a remarkable coincidence that he had just at that time, after five years of intermittent labour over its creation, begun the final stage of his latest work, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*.

Only a few days before meeting Kipling he had enlisted the assistance of his close friend William Dean Howells, to help read the galley proofs of this new book, which then occupied them from September through November. *A Connecticut Yankee* was published on 10 December, satirising in broad terms past and present concepts of monarchy, aristocracy and the established Church in England.

The inspiration for *A Connecticut Yankee* was Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, a copy of which Twain happened across in a Rochester, New York bookstore while on a lecture tour in December 1884. But as Professor Baetzhald has convincingly shown in *Mark Twain and John Bull*, important influence was exercised through the long (and by Twain's own account arduous) development of the *Connecticut Yankee* narrative by several books which encouraged him to be highly critical of prevailing aristocratic and ecclesiastical systems. Especially influential in shaping Twain's views were: – *The French Revolution* by Thomas Carlyle; *A History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* by W.E.H. Lecky; *The People's History of the English Aristocracy* by George Standring, editor of *The Republican*; and, last but not least, Mrs Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*.

Twain seems to have been aware from the moment he began work on *A Connecticut Yankee* that it would be controversial in England; and he and some of his friends whose opinion he valued had misgivings about it all through the years it took to write it.

He began writing the story late in 1885, but made little progress. In November 1886, perhaps to test reaction to the idea of the story, Twain read what he had by then written – roughly the first three chapters – to an audience of high-ranking military officials and their guests at the Military Service Institute on Governor's Island. They reacted enthusiastically, but Twain, who had set the work aside some months before because he was having difficulty writing it ("My tank had run dry", he says in his autobiography), did not take it up again until mid-1887.

Professor Baetzhold observes that Twain may at first have had in mind a book contrasting the way of life in the Age of Chivalry with contemporary life; but when Twain resumed work on it in mid-1887 he took a new direction, sharply critical of the monarchy and aristocracy.

Baetzhold ascribes this change primarily to the influence of Standring's *The People's History of the English Aristocracy*, a copy of which Twain obtained in May 1887, only a month before he again began work on *A Connecticut Yankee*, and "if it did not actually inspire Twain to give new directions to [the book], it at least crystallised his decision to do so. In its vivid expression of the most vehement strains of current Liberal and Radical sentiments, [Standring] treated many of the same themes which came to dominate *A Connecticut Yankee*."

Standring's major premise was that England's only hope lay in replacing the monarchy with a republic. He charged particularly that the vast wealth of the aristocracy allowed it "to control not only the House of Lords, but also the mercantile interests, the professions, the military services, and even . . . the House of Commons".<sup>11</sup>

*Robert Elsmere* was likewise an important influence upon the final form Twain gave to the book. Baetzhold suggests that Twain, with the new direction he was taking, "must have been . . . intrigued by Mrs. Ward's sharp portraits of snobbish aristocrats, and especially of Squire Roger Wendover's indifference to the plight of the wretched tenants on his huge estate".<sup>12</sup> Very likely Twain saw in *Robert Elsmere* support for his critical views of the aristocratic and ecclesiastical systems of contemporary England.

Mrs Ward's novel was the runaway best-seller of 1888, and among the most successful novels of its age. Its author, moreover, must have seemed to Twain particularly well qualified to judge the very aspects of British government, social structure and religion which were of

interest to him. He would surely have read about the controversy set off by her novel, which received wide publicity: its anti-orthodoxy affronted the established Church, and criticism of the book in England was strident. No less a figure than a former Prime Minister, Gladstone, wrote a long and impassioned review of it, taking up the defence of religious orthodoxy: this was published in May 1888 in the periodical *Nineteenth Century*, "and became almost as celebrated as the novel itself".<sup>13</sup>

Also Twain certainly knew, or would have become aware through the publicity which the novel's appearance caused, that Mrs Ward, *née* Mary Augusta Arnold, was not only the granddaughter of Dr Thomas Arnold of Rugby and daughter of Thomas Arnold, close associate of Cardinal Newman, but also the niece of Matthew Arnold whose deprecating criticism of American culture (and of Twain's works specifically) had aggravated Twain for many years.

Perhaps Twain took some pleasure in the irony that critical comment about Mrs Ward's book included the charge that its thesis in part had been derived from essays by Matthew Arnold, in particular Robert Elsmere's agonised decision to turn away from the established Church.<sup>14</sup> Twain perhaps even regarded his late critic (Matthew Arnold died in April 1889) as a supporter, albeit unwittingly, of *A Connecticut Yankee's* anti-orthodoxy. Whether or not this was the case, it is very likely that Twain was encouraged by Mrs Ward's novel to proceed with publication of his book.

*Robert Elsmere* tells the story of a young clergyman, beginning with his student years at Oxford in the post-Tractarian period, and describes the influence of the religious debate of those times upon his perception and practice of the Christian ministry; his struggle as a clergyman to persuade Squire Roger Wendover of Murewell to improve the housing and public health aspects of the living conditions of the poor tenants on his lands; his growing scepticism about some of the tenets of the established Church, leading him to turn away from a mystical view which included belief in miracles, to a more pragmatic view of the Christian religion based upon historical, archaeological, literary and scientific studies – which was gaining adherents in England at that time.

The novel depicts in dramatic detail how his inward struggle with the form of his Christian faith created an irreconcilable conflict between him and his much-loved but staunchly Evangelical wife, culminated in his resignation from the ministry, and led him to dedicate himself thenceforth to ministering to the bitterly poor inhabitants of a London slum area. The novel was therefore quite consistent with the new direction Twain was giving to *A Connecticut Yankee*, and it is scarcely surprising that in conversation with this

unexpected and unknown British visitor Twain turned aside any serious discussion of *Robert Elsmere* and of his own work-in-progress!

\* \* \*

Kipling's account of his interview with Twain was not published in the Allahabad *Pioneer* series of his travel articles, and instead made its first appearance in the *New York Herald* of Sunday 17 August 1890 – a year after the meeting occurred. The article had as caption only RUDYARD KIPLING ON MARK TWAIN – an indication of the extent to which in the single year since his meeting with Twain he had become known as an author not only to British but to American readers, including Mark Twain.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from omitting the two passages already quoted, and some quite minor editorial changes, the text of the interview published nine years later as "No. XXXVII" in *From Sea to Sea* (1899) is essentially unchanged from the original article in the *New York Herald*, with the significant exception that *From Sea to Sea* also omitted the brief final paragraph Kipling had appended, deploring *A Connecticut Yankee* at *King Arthur's Court*: —

LATER. – Oh shame! Oh shock! O fie! I have been reading the new book which you also will have read by this time – the book about the Yankee animal in the court yard. It's \* \* \* [*sic*] but I don't believe he ever wrote it; or, if he did, I am certain that if you held it up to a looking glass or picked out every third word or spelled it backward you would find that it hid some crystal clean tale as desirable as Huck Finn. – RUDYARD KIPLING

Twain apparently wrote a friendly note to Kipling upon reading the *New York Herald* article and its less angry than sorrowful appendage; and Kipling responded that he was glad it had not offended Twain, and hoped he would soon have occasion to go to America "and sit at your feet once again"<sup>16</sup>. This marked the beginning of the friendship between the two men, which continued to Twain's death in 1910.

\* \* \*

For the most part it was a "literary" friendship: aside from the years the Kiplings lived in Brattleboro, Vermont (1892-96), Kipling and Twain rarely met in person; and even in those Vermont years Twain's notebooks and letters mention relatively few meetings.<sup>17</sup> But seeing each other face to face was not essential to their friendship, which was

sustained more by the affinity of their creative minds. It was a friendship kept current by correspondence, and by reading each other's works as they appeared, and by keeping up with news of each other through mutual friends and news stories.

The close relationship between the two men was deepened by tragedies in their families. In August 1896 Susy Clemens, Twain's beloved daughter, died in America – while Twain was in England and his wife and daughter Clara were on a ship in mid-Atlantic in response to word that Susy was seriously ill. When his wife and daughter returned to England, the family moved from Guildford, Surrey, to Tedworth Square in Chelsea; and Kipling, who had immediately written to Twain, was for a considerable period after Susy's death one of the very few people Twain would see.

Three years later, Kipling was taken seriously ill while visiting the United States, and during the time he was confined to bed in the Grenoble Hotel in New York his daughter Josephine, little more than six years old, was taken ill and died on 6 March 1899. Twain, at that time residing in Vienna, kept in touch with the progress of Kipling's illness, and wrote sharing Kipling's grief on learning of Josephine's death. And in June 1904 Kipling wrote at once when Twain's beloved wife Olivia died.

Twain and Kipling had held quite different, even opposite, political and social views when they first met; but as time went on each moved somewhat towards the other in their viewpoints. At the end of his 1895/96 India visit, Twain told a Calcutta reporter of the *Englishman* that "on the basis of progress in industry, education, security and prosperity one must inevitably judge British rule to be best for India."<sup>18</sup>

On another occasion, departing from his earlier Liberal sentiments, Twain wrote, "all the savage lands of the world are going to be brought under the subjugation of the Christian governments of Europe. I am not sorry but glad . . . the sooner the seizure is consummated the better for the savages." And again: "If Kipling's brand of imperialism could have been made to work permanently, the world would undoubtedly be a more peaceful place to live than it is today."<sup>19</sup> At about the same time, Kipling would strike a cautionary note about the responsibilities of empire with his "Recessional".

Throughout their friendship, each frequently expressed his high regard for the other's work. Kipling was lavish with praise for Twain's writing. He wrote to the American publisher Frank Doubleday on one occasion, "I love to think of the great and God-like Clemens. He is

the biggest man you have on your side of the water by a damn sight, and don't you forget it. Cervantes was a relation of his."

Twain was equally generous in his praise of Kipling's work. In the chapter of his autobiography recalling Kipling's visit to Elmira, Twain wrote in 1906:

He was a stranger to me and to all the world and remained so for twelve months, then he became suddenly known and universally known. From that day to this he has held this unique distinction: that of being the only living person, not head of a nation, whose voice is heard around the world the moment it drops a remark, the only such voice in existence that does not go by slow ship and rail but always travels first-class by cable . . .

I am not acquainted with my own books but I know Kipling's – at any rate I know them better than I know anybody else's books. They never grow pale to me; they keep their color; they are always fresh . . . To my mind, the incomparable *Jungle Books* must remain unfellowed permanently. I think it was worth the journey to India to qualify myself to read *Kim* understandingly and to realize how great a book it is. The deep and subtle and fascinating charm of India pervades no other book as it pervades *Kim* . . . I read the book every year and in this way I go back to India without fatigue – the only foreign land I ever daydream about or deeply long to see again.<sup>20</sup>

Kipling and Twain had not met face to face for nearly ten years when, in 1907, both were awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by Oxford University. Twain, at 72, had had no intention of visiting England again, but when the invitation from Oxford University came he replied, "Although I wouldn't cross an ocean again for the price of the ship that carried me I am glad to do so for an Oxford degree." He later proudly wrote in his autobiography,

I am quite well aware . . . that an Oxford decoration is a loftier distinction than is conferrable by any other university on either side of the ocean . . .<sup>21</sup>

Lord Curzon had just become Chancellor of Oxford, and according to custom it was his privilege to nominate some eminent persons for admission to honorary degrees. He chose 35 persons of most varied accomplishments, including Prince Arthur of Connaught; Whitelaw Reid [the U.S. Ambassador] Field Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood; Lords Loreburn and Alverstone (respectively Lord Chancellor and Lord

Chief Justice of England); the astronomer Sir Norman Lockyer; the Archbishop of Armagh; the sculptor Auguste Rodin; the composer Camille Saint-Saens; and General William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army.<sup>22</sup>

Twain and Kipling were almost the last to receive their degrees (only Saint-Saens followed them), and they spent nearly two hours waiting, but neither seems to have made any public record of their conversation. They both also attended the dinner in the Hall of Christ Church, Oxford, on the night of the 'Encaenia', and were guests of Lord Curzon at the Oxford historical pageant.

Their meeting at Oxford was the last time Kipling and Twain saw each other. Twain returned to the United States shortly after the ceremony, and died there three years later, in April 1910. Kipling's admiration for his friend endured beyond Twain's death, indeed throughout Kipling's life. In 1935, a year before his death, he served as chairman of the English committee for the celebration of the Mark Twain Centennial, and wrote to the American chairman, Nicholas Murray Butler, his final tribute to Mark Twain:

"To my mind he was the largest man of his time; both in the direct outcome of his work, and, more importantly still, as an indirect force in an age of iron Philistinism. Later generations do not know their debt, of course, and they would be surprised if they did."<sup>23</sup>

#### REFERENCES AND NOTES

The travel articles sent back by Kipling in 1889 for newspaper publication in the Allahabad *Pioneer* are not identical, either in content or in numerical sequence, with the corresponding chapters in *From Sea to Sea*. "An Interview with Mark Twain" did not appear in the *Pioneer*, but was published on 23 September 1890 in the Lahore *Civil & Military Gazette*. Its first appearance, however, was in the *New York Herald* on 17 August 1890. In 1899, after editing, it was embodied as chapter No. XXXVII in *From Sea to Sea*.

2. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Macmillan, London, 1990), vol 1, p 336.

3. Quotations from Twain's letters are drawn from *Mark Twain's Letters*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (Harper, New York, 1917).
4. *The Autobiography of Mark Twain*, ed. Charles Neider (Harper, New York, 1959), p 286.
5. Quarry Farm still stands atop East Hill, and is now the home of Elmira College Center for Mark Twain Studies. One can easily imagine Kipling, on that August day in 1889, taking his ease on the verandah. Twain's study, which was built in imitation of the pilot-house on a Mississippi River steamboat, no longer stands on the bluff behind Quarry Farm: it has been moved to the campus of Elmira College at the foot of East Hill, where it is certainly more accessible to sightseers.
6. Quoted in *Rudyard Kipling* by C.E. Carrington (Macmillan, London, 1955), pp 90, 156/7.
7. *Mark Twain and John Bull: The British Connection* by Howard G. Baetzhold (Indiana UP, Bloomington & London, 1970).
8. Neider, *op. cit.*, p 268.
9. Twain was an advocate for this cause to the end of his life. In 1899 he spoke to the issue before the Copyright Committee of the House of Lords, to whom he suggested one million years as the limit, if it were felt necessary to legislate that aspect. Within little more than a year after their meeting, too, Twain sought to be of assistance to Kipling on this issue, giving evidence on his behalf in Kipling's long but futile battle with the Putnam publishing house, which dragged on from 1890 to 1901.
10. Which, as the editor of Twain's *Autobiography* points out, it is not entirely inappropriate to bear in mind in reading that book. Twain wrote of one anecdote, "I don't believe these details are right but I don't care a rap. They will do just as well as the facts." (Neider, *op. cit.*, p xiv.)
11. Baetzhold, *op. cit.*, p 111.
12. *Ibid.*, p 121.
13. Introduction by Rosemary Ashton to the Oxford UP edition of *Robert Elsmere*, 1987.
14. Years later, in her autobiography published in 1918, Mrs Ward stated that "Uncle Matt" had indeed had an important influence upon her views, and that his essay, "Literature and Dogma", had "thrown out in detail much of the argument of *Robert Elsmere*" as Rosemary Ashton noted (see note 13).
15. Twain recounts in his autobiography that a friend in Hartford called his attention to Kipling in the spring of 1890, gave him a copy of *Plain Tales from the Hills*, and said that Twain (who had forgotten the name) would soon hear of Kipling, and that "the

noise he was going to make would be loud and continuous". A few days later Twain saw an article on Kipling in the London *World*, which mentioned Kipling's years in India and his travels in America, including his visit to Elmira; prompting his daughter Susy to show her father Kipling's calling card, "and the Quarry Farm visitor stood identified". (Neider, *op. cit.*, p 288.)

16. Baetzhhold, *op. cit.*, p 188.

17. Professor Baetzhhold states that Twain's "notebooks and letters record dinners with Kipling and his wife in New York in 1893, an invitation to tea in January 1894, and a pleasant train trip from Hartford to New York with Kipling that same month." During these meetings Kipling undoubtedly talked much about India, and probably inspired Twain's 1895 visit there.

Shortly before he embarked, Twain wrote to Kipling pretending to have heard that Kipling would be in India at the same time, saying: "Years ago you came from India to Elmira to visit me, as you said at the time. It has always been my purpose to return that visit and that great compliment..." (Kipling, however, never set foot in India again after abruptly terminating his visit there in 1891 to return to London after receiving word of the death of his friend Wolcott Balestier, brother of his future wife.)

India made a strong impression on Twain: he remained fascinated with it for the rest of his life, and developed during his visit there great respect for the British administration of the country. (See Baetzhhold, *op. cit.*, pp 188, 191.)

18. *Ibid.*, p 184.

19. Wagenknecht, Edward C, *Mark Twain, The Man and his Work* (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 3rd edn., 1967), pp 242-3.

20. Neider, *op. cit.*, pp 287-8.

21. *Ibid.*, pp 348-9.

22. Kipling had met General Booth during his visit to Australia and New Zealand in 1891; they had taken the same ship from Invercargill to Adelaide, and went on from Adelaide by P&O steamship to Colombo. During that voyage, as Kipling recalls in *Something of Myself* (pp 102-4), he "talked much" with the General. The next time Kipling saw him was at the Oxford ceremony, where Booth "strode across to me in his Doctor's robes, which magnificently became him, and, 'Young feller,' said he, 'how's your soul?'"

23. Baetzhhold, *op. cit.*, p 195.

# KIPLING'S "SEA CONSTABLES"

## A NAUTICAL REAPPRAISAL

by ALASTAIR WILSON

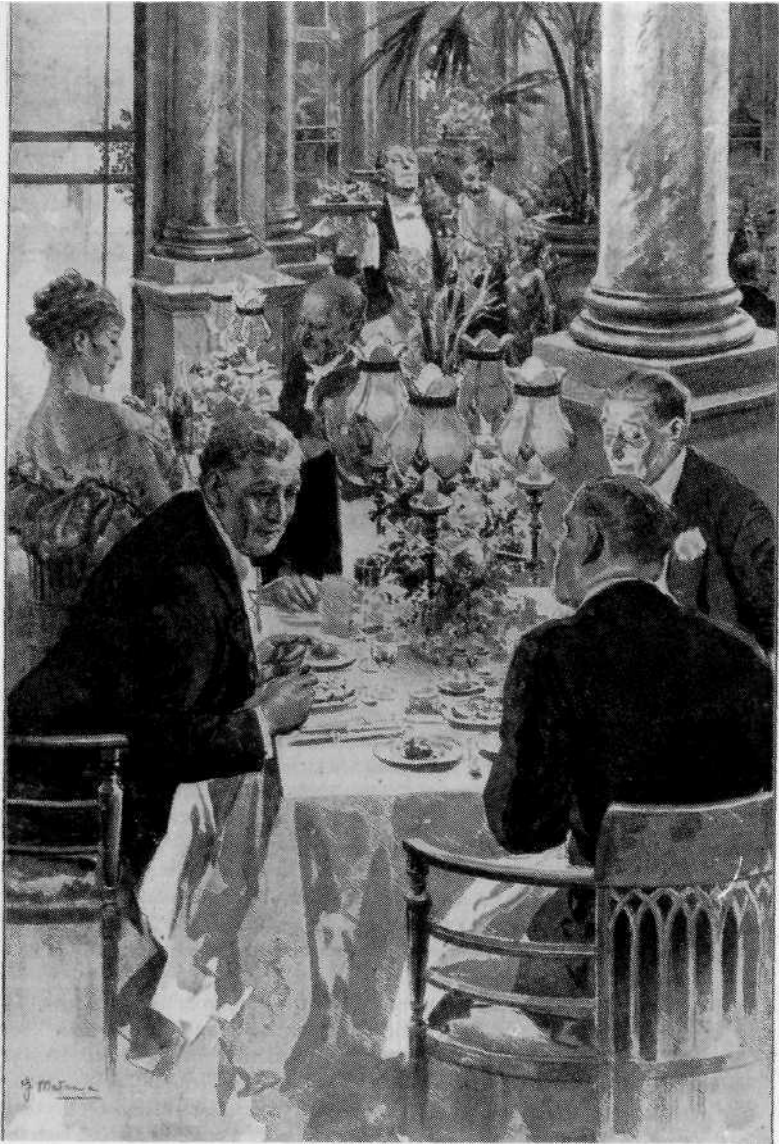
[Commander A.J.W. Wilson made his career in the Royal Navy till he retired in 1984 after 34 years as a Seaman Officer: he had 'sub-specialised' in Torpedo and Anti-Submarine Warfare, including mining and minesweeping. He is now the General Manager and Company Secretary of the Portsmouth Naval Heritage Trust, an umbrella organisation for the Royal Naval Museum, H.M.S. *Victory*, the *Mary Rose* and H.M.S. *Warrior* (1860).

He has read Kipling with enjoyment for many years. His father presented him with a set of the pocket edition for his second birthday, and he grew up in Sussex within five miles of Bateman's. He recalls that "*Stalky & Co.* went back to school with me every term for about eight years – and got read every term, too."

He has long had a professional sailor's interest in Kipling's "Sea Constables" (a powerful story published by *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine* in the U.S.A. in October 1915, and much later collected in *Debits and Credits*, 1926), and had this interest quickened by two recent mentions of the story in the *Kipling Journal*. One was in a posthumously published lecture text by our late President, Angus Wilson, entitled "The Strange Ride" (September 1991, at page 24), where Wilson noted that Kipling seemed to feel that revenge might be justified by the circumstances of war. The other was in Chief Justice Austin Asche's article on vengeance (March 1992, at page 29, see also the picture at page 30), where the neutral captain's doom is set in the stark context of war.

Of course, neither Wilson nor Asche had viewed the story from the perspective of a professional sailor. Nor had the late George Newsom, whose important article "'Sea Constables' and the Blockade of January 1915", written from the angle of a lawyer with a learned specialisation in wartime blockade and contraband practice, was in our issue of March 1984. So Commander Wilson, though his approach is not exclusively nautical, has a somewhat different slant to offer; indeed, for younger readers to whom even the Second World War, let alone the First, now seems impalpably remote, he offers the means to read a grim story with more immediacy and comprehension.

He is well aware of the futility of pursuing too far the question of what "happened" in a fictitious narrative; but since "Sea Constables" is set against a factual, politically topical background, and since Kipling was well informed in naval matters and inclined to accuracy of detail, there is every justification for seeing what may properly be read into the story – *Ed.* ]



IN THE PINK ALCOVE

An illustration by Chevalier Fortunino Matania, R.I., (1881-1963), for "Sea Constables" (*Debits and Credits*), as initially published in *Nash's Magazine* in October 1915. The naval party (Maddingham identifiable on the left) are dining in style at the Carvoitz Hotel. The lady at the adjacent table, somewhat *décolletée*, is the "most recent foreign actress" — of neutral provenance, with a "carrying voice" — who erroneously opines that "those four dubs yonder" are not yet "*alive to the war*".

In both the September 1991 and March 1992 issues of the *Kipling Journal*, "Sea Constables" receives a mention – in the former, in Sir Angus Wilson's draft lecture; in the latter, in Austin Asche's article, "'Vengeance is mine', saith the writer".

As a former Naval officer, I have always been fascinated by the story. And I agree that it can reasonably be described as a story of vengeance. Indeed, I suggest that it is a story of very specific vengeance, and that other writers have perhaps missed a point. There are also a number of other points about the tale which are worth bringing out. . .

These were the words with which I started the original draft of this article. I felt that both the references above had been written without benefit, as it were, of 'the seaman's eye'. Nor could I recall ever having read comments on the story written from that viewpoint. So I went to my public library, and found two references, which are further discussed below: and then submitted the whole piece to our Editor, who made kind remarks but said, "Have you read G.H. Newsom's article in an earlier *Journal* (March 1984)?"

I replied that as a relatively recently joined member I had not. However, I now have; and my article has been duly modified. Indeed, had I been aware of Mr Newsom's article I might well not have set pen to paper, since I find it convincing in nearly every particular; and I would only seek to amplify the points he made, particularly since the two recent references in our *Journal* do not seem to reflect the same outlook.

Mr Newsom's article shows convincingly that the story was started in February/March 1915, although it was not published until September/October 1915. Now, the liner *Lusitania* was sunk in May 1915 by a German U-Boat off the south coast of Ireland, with the loss of hundreds of British and American citizens. And there is a strong supposition in the story that the neutral is trying to take his 50,000 gallons of diesel oil to somewhere where the Germans can use it. More specifically, he seems to have been trying to deliver it somewhere around the coast of the United Kingdom (which of course included southern Ireland at that time).

During early World War I, that meant almost certainly that the oil was for use in a submarine. Surface warships were powered by steam, generated by coal or furnace fuel oil; and merchant ships (as it might have been blockade-runners or commerce-raiders) likewise, with very few exceptions. The first marine diesel engine went to sea in 1911.

So, when Maddingham says, "If you had got rid of your oil where it was wanted, you'd have condemned lots of people to death just as surely as if you'd drowned 'em," I believe Kipling had the *Lusitania* in

mind. He may not have had her in mind when he first started plotting the tale, but unless it can be shown that the manuscript was in the hands of his American publishers before the beginning of June 1915, I suggest a possibility, if not a likelihood, that the sinking coloured his thoughts, or even provided a twist to the tale, in the final polishing of the piece.

Perhaps this is reinforced by the first lines of the verses ["The Changelings"] which he wrote later to accompany the piece in *Debits and Credits* –

Or ever the battered liners sank  
With their passengers to the dark . . .

It is easy now to forget, but the sinking of the *Lusitania* made a very considerable impact, both in the U.S.A. and in Great Britain. Atrocities on the Continent ("Bayonetting babies in Louvain"; "Raping nuns"; etc) were relatively remote; but landing survivors from the *Lusitania* in England and Ireland had enormous effect.

Martin Seymour-Smith in his *Rudyard Kipling* describes "Sea Constables" as "silly, revengeful, rambling and needlessly obscure"; "yet another of [Kipling's] tedious attacks on 'neutrals'". I cannot accept the story as silly, nor rambling. In a naval sense it is coherent and sequential: I have suggested a reason for the theme of revenge, which does not seem to me to be silly. Nor, on the whole, do I think it needlessly obscure – a view which, dare I say, seems to be shared by Sir Angus Wilson who in *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling* writes of its clarity. But I do think that there are other aspects of the story which are of interest.

Was the delivery of oil to some spot for a German submarine or submarines the sole aim of the neutral? 50,000 gallons was enough to fuel three submarines. But you did not set off from Cuxhaven – or some neutral port, as it might be Bergen or Malmo or Rotterdam – hoping to meet up with any old U-Boat on the off-chance that he might want your oil. You went on specific orders to make a given rendezvous, or series of rendezvous; and such a rendezvous would be unlikely to be on the well watched east coast of England.

Kipling would, I believe, have appreciated this point; it would have been in his mind in constructing the plan of the tale. Yet the chase of the neutral started in the North Sea somewhere off Scotland, worked down to the Thames Estuary, and so down the Channel. Mr Newsom makes the point that the *U.20*, which sank the *Lusitania*, had reached the area after a passage round the north of Scotland. So perhaps the neutral's aim had been a rendezvous off north-west Scotland, but he

was intercepted by Winchmore; and he diverted from his course to put the British off.

During the passage down the North Sea, Jarrott had been "tremendously interested in his course up to date – specially off the Wash", and "was going back to find out what some of the kinks and curves meant". And in response to the question, "Has he found out . . .?", Tegg replies, "*Cordelia* was all right up to six o'clock yesterday evening."

To me, the whole passage suggests that the neutral might have been clandestinely laying mines: indeed, the reader has it put in mind by the reference to the loss of the *Culana*, and the mention that Jarrott is a minesweeper. The inshore passage off the Norfolk and Lincolnshire coasts was not likely submarine country – it is too shallow, even for small World War I submarines. But mines could throw the coasting trade into disarray. This point was made by Mr Newsom, but appears to be disregarded by others, who refer only to the sale of the oil.

Or perhaps the neutral intended to land agents, or arms (in six months' time Sir Roger Casement would be landed in Ireland). It is of interest that, as Kipling tells it, he was not boarded until Maddingham went on board in the Irish Sea; and even then Maddingham made no attempt to check the cargo. Nor is there any mention made of this being done in the port where the Inquiry was held – I would suggest Liverpool, from the reference to the Bar, and to standing "nor-west".

In passing, so far as I can ascertain, Kipling conceals or invents many locations. I cannot find Gilarra Head on a chart, and the only Cloone I can find in Ireland is inland; but Margate is there *en clair*.

And what about the coal? In the real world, I doubt if anyone in Antigua at that time would have bought coal other than from the United Kingdom; and that would have been shipped in a British ship. Prior to March 1915, German coal could have been exported in a neutral-flag ship, cleared from a German port, without the British authorities being able to lay their hands on it. But it certainly could not have been sold in Antigua, a British colony: that would have been trafficking with the enemy.

But it might have been Polish/Russian coal, shipped in a 'neutral' bottom. So I suppose, at a pinch, the cargo and destination are not totally implausible. However, clearly the authorities in the story are dubious – as I would have been too, in Winchmore's or Maddingham's sea-boots – which is why, in the final leg, Maddingham is set to shepherd the ship out into the Atlantic.

As for "Uncle Newt's" nationality, this I do find somewhat obscure. Sir Angus suggested he was American, because of his

remarks about "the uplift of democracy". I agree that that phrase has overtones of Laughton O. Zigler ["The Captive", *Traffics and Discoveries*] but — I wonder. I do not believe that a millionaire American of Anglo-Saxon stock would have supported Germany — especially not after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, in which so many Americans were lost. However, Mr Newsom made a good case for American nationality, and in view of the political circumstances which he so convincingly set out, I must consider it carefully. Was that why Kipling only published the tale (before it was collected in *Debits and Credits*) in America?

Even if the story had been set, in Kipling's mind, before the sinking of the *Lusitania*, I do wonder if Kipling could have made the villain of the piece an American, without offending his American readership. But an American of German extraction does sound quite possible, and would perfectly well fit in with the pre-war meeting with Maddingham, en route to Carlsbad.

However, if it were not for the "uplift of democracy" phrase, I would have suggested that the neutral was Swedish or Dutch or, more likely, a German masquerading as one or the other. One forgets that Holland remained neutral throughout the war; and that with the Boer War still relatively fresh in their minds there were many Dutch who did not particularly love England.

But why was a millionaire playing such games at all? If he were a real neutral there would have been no reason for him to make money in this way. Clearly he is European or of European stock, and his ship has cleared from a European port: equally clearly, from his actions and despite his democratic remarks, he supports Germany. Nor is he just playing at it: his vessel is not a yacht, nor yet a mere coaster: it is never implied that she is unsuitable for a voyage to Antigua. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that Kipling doesn't make Winchmore, Maddingham *et al.* go into the identification of the ship (fictitiously), which they would have done by consulting *Lloyd's Register*. Bearing in mind his usual attention to detail I find this a strange omission.

To me, the neutral's aim seems to have been to get his cargo to its destination, wherever that might in reality have been. His operation appears to have been a military one — whether dumping fuel stocks, laying mines, or even dropping agents and arms. I do not believe the German High Command would have entrusted such a task to someone not fully responsible to them. I do not think he was an American trying to provoke the British into breaking international law: he seems to have been a German agent, hiding his identity under a neutral flag.

So there would appear to be two interpretations of the story. One is

that so persuasively put forward by Mr Newsom: in this, the neutral is a devious American, probably of German extraction, certainly of German sympathies, trying to goad the British into breaking international law, and so losing American support and munitions supplies. However, there is another interpretation, rather simpler and a bit more *Boys' Own Paper*-ish, in which a German tries to outwit the British by using false papers, to achieve a military objective.

Given Kipling's previous interest in questions of blockade and contraband, and the fact that the story was published initially only in America, one tends to agree with Mr Newsom's analysis – though at the same time the story is coherent as a straightforward account of a successful counter to an enemy ploy.

In fact I do not think Kipling is entirely consistent in his treatment of the story. It is almost as though he were dodging from one aspect to another. It would be interesting to be able to see the original drafts, so that one could see how the story had developed, and whether there was any difference in it as it stood before the sinking of the *Lusitania* and afterwards.

However, as it stands, there is one factor which convinces me of the *B.O.P.* interpretation; that is, Maddingham's words, quoted above, to the effect that if the neutral had succeeded in his nefarious purposes he would have condemned a lot of people to death. Maddingham has been briefed by Tegg, who is aware what the neutral is up to – whether devious German-American or German masquerading as 'neutral'. So Maddingham knows what Uncle Newt's true motives are, and clearly believes they are essentially military rather than political.

In this matter of the neutral and his ship, I can agree the story is less than clear. But that, I consider, is part of the story. Winchmore, Tegg, Portson and Maddingham were all operating in the fog of war: they suspected the neutral, but could not prove anything.

However, when Seymour-Smith talks of "another tedious attack on 'neutrals'", I suggest he is not in tune with British public opinion at that time: certainly not with what the Navy thought. At the outbreak of war, blockade was instituted, and all sorts of attempts were made to run the blockade – involving real neutrals out to make money, and 'neutrals', Germans under other flags, doing it from patriotic motives. Above all, as ever, Kipling speaks the language and expresses the attitudes of the *dramatis personae* in this story. It is the R.N.V.R., the Amateur Navy if they will forgive me, speaking.

Most of all, in Maddingham especially at the end, Kipling portrays the British ability in the last resort to be ruthless in principle and in deed. ("But oh, beware my Country, when my Country grows polite!")

I would, I think, take issue slightly with Austin Asche over his comments on "Sea Constables" in the *Journal*, on two points. First, he says, "The word 'Neutral', or 'Newt', is used in terms of opprobrium throughout." I believe *opprobrium*, which my dictionary defines as 'disgrace' or 'infamy', is too strong. The British do not believe the neutral's story: his actions are not those of an honest trader *en route* from Europe to Antigua. But I will accept that because of their suspicions the characters use the word, as it were in inverted commas, in a *pejorative* sense. I believe this would have been general usage among the Patrol flotillas, who had good reason to be suspicious of so-called neutrals. (I have myself used the expression "honest fisherman" in an ironic if not pejorative sense during my time in the Fishery Protection squadron.)

Then again, when he says the neutral's papers are *false*, that is absolutely right. They are in fact in order; otherwise the Inquiry would not have allowed the neutral to proceed. However, they are (*vide the Concise Oxford Dictionary*) "lying, deceitful. . . spurious".

But at the end, Maddingham does not (as Austin Asche says) ensure "that [the neutral] does not get a doctor. So he dies." He merely, entirely correctly, says he will not as it were run Uncle Newt across to England in his private yacht (which *Hilarity* no longer is) so that he can travel to London to see his doctor (which, I suggest, reinforces the idea that the neutral is European rather than German-American).

The neutral is over-stating his case when he says, "I can't get any doctor in this God-forsaken hole." Dublin, a centre of medical excellence, was within reach, and his purse could have bought the best attention available. Similarly, if he thought himself well enough to travel in *Hilarity* to England, and on to London by train or motor, his purse could have bought him luxury travel by the Dublin & South-Eastern Railway, the regular steamer to Holyhead, and so to London. But obviously he was worse than he thought he was, and would never under any circumstances have reached London alive.

Perhaps, one could suggest, Uncle Newt (if a German under false colours) was true to the last, trying to persuade Maddingham to take him on board, knowing that he would be likely to die on board ("Then I'm a dead man, Mr. Maddingham.") and cause embarrassment to the British.

Two other points. I have always found the scene in the restaurant, when Winchmore questions the reliability and "alleged nationality" of Henri's nephew, rather offensive. But spy fever was rife in 1914/15; Winchmore had, one assumes, been patrolling the coast on the lookout for, among other things, spies, and was perhaps a bit over-sensitive. Winchmore might also just have been another xenophobic

Englishman – perhaps not very admirable by today's standards but a type who existed and exists, and perfectly in keeping with the story.

Finally, an unfair comment, not directly to do with Kipling. Matania's illustration [March 1992, page 30] is splendid, and you can almost *smell* Maddingham's oilskins – in these days of plastic, one forgets how an old oilskin smelt! But I do think that he would have worn a Service cap: the one he is wearing seems to have two gold stripes round the cap-band, rather like a French naval Lieutenant's cap. On board *Hilarity* he might have worn his old yachting cap as everyday wear when there was no one else about; but when he was calling officially on his enemy I think he would have done better. After all, he had earlier said, "I'd blacked myself all over for the part of Lootenant-Commander in time of war, and I'd given up thinking as a banker."

And would Uncle Newt have taken to his bunk with his cap on? In fact his cabin doesn't look like the captain's cabin. His ship is not a small one, but there is an upper bunk in what is, one assumes, the owner's or captain's cabin. Far more likely, I suggest, that whether captain or owner he would have lived in solitary splendour.

To summarise. In all the above I am trying to apply the rules of logic to a piece of fiction, always a dangerous thing to do – notwithstanding that I have always found it an authentic-sounding tale. If indeed it is a tale of vengeance in time of war (and there is a difference, I believe, between vengeance in war and vengeance in time of peace), I suggest that the enemy gets no more than his deserts. Whether American or German, he has committed a belligerent act; and in the course of committing it contracts an illness, without any help from his enemy, of which he dies.

And I believe that whatever may have been Kipling's original intention, in the story as finally published the vengeance was reinforced by a specific act, the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

"MRS BATHURST? NO PROBLEM" by Shamus O.D. Wade explains Kipling's "difficult" short story very simply in 1,390 words. "Mrs Bathurst? No problem" is sold in aid of the Commonwealth Forces History Trust (Registered Charity No 1011521). Just send £5 (or U.S. \$12) to The Commonwealth Forces History Trust, 37 Davis Road, Acton, London W3 7SE.

## BOOK REVIEW

*EAST AND WEST A Biography of Rudyard Kipling* by Thomas N. Cross, M.D. (Luckystone Press, 1992); xvi + 348 pp including references, index & 12 pp of plates; ISBN 0-9631406-0-4; hardback, \$12; obtainable from Luckystone Press, 310 Corrie Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105, U.S.A.

This is not so much a biography as a case study, in which Kipling's writings take the place of clinical interviews. When the book was begun some 25 years ago, Dr Cross was Assistant Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Michigan, and author of *Personality Development, with Literary Examples*.

Cross agrees with Martin Seymour-Smith that Kipling's relationship with Wolcott Balestier was a love affair. But this book's principal thesis is that, born in India, Kipling suffered from a confusion of identity because he had been cared for by a dark-skinned *ayah*. This, Cross thinks, made him feel he had two mothers, one English, the other Indian: he lost one when he left Bombay, aged six, and felt that the other betrayed him by handing him over to a cruel foster-mother until he was twelve. The death of his baby brother John, when a few days old, Cross believes, made Kipling feel in later years that he was a half-twin, and that in some way his mother had failed to deliver his brother properly, and so was responsible for the death.

Following Edmund Wilson in *The Wound and the Bow* (1941), and a hint from Kipling himself in the first chapter of *Something of Myself*, Cross holds that the psychological trauma Kipling suffered in childhood would be the making of his art; but adds that it left him with a lifelong terror of going blind, and a dependency on older, dominant women – of whom Carrie Balestier was one.

Some anecdotes of the American years, and of the West Indian trip in 1930, have not, we believe, appeared elsewhere. But this research was done some time ago, before the important Mary Cabot memoir was published, which Cross evidently had not seen.

This book is a labour of love, written over many years. Though not without misprints, it is very presentable: well bound, with excellent type-face and layout. Cross puts across his views very persuasively and professionally. But his theories about Kipling's feelings, and how his mind worked, are purely hypothetical and unsupported by material evidence. This (like Seymour-Smith's) is not a biography to recommend to anyone showing a first-time interest in Kipling, though it gives an interesting side-view for the adept.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

[I am glad to receive letters intended for publication. However, since more are received than can in practice be printed, I must be selective, and reserve – unless expressly told otherwise – the usual right to shorten a letter. In some cases it may be possible for the text, and/or enclosures, to be summarised under "Points from Other Letters". – *Ed.*]

### "MRS. BATHURST" AND OTHER STORIES

*From Mrs J. Leeper, 43 Lammas Lane, Esher, Surrey KT10 8PE*

Dear Sir,

Having read another article and two letters on "Mrs. Bathurst" [*Traffics and Discoveries*] in your June 1992 number, I am emboldened to repeat some comments which I wrote to Mr Philip Mason, after reading his article in your March number. (For several years he and I have corresponded with each other on various Kipling stories.)

It seems probable to me that Vickery had contracted a bigamous marriage with Mrs Bathurst in New Zealand; and that she was pregnant when she followed him to England, and then died in childbirth or of a miscarriage; the reference to Vickery's face in the cinema, "white an' crumple", like "things in bottles . . . previous to birth as you might say", gives a hint in this direction.

I quite agree with Mr Mason that Mrs Bathurst was dead; and maybe the statement "I am *not* a murderer" left unsaid "though I am responsible for her death". Her death may have exposed the bigamous marriage, and that supplies a link with "From Lyden's 'Irenius' " – "She that damned him to death knew not that she did it. . ." It also explains the captain's reaction: a man on the verge of nervous breakdown could be sent to a naval hospital, but one liable to criminal prosecution would tarnish the reputation of the ship, and would be better written-off as a deserter.

I agree with Mr Mason in finding Nora Crook's identification of the second tramp with Boy Niven far-fetched, but am impressed by her theory that Kipling's story was associated with Dante's *Inferno*, and that Vickery represented the modern version of a damned soul.

I also find Mr Mason's reference to "A Madonna of the Trenches" [*Debts and Credits*] very relevant, and agree that Kipling was attracted by the thought of love consummated in death – as also in "Uncovenanted Mercies" [*Limits and Renewals*]. Aunt Armine in "A

Madonna of the Trenches" was a ghost or apparition, and perhaps C.A. Bodelsen [*Aspects of Kipling's Art*, 1964] was not far out when he suggested that Mrs Bathurst's 'ghost' (though I prefer the word 'spirit') entered the tramp's body.

In "The Dog Hervey" [*A Diversity of Creatures*] the dog becomes a vehicle to transmit Moira's hopeless love to Shend; in "The House Surgeon" [*Actions and Reactions*] the house transmits the unrelenting anger of Mary Moultrie over her sister's supposed suicide; I believe that the second tramp, whose actual identity is irrelevant, transmits Mrs Bathurst's love and forgiveness to offer redemption for Vickery. The whole story focuses on the connection between "*the other was squat tin' down lookin' up at 'im*" and "*Sat a maiden with the one she loves the best*". I cannot believe that Kipling juxtaposed these two concepts without a purpose.

Mr Mason did not agree completely with these suggestions I made; but I think that both of us felt that the end of the story pointed towards reconciliation rather than despair.

Yours sincerely  
JOSEPHINE LEEPER

## A VISIT TO LAHORE

*From Dr J.D. Lewins, Magdalene College, Cambridge CB3 OAG*

Dear Sir,

In July 1992 I had the opportunity to spend 24 hours in Lahore. Your readers will know that Lockwood Kipling had become Curator of the Lahore Museum and Principal of the Mayo School of Industrial Art in 1875, so this was the city best known to Kipling during his seven-year period in India from 1882, starting as Assistant Editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette*. They may be interested in a brief description of Lahore, Kim's city, today.

The city of the 1880s, with a population of 130,000, capital of the Punjab, has grown to over 3 million; but its essential centre, the walled city dominated by the Badshahi Mosque, Allama Iqbal's tomb and Lahore Fort, is unchanged. A modern bridge carries the Grand Trunk Road across the River Ravi; and the national Minar-i-Pakistan (worth the 300-step climb for its view over the city) in Iqbal Park commemorates the commitment to Pakistan.

Unchanged is the throng in the Anarkali (Pomegranate Blossom)

Bazaar, still with sweetmeats and silks, cooked food and letter-writers. The traffic has multiplied, to include garishly painted and adorned buses and lorries, like travelling temples, rather than horse-drawn trams; but the thin-flanked horses and lumbering bullock-carts are as Kipling would have known them.

The *kafilas* [caravans of travellers] have been motorised, and few camels are seen in the city, though they are occasionally met with in the countryside. Much of the city wall is gone. The streets run tight and twisty, roofs sprouting the ubiquitous television aerial. The Gate of the Camel has been demolished; and where Mahbub Ali would collect his entourage the city houses its buses; and the area around the Akbari Gate has specialised in composite wood supplies.

The outer city areas include military cantonments, the Meean Meer, as Kipling would have known them. There are new parks in and outside the town, to complement the Shalimar Garden where still the water runs in marble fountains to cool the extreme heat of July, with black kites circling above.

Outside the Museum, Kim's Gun (first used at the Battle of Panipat in 1761, and then a Sikh trophy), lovingly restored by Pakistan Army craftsmen, is isolated from modern children by a dry moat and by the flood of city traffic on either side. No latter-day Kim can drum his heels on Zam-Zammah.

Do not be deceived by its position outside the Wonder House, however. The contents include all that Kipling would have known and recounts: a splendid collection detailing the Lord Buddha – and modern Bengali paintings he would not have known. But the building itself is the late-nineteenth-century re-building of Kim's Wonder House, opened in 1894; the foundation-stone, however, was laid in 1890, so Kipling would have been aware of the new construction, if only from his father's interest. I traced the original museum to a building nearby, the Tolinton Bazaar, which now houses a gun shop and such delights as the sugarcane-juice vendor. Behind the seedy facade, the lines of the original Wonder House can indeed be seen.

Sadly, much of Pakistan has been corrupted by guns and drug-money; its universities politicised and corroded to the extent of public acknowledgment in parliament and newspapers. Dacoits operate freely, it seems, in Sind. In Lahore, Queen Victoria is gone from her plinth in the Mall, but much of the British Raj remains in this bustling town, oldest city of the plain. The city's smells and the steamy heat of July evoke Kipling for me, as much as his writings evoke the Indian sub-continent and Lahore, Queen of the Punjab.

Yours sincerely  
JEFFERY LEWINS

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1991

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

	1991 £	1990 £
<b>INCOME</b>		
Subscriptions	6,766	6,873
Contributions from Overseas Branches	1,598	1,583
Donations	105	115
Advertising	250	827
Investment Income & Bank Account Interest	486	580
Sale of <i>Journals</i>	170	202
Other Income	369	259
Profit on sale of bookcases (see Note 6)	515	—
	<u>10,259</u>	<u>10,439</u>
<b>EXPENDITURE</b>		
Print & despatch of <i>Journal</i>	6,165	5,852
Office – Rent & Insurance (see Note 4)	971	2,918
– Other overheads (see Note 5)	2,401	1,638
Depreciation	1,062	1,341
Honorarium	120	120
Lectures & Meetings	401	455
Bad Debts (see Note 7)	278	—
	<u>11,398</u>	<u>12,234</u>
Surplus/(Deficit) for year	(1,139)	(1,885)
Exceptional Income (Gift Aid)	—	4,133
Increase/(Decrease) in value of Investments	1,627	(1,859)
<b>Surplus/(Deficit) for year</b>	<u>488</u>	<u>389</u>

## NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

1. *Income & Expenditure* are accounted for on an accruals basis, with the exception of subscriptions, which are accounted for on a cash received basis.
2. *Office equipment* is depreciated in equal instalments over five years.
3. *Investments* are stated at the quoted value on 31 December 1991.
4. *Rent* was only paid to 31 March 1991, when the Society vacated its office at the Royal Commonwealth Society.
5. Included in *Other overheads* are the exceptional costs of the dispersal of the office equipment and furniture, of moving the Library to City University, and of notifying members of the increase in the annual subscription and consequent revision of Bankers' Orders and Covenants.

KIPLING SOCIETY

BALANCE SHEET

31 DECEMBER 1991

	1991		1990	
	£	£	£	£
<b>FIXED ASSETS</b>				
Library		14,334		14,334
Office equipment – cost	6,948		6,948	
– depreciation	<u>(6,351)</u>		<u>(5,289)</u>	
		597		1,659
		14,931		15,993
<b>INVESTMENTS</b>				
Listed Securities (see Note 3)		8,236		6,609
<b>CURRENT ASSETS</b>				
Bank Balance	4,451		4,567	
Debtors & Prepayments	<u>3,068</u>		<u>3,086</u>	
		7,519		7,653
<b>CURRENT LIABILITIES</b>				
Creditors	<u>(1,527)</u>		<u>(1,583)</u>	
<b>NET CURRENT ASSETS</b>		5,992		6,070
		<u>29,160</u>		<u>28,672</u>
<b>RESERVES</b>				
Balance at 1 January		28,672		50,092
Surplus/(Deficit) for year		488		389
Revaluation of Library		–		(8,941)
Return of Wolff Collection		–		(12,868)
<b>BALANCE AS AT 31 DECEMBER</b>		<u>29,160</u>		<u>28,672</u>

6. Bookcases which were surplus to the requirements of the relocated Library were sold, realising £515.
7. Debts of £278 were incurred by advertisers in the *Journal* who have ceased trading.

#### SIGNATORIES

Note: The signatories to these financial statements were *Peter Lewis* (Honorary Treasurer) and *Norman Entract* (Honorary Secretary).

#### AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have audited the financial statements above in accordance with approved auditing standards. In my opinion the financial statements give a true and fair view of the Society's affairs at 31 December 1991.

signed *Georges Selim* (Honorary Auditor)

## POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS

### MISCELLANEOUS KIPLING-RELATED EVENTS

*From various members of the Kipling Society*

By diverse channels (e.g. via the Society's Secretary, Librarian and Meetings Secretary) information has reached me about various impending events that may interest our readers.

On 22 November a 'Study Sunday on Kipling', with Professor M. Macpherson, will be held at Higham Hall College, Bassenthwaite Lake, Cockermouth, Cumbria CA13 9SH. The cost, to include 'tea and finger-buffet', will be £12.50. Bookings or further enquiries should be made to the College.

Strasbourg's Théâtre Jeune Public are touring with a musical show, *Mowgli, l'enfant loup*. Some relevant places and dates are:— Cambridge (Arts Theatre) 3-7 November; Darlington (Civic) 10-13 November; Worthing (Connaught) 17-21 November; London (Lyric, Hammersmith) 1-5 December. Further information from those theatres or from Dual Controls, telephone Medway (0634) 819141.

A new jazz musical drama, boldly adapted from *The Jungle Book* and entitled *Jungle Town*, will be presented by Oxford University's Wonderland Productions, in Oxford, from 17-21 November. There will be a 20-strong cast and a 9-piece jazz band, and we are promised "energetic choreography, stunning new animal costumes, and the incorporation of moving images into a 'city-scape' set". Further information from the producer, Henrietta Duckworth, 35 Alexandra Road, Oxford OX2 ODD, telephone (0865) 204734.

Any member attending any of these events may care to send me a brief impression, in letter form, for possible publication.

I also learned from Jenny Bellamy, widow of our former Vice-President Peter Bellamy, that a 'memorial day' honouring her late husband was planned at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, for 3 October 1992. I had to tell her that owing to my absence abroad in August/September our September issue would unfortunately come out too late to let readers know in time. But speaking for the many admirers of Bellamy's talents as a singer [see

his obituary, December 1991, page 9], I hope that his memorial day will in any case have been widely attended. I am also sure that his numerous renditions of Kipling's verse, strikingly sung and finely recorded, are a worthy and lasting memorial. – *Ed.*

## KIPLING AND MIGRAINE

*From Mr Brian Mattinson, 6 Herisson Close, Pickering, Yorkshire YO18 7HB*

Mr Mattinson first, and others later, kindly drew our attention to an article entitled "Kipling: a medical history", by E.M.R. Critchley, D.M., F.R.C.P., published on pages 7-8 in the December 1991 issue of the *Migraine Monitor*, a thrice-yearly journal for general practitioners, published by The Medicine Group (UK) Ltd, 62 Stert Street, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 3UQ.

The most interesting feature of the article is the writer's commendation of Kipling's extreme accuracy in describing the classical migraine from which he was suffering on 10 June 1886, as recounted to his cousin Margaret Burne-Jones in the course of a very long letter from Lahore, written at intervals between 3 May and 24 June 1886 and published by Professor Pinney on pages 130-137 of Volume 1 of *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling* (Macmillan, 1990). The passage in question, which caught Dr Critchley's attention, and which he believes is "the only account of migraine in Kipling's writings", reads as follows: –

"Do you know what hemi crania means? A half head ache so – [*drawing of head with line dividing it from top to bottom*]. I've been having it for a few days and it is a lovely thing. One half of my head in a mathematical line from the top of my skull to the cleft of my jaw, throbs and hammers and sizzles and bangs and swears while the other half – calm and collected – takes notes of the agonies next door. My disgusting doctor says it's overwork again and I'm equally certain that it rose from my suddenly and violently discarding tobacco for three days. Anyhow it hurts awfully — feels like petrification in sections and makes one write abject drivel."

The rest of the article, though worth reading, probably does not contribute materially to the existing sum of knowledge about Kipling's health, notably his physical and psychological ups and

downs. His poor sight, and what appears to be a fear of blindness, are touched on; as are his recurrent insomnia, and a period of nervous breakdown, and in his later years the "slow but certain descent into illness", ending in his death from a perforated duodenal ulcer. On the positive side, he is given credit for "an uncanny knowledge of hysteria", as reflected in his famous wartime story, "Mary Postgate" [*A Diversity of Creatures*].

## HUMMING RECALLED

*From Mr Paul Beale, 131 Byron St, Loughborough, Leicestershire LE11 0JN*

The following is an excerpt from a letter from Mr Beale, written, as he says, to share with us an 'oral memory': –

"I recently acquired two of the splendid Peter Bellamy tapes of Kipling's songs [listed with prices, opposite page 56 in our December 1991 issue – *Ed.*], and take particular delight in *Puck's Songs*. My mother introduced me to Kipling's work very early. Puck came after *Just-So Stories* and *Mowgli*; but *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies* have always been favourites because we know the countryside round Burwash, and East Sussex generally: my mother was brought up in Vines Cross.

"I was telling her about the tapes (slightly sad that they were not sung in genuine Sussex accent — but a more generalised demotic is probably acceptable to a wider audience), and reminding her of Kipling's composing with tunes in his head. This recalled for her a conversation she had had, probably in the early 1920s, with Mrs Fieldwick of Vines Cross, whose husband had for a time been cowman at Bateman's. Mrs Fieldwick recalled that 'Mr Kipling was for ever walking around the fields, *humming* to himself. They always said he was making up his poetry when he was like that.'"

## THE LATE TILLY TYLER

*From Mrs Lisa Lewis, Meetings Secretary, The Kipling Society*

The sad news of the death of Miss Matilda ("Tilly") Jaynes Tyler on 21 August 1992 was passed to us by Mrs Lewis with an obituary note, reproduced below. This does not preclude the subsequent publication

of further tributes, if any other of Tilly Tyler's friends cares to submit supplementary comments, specially about her links with Kipling studies, in which she was a connoisseur. Mrs Lewis writes as follows: –

"Tilly Tyler came of an old New England family with strong connections with Yale University; she was also descended from the painter Audubon. A graduate of Barnard College, and an expert photographer, she was a memorably inspiring teacher at Wallingford (Connecticut) High School. She travelled widely, making friends wherever she went, among all kinds and races of people – especially children. All these, as well as anyone who liked Kipling (her favourite author), found a hospitable welcome at her home in New Haven, stuffed with books and fascinating objects.

"She was an active member of the Society's North American branch, from her enrolment in 1959. "Tilly's network" will be greatly missed: by letter, xerox, transatlantic or transcontinental telephone., she regularly passed to Kipling readers, librarians and scholars each other's news and the latest developments. She built up what must be one of the most comprehensive collections of Kipling editions in existence, also acquiring some important manuscripts and letters. The collection is left to Yale's Beinecke Library.

"During a long illness her courage never failed, nor her warm humanity. The network was still going, shortly before she died."

## LEFT UNSAID

*From Mr R.F. Bolwell, 39 Blacklands Drive, Hastings, East Sussex*

Mr Bolwell writes to ask for clarification of a certain sardonic convention occasionally found in Kipling's verse – the use of the term "etc" at the end of a line. He cites two instances. First, the italicised 'chorus' quatrains in "The Sergeant's Weddin":-

*Cheer for the Sergeant's weddin' –  
Give 'em one cheer more!  
Grey gun– 'orses in the lando,  
An' a rogue is married to, etc.*

Second, the verse-endings in "The Waster" (1930), e.g.:-

His keepers insist he shall learn the list  
Of the things no fellow can do.

(They are not so strict with the average Pict  
And it isn't set to, etc.)

It may be assumed from the rhymes that the missing term in "The Sergeant's Weddin'" is "a *whore*". In the other poem, the omission is of "the Jew" (or in another verse "the Hun").

Possibly of greater interest is the question whether that convention was widespread: did other writers of Kipling's day, through archness, affectation, cynicism or even prudence, enfold similarly outspoken terms in such transparent wrapping?

### "THE WAY AV UT"

*From Lt-Colonel C.H.T. MacFetridge, Hendersyde Lodge, Whynstones Road, Ascot, Berkshire SL5 9HW*

Colonel MacFetridge writes – both to inform us and to enquire further – about the provenance of an uncollected 'barrack-room ballad' by Kipling, entitled "The Way av Ut". It was brought to his notice by a friend who saw it in an old regimental history. This was *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment: 1684 to 1902* by Lt-Colonel G. le M. Gretton (Blackwood, 1911). Its 13th chapter, covering the activities of the 2nd Battalion, 1883-1902, including the Black Mountain Expedition, contained the verses in question, introduced as follows:-

While the Regiment was at the Front Mr. Rudyard Kipling in a ballad made the immortal Mulvaney predict the result of sending an Irish Corps on a campaign where field canteens were not allowed. Thanks to the kind permission of Mr Kipling the ballad is reproduced.

Colonel MacFetridge rightly comments that "The Way av Ut", though neither in the Definitive Edition of Kipling's Verse nor in Carrington's collection of *The Complete Barrack-Room Ballads*, is not without interest, especially at a moment when the Royal Irish Rangers and the Ulster Defence Regiment are being merged to become the Royal Irish Regiment (which used to be the 18th Foot, and was disbanded with other Irish regiments in 1922).

Actually "The Way av Ut", though not collected by Kipling and little known today, was noted in the compendious *Readers' Guide*, and was re-published in Professor Rutherford's admirable *Early Verse by Rudyard Kipling* (Oxford UR, 1986), to which I am indebted for

the text below and for much of the commentary.

"The Way av Ut" was first published in the Allahabad *Pioneer* on 8 October 1888 (and in the next few days was reprinted in the *Pioneer Mail*, the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the *Week's News*. The Black Mountain campaign – a punitive expedition on the North-West Frontier — was unfolding at that precise time, and the papers were recording successful exploits by the Royal Irish, so the subject could hardly have been more topical. In the *Pioneer*, the verses were prefaced, after Kipling's manner, with a sub-heading, "The Black Mountain Expedition is apparently to be a teetotal affair. – Vide *Civil and Military*, October 5th." The text was:-

I met wid ould Mulvaney an' he tuk me by the hand,  
Sez he:— 'Fwhat *kubber* from the front, an' will the Paythans stand?'  
'O Terence, dear, in all Clonmel such things were never seen,  
They've sint a Rigimint to war widout a Fiel' Canteen!

'Tis not a Highland Rigimint, for they wud niver care —  
Their Corp'rils carry hymn-books an' they opin fire wid prayer —  
'Tis not an English Rigimint that burns a Blue Light flame —  
'Tis the Eighteenth Royal Irish, man, as thirrsty as they're game!

An' Terence bit upon his poipe an' shpat behin' the door.  
'Tis Bobbs', sez he, 'that knows the thrick av makin' bloody war.  
Ye say they go widout their dhrink?' 'An' that's the trut', sez I.  
'Thin Hiven help the muddy Kheyl they call an Akazai!

I lay wid thim in Dublin wanst, an' we was Oirish tu,  
We passed the time av day an' thin the belts wint *whirraru*:  
I misremember fwhat occurred but, followin' the shtorm,  
A *Freeman's Journal Supplemint* was all *my* uniform.

They're rocks upon parade, but O in barricks they are hard —  
They're ragin' tearin' devils whin there's ructions on the kyard;  
An' unless they've changed their bullswools for baby's socks, I think  
They'd rake all Hell for grandeur – an' I *know* they wud for dhrink!

An' Bobbs has sint thim out to war widout a dhrop or dhrain –  
'Tis he will put the *jildy* in this dissolute campaign:  
They'd fight for frolic half the year, but now their liquor's cut  
The wurr'd'll go:— "Don't waste your time! The bay'nit an' the butt!"

Six hundher' stiffin' throats in front — tu hundher' lef behind  
To suck the pickins av the cask whiniver they've a mind! –  
I wud *not* be the Paythan man forninst the *sungar* wall,  
Whin those six hundher' gentlemin projuce the long bradawl!

They'll all be dhry – tremenjus dhry – an' not a dhram to toss –  
 Divils of Ballydavel, holy saints av Holy Cross;  
 An' holy cross they all will be from Carrick to Clogheen,  
 Thrapeesin' afther naygur-log widout a Fiel' Canteen.

Will they be long among the hills? My troth they will not so –  
 They're crammin' down their fightin' now to have ut done an' go;  
 For Bobbs the Timp'rance Shstrategist has whipped thim on the nail  
 'Tis cruel on the Oirish but – ut's Murther on the Kheyl!

[Apart from Terence Mulvaney's characteristic "Irishisms", laid on thick to enhance the atmosphere, several terms may need explaining. *Rubber*: an anglicisation of *khabar*, news. 'Paythans': uneducated corruption of 'Pathans' – a term of uncertain origin loosely applied by the British to Afghan tribesmen. 'Blue Light': reference to the Good Templars, a temperance society. 'Bobbs', usually 'Bobs': Sir Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief. *Kheyl*: a clan or tribe, or a tribesman. *Akazai*: the Akazais were one of the tribes involved. 'Bullswools': slang for Army boots. *Jildy*: speed or vigour. *Stiffin'*: cursing. *Sungar* or *sangar*: a breastwork of loose stones. 'Naygur-log': nigger-people. 'Whipped thim on the nail': Professor Rutherford suggests this may be a variant of Army slang, 'to whip on a peg', i.e. to put on a charge; with a possible echo of a colloquial Scots phrase, 'off the nail', i.e. tipsy. Readers may care to amplify, or elucidate further, some of the terms in this densely vernacular poem. – *Ed.*]

## MEMBERSHIP NEWS

### NEW MEMBERS

We welcome to the Society the following new members:– Mr D.R. Gunther (*California, U.S.A.*); Mr William R. Langfeld (*California, U.S.A.*); Mr J.K. Moore (*Texas, U.S.A.*).

### THE LATE LORD FERRIER

We record with regret the death on 4 June 1992, in his ninety-third year, of Victor Ferrier Noel-Paton, E.D., D.L., who was raised to the Peerage in 1958 as Baron Ferrier of Culter. As a relatively young man he attained considerable civic and commercial distinction in India, where he had an active and successful career as a businessman (or *box-wallah*, as he preferred to say), as well as serving with enthusiasm in the Bombay Light Horse. Presidency of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, membership of the Bombay Legislative Council and chairmanship of several major Indian undertakings gave him a basis of very practical experience when he eventually became one of the United Kingdom's first Life Peers — in which capacity he took part with characteristic

zest in a wide range of work in the Upper House, till extreme old age and increased infirmity made it no longer practicable for him to attend.

He was a keen member of the Kipling Society, and will be remembered by many of us as an attender at our Annual Luncheons, and by some of us as a warm-hearted personal friend. He was the Society's Guest of Honour at the Luncheon in 1981; his spirited, informative and amusing address on that occasion is recorded in our issue of March 1982. Finally, it was characteristic of Victor Ferrier's thoughtfulness and generosity, to give practical expression to his support for the Society: we learn that his will includes provision for a legacy of £500 to our funds. This is deeply appreciated.

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The 65th Annual General Meeting of the Kipling Society was held on 22 July 1992 at Brown's Hotel, London. The Chairman of Council (Mrs Ann Parry) having sent apologies for unavoidable absence, and the Deputy Chairman (Mr Frank Brightman) being prevented by illness from attending, the chair was taken by the Treasurer (Mr Peter Lewis). Some 30 members of the Society were present.

A full record of the proceedings was kept by the Secretary: the following is no more than an outline of salient points.

The retirement from Council, by rotation, of Mrs Parry and Dr Gillian Sheehan was noted; appreciation was expressed for Mrs Parry's enthusiastic and valuable contribution to the Society's business as Chairman of Council; also for Dr Sheehan's participation — indeed her commendable assiduity in attending its functions, given that she had to travel from Ireland for the purpose on each occasion.

Mr D.J. Peters was elected to Council in place of Dr Sheehan. Mr Lewis announced that Mr Brightman would succeed Mrs Parry as Chairman of Council, and that Mr Michael Smith would succeed Mr Brightman as Deputy Chairman. As to the Honorary Official Members of Council (Meetings Secretary, Treasurer, Legal Adviser, Librarian, Editor of the *Journal*, and Secretary), they were all re-elected *en bloc*. The Auditor (Dr Georges Selim) was likewise re-appointed.

Reports were received from the Secretary, the Treasurer (in the chair), the Meetings Secretary, the Editor and the Librarian. The Secretary referred to a period of upheaval in the Society's affairs, occasioned by the closure of its London office, the creation of a new postal address, the transference of the Library to new premises, and the arrangements consequent upon the raising of the rate of subscription; but that period was in the past. The Annual Luncheon in 1992 had been a great success — though numbers had been lower than in the previous year, which could be attributed to the prevailing recession. New members continued to join, and membership was reasonably stable, but there was an urgent and continual need for more; effort on the part of existing members to recruit new ones was essential for the Society's vitality.

The Treasurer introduced the Financial Statement for the year ending 31 December 1991 [printed at pages 44-45 in this issue of the *Journal*]. He alluded to the fall in revenue from advertising in the *Journal*, largely attributable to the recession; the timeliness of the decision in 1991 to raise the membership subscription to £20 was on that and other accounts clearly vindicated. Turning to the current year, he commented that the number of members covenanting their subscriptions was gratifyingly large; the benefit to the Society of that system of payment was real, and the more members who took the trouble to adopt it the better for the Society's finances.

The Meetings Secretary touched on the various organised events held successfully in the recent past, and announced others planned for the near future [*vide* the "Secretary's Announcements" pages in the present and previous issues of the *Journal*]. Members expressed appreciation for the variety and imaginativeness of the programme.

The Editor reported on the state of the *Kipling Journal*. It was a magazine that always needed new material to sustain its general and academic interest: fortunately such an inflow continued to exist. Though, for reasons of space and cost, not every item could be accepted, this was as it should be: the volume and variety of contributions made it possible, he trusted, to maintain acceptable quality and balance. He apologised for the likely late publication of the next issue, due to his intended absence in the Antipodes in August and September.

The Librarian's report summarised events since the transfer of the Library into the custody of City University; and expressed appreciation for help and encouragement from the University Librarian, John McGuirk, and his staff, and for facilities made available by use of University premises. The housing and protection of books and other items had been further improved by purchase of an excellent additional bookcase. It remained true that so valuable and useful a collection still lacked a suitably professional catalogue; to create one was beyond the financial resources of the Society; but with the University's help progress had been made in preparing an appropriate application for support, to that end, from a certain charitable trust [as foreshadowed in the summary of the 1991 A.G.M. published in the *Journal* in December 1991].

A member (Mrs Helen Mills) proposed, and others supported, a vote of thanks to the Council for their work for the Society.

The formal business of the meeting being concluded, the Secretary read to those present a summary of an extremely interesting communication from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, regarding the recent discovery of what must now on good evidence be regarded as the grave of Lieutenant John Kipling (Rudyard Kipling's son), killed at the Battle of Loos, 1915. [This is covered more extensively in the Editorial of the present issue.]

The Annual General Meeting was followed by tea, and later by an excellent scheduled lecture by Professor Enamul Karim (the Society's Secretary for North America) on "Archetypes in Kipling's *Kim*".

# THE KIPLING JOURNAL

## AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

The *Kipling Journal*, house magazine of the Kipling Society, is sent quarterly to all members. Its contributions to learning since 1927 have earned it a high reputation. It has published many important items by Kipling not readily found elsewhere, and a vast quantity of valuable historical, literary and bibliographical commentary, in various shapes, by authorities in their field. In the academic study of Kipling, no serious scholar overlooks the *Journal's* wealth of data, soon to be re-indexed. Over two hundred libraries and English Faculties, in a dozen countries, receive it as corporate members of the Society.

However, though scholarly in general tendency, it is not an austere academic production. It aims to entertain as well as to inform. This is both necessary and easy. Necessary because our membership is as representative of the ordinary reader as of the university researcher. Easy because there exists an inexhaustible reservoir of engrossing material – thanks to the great volume and variety of Kipling's writings; the scope of his travels, acquaintance and correspondence; the diversity of his interests and influence; the scale of the events he witnessed; the exceptional fame he attracted in his lifetime; and the international attention he continues to attract.

The Editor is glad to receive, from members and non-members alike, articles or letters bearing on the life and works of Kipling. The range of potential interest is wide, from erudite correspondence and scholarly criticism to such miscellanea as justify attention, e.g. reports of new books or films; press cuttings; sales catalogues; unfamiliar photographs; fresh light on people or places that Kipling wrote about; and of course unpublished letters by Kipling himself, particularly ones of any biographical or bibliographical significance.

Authors of prospective articles should know that length may be crucial: the volume of material coming in steadily exceeds the space available. A page holds under 500 words, so articles of 5000 words, often requiring preface, notes and illustrations, may be hard to accommodate quickly. Even short pieces often have to wait. Naturally, as with other literary societies, contributors are not paid; their reward is the appearance of their work in a periodical of repute.

The Secretary of the Society arranges distribution of the *Journal*, and holds an attractive stock of back numbers for sale. However items submitted for publication should be addressed to **The Editor, *Kipling Journal*, Weavers, Danes Hill, Woking, Surrey GU22 7HQ, England.**

# THE KIPLING SOCIETY

## AN EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Kipling Society exists for anyone interested in the prose and verse, and the life and times, of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). When founded in 1927 by J.H.C. Brooking and a few enthusiasts, it met with predictable disapproval from Kipling himself; but it quickly gained, and thereafter retained, a substantial membership. It remains today one of the most active and enduring of the many literary and historical societies in Britain. Being the only one in the world that focuses specifically on Kipling and his place in English Literature, it also attracts members from many other countries, who receive the quarterly *Kipling Journal* (subject of a note on the previous page).

As an essentially non-profit-making cultural organisation, run on a voluntary basis to provide a service to the public as well as to its members, the Kipling Society is a Registered Charity in Britain. Its overall activities are controlled by its Council, though routine management is in the hands of the Secretary and the other honorary officials. However, its large membership in North America is mainly co-ordinated from Rockford College, Illinois, and there is also an active branch in Melbourne, Australia.

For fuller particulars of its organisation, and a list of impending meetings, see pages 4 and 5 of this issue. The Society's main London activities fall into four categories. *First*, maintaining a specialised Library which scholars may consult, and which is located in City University, London; *second*, answering enquiries from the public (e.g. schools, publishers, writers and the media), and providing speakers on request; *third*, arranging a regular programme of lectures, usually but not exclusively in London, and an Annual Luncheon with a Guest Speaker; *fourth*, publishing the *Kipling Journal*

Kipling, phenomenally popular in his day, appeals still to a wide range of 'common readers' attracted by his remarkable prose and verse style, his singular ability to evoke atmosphere, and his skill in narrative. These unacademic readers, as well as professional scholars of English literature, find much to interest them in the Society and its *Journal*. New members are made welcome. **Particulars of membership are obtained by writing to the Secretary, Kipling Society, 2nd floor, Schomberg House, 80/82 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HF** (or, for those living in North America, to the address at the foot of page 4).

The annual subscription rate is £20 – for both individual and corporate members, whether in Britain or abroad. This remains the 'minimum' rate: many members very helpfully contribute more.

