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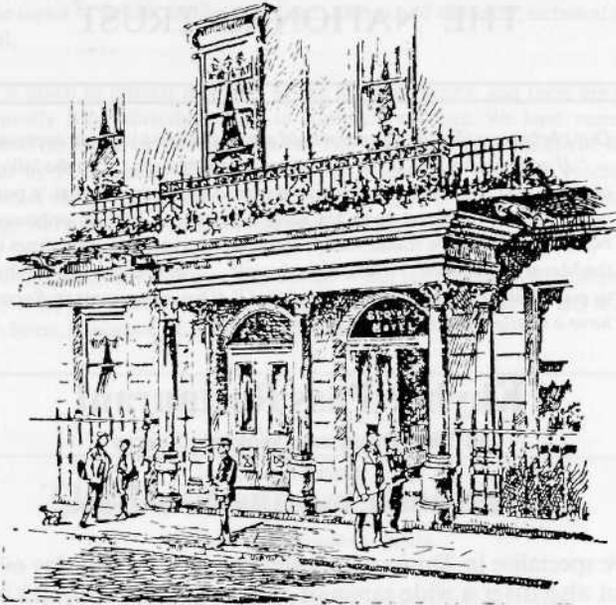
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There is much to interest members of the Kipling Society, and there are not infrequently items directly related to Kipling's writings. We have recently published an article by George Webb on *The Irish Guards in the Great War*, another by Peter Lewis 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 is currently £49.80 – but for members of the Kipling Society there is a special rate, £44. Enquiries and remittances to the *AQ & DJ*, 1 West Street, Tavistock PL19 8DS, Devon, England.

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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sunday 2 July 1995: visit to Bateman's. Detailed arrangements were set out in an 'insert' for U.K. recipients of the *March Journal*. The programme includes access to the house between 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.; tea at the Just So Tearooms, Burwash, between 5 and 6 p.m.; and a theatrical performance, "Brushes of Comets' Hair", by John Clegg in the Bateman's garden from 6.30 p.m. Prior booking is essential: if in any doubt phone our Meetings Secretary, Lisa Lewis, on (01491) 838046.

Wednesday 19 July 1995 at 4 p.m., at Brown's Hotel (Albemarle Street, London W1), the Society's **Annual General Meeting** (which any member may attend), followed by **tea** (booking forms for U.K. members are enclosed with this issue of the *Journal*); followed at 5.30 for 6 p.m. by **Dr Gillian Sheehan, MB, BCh, BAO**, speaking on "Kipling's Medicine".

Wednesday 13 September 1995 at **5.30** for **6 p.m.**, at **Brown's Hotel**, **Mrs Eileen Stammers-Smith** (a former headmistress of Bermuda Girls' High School) on "Kipling, Bermuda and 'A Naval Mutiny' [*Limits and Renewals*]".



MAHBUB ALI IN THE KASHMIR SERAI

A drawing by Charles Fouquieray for chapter I of a French edition of *Kim* (Librairie Delagrave, Paris, 4th edn, 1933) translated by Louis Fabulet & Charles Fountaine-Walker.

"The horse-trader, his deep, embroidered Bokhariot belt unloosed, was lying on a pair of silk carpet saddle-bags, pulling lazily at an immense silver hookah. He turned his head very slightly ..."

"Le maquignon, sa haute ceinture de Bokhara défaits, était vautré sur une paire de sacs d'arçon en tapis de soie, tout à la volupté d'aspirer paresseusement la fumée d'un immense houka d'argent. Il tourna très légèrement la tête ..."

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THE DELHI MAN, OBSERVED

Another Fouquieray drawing for chapter I of *Kim*: [see page 6]. Here, "Kim with one eye laid against a knot-hole in the planking . . . had seen the Delhi man's search through the boxes. This was no common thief... no mere burglar . . ."

"Kim . . . l'oeil collé au trou d'un noeud de bois dans la cloison, avait vu l'homme de Delhi fouiller les caisses. Ce n'est pas un voleur ordinaire . . . ni un filou vulgaire . . ."

EDITORIAL

REFLECTIONS FROM SEA TO SEA

I have just returned from a voyage in a Norwegian ship, up the coast of Norway – from temperate Bergen in the south to arctic Kirkenes in the north – and back. Our route, which took us into many fjords, and had us zigzagging through the thousands of islands, skerries and reefs that clutter that extraordinary coastline, was unforgettable for its striking natural beauty.

Indeed, there was almost too much beauty: by imperceptible degrees the eye and the brain became inured to it. I was reminded how Kipling had remarked the same syndrome in 1889 aboard the P&O ship *Ancona*, traversing the spectacular Inland Sea from Nagasaki to Kobe.

That lovely waterway [as he wrote in the second of his despatches from Japan* for the *Civil & Military Gazette* in Lahore] was "studded as far as the eye can reach with islands of every size"; they were of various colours, "purple, amber, grey, green and black"; and of various sizes, "from four miles long and two wide to little cocked-hat hummocks no bigger than a decent hayrick"; some so near that "as the big ship drives down the alleys of water, I can see the heads of the breakers flying ten feet up the side of the echoing cliffs, albeit the sea is dead-still."

It was a spectacle that defied the power of the pen to do it justice; and though his travel agents, Messrs Cook, had charged him "about one hundred rupees extra for the run" through the Inland Sea, the vision of those islands and of "the beauties of nature" was, he felt, "worth five times the money asked". Even so, speaking both for himself and for the other passengers whom he observed, he wryly admitted "how quickly wonder sinks to interest, and interest to apathy."

Apathy is perhaps too strong a term for the mild satiety of scenery we experienced in our colder northern sea. Fortunately, too, our fellow-travellers were less obtrusive than the ones Kipling described (though "indescribable" was what he called them). "I have been sitting for the last half-hour among a knot of whooping tourists . . . They say, 'Oh my!' at thirty-second intervals, and at the end of five minutes call one to another: 'Sa-ay, don't you think it's vurry much the same all along?' Then they play cricket with a broomstick till an

* collected in *From Sea to Sea, & Other Sketches* (1899)

unusually fair prospect makes them stop and shout 'Oh my!' again."

Kipling, who anyway adored steamer-travel, was particularly impressed by "this marvellous sea", but had to confess – as some of us, in our equally beautiful environment, might have done if pressed – that despite the astonishing views of land and water the periodic lure of the dining-saloon was too seductive to ignore.

"We brought oysters with us from Nagasaki. I am much more interested in their appearance at dinner tonight than in the shag-backed starfish of an islet that has just slidden by like a ghost upon the silver-grey waters, awakening under the touch of the ripe moon. Yes, it is a sea of mystery and romance, and the white sails of the junks are silver in the moonlight. But if the steward carries those oysters instead of serving them on the shell, all the veiled beauties of cliff and water-carven rock will not console me."

Again, I was vividly reminded of Kipling by some phrases in the Norwegian guide-book for our route. Describing the intricate approach whereby the ship snakes at reduced speed into one of the sensationally narrow channels through the Lofoten/Vesteraalen archipelago, the text warned that she would head "seemingly straight for the wall of a mountain. However, the captain knows his way and steers us skilfully through". More than once in these island labyrinths, the nervous passenger, very well aware of the dangerous rocks so close to the ship, was similarly reassured: "Don't worry, the captain knows the way out..."

An echo of this comes from Kipling as the *Ancona* threads through the Inland Sea. "Now we have come to a stretch so densely populated with islands that all looks solid ground. We are running through broken water thrown up by the race of the tide round an outlying reef, and apparently are going to hit an acre of solid rock. Somebody on the bridge saves us, and we head out for another island, and so on, and so on, till the eye wearies of watching the nose of the ship swinging right and left, and the finite human soul, which, after all, cannot repeat 'Oh my!' through a chilly evening, goes below."

THE SOCIETY'S ANNUAL LUNCHEON, 1995

Our Annual Luncheon duly and successfully took place on 3 May, but for reasons of space the full report, including the text of Philip Howard's address, will be published in our September issue.

"I AM STILL A SAHIB"

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE IN KIPLING'S *KIM*

by ANN PARRY

[Mrs Ann Parry is a former Chairman of the Society's Council, and the author of *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling: Rousing the Nation* (1992). She took her first degree, in Literature and History, at Keele in 1971, followed by an M.Phil. in Victorian Studies at the same university; and is now Director of Studies in the School of Arts at Staffordshire University.

In the article below, she examines the political and historical dimension of Kipling's novel, *Kim* (1901). A key sentence in her thesis is that "The main adventure action . . . is inspired by a particular view about British security in India; and the topical references . . . suggest that it was a deliberate intervention in the contemporary debate about the Frontier."

This is an interesting angle in the study of a remarkable book; and I hope it may prompt some comments from other readers. – *Ed.*]

"We are naturally entitled to read *Kim* as a novel belonging to the world's great literature, free to some extent of its encumbering history and political circumstances. Yet by the same token, we must not unilaterally abrogate the connections *in it*, and carefully observed by Kipling, to its contemporary reality." [from the Introduction by Edward Said to *Kim* in the Penguin edition, 1987]

Kim's claim to be "a novel belonging to the world's great literature" has most recently been established on the grounds of its being "the one great and glowing exception" to all Kipling's other work, because it defies "all doctrines of racial superiority", and imagines "a world yet to be realised of inter-racial harmony".¹

Such acclaim, based upon a radical futuristic meaning, depends upon the abrogation of the book's contemporary historical moment, and its dissociation from the kind of militant imperialism with which Kipling's name is thought to be synonymous. Yet, as Said recognised,

Kim did have "carefully observed" connections with its contemporary reality. This essay is an attempt to recover that lost dimension of Kipling's novel.

The idea for a book about India lay as far back as the Vermont period of Kipling's life, when he found himself removed from both the 'metropolitan' and the periphery of the British Empire – and in a country recently free from its imperial past.

There was much talk about the book when his father visited him in 1894, but Kipling laid it aside for other projects. C.B. Carrington's notes from Mrs Kipling's diaries show that Kipling worked on the manuscript in the early months of 1896: even though he consulted his father again, he still found himself stuck. Over two years later, in August 1898, he started to work on the book again, this time consulting his father in a far more systematic way – sending him parts, receiving his comments, and staying with him to discuss the progress of the work.

This collaboration went on until January 1899; then nothing else is heard until the autumn of that year, when he contacted his agent, A.P. Watt, and asked him to send the unfinished manuscript of *Mother Maturin*, his earliest attempt to write a novel about India. By November 1899 he was able to read a version of *Kim* to his aunt, Georgie Burne-Jones; but he was evidently still not satisfied, because the diaries show that he was working at the novel again in January 1900. The Boer War caused work on *Kim* to be broken off in February 1900, and it was not resumed until May.

A diary entry records that *Kim* was completed by 7 August 1900: the dating of page-proofs in early and mid-August confirms this date.² It had, therefore, been nearly eight years in the making. It had involved Kipling in looking back to his youthful impressions of, and responses to, India; it had been in gestation through the decade that saw many of his imperial hopes rise, only to be dashed; and its completion had been interrupted by his activities in South Africa, where what he saw produced his bitterest comments to date on England's imperial policy and its makers.

However, most of the literary critics who have written about Kipling's novel have been convinced that it is unrelated to the politics of its time of writing; and that imperial polemic has been omitted from it. Mark Kinkead-Weekes set the tone when he remarked that "in Kipling's time the threat from Russia to the Indian Frontiers was very real. Yet the more one realises this, the more one is also forced to realise how unpolitical Kipling's treatment is."³ Following his lead, later commentators have assumed the 'ahistorical' nature of the work;

we can read that "in *Kim* India is a land of pure delight," and that the narrative is essentially "a fantasy" in the form of a "pictorial idyll".⁴

Edward Said, in his recent introduction to the novel, has partially dissented from this view of the text. He confirms its literary status; the work is one of "great aesthetic merit"; but, bred on a different critical hump, he notices too that it is "a masterwork of imperialism". Although it is not a "political tract. . . Kipling never forgets that Kim is an irrefragible part of British India"; the book, seen aright, is "an aesthetic milestone on the route to Indian independence".⁵ What remains, however, is to discover how this politico-historical dimension has entered into the aesthetic.

The specificity of the chronology in *Kim* is an important factor in establishing this dimension. It has been suggested that "on the basis of internal evidence . . . the dating of the action precedes by a generation or so the date of composition, and that Kim was born in 1865 and joined the Lama in 1878."⁶ Norman Page's line of reasoning here suggests that the novel is dealing with an India of the past; and in doing so it supports all those readings that stress the nostalgic aspects of the narrative, linking it to Kipling's own years there as a child and in early manhood. But the internal evidence of the book would suggest that the main action is specifically and deliberately related to events in the 1890s, and real occurrences in India during that period. Therefore it is likely that it is much more closely related to the time of its writing than has previously been acknowledged.

In the first few weeks of their wanderings, Kim and the Lama meet a veteran soldier of the Indian Mutiny, who had been awarded the Order of British India at the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887. The old man speaks of this as being some years past, and his great age at the time of the meeting is stressed.⁷ A further clue also indicates a time-location for the text later than that suggested by Page. Kimball O'Hara, "a young colour-sergeant of the Mavericks", fought in the Second Afghan war, 1878-80, ("the big war"), married "a nurse-maid in a Colonel's family", and stayed on in India to work on the railway.⁸ It would be unlikely that Kim, his son, was born before the end of the Afghan campaign.

This conjecture is supported by other internal evidence that points towards the action of the novel belonging to the last decade of the 19th century. During Kim's school career at St Xavier's he is awarded, for his performance in mathematics, the *Life of Lord Lawrence* in two volumes⁹: this exhaustive work by Reginald Bosworth was not published until 1885. Kim is thirteen when we first encounter him, and, if he were born as early as 1880, it seems reasonable to assume

that the earliest point when the action of the novel might begin would be 1893.

Beyond that, the narrative covers about five years. The headmaster bids Kim farewell when he is seventeen; there then follows his reunion with the Lama and the adventure in the Himalayas with Hurree. This adventure occupies the six months that Creighton decrees Kim has to serve under the tutelage of others. The earliest finishing point for the novel, therefore, would be 1898.

If we now turn to the general situation in India in the 1890s, and relate it to the Great Game as it appears in the novel, a steady resemblance emerges. In *Kim*, the spy story and the adventure action of which it is a part address the question of imperial security in India, that was prominent in parliamentary discussions and in the press at this time.¹⁰ Moreover, at the end, the novel goes out of its way to comment on the policy that the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon, began to implement in 1899. The book ends, therefore, in the present of its own writing.

Kipling, like many other imperialists, saw India as the hub of the Empire; it was the territorial base for Britain's Far and Middle Eastern policies, and it played an increasingly important role in buttressing the home economy. The security of the sub-continent, therefore, was in importance second only to that of the British Isles; and throughout the Salisbury era India's security was thought to be in jeopardy.¹¹

There were those who believed that threats to British supremacy in India came from two powers, France and Russia; and many in England were alarmed by the fact that they were allies. The story of the Great Game in *Kim* suggests that Kipling was among them, and that he had a quite definite solution to offer to the problem of British security in India.

France and Russia were both known to be active in Tibet, on India's north-eastern border. France had a sphere of influence in China, and Tibet was under the suzerainty of China. Russia's star also seemed to be in the ascendant in Tibet: in 1898 the Dalai Lama assumed his majority, closed his country to Britain, and surrounded himself with advisers from Russia.

French interests were active as well in Persia – another of India's neighbours. In 1899 there was a French attempt to negotiate for a coaling-station at Muscat, the capital of Oman. Curzon, by then Viceroy, saw this as a significant threat to British sea routes to India. He let it be known that if the Sultan were to cede a port to France this would be "an international provocation to war". The statement was followed up by the cruiser H.M.S. *Eclipse* appearing in Muscat

harbour to make it clear that the threat was no idle one.¹²

It was, however, Russian ambitions along the North-West Frontier, through influence in Afghanistan, that were always regarded as the greatest threat to British interests in India. History had shown that it was from this direction that invasions of India came; since the 1860s, having been thwarted in its designs on the Ottoman Empire, Russia had been particularly active in Afghanistan. In 1886-87, a boundary between Russia and Afghanistan (which the British regarded as within their sphere of influence) had been agreed; but Britain remained in a continual state of watchfulness about Russian activities among the volatile and warlike tribes of the north.

Furthermore, by the late 1890s Russia was consolidating its influence in other areas near to India, for example in northern Persia; and there were well publicised plans for a railway, to extend southwards from the Russian border to the base it hoped to establish on the Indian Ocean. Britain had created a spy network around the passes of the north, to monitor Russian activities; it had reported that several 'explorers' were active along the old caravan routes, and that others were surveying the coasts.¹³ Mahbub Ali was part of this network, information-gathering for the Raj as he journeyed among the high passes, seeking horses he could sell in the plains.

In India itself, and back in England, there were those who viewed Russian activities in the north as clear evidence that it was only a matter of time before the right opportunity arose for the Russians to break in through India's back door. Michael Edwardes has suggested that "Afghanistan was a recurrent fever in the history of British India." The late 1880s and the 1890s would seem to have been such a time.¹⁴

General Brackenbury, Director of Military Intelligence, spoke in 1887 of "the quicksands of utter uncertainty to which we are now confined in consequence of the want of a defined policy for meeting further Russian aggression". As a result, he feared that "We shall find Russian troops occupying the passes of the Hindu Kush before we have made up our minds at what point Russian advance must be checked, and while neither in India nor in England are we prepared with plans and means of resistance."¹⁵

Kim, in its story of the Great Game, comments directly on this situation on the North-West Frontier, and makes clear suggestions about what would constitute a "defined policy" and a state of military preparedness.¹⁶ It is important to note, in the context of the perceived threats from Russia and France, that in the final adventure the threat to Britain comes from two "fake hunters" – a Russian and a Frenchman.¹⁷ Their journey brings them from the west, through

Afghanistan, over the passes, from where they head towards Tibet. As they go they survey and map the terrain, providing potentially vital information for those with military ambitions in the region.

The contemporary reader who was familiar with the security problem of the Frontier, even if not subject to what Edwardes described as the paranoia that it generated, would have been likely to read what literary critics present as a spy fantasy as a pointed representation of the worst of all possibilities – India caught in a pincer movement made possible by the co-operation of Russia and France.

At the end of the novel, the danger to Indian security from Russia persists unresolved: *Kim* has offered its own solution, but the policy it suggested has been rejected by the Government and its new Viceroy. Just as, at the end, future developments in the life of Kim himself are awaited, so too are they in the history of British India.

The resolution to the Frontier Question in *Kim* corresponds with the thinking of the so-called 'Forward School'. Proponents of forward policy insisted that the only way India's frontiers could be secured was by extending British influence over the tribesmen of the north by military action. Such action should be pursued ruthlessly, with conquest as its aim and outcome, leaving the tribes in no doubt to whom they owed allegiance; and Britain should maintain a permanent and strong presence on the Frontier.¹⁸ Were this not done, it was argued, the tribesmen would be convinced that Britain could not tackle either them or the Russians; and British prestige as rulers would be fatally undermined.

In *Kim*, Creighton and the Commander-in-Chief are of this mind. When news of the incipient rebellion arrives, both men agree that "This comes of not smashing them thoroughly the first time." The implication is – and it is repeated later in the novel – that a strong military presence is all that these tribes will understand, and the only way that Russian interference can be blocked.¹⁹ They must be 'punished' until they understand to whom they owe their loyalty.

In the 1890s the northern tribes had proved persistently rebellious, and the Army had been involved in a series of campaigns: at one point, 40,000 men were required to maintain British authority. In 1891 the Gilgit rising was only contained by the British with great effort and cost of life. In 1893 the Durand Line delineated the border between Afghanistan and India; it granted the tribes their independence, as long as they co-operated with the Raj; if they did not behave, they were to become 'protected persons', subject to British chastisement. The tribes were not party to the agreement, and they did not like it.



THE TWO SPIES, GULLED BY HURREE BABU

Another Fouquieray drawing [see pages 6 and 8], for chapter XIII of *Kim* — the chapter in which the "always smiling Bengali, talking the best of English with the vilest of phrases, was ingratiating himself", with total success.

" 'Decidedly this fellow is an original,' said the taller of the two foreigners . . .

'He represents in little India in transition — the monstrous hybridism of East and West,' the Russian replied. 'It is *we* who can deal with Orientals.' "

" 'Décidément, ce garçon-là est un original,' dit le plus grand des deux étrangers . . .

'Il représente *in petto* l'Inde de transition — le monstrueux hybridisme de l'Est et de l'Ouest,' répliqua le Russe. 'C'est nous qui devrions avoir affaire aux Orientaux.' "

Their rebellion in 1895 led to the Chitral campaign, "which was particularly well covered by the press in England, and caused a great deal of discussion in political circles."²⁰ The action in *Kim* takes its origin in the outbreak of this rebellion: the first intelligence that Mahbub Ali brings is about activity "beyond the Dora Pass", which is on the frontier between Chitral and Afghanistan.²¹ This would suggest that his information provided early warning of the 1895 rising. The rising in Chitral was followed in 1897 by that of the Pathans; followed in turn, in 1898, by the Tirah campaign against the Afridis.

The latter was the most bloody uprising in Frontier history: it proved to be "the severest test to which the British Army in India had been subjected since the Mutiny, not even excepting the Afghan War of 1878".²² Famine, disease and religious fanaticism all contributed to the uprising, but modern historians argue that the main cause was undoubtedly the tribesmen's fear of the British threat to their cherished freedom. From the far north of Hunza and Naga, south to Baluchistan, the British had extended their authority in the 1890s over areas which had never known or tolerated an overlord.

Seeing fortresses spring up, garrisoned by British soldiers, the tribesmen felt trapped in a vice; roads now cut through their country, and border-lines were drawn where the Boundary Commission had passed by. The risings of the tribes were a reply in the only terms they knew.

In *Kim*, however, these risings signify failure by the Government to be sufficiently ruthless in its retaliatory campaigns — "the war was not pushed. That is the Government custom."²³ The other reason for the continued unrest in the north, according to the novel, was Russia — that "kindly Northern Power" which, from the outset, is at the bottom of the trouble, importing "explorers of nationalities other than English, and the gun-trade".²⁴

The preoccupation with Russia in *Kim* is surely an example of that paranoia of which Edwardes speaks; and it received Kipling's attention elsewhere. In "The Truce of the Bear", a poem published on 1 October 1898, he stressed the need for constant vigilance against Russia, and the danger of thinking that it ever accepted defeat on the North-West Frontier — "*There is no truce with Adam-zad, the Bear that looks like a Man!*"

The poem was a response to Earl Onslow, Under Secretary of State for India, who had claimed that Russia was then preoccupied with other parts of its empire, and that what Britain should be concentrating on was establishing friendly relations with the tribesmen, allowing them their traditional independence and life-style.²⁵

In *Kim* however, Mahbub Ali, the Pathan, represents the behaviour

proper to a northern tribesman: he accepts the British as overlords, he serves the Raj and observes its laws, and he even intends eventually "to settle down as a more or less virtuous citizen".²⁶

The final word in *Kim* on Frontier policy is Hurree's comment on the changes to it by the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon: it is a scathing dismissal of the new developments. When Curzon arrived in 1899, the Frontier had been reduced to an uneasy calm, and British troops were scattered in lonely outposts, often miles from any base, with no lateral communications, so that it was difficult for reinforcements to reach them speedily.

Many believed that Curzon's presence in India would bring the final triumph of forward policy. In the event, the new Viceroy sought a middle way between the two schools of thought. Perhaps he had no alternative: before leaving England he had been warned by the Government not to undertake any new military responsibilities on the Frontier unless they were a strategic necessity. On the other hand, he was himself convinced that frontiers "are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war and peace, of life or death to nations."²⁷

His solution was to withdraw British and Indian troops to new bases inside the administrative border; to establish advance posts in the tribal areas, held by levies raised from among the tribes themselves; and to build light narrow-gauge railways between the posts and the bases, ensuring speedy reinforcements when necessary.

Curzon carried this policy, which was economical and efficient, against a powerful body of military opinion which, he commented, seemed to be in an "extreme panic . . . satisfied with nothing short of gigantic forts large enough to hold enormous garrisons and strong enough to resist attack by the whole Russian army."²⁸

The policy was publicly announced in England in August 1899, and was heavily criticised by the *London Times*. The evidence in *Kim* would suggest that Kipling too was a critic of it; and he felt so strongly about it that, in his final months of his work on the book, he deliberately built into it an adverse commentary that would certainly have been picked up by contemporary readers. When in chapter XII *Kim* is filled in by Hurree on the situation on the North-West Frontier, he is told that "the Government, anxious to avoid expense," is paying tribesmen to guard the passes, and the Army has been withdrawn.²⁹

Withdrawal of the troops is an invitation to the tribesmen to "bad faith"; it damages British prestige, and the whole cycle of disturbance on the Frontier begins again. The policy underrates the duplicity of the Russians and the volatility of the tribesmen, which will only be

contained by constant attention and the presence of troops". As Hurree says, "When everyone is dead the Great Game is finished. Not before."

When Kipling declined Curzon's invitation to visit India, no doubt he had good reasons; among them may have been his distaste for the policy Curzon was pursuing in relation to the Frontier; it is presented in *Kim* as beneath contempt, a penny-pinching exercise that will have enormous costs.

The main adventure action of *Kim*, therefore, is inspired by a particular view about British security in India, and the topical references in the novel suggest that it was a deliberate intervention in the contemporary debate about the Frontier.

Kim not only draws on actual events in Indian history; it relates to some of the verse Kipling had been writing before, during and after the Boer War.³⁰ A constant theme in his work at this time was the unwillingness of the political establishment to shoulder its imperial destiny: the Empire was falling apart because of the failure of the Government where necessary to make territorial advances, to subdue recalcitrant 'natives' ruthlessly, and to be aggressive in defence of its own ground.

In the South African War one of the problems faced by the British Army had been campaigning without adequate maps. The surveying activities of the Russian and the Frenchman might have suggested to contemporary readers that a source of British weakness in South Africa was repeated in India: hence the stress laid on Kim's professional training as a "chainman".

Kim suggests that India will be held by military strength, and by the resolve of the Government to support it at all times, and to use force when necessary; it fears, however, that all the Government will do is waste the information provided by the spy network.³¹

In its political tenor, therefore, *Kim* displays the same kind of pessimism about the future of the Empire as Kipling was expressing elsewhere in his writings. Those critical perspectives that view it as a fantasy or an idyll have, in Said's words quoted above, "abrogate[d] the connections *in it*. . . to its contemporary reality".³²

When the book was published, Kipling's father was pleasantly surprised that the notices it received were "on the whole . . . very good indeed"; he commented in a letter to a friend that, "You shouldn't pump (hot) water unawares upon a gracious public full of nerves — and *Kim* is in some respects pretty considerable a douche." He went on to stress the remoteness of India to the "ordinary reader", and the refusal of the book to conform to "a carefully constructed drama with a plot and a finale".³³

However, the critique of recent and contemporary policy included in *Kim* also accounted for its potential to shock and offend. The current historical dimension might well have proved a "pretty considerable" awakening for a public "full of nerves" at the turn of the century, and less than sanguine about Britain's imperial future.

Yet, although Kinkead-Weekes's judgment, noted above, that Kipling's treatment of the Frontier was "unpolitical", must be revised, it must not be altogether dismissed. Set in the context of Kipling's entire *oeuvre*, it can illuminate how *Kim* is different from many other things he wrote. For the most part, when Kipling was set on making a political point, it suborned other elements in his work. *Kim* differs, in that the political commentary and the activity of the Great Game are integrated within the narrative: they direct the narrative, but they do not distort that direction. Although it may not be immediately apparent that this work defies "all doctrines of racial superiority"³⁴ as more recent critics have claimed, *Kim* does have a claim to be exceptional in the context of Kipling's work as a whole — because it is able to include a political commentary that does not suborn other elements of the narrative.

Ironically, the achievement in the novel of this balance has allowed the political urgencies of the past to go unnoticed by modern critics — something the prophet in Kipling might have deplored.

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The first phrase is Said's above; the second is used by Alan Sandison to describe the novel, at p xiv in his Introduction to the Oxford World's Classics edition (1987); the third and fourth are Benita Parry's in "The Contents and Discontents of Kipling's Imperialism" (see *New Formations*, 6, 1988: 4, p.2).

I am indebted to Lisa Lewis for this detailed information about the chronology of the writing of *Kim*. She also drew my attention to an interesting article about a manuscript edition of the novel in the British Library. This MS is hedged around with severe restrictions on its use, even for scholarly purposes. The article is "The *Kim* that Nobody Reads" by Margaret Peller Feeley in *Studies in the Novel*, 13, 3, Fall 1981.

"Vision in Kipling's Novels" by Mark Kinkead-Weekes in *Kipling's Mind and Art*, ed. Andrew Rutherford (Oliver & Boyd, 1964), p 227.

- annexed and leading men . . . blotted out . . . if the work was to be thorough or endurable." (See Bruce, *op. cit.* at Note 10, pp 327, 341-2.)
19. *Kim*, p 37.
 20. *India and Afghanistan, 1876-1907* by D.P. Singhal (Queensland U.P., 1963), p 159.
 21. *Kim*, p 22.
 22. *A History of British India under the Company and the Crown* (Oxford U.P., 1921; 2nd edn, 1938), p 513.
 23. *Kim*, p 221.
 24. *Kim*, p 22.
 25. As with many of his poems that made strong political statements, Kipling sought to give "The Truce of the Bear" maximum exposure; it appeared in *Literature* on 1 October, in the *New York Tribune* on 13 October, and in *The Critic* of December 1898, and was collected in *The Five Nations* (1903). Much earlier, in a short story, "The Man Who Was" (first published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, April 1890; collected in *Life's Handicap*), Kipling had also given vent to his suspicions about Russia. In it he emphasised that Russian bids to be "treated as the most easterly of western peoples instead of the most westerly of easterns" should be resisted: to do otherwise would create "a racial anomaly extremely difficult to handle". The story of the British officer held in captivity for thirty years by the Russians is used to exemplify their barbarity, a function of their belonging to Asia, which "is not going to be civilised after the methods of the West."
 26. *Kim*, p 22.
 27. A 1907 lecture by Curzon quoted by Edwardes (*op. cit.* at Note 12, p 59).
 28. *Ibid.*, p 65.
 29. *Kim*, p 221.
 30. Seen at its most transparent in the contents of *The Five Nations* (1903) – discussed in *Kipling the Poet* by P. Keating (Secker & Warburg, 1994), and *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling* by Ann Parry (Buckingham: Open U.P., 1992).
 31. This despair about the failure of the political class is echoed in "The Islanders", "The Dykes" and "The Old Men".
 32. E. Said, p 22 of the Introduction cited in the epigraph to this article.
 33. Quoted in A.W. Baldwin's essay, "John Lockwood Kipling", in *Rudyard Kipling: the man, his work and his world*, ed. J. Gross (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972), p 23.
 34. See Note 1.

KIPLING A CAPPELLA

A RECITAL BY PETER HORRIDGE AND ANN SURTEES

reviewed by BRIAN MATTINSON

[A *Cappella* (or *A Capella*, though the double p spelling is preferred by the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*), when applied to choral music, means in effect 'unaccompanied'. "Kipling A *Cappella*" was the title given to the Society's recent successful presentation of Kipling songs, introduced and sung by Peter Horridge (Peter Jackson) and Ann Surtees, in London on 15 February.

In the audience was Brian Mattinson, the *Kipling Journal's* music correspondent, (whose review of Charles Koechlin's *Jungle Book* was a valuable item in our issue of December 1994). I had asked him to report on "Kipling A *Cappella*", which he duly did, as follows. His account, though mainly based on his own impressions of an enjoyable evening, also owes much to some helpful notes supplied by the presenters, and to subsequent conversations with Peter Horridge. — *Ed. J*

The Kipling Room at Brown's Hotel resounded with the singing of Kipling's verse. Familiar as the words would be to members of the Society, every presentation is different, especially when there is music. The Meetings Secretary, Lisa Lewis, introduced Peter Horridge and Ann Surtees to the audience of about forty; and our travelling in from far and wide was rewarded with a highly individual performance.

There is an actor in every successful singer nowadays; and music and action are used in a song to enhance the words — in this case Kipling's words. So when Peter Horridge insisted that he and Ann were not singers, but rather actors who sang, no apology was to be inferred.

Both have a personal interest in Kipling. Peter's late father admired him, and as a schoolboy met him. Ann is related to R.S. Surtees, who of course was a favourite author of Kipling's. This was their first Kipling presentation together, although in 1988 Peter (Dr P.S. Jackson) gave an illustrated talk to the Society on "Kipling and

'Snaffles' ". ('Snaffles' was the artist Charles Johnson Payne, 1884-1967: Kipling wrote captions for his pictures, and they had planned to meet for the first time, at Brown's Hotel, on the Saturday that Kipling died.)

*

Peter began by describing Kipling not only as a most prolific writer of poetry, covering the period from the days of Tennyson and Browning to the era of Eliot and Auden, but also as a "musical poet". He developed this theme in several ways. About one eighth of the titles in *The Definitive Edition of Rudyard Kipling's Verse* have a musical connotation; and reading the poems provides more evidence of the influence of music. Lewis S. Winstock concluded that "one way or another Kipling knew folk songs, music-hall songs, drawing room songs and soldiers' songs,"¹ as well as marches and ballads. Peter Keating recognised his familiarity with music-hall songs from an early age.² Norman Page claimed that "his effects are direct and unmistakable in their impact on the reader; his music is more often that of the brass band than that of the string quartet."³ Similarly, when Henry James read *The Seven Seas*, he found it "all prose trumpets and castanets and such – with never a touch of the fiddle-string or a note of the nightingale".⁴

It is therefore not surprising that Kipling's poems have been set to music by so many composers, prominent among them being the late Peter Bellamy. A Vice-President of the Kipling Society until his untimely death in September 1991, he influenced Peter Horridge, who met him through folk music, before joining the Society himself in 1987. Bellamy's prominence was reflected in the evening's varied programme of thirteen songs, ten of which were his.

*

These included Peter Horridge's appropriate opener, "Tommy" –

O it's Tommy this, an' Tommy that, an' "Tommy, go away";
But it's "Thank you, Mister Atkins," when the band begins
to play . . .

It has already been suggested that Kipling did much of his verse-composition with some strong-rhythmed tune, often a hymn, in his head; and that "Tommy" unmistakably recalls the lilt of "The Lincolnshire Poacher".⁵

Ann Surtees's first song was "A Smuggler's Song", with its undercurrent of fear –

Them that asks no questions isn't told a lie.
Watch the wall, my darling, while the Gentlemen go by!

This came up again at the end of the programme, during the lively discussion: it touched on familiar quotations, which abound in Kipling, and the question who it is who tells the little girl not to notice the Gentlemen –

If you do as you've been told, 'likely there's a chance,
You'll be give a dainty doll, all the way from France . . .

It was suggested that "only a granny would bribe a child with a doll."
Two effective duets, namely "A Tree Song", which breathes of Bateman's –

Witness hereby the ancintury
Of Oak, and Ash, and Thorn –

and "The Bee-Boy's Song" –

But if you don't deceive your Bees,
Your Bees will not deceive you –

were followed by two contrasting solos. The beautiful and humbling " 'Cities and Thrones and Powers' " sung by Peter –

Shadow to shadow, well persuaded, saith,
"See how our works endure!" —

seemed to leave us particularly sensitive to the strange bitterness of

A fool there was and his goods he spent
(Even as you and I!)
Honour and faith and a sure intent
(And it wasn't the least what the lady meant)
But a fool must follow his natural bent
(Even as you and I!)

in "The Vampire", sung by Ann to the tune by Keith Marsden, who sadly died in the same year as his friend Bellamy.

In 1978, in a discussion of "favourite Kipling poems",⁶ the late

Mrs Bagwell Purefoy, a Vice-President of the Society, said that for her "Eddi's Service" came first. So it did for me in this programme. Perhaps Peter's experience as a vet gives him a particular empathy with this touching Christmas story of the ox and the ass in the tiny chapel –

And he told the Ox of a Manger
 And a Stall in Bethlehem,
 And he spoke to the Ass of a Rider
 That rode to Jerusalem . . .

Ann then sang "The Looking-Glass", a good example of this vivid introspective device –

And she saw her day was over and she saw her beauty pass
 In the cruel looking-glass, that can always hurt a lass
 More hard than any ghost there is or any man there was!

before they joined forces again for the solemn defeatism of "Gertrude's Prayer" –

Whereby the more is sorrow in certaine –
 Dayspring mishandled cometh not againe . . .

Peter sang only two verses of "Mandalay", in the well known setting by Oley Speaks. Perhaps he had to include it, a favourite song in late Victorian drawing rooms and music-hall; but abbreviated and unaccompanied it could not do justice to either poem or music. One could almost devote a whole evening to the many settings of "Mandalay", researched so thoroughly by B.E. Smythies.⁷

If there was any disappointment with "Mandalay", the duet "My Boy Jack" more than made up for it –

"When d'you think that he'll come back?"
Not with this wind blowing, and this tide. . .

The bleak exchange between the two voices was so gripping that a sudden brief clamour from the alarm bell in the room passed almost unnoticed. I was reminded of the atmospheric setting by Butterworth, himself a victim of the Somme, of the equally harrowing poem, "Is my team ploughing?", from Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*.

From the Boer War, Ann then sang McCall's setting of "Boots"; it, like "Mandalay" and "The Smuggler's Song" (Mortimer's setting),

was a favourite of the famous Australian bass-baritone, Peter Dawson. I had reservations about the choice of the female voice for this song but, in spite of this and the lack of the familiar orchestral accompaniment, she vividly captured the relentless tedium of the march –

Try – try – try – try – to think o' something different –
Oh – my – God – keep – me from goin' lunatic . . .

Finally, Peter and Ann together brought the recital to an amusing and forward-looking close, with "I've never sailed the Amazon" (or "Rolling Down to Rio") from "Just So Verses" – both slowly sitting down to wistful acknowledgment of much to be done, "Some day before I'm old!"

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A *Cappella*, originally "in the style of the church [chapel]" from the practice of not using instruments to accompany voices in the Sistine Chapel, has since acquired a broader meaning including unaccompanied secular music. It made an intriguing title, and Peter and Ann were warmly thanked by the enthusiastic audience for their individual presentation of this small selection of Kipling's verse in, to use Norman Page's exemplification, a style nearer to the brass band than to the string quartet.

B.E. Smythies, mentioned above, also records that at least 167 of Kipling's poems have been set to music, in different styles – some poems like "Mandalay" (c. 14) and "Recessional" (c. 39) by more than one composer.⁸ An example nearer to the string quartet or the nightingale comes immediately to mind; "Of all the tribe of Tegumai" ["Morrow Down"] from *The Just So Song Book* (my copy is Ex Libris Peter Bellamy) evokes powerful emotions, for which Kipling must share the credit with Edward German and his lovely melody and rich harmony.

Kipling, even if a music-lover, might have resented this. After all, he made Meon say to Eddi, "You are just about stupid enough for a musician,"⁹ and there has been recent speculation about Kipling's uncomfortable relationship with his contemporary, Elgar.¹⁰

Be that as it may, this evening whetted appetites to hear more Kipling songs, partly to let the different composers deepen our appreciation of the verse, and partly — well, because it is such good entertainment. I heard one member say, "Best Kipling night I have had for years."

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2. Peter Keating, *Kipling the Poet* (Secker & Warburg, 1994), p 65.
3. Norman Page, *A Kipling Companion* (Macmillan, 1984), p 173. This quotation, from a chapter entitled "The Verse", is followed by an interesting comment in parenthesis: "(The odd thing is, of course, that *his prose* is often subtle, ambiguous, allusive and obscure to the point of opacity – a curious appropriation by the popular form of the short story of characteristics more readily associated with modern poetry.)"
4. Quoted in *A Kipling Companion* [see note 3 above], pp 173-4. The passage comes in a letter of 5 November 1896. It opens thus: "I am laid low by the absolutely uncanny talent – the prodigious special faculty of it. It's all *violent*, without a dream of nuance . . ." But it goes on to acknowledge that "it's magnificent and masterly in its way, and full of the most insidious art."
5. *Kipling Journal*, September 1991, p 61.
6. *Kipling Journal*, September 1978, pp 16-17.
7. *Kipling Journal*, June 1991, p 34.
8. *Ibid.*
9. In "The Conversion of St. Wilfrid" [*Rewards and Fairies*], the story in which, as they listen to an organist practising in church, Una says, "I hope she'll do all the soft lacey tunes – like treacle on porridge," and Dan replies, "I like the trumpet ones best."
10. *Kipling Journal*, June 1990, p 26; September 1991, p 60.

HENTY AND KIPLING

SOME SIMILARITIES BUT MANY DIFFERENCES

by K.M.L. FRAZER

[Mr Frazer, a member of the Society, noticed an enquiry from another member, Mr Patrick Roney (December 1994, page 56), as to what Kipling and G.A. Henty might have thought of each other — given that they had a certain amount in common, not least an enthusiasm for the British Empire. Actually, in Mr Frazer's view, there were as many differences as similarities between the two writers; he outlines them below.

Admittedly, it leaves open the question, what Kipling and Henty thought of each other. Though Henty (1832-1902) was much the older, in the 1890s the two writers were simultaneously immensely popular. In that decade, while Kipling was newly arrived at the height of his powers, Henty's phenomenal productivity (in the last thirty-odd years of his life he turned out over eighty historical adventure stories) continued unabated — indeed it accelerated. Admittedly, Guy Arnold's biography of Henty, *Held Fast for England* (Hamish Hamilton, 1980), hints that he felt overshadowed by the younger man, and that an article he wrote in 1899, "Torpedo-Boat 240: A Tale of the Naval Manoeuvres", was perhaps prompted by Kipling's *A Fleet in Being: Two Trips with the Channel Squadron*, of 1898. But that is speculative.

Mr Frazer's first introduction to Kipling was "listening enraptured to my mother reading *Just So Stories*"; later he won *Rewards and Fairies* as a kindergarten prize, and it remains among his favourite books. After Oxford he joined the Army, first with the Northumberland Fusiliers (formerly the 5th Fusiliers, young Kipling's "first and best beloved" military acquaintances in Lahore). He took a regular commission with the York and Lancaster Regiment, later transferring to the Intelligence Corps. After the Army, and then after twenty years with the BBC, he now enjoys an active retirement in Hertfordshire. — *Ed.*]

On 26 November 1898, four years before he died, George Alfred Henty presided at the forty-fourth Dinner of the Savage Club in London — this Dinner to honour the Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, General Kitchener, on his return from the Sudan.¹ Henty also belonged to the Sports Club, the Royal Thames and the Corinthian.²

The Savage Club, described by Ralph Nevill in *London Clubs*³ as a "Bohemian institution", was dominated by a mixture of adventurous journalists and the lighter side of the theatre. Its membership had included the cartoonist George Cruikshank, but no tragic actor of

note nor serious journalist. I think it would certainly have catered for Torpenhow, 'The Nilghai' and Dick Heldar;⁴ and for Bat Masquerier and his stars;⁵ but not for Thackeray or Irving.

As for Kipling, I am indebted to the Archivist of the Savage, Mr Peter Bond, for the negative information that there is no record in the club's extensive archives of Kipling attending any of their fortnightly dinners, or being at the club itself. He was a member of the Athenaeum and the Savile;⁶ I doubt if they would have elected the writer of popular historical stories for boys – nor do I think Henty would have been happy there.

My father, who taught History, always said that he learned all his history from Henty. Some Henty reprints were the first books I owned – *By Conduct and Courage: A Story of the Days of Nelson*, published in 1905, three years after his death, and as typical a Henty as you could hope to meet; and *Facing Death, Or, The Hero of the Vaughan Pit: A Tale of the Coal Mines* (1882). The latter, by complete contrast with most of his writing, deals with a genuine working-class pit lad who, through hard work and night schools, becomes manager of a large colliery. (Henty had worked in a pit in Wales which his father owned; he had also once worked in a silver mine in Sardinia.)

Mr Huttenback, writing in *Encounter* in 1970, said: "All Henty's heroes were gentlemen and adventurers." This is largely true; but not universally. Another minor work, *Sturdy and Strong, or, How George Andrews Made his Way* (1888), is about a working-class boy overcoming his poor background.

Later I built up a large collection of his works, mostly first editions which I sold over twenty years ago. But I still have the first volume of *The Captain* magazine (1899), which starts its first-ever issue with "When I was a Boy . . . an afternoon talk with G.A. Henty". *The Captain*, a magazine "for Boys and Old Boys", admired all the virtues it saw in Henty, and in Henty's heroes. (The next hero of "When I was a Boy" was Dr W.G. Grace.)

So I have a reasonable knowledge of Henty and his works, and an interest in Kipling and his works. But I had never coupled their names together. Now that I think about it, there is apparently a persuasive similarity of success, purpose and belief between them.

Henty had been educated at Westminster School and Cambridge University; Kipling at a struggling boys' school modelled on public school lines, which was largely filled with sons of impecunious Army officers, and rejects of other schools – and which he left at the age of sixteen.

Henty rejoiced in his rowing, cricket, wrestling ("I was taught by Jamieson of Newcastle, one time champion of the Cumbrian style.") and boxing ("Nat Langham [a retired professional middleweight] gave me some very useful lessons, the only man who ever beat Tom Sayers [a champion pugilist].").⁷ Kipling was excused games at school, and shunned the physical violence he admired in others. Henty died on his 83-ton yacht; Kipling in bed.

Both admired Cecil Rhodes; and both were very successful writers. To begin with, Henty's education might be thought to have given him an advantage in the writing of English. He himself credited Westminster with giving him 'a good drilling in Latin – not elegant Latin but good every-day colloquial stuff. The school was great on Terence . . . When I went out to the Crimea, and, later, to Italy, I found that every-day Latin perfectly invaluable. It was the key to modern Italian . . . But more than that . . . wherever I could come across a priest I had a friend and an interpreter."⁸

Henty went to Caius College, Cambridge, but left after a time, due to a breakdown which he attributed to reading too hard. He worked for a time in Wales where his father had a coal mine and ironworks, before returning to Cambridge. But he went down again in order to get to the Crimean War, with the Commissariat Department of the Army.

Kipling left school at sixteen, and only mixed with scholars when he established himself as a giant in his own field of literature. He grew into the world of scholars as the 'hero of the Vaughan Pit' grew into management – by hard work and ability. Henty left the world of scholars for adventure.

India, the Empire, the public schoolboy, the young subaltern, the civilising mission of Great Britain (usually England), success in writing: these seem the common threads. Both usually avoided serious love-interest – without which no modern writer could succeed. Both had poetry published while still at school. And here the comparisons begin to fail. I quote from Henty's words to his *Captain* interviewer:

While at Westminster, I had a very painful experience. Before I went there, I am ashamed to say, I wrote poetry . . . owing to the well-meaning but mistaken kindness of a friend [it was] published or rather printed . . . I mentioned the subject at Westminster. How I was bullied. It seemed as if the whole school bore a personal animosity towards poetry and poets . . .

And of course, which Kipling hero ever wrote verse? Perhaps Bobby

Wick⁹ may have done so in secret.

But no Henty hero died as those subalterns did whose men ran away before the Afghans;¹⁰ or wrote a love-letter in his tent as cholera struck;¹¹ or dreamed dreams of the Land of Sleep;¹² or worshipped a great novelist;¹³ nor did his privates have dreams and loves of their own.¹⁴

In fact, Henty was the stuff of which Kipling heroes were made. He was a public school man; and he had been to places, and done things. After the Crimea, he organised hospitals for the Italians in their war against Austria (1859); he marched as a war correspondent with Napier to Abyssinia (1868); he saw for himself the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, and almost starved in Paris; he went with Wolseley to Ashanti (1873-74); and he covered the Carlist insurrection of 1874, and some of the Turco-Serbian War of 1876. An enthusiastic yachtsman, he worked his way up from a 10-tonner in Belfast to the 83-ton *Egret* on which he died just before his seventieth birthday.

There was no doubt in Henty's mind about the rightness of the British Empire; the inability of 'natives' to govern themselves properly;¹⁵ or the peculiar superiority of the youthful upper-middle-class Englishman to all others – "the class by which Britain has been built up, her colonies formed, and her battlefields won . . . unmatched in the world."¹⁶

He did sometimes place his favourite type in odd settings, such as ancient Egypt¹⁷ or Hannibal's army.¹⁸ His problem was to find a young hero to fit into these historical backgrounds – and how well they fitted. Terence O'Connor was a colonel of a Portuguese regiment in the Peninsular War at the tender age of seventeen.¹⁹ The only heroic character whom Henty knew, with the odd exception of the 'hero of the Vaughan Pit', was the said young Englishman, a simplified Tom Brown.

In the end, there is little in common between Henty and Kipling. Henty successfully poured out each year at least three best-selling adventure books for boys. Their basis was almost always a historian's or a soldier's writings. The fiction was his young hero's part in the action. Henty was a formula writer: he had found a lucrative formula, and wisely stuck to it. There is no sentiment, or light and shade, in his writing: it is clear, and very simple.

I am not sufficiently expert on Kipling to tell readers of the *Kipling Journal* what sort of a writer he was. But I suggest he was a careful, slow and polished writer. He had many interests, and was a master of verse and poetry as well as of prose. He could often see virtue in the

'natives' of the sub-continent; and he worried about the Empire.

Henty never worried about it: he had total unthinking belief in it. Above all, Henty was only a writer for British boys who wanted to read adventure stories and to identify with their heroes — a sort of Barbara Cartland, very good at writing to a formula which one group of readers wanted.

But Kipling is a man for all ages, and for many types of reader; and is an international writer. Henty would never have won the Nobel Prize for Literature: he probably would never have wanted to. I would not have expected either writer to have thought about the other, or to have met the other. Perhaps some other member of the Kipling Society can answer that.

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2. *The Biographical Dictionary of Victorian Authors*; also *Who was Who*.
3. *London Clubs: Their History and Treasures* (Chatto & Windus, 1911), p 294. Among the members were W.S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan.
4. Characters in *The Light that Failed*.
5. From "The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat" (*A Diversity of Creatures*).
6. *Something of Myself*, chapters IV and V.
7. "Both his boxing and wrestling he later put to good use when among the camp-followers of Garibaldi in Italy or in a Californian mining camp." *Held Fast for England* by Guy Arnold (Hamish Hamilton, 1980), p 6.
8. *The Captain* magazine, *loc. cit.*
9. "Only a Subaltern" (*Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*).
10. "The Drums of the Fore and Aft" (*Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*).
11. As note 9, above.
12. "The Brushwood Boy" (*The Day's Work*).
13. "A Conference of the Powers" (*Many Inventions*).

14. "On Greenhow Hill" (*Life's Handicap*); " 'Love o' Women' " (*Many Inventions*).
15. See the Preface to *A Roving Commission, Or, Through the Black Insurrection of Hayti* (1900): "The condition of the negroes of Hayti has fallen to that of the savage African tribes. Unless some strong white power should occupy the island, there seems no hope." Or the Preface to *On the Irrawaddy: A Story of the First Burmese War* (1897): "No worse government ever existed than that of Burma. The occupation of the country by the British has been an even greater blessing than that of India." Or from *By Sheer Pluck: A Tale of the Ashanti War*(1854): "Left to their own devices they retrograde into a state little above their own native savagery.'"
 16. *With Roberts to Pretoria: A Tale of the South African War* (1902).
 17. *The Cat of Bubastes: A Tale of Ancient Egypt* (1889).
 18. *The Young Carthaginian: A Story of the Times of Hannibal* (1887).
 19. *Under Wellington's Command: A Tale of the Peninsular War* (1899).

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

NEW MEMBERS

We welcome the following, listed as in late April 1995:—

Mrs A.M.H. Armstrong (*Devon*); Mr K.A.C. Bentley (*Essex*); Mrs John Bowlby (*London*); Mr J.N.B. Breakwell (*Yorkshire*); Mr A.M. Cartwright (*London*); Mr B.K. Carver (*Dorset*); Lt-Commander J. Casson, O.B.E., R.N. [ret'd] (*London*); Major A.T. Condy (*Wiltshire*); Mr R.J. Crumly (*Berkshire*); Mr C.J. Dickinson (*Sussex*); Mr Vance B. Drawdy (*South Carolina, U.S.A.*); Ms V. Harvey-Samuel (*London*); Mr T. Hastie (*Dyfed*); Miss J.E. Isaac (*Suffolk*); Mr D.G.S. Jameson (*Oxfordshire*); Mr D.R. Johnson (*Hampshire*); Lt-Colonel I.S. Keelan (*Essex*); Mrs A.J. Kelly (*Surrey*); Mrs M.M.P. Mudd (*Worcestershire*); Mr R.C. Newport (*Surrey*); Mr J.W. Nicoll (*Hampshire*); Mr R.P.W. Nock (*Buckinghamshire*); 'Poetry for Rockport' (*Massachusetts, U.S.A.*); Mr M.J. Powell (*Berkshire*); The Revd Colonel J.W.R.C. Sarkies, I.M.S. [ret'd] (*Isle of Man*); Mr A. Sinclair (*Kent*); Miss M. Smith (*London*); Colonel G.T. Spate, O.B.E., T.D., D.L. (*Norfolk*); Major J.O. Spurway (*East Sussex*); Mr B. Sturgess (*London*); Mrs I. Rehfeld Svendsen (*Goteborg, Sweden*); Major P. Thain, M.B.E. (*Gloucestershire*); Mrs B.M.A. Waggitt (*Kent*); Mr N.N. Wheeler (*Surrey*); Mr E.V. Whines (*Yorkshire*); The Lord Young of Graffham, P.C. (*London*).

BOOK REVIEW

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

by Lawrence James (Little, Brown & Co, 1994); ISBN 0 316 90506 2; xvi + 629 pp; 30 illustrations; maps; notes; bibliography; hardback £25

The technique of writing history close to the events portrayed has greatly improved, owing both to the devotion of outstanding historians and to the availability in Britain of official material under the Thirty Year Rule.

The last volume of the *Pax Britannica* trilogy by Jan Morris [*Farewell the Trumpets: an Imperial Retreat*] appeared in 1978, and ended with Churchill's funeral in 1965. John Bowie's *The Imperial Achievement: the Rise and Transformation of the British Empire* was published in 1974. Otherwise there have been few general histories of the British Empire, though there is much material in segmented form. Jan Morris's history, a work on a grand scale and thrilling in its breadth and sympathies, is nevertheless discursive and subjective in the manner of its presentation.

Lawrence James's book, however, obviously benefits from the slightly longer perspective, and is a systematic attempt to cover the history of the British Empire from the earliest plantations in the New World at the beginning of the 17th century to the assumption of power by ZANU and ZAPU in Rhodesia in 1980. There remain "a few scarlet pinpricks on the globe", but by that time the Empire had been virtually dismantled.

It is a tale, of course, of breathtaking adventure and colour; of confusion or rather multiplicity of purpose; of heroism on an epic scale; and of acts and attitudes of blind bigotry, self-delusion and stupidity – and it is well told.

This is straight history. Each territory receives its due attention, with now and again the display of some special insights – the Middle East, for instance, is highlighted as one would expect from the biographer of T.E. Lawrence and Field-Marshal Allenby. India gets its due share of space, not only as the jewel in the crown, but because from the beginning of the 19th century it determined the formulation of policy for so many other parts.

Nor can the British Empire be contemplated in isolation from the politics of other countries; and indeed the book puts it into the

context of world and especially European history. One would have appreciated particularly some comparison with the French, Spanish, Portuguese and German Empires in terms of intention, justification and application.

James has been careful, as he puts it, "to side-step the quagmire of post-imperial guilt"; accordingly, "politically correct" judgments are not for him. He is not averse, however, from giving his opinion, whether it be of the arrogant settlers with their racial prejudice, or of the politicians and commanders who meet with his disapproval. Mountbatten is dismissed as a "shallow figure"; Wolseley is shown up as an arch anti-democrat; and as for Kitchener, he was 'a soldier of considerable energies, most of which were channelled into the furtherance of his own career'.

Connoisseurs of Kipling will find a few pickings. "Recessional" is given in full – as Jan Morris says in *Pax Britannica*, "almost nobody else in the kingdom could have expressed such views at such a moment [the Diamond Jubilee], and commanded such respectful attention"; it was "the moment when the true laureate of Empire saw, apparently for the first time, something ugly beneath the canopy."

There is reference to Kipling's contribution (£10) to the fund set up by his friend H.A. Gwynne of the *Morning Post* for Brigadier-General Dyer after the Amritsar Inquiry had found against Dyer in 1919 (while Churchill condemned the massacre as a "monstrous event"). Stalky is trotted out as the prototype of "the very men the Empire wants"; and there is mention of a play by Lindsay Anderson called "*If. . .*" which appeared in 1969 with latter-day Stalkies whose propensities have changed, and a general "mouthing the clichés of an earlier era".

And what about the verdict? Cleon from the 5th century B.C. is prayed in aid. He reminded Athenians that "a democracy is incapable of Empire"; and there were many, including Allenby, who knew its days were numbered, not because of threats from outside but because with the perfecting of democracy came a tolerance which tended to allow colonial subjects similar rights.

It is left to an unlikely advocate, Nelson Mandela, to be called to the bar of history to give evidence – though, now that he has received the Order of Merit from the Queen, his advocacy appears rather less unlikely:

"You must remember I was brought up in a British school, and at the time Britain was the home of everything that was best in the world. I have not discarded the influence which Britain and British history and culture exercised on us. We regarded it as the capital of the world, and visiting the place therefore had this

excitement because I was visiting the country that was my pride . . . You must also remember that Britain is the home of parliamentary democracy; and, as people fighting against a form of tyranny in this country, we look upon Britain to take an active interest to support us in our fight against apartheid."

It was another South African, Jan Christian Smuts, who provided the term, "Commonwealth of Nations" – which survives.

DAVID VERMONT

KIPLING AND CANADA

TWO NOTES AND ONE QUERY

by JAY JOHNSON

[Dr J.F. (Jay) Johnson, a Canadian member of the Society, was introduced to our readers in pages 26-41 of our March 1995 issue, with his interesting article, "Freight-car Kipling", about Kipling and Medicine Hat. He is on an extended visit to England, researching Kipling's long and close relationship with Canada; and is at Bell Cottage, Bonfire Lane, Horsted Keynes, Sussex RH17 7AJ.

He now touches on three miscellaneous topics. Regarding the second one in particular, he would welcome further information. – *Ed*]

[1] MORE ON MEDICINE HAT, 1889

With regard to Kipling's mysterious visit to Medicine Hat in 1889 [see especially pages 27 and 29, March 1995], another reference has come to my attention.

On 21 November 1927, speaking to the Canada Club in the Savoy Hotel, London, after the scheduled speeches of the Prime Minister

(Stanley Baldwin) and the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VIII), Kipling was reported as follows by *The Times* next day:

Mr. Rudyard Kipling, responding to repeated calls, also spoke. He said that he hated to add contentious matter so late in the evening, but he also was one of those who a very, very long time ago stepped over into Canada, and the very first time he went there he was afraid he a little overstepped it. By an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances he had failed to connect with his remittance. [Laughter]

Could this "failure to connect with his remittance" be in some way the explanation for his freight-car trip to Medicine Hat, "ticket unpaid for"?

[2] "ONE SUCH MAN" IN INDIA

In "Across a Continent", the second letter in the "From Tideway to Tideway" series [1892-95, collected in *Letters of Travel*, 1920], Kipling discusses the great men who build great railroads. After recounting some of the stories told about Sir William Van Horne, head of the Canadian Pacific Railway, he says:

"There is always one such man on every line. You can hear similar tales from drivers on the Great Western in England, or Eurasian stationmasters on the big North-Western in India."

The 'one such man' of the Great Western was, I believe, the railway pioneer and inventor, Sir Daniel Gooch (1816-89), who, as its Chairman from 1865 to 1887, reorganised that line. But who was the comparable individual of the North-Western in India? Any help in identifying this person would be greatly appreciated.

[3] THE RITUAL OF THE CALLING OF AN ENGINEER

[See first, a letter from Dr J.D. Lewins (March 1994, page 34) about Kipling's connection with the ritual of "initiation" of engineers in Canada; second, a letter from Mr D.M.

Fox (June 1994, pages 61-2), with the text of the ritual involved; *third*, a letter from Mr R.L. Miller (September 1994, page 46), with the information that the rings used in the ritual were made of iron from the notorious Quebec Bridge across the St Lawrence, a bridge which had collapsed disastrously in 1907. – *Ed.]*

There can be no doubt that Kipling saw the collapsed Quebec Bridge when he came up the St Lawrence River on board the S.S. *Empress of Britain* in late September 1907. The unfinished bridge had fallen just a few weeks earlier, on 24 August, killing 75 men, mostly high-iron-working Caughnawaga Indians.

Kipling recorded his impressions of the scene in "The Road to Quebec" [the first of his "Letters to the Family" series (1907), collected in 1920 in *Letters of Travel*], where he described "the thin black wreck of the Quebec Railway Bridge, lying like a dumped car-load of tin cans in the river".

However, though the disaster provided a striking tribute to faulty engineering, the wrecked bridge did *not* provide (as claimed by Mr R.L. Miller in a recent letter) the iron for the rings worn by Canadian engineers "obligated" by the Ritual designed by Kipling. In a recent letter to me, Mr G.J. Thompson, P.Eng., Secretary of Camp One of the Ritual of the Calling of an Engineer (the Camp which oversees the ritual in the Toronto area), clarifies the issue definitively:

Iron from the collapsed Quebec Bridge was not used in the manufacture of iron rings; but remnants of this Quebec Bridge "legend" still exist in Canada. To the best of my knowledge I do not know how the story began. Alas, it would have been a good one. Actually, Haultain was instrumental in organizing the fabrication of early rings by war veterans, as part of the start-up of the Occupational Therapy program in Toronto's Christie Street Veterans' Hospital.

For the information of *Kipling Journal* readers, H.E.T. Haultain was a Professor of Mining Engineering at the University of Toronto, and the man who first proposed to Kipling the idea of a Ritual of Obligation for Canadian Engineers. From 1922 until Kipling's death, the two men carried on a regular correspondence on the subject of the Ritual; these letters form part of the *Kipling Papers* held by the University of Sussex.

KIPLING'S STORIES OF HEALING

by JOSEPHINE LEEPER

[Mrs Leeper, a member of the Society, grew up in a family of Kipling enthusiasts, and her childhood memories are coloured by familiarity with Kipling's writings. She graduated in history at London University shortly before the second World War – and forty years later took a diploma in the history of art, at the same university. Meanwhile, a war-time marriage to a member of the Special Operations Executive, "who luckily survived the war", had led to an extensive family; she and her husband are now great-grandparents.

For nearly twenty years Mrs Leeper has corresponded intermittently on Kipling-related subjects with Philip Mason – who is one of our Vice-Presidents, and incidentally the author of a letter in this issue. She rightly has great respect for his interpretations of Kipling's work; indeed she attributes to her exchanges with Philip Mason her initial interest in the "healing" theme which is the subject of this article. *Ed.*]

Throughout his life, Rudyard Kipling experienced the association of physical ill-health with mental stress and psychological suffering.

As a child in Southsea, his failing eyesight exacerbated the unhappiness of 'The House of Desolation'. As a youth, after working sixteen hours a day in Lahore, where he had been left on his own through the hot weather, he would leave the torture of sleeplessness or nightmare to wander through 'The City of Dreadful Night'. As he said himself, he "had broken down twice in India from straight overwork, plus fever and dysentery." [*Something of Myself*, chapter IV]

As a young man in London, frequently lonely and depressed and occasionally penniless, he drove himself in less than a year to write *The Light that Failed* and many of his best stories; and then succumbed to influenza, and a breakdown "when all my Indian microbes joined hands and sang for a month in the darkness of Villiers Street." [*Something of Myself*, chapter IV]

In February 1899 he nearly died of pneumonia, and survived only to learn that his much-loved daughter, Josephine, had died; and in 1915, the year that his son John was killed, Kipling developed the first of the digestive disorders which gave him bouts of severe pain for the next twenty years, and were finally traced to the duodenal ulcers which

killed him in January 1936. During these years his mind was filled with the slaughter and suffering of the 1914-18 war; and although one cannot say that his own pain was self-induced, he may have regarded it as an atonement for the evil which his generation of statesmen, politicians and brass-hats had brought on the young men of the next.

*

As a young journalist in India he had been fully aware of the constant presence of death, often sudden and unexpected. His first stories, collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills* [1888], frequently dealt with death; but he wrote as a journalist, interested in the situation but without grief or sympathy. It was not until "Without Benefit of Clergy" [*Life's Handicap*, 1891] that he wrote subjectively and sensitively of the pain of dying and of losing.

Two stories in *Plain Tales*, however, give an interesting presage of the future. "The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin" is his first picture of a man who finally breaks under pressure of overwork – a situation which occurs frequently in his later stories. (Kipling himself would often collapse from overwork and exhaustion, and need a holiday, sometimes a sea cruise, to restore his health and creative energy.) The other story is "A Bank Fraud", in which a thoroughly unpleasant man, Silas Riley, is tended, while dying, by a colleague, Reggie Burke, whose life he has made a misery, but who devotes himself to easing his path to death. Here, surely, are the seeds of "Dayspring Mishandled" [*Limits and Renewals*, 1932].

*

In *Life's Handicap* there is also "At the End of the Passage", a description of insomnia and psychological horror so vivid that Kipling himself must have experienced something like it — even if the supernatural ending, of photographing the horror in a dead man's eye, is just science fiction.

Kipling had already written ghost stories – "By Word of Mouth" [*Plain Tales*] and "The Phantom 'Rickshaw" [1885, collected with *Wee Willie Winkie*] – but his sense of the supernatural was far wider than these, and inspired a search, which lasted all his life, for some reality beyond the everyday world.

The first result of this search was "The Finest Story in the World" [*Many Inventions*, 1893], in which a bank clerk, Charlie Mears, remembers fitfully his previous incarnations – "The Fates that are so careful to shut the doors of each successive life behind us

had, in this case, been neglectful, and Charlie was looking, though that he did not know, where never man had been permitted to look with full knowledge since Time began." But of course the Fates close the doors before the boy realises what it means, and before the author has learnt enough to write his book.

The second result was " 'Wireless' " [*Traffics and Discoveries*, 1904], in which Shaynor, a chemist's assistant, dying of T.B., writes, while in a trance, lines from Keats's "Eve of St. Agnes" and "Ode to a Nightingale" – with fumbling changes, as though he were composing them himself. When he regains consciousness, he denies knowing anything of Keats or of his poetry: the suggestion of his receiving thought-waves emitted nearly a century earlier is paralleled by the amateur wireless enthusiast in the next room, "young Mr Cashell", intercepting morse code messages between warships off the Isle of Wight.

In the same book is " 'They' ", a story of contact between the author and his dead child. In " 'Wireless' " there is no healing: Shaynor will die of consumption as surely as Keats did. In " 'They' " there is some healing of the sorrow and loss; but in the next story of thought-transference, "The House Surgeon" (*Actions and Reactions*, 1909), there is true healing.

In "The House Surgeon", the new purchasers of a country house find that they suffer periods of black depression, alternating with spasms of helpless, aching grief, which emanate from certain rooms. The narrator, who also feels them, traces these depressions to the previous owner, Miss Mary Moultrie, an elderly lady with bigoted religious views, who suspects her younger sister's death to have been the mortal sin of suicide. He is able to prove that it was really an accident and, by bringing Miss Mary back to the house, to effect a reconciliation between her and her poor dead sister – after which, the house, freed from the "burning glass" of her righteous wrath, becomes a happy place.

The story is interesting in showing that Kipling believed in some form of life after death, as distinct from reincarnation: Miss Agnes was responding to her sister's wrath, when, as the narrator describes it, "Behind that pain I was conscious there was a desire on somebody's part to explain something on which some tremendously important issue hung."

Also in *Actions and Reactions* is another story of healing, which does not have any psychic element. "An Habitation Enforced" concerns

George Chapin, an American millionaire who (like" Aurelian McGoggin) has a breakdown from overwork – in this case making money. He is restored to health by buying an English country house and becoming a country squire – helped by the discovery that the house had once belonged to his wife's ancestors.

A variation on this story is " 'My Son's Wife' " [*A Diversity of Creatures*, 1913] though here the man concerned had not had a breakdown, only "suffered from the disease of the century" (intellectualism and promiscuity). Both these stories may have arisen from the contentment which Kipling enjoyed after moving to Bateman's in 1902, but they emphasise that one of the important aspects of healing is to be close to traditional ways of country life, and to the land itself.

*

There are two psychic stories concerned with healing, in *A Diversity of Creatures*: obviously Kipling became more attracted to the subject as time went on. "The Dog Hervey" has been splendidly dealt with by Philip Mason in the March 1991 *Kipling Journal*: I would like to emphasise that the healing of Moira Sichliffe's hopeless love, and the presumed cure of Shend's alcoholism, are paralleled by the recovery from typhoid of Mrs Godfrey and her daughter Millie, a recovery due not to medicine but to nursing — weeks of tender loving care reinforced by glasses of champagne and brandy. Physical recovery was possible, in the early 20th century, but not thanks to doctors.

The uselessness of doctors is shown in the second story, "In the Same Boat", by the patronising response of the consultant to whom Conroy has come in hopes of curing the drug habit which he has formed to numb recurrent attacks of horror. To his description of the spasm which is driving him mad — "As if a finger were put on the naked soul!" – Dr Gilbert smugly replies, "My dear fellow, when you're older you'll know what burdens the best of us carry. A fox to every Spartan."

However, the doctor does suggest an all-night railway journey with a young woman who has also taken to drugs for a similar reason. Together, Conroy and Miss Henschil manage to get through the night without drugs; and they go on subsequent journeys together when the horror is due to strike, which is at monthly intervals. After several months they have cured themselves of drugs; then a nurse (not a doctor) suggests that there may be a pre-natal cause.

Their mothers are consulted, and separately confirm that each of them, while pregnant, had a shock in circumstances identical to their

children's horrors. Kipling obviously knew of Freudian theories, and believed in the success of psycho-analytical techniques; but the association with the mothers' menstrual periods is not convincing.

One of the horrors is described by Miss Henschil: "Men come and look at me . . . Their faces are all mildewy – eaten away . . . [They] run after me and I run . . . One of them touches me . . ." This takes one back to "At the End of the Passage". In that story, Hummil's nightmare consists of "A blind face that cries and can't wipe its eyes, a blind face that chases him down corridors!" As he tells Dr Spurstow, "If I'm caught I die, – I die!"

This links up too with the less terrifying dream in "The Brushwood Boy" [*The Day's Work*, 1898], of "one room, reached through leagues of whitewashed passages," where "a Sick Thing lay in bed," and "the least noise, Georgie knew, would unchain some waiting horror . . ." Possibly they all express one of Kipling's own nightmares.

*

During and after the first World War, Kipling was gripped by the thought not so much of the shattered bodies as of the minds warped by suffering and horror. The general term for this was shell shock; but Kipling showed it in many forms. Humberstall in "The Janeites" [*Debts and Credits*, 1926] was normal to talk to, but "liable to a sort o' quiet fits, like. They came on after the dump blew up . . ."

Strangwick, in "A Madonna of the Trenches" [*Debts and Credits*], had been driven out of his mind by seeing his Aunt Bella Armine's ghost – and Sergeant Godsoe committing suicide, "so's to carry on with 'er for all Eternity . . ."

John Marden, in "The Woman in his Life" [*Limits and Renewals*, 1932], had worked himself to breaking-point after the war; and then was attacked by his wartime horror of being buried alive. Henry Wollin, in "Fairy-Kist" [*Limits and Renewals*], heard voices telling him to go out and plant flower-roots in the countryside. Martin Ballart, in "The Miracle of Saint Jubanus" [*Limits and Renewals*], "came back at the last" from the war, "blasted, withered, dumb – a ghost that gnawed itself."

For the first two cases, there was no cure, although the serenity and fellowship of a Masonic Lodge offered comfort. But the last three have various natural cures. Marden was cured by caring for a dog – or rather, a bitch, the 'woman in his life'. Wollin was cured by some gentle psycho-analysis, from which he remembered that his 'voices' had come from a book that had been read to him in hospital: he was left free to plant his flowers for pleasure, not duty. The Frenchman,

Ballart, was cured by laughter.

*

In *Limits and Renewals* there are also two stories in which Kipling tries to feel confidence in a group of doctors, as he had once felt it in senior officers, administrators and engineers – men who knew their job. One of these stories, "The Tender Achilles", is outrageous: the doctors seek to cure a colleague suffering from shell shock, by amputating his foot and then telling him they have made a mistake. No responsible medicos would do such a thing: far from curing him, the result would be to leave him literally 'hopping mad'.

The other story, "Unprofessional", is an interesting piece of science fiction, in which patients are found to be more likely to recover from cancer if they are operated on at a time corresponding to "tides of strength" in their tissues – an idea which links up with Nick Culpeper's theories of the stars controlling the Plague, in "A Doctor of Medicine" [*Rewards and Fairies*, 1910]. Science fiction perhaps, but as credible as acupuncture.

*

Four of Kipling's finest stories – three in *Debits and Credits*, one in *Limits and Renewals* — are concerned with healing.

"The Eye of Allah" [*Debits and Credits*] tells of four medieval monks concerned with medicine, who are shown, by a fifth, a microscope which he has acquired from the Moors of Spain. Three of the monks are gripped by the sight of microbes in a drop of foul water, and perceive that this discovery could further the course of medicine; but the fourth, the Abbot, says that the Church would condemn it as witchcraft, and rightly so, for to bring such knowledge prematurely into the world would do more evil than good. The Abbot's own 'Lady' is dying of cancer, and (though we today know that a microscope could not have saved her) his destruction of it, as something that could possibly have led to a cure, is a personal sacrifice as well as an act of obedience to the traditional wisdom of the Church.

"The Gardener" [*Debits and Credits*] is not strictly a story of healing but of comfort. The relief to Helen Turrell of admitting a fact that she has lied about for years is paralleled by Mrs Scarsworth's confession to her; and her compassion to Mrs Scarsworth is the same as the Gardener shows to herself.

"The Wish House" [*Debits and Credits*] is entirely about healing – healing through love and sacrifice. Grace Ashcroft is willing to bear

suffering and death for the man she loves, although he has left her for good; healing his bodily pain helps to heal the grief she feels at losing him. The supernatural side of this story is so simple as to be symbolic: it is the love and the pain that count.

"Dayspring Mishandled" [*Limits and Renewals*] is also a story of healing – not of Castorley, despite his pathetic faith in Gleeag, his surgeon, who is actually his wife's lover and is making no effort to cure him, but of Manallace, whose hatred and bitterness fade away before the reality of Castorley's slow and painful death, and the cruelty of Lady Castorley who wishes her husband to suffer the shame of Manallace's practical joke before he dies. Manallace ends by defending the dying man from the trap he has laid for him, and trying to ease and comfort him – just as, nearly half a century before, Reggie Burke helped Silas Riley in "A Bank Fraud". Compassion had cleansed and healed the gnawing obsession of Manallace's hatred.

*

John Coates, in his excellent article, "The Redemption Theme in *Limits and Renewals*" in the December 1991 *Kipling Journal*, stressed Kipling's faith in élite groups of wisdom seekers. This was a concept which had run throughout Kipling's works, but perhaps, by the end of his life, faith had become wishful thinking. Certainly in his own case, the wisdom of medical diagnosis and treatment was sadly lacking; and although he was impressed by the technical advances in surgery made during the first World War, none of the stories except "Unprofessional" shows a doctor triumphing over disease. The killers – cholera, consumption and cancer – always won.

Kipling believed, however, that many illnesses were caused by the mind rather than the body; and in time he came to hope that these could be cured. The horrors of "At the End of the Passage" were beyond human aid; but those of "In the Same Boat" could be traced to pre-natal shock, and dispelled; and the thought-transference in "The House Surgeon" and "The Dog Hervey" led to reconciliation.

Many of the troubled minds in his later books could be cured: by natural means – by country life, by gardening, by dogs, by laughter and, above all, by useful or creative work. The Abbot in "The Eye of Allah" says, "for pain of the soul there is, outside God's Grace, but one drug; and that is a man's craft, learning or other helpful motion of his own mind." This is certainly true in Kipling's own life.

Ultimately, though, he came to believe that the greatest healers of the soul, and the only comforters of the sick body, are compassion and love. •

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.*]

" 'WIRELESS' " AND "UNPROFESSIONAL"

From Mrs E. Stammers-Smith, 8 Mavor Close, Old Woodstock, Oxon OX20 1YL

Dear Sir,

May I comment further on the issues raised by the recent discussion of Kipling's " 'Wireless' " [*Traffics and Discoveries*]? [See John McGivering's original article, September 1994, pages 24-38; Eileen Stammers-Smith's own short note, December 1994, pages 29-30; and especially Philip Mason's observations, March 1995, pages 11-12. – *Ed.*]

For someone committed to the life of imagination as a poet and writer, no one could be further than Kipling from a 'materialistic' point of view – if that means the point of view of one who seeks always and exclusively a scientific or rational explanation for the stranger phenomena of life. Kipling had no defective sense of the reality of things spiritual; and consciousness and will in his stories are invariably affected by considerations beyond the operation of material agencies.

As far as believing the various explanations he expounds, he is like the 'Man of Achievement' in a letter Keats wrote to George and Thomas Keats on 21 December 1817 [ed. Buxton Forman, 1948]:

"... it struck me what quality went to form a Man of Achievement, especially in Literature and which Shakespeare possessed so enormously – I mean Negative Capability, that is, when a man is capable of living in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason."

Kipling's association of Marconi-waves with the curious experience

he describes in " 'Wireless' " is a metaphorical and imaginative one; it does not imply that he is a materialist who believes that "rays . . . put words into a man's mouth." The whole atmosphere and poetic resonance of the story contradict this.

It is not unusual, however, to find Kipling anticipating some of the advances of science. He looks forward to space travel and other inventions of the future. He places on the Roman Wall a Legion, the Thirtieth (*Ulpia Victrix*), which subsequent archaeological investigation found had indeed served there [see *Something of Myself*, chapter VII].

"Unprofessional" [*Limits and Renewals*] is not only, nor exactly, a story about astrology – in which some other stories indicate that Kipling took an imaginative interest. It anticipates findings about hormones and the circadian rhythms of various biochemical and behavioural activities, as reported in the *Proceedings of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences* [72/3744, 1975].

There is no "irritable reaching after fact and reason" in this ingenious and touching story, which focusses on how the human beings in the narrative are affected, trying to make sense of what is happening in the light of their characters and professional training. It is, as Philip Mason says, the individuality, the complexity, the diversity of man in which Kipling believes. Creative imagination does not work like electricity: we do not know how it works.

Kipling postulates a Daemon, personal to himself, as a kind of shorthand for his own sense of what being a writer meant: responsible, yes, but *driven*.

Yours sincerely
EILEEN STAMERS-SMITH

THE GEOGRAPHY OF "MANDALAY"

From Sir George Engle, K.C.B., Q.C., 32 Wood Lane, Highgate, London N6 5UB

Dear Sir,

I am most grateful to all those (including yourself) who have contributed to the elucidation of the topography of "Mandalay". Speaking for myself, I am reasonably clear that the solutions of the problems mentioned in my letter [December 1994, page 51] are as follows.

1. *"On the road to Mandalay"*

This *must* mean "on the way to" Mandalay; and for the private soldier who (according to Kipling) is reviewing "his loves and, in the chorus, his experiences in the Burma campaign"¹ it would (as Mr B.E. Smythies says²) cover both the journey by troop-ship from Calcutta or Madras across the Bay of Bengal to Rangoon³ and the journey by "the river road"⁴ from Rangoon to Mandalay. Kipling himself travelled by ship from Calcutta to Rangoon in 1889 and, on reaching the mouth of the Irrawaddy, wrote:

I reflected that I was looking upon the River of the Lost Footsteps – the *road* that so many, many men of my acquaintance had travelled, never to return, within the past three years.⁵

And in *Something of Myself* he says that the road to Mandalay is the soldier's "golden path to romance".⁶

2. *"Where the flyin '-fishes play"*

I have always taken "where" to refer to the road, and not to Mandalay. While crossing the Bay of Bengal Kipling wrote:

All India dropped out of sight yesterday . . . Three flying-fishes were sighted this morning.⁷

And Mr J.F. Midgley assures us from personal observation that "flying-fishes do in fact play in the Irrawaddy . . . I've seen 'em!"⁸ So the reference to flying-fishes fits both stages of the soldier's journey.

3. *"An' the dawn comes up . . . outer China 'cross the Bay!"*

Kipling said that "Mandalay" was "a sort of general mix-up of the singer's Far-Eastern memories set against a background of the Bay of Bengal seen at dawn from a troop-ship taking him there".⁹ So seen, the dawn does indeed come up across the Bay – over Burma and Thailand beyond which, broadly speaking, lies China. To my mind, "comes up . . . outer China" now conjures up a picture of the dawn starting in distant China and making its way over the intervening lands to become visible across the Bay.

4. *"By the old Moulmein Pagoda"*

A soldier on his way from India to Mandalay would not have visited Moulmein: it is, as Kipling remarked, "not on the road to anywhere".¹⁰ In his article, "The Pagoda",¹¹ L.A. Crozier

demonstrated that "if Kipling had been as accurate as he normally was", then the pagoda "could not believably have been any pagoda in Moulmein"; and rather less convincingly tried to show that it must have been the Botataung pagoda in Rangoon, near where the old Irrawaddy Flotilla used to tie up, or "lie".

However, as Crozier conceded, Kipling nowhere in his writings mentions Botataung, but does describe in some detail the large white pagoda in Moulmein where, he said, he "should better remember what that pagoda was like had I not [being then aged 23] fallen deeply and irretrievably in love with a Burmese girl at the foot of the first flight of steps"¹² – adding, a few lines later, "Far above my head there was a faint tinkle, as of golden bells, and a talking of the breezes in the tops of the toddy-palms"; which almost exactly matches, "For the wind is in the palm-trees, and the temple-bells they say", in the third line of the poem.

It seems pretty clear, therefore, that for Kipling the Moulmein Pagoda was a place of romance; and that this is why he made it the setting for the soldier's Burmese love-affair. As Crozier says, "the only thing one has to accept is that he transported the memory of the Moulmein girl to Rangoon."¹³

5. '*Lookin' eastward to the sea*'

Crozier says that the little map of Rangoon he had in 1976 quite clearly showed that if you stood near the river by the Botataung pagoda (which Kipling must have seen, going up-river and again coming back) "you certainly looked eastward to the sea. Or rather, the Rangoon River leading to the sea goes almost due east from the pagoda for some way, before it swings slightly to the south, and continues in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal."¹⁴

This may perhaps explain Kipling's otherwise baffling "looking eastward to the sea" — which perhaps means "facing towards" rather than (as Mr Smythies suggests) "seeing" the sea – even if one rejects Crozier's not very convincing suggestion that, though in fact it never was, this pagoda "could have been" known locally as the old Moulmein Pagoda "because of its design and origin and because it is the oldest in Rangoon".¹⁵

I am sorry that Mr T. Hastie (now happily a member of the Society) was exasperated by *The Times's* and (by implication) my own "nit-picking" criticism of "Mandalay"¹⁶ The enlightening responses to my letter show what a few well-picked nits can achieve.

Yours sincerely
GEORGE ENGLE

REFERENCES

1. *Something of Myself*, Library edn. (1951), p 221. These "loves" include the unsatisfactory " 'ousemaids outer Chelsea" as well as the Burma girl.
2. Letter in *Kipling Journal [KJ]*, March 1995, pp 47-9.
3. The 10,000 soldiers who in 1885 were taken up-river by the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company were initially "under orders at Calcutta and Madras": see "Kipling's Old Flotilla" by A.G. Macrae in *KJ*, September 1987, p 24.
4. See Mr L. Green's letter in *KJ*, March 1995, p 50.
5. *From Sea to Sea*, 1st pocket edn (1908), Vol I, p 217 [emphasis added].
6. *Something of Myself*, p 221.
7. *From Sea to Sea*, p 215.
8. Letter in *KJ*, March 1995, p 52.
9. *Something of Myself*, p 222.
10. *Ibid.*, p 221.
11. *KJ*, September 1981, pp 18 ff.
12. *From Sea to Sea*, p 232.
13. *KJ*, September 1981, p 24. The point is made by Mr Smythies: see Note 2, above.
14. *KJ*, September 1981, pp 22-3.
15. *Ibid.*, p 22.
16. *KJ*, March 1995, p 52.

TWO BOOK REVIEWS REVIEWED

From Mrs L.A.F. Lewis, Cappaslade Cottage, Brightwell-cum-Sotwell, Wallingford, Oxfordshire OX10 0RQ

Sir,

It was interesting to read Professor David Stewart's two recent book reviews – of Zohreh T. Sullivan's *Narratives of Empire: the Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* [December 1994], and of Sara Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India* [March 1995],

I largely agree with Stewart's opinion of Suleri's book – its obsessive anglophobia, its ugly and difficult jargon. Suleri's account of her Lahore childhood in *Meatless Days* is more approachable,

though here too there are "barriers against the reader": Suleri, it seems, has overdosed on Joyce and Virginia Woolf. But her writing at its best is strongly evocative: in one place, remembering an episode of my own brief visit to Lahore, I laughed aloud. A rather cruel description of a refugee from Uganda, with whom she was at school, compares the girl to Kim "pretending to be Dravidian".

It sounds as though Suleri read *Kim* in her youth, and has skimmed through it again for a chapter in her *Rhetoric*. Her research for that book has certainly been wide; but on Kipling at least it has not been deep. She apparently sees the Lama as a paedophile in love with Kim, which suggests that she has read Martin Seymour-Smith more attentively than she has read Kipling's novel.

Sullivan, whose whole book is devoted to Kipling's Indian writings, makes no such mistake. I don't think Professor Stewart is fair to her – indeed, reading his first and last paragraphs, I wondered if we'd been looking at the same book.

Certainly Sullivan writes in post-modernist, post-colonial terms. Why wouldn't she? Like Suleri, she grew up in post-imperial Lahore. She is not writing for those of us who remember the Empire, but for a generation who have been trained to regard authors as Anathema if they make racist, imperialist, sexist or militarist remarks. Even Kipling's most besotted admirer can't deny that he does this.

What I understand Sullivan to be saying is that even so, "his work re-enacts recurrent human problems" – as Stewart reproaches her for failing to notice. Throughout the book, she discusses the problem of "otherness" as Kipling perceived it, whether in Anglo-Indians (in either sense) or in exiles of all kinds. Are the rubs and stresses that arise between people of different cultures, living side by side, an abstract question of power, or a "recurrent human problem"? Ask – well, I won't list them.

Ask Sara Suleri, come to that, whose privileged position at Yale University (where she is an Associate Professor) seems to leave her aggressive and uneasy. To judge by one passage in *Meatless Days*, Suleri hates New Haven and its citizens almost as much as she hates the British.

Sullivan, who also teaches in the United States, tells us how the experience of reading *Just So Stories* to her sons showed her "the rich and ambiguous delight" of which Kipling is capable; and taught her to look deeper into the adult tales. Certainly she makes clear her disapproval of imperialism; but to call her book a "cogent and sustained indictment" of Kipling's message is going too far.

Yours faithfully
LISA LEWIS

BURNE-JONES TENSIONS

From Mrs J. Leeper, Lammas Cottage, 43 Lammas Lane, Esher, Surrey KT108PE

Dear Sir,

Reading Fiona MacCarthy's splendid new biography of William Morris, I was interested to learn that in 1868-9 Edward Burne-Jones was unfaithful to his wife Georgiana (Alice Kipling's sister, and Rudyard's "the beloved Aunt") with a neurotic Greek lady called Mary Zambaco; and that for a time Georgiana left her husband, and took her children to live in Oxford. [*William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (Faber, 1994), pages 228, 248.]

According to Lord Birkenhead [*Rudyard Kipling* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978), page 12], Rudyard's sister Trix was born in June 1868 in The Grange, Burne-Jones's London house, with Aunt Georgie in attendance. Presumably this was before her exodus to Oxford; but Alice must have learned a lot about her unhappiness and the possible break-up of the marriage.

Kipling's biographers have been puzzled as to why his parents, when they left their two children in England in 1871, decided to board them with Mrs Holloway rather than send them to loving relatives. Although I think the Burne-Jones marriage had stabilised by 1871, it seems possible that the troubles of 1868-9 were a strong factor in their decision.

I hope that Rudyard never knew about these troubles: it would have saddened him to think that his years of suffering in 'The House of Desolation' had been due to misbehaviour by his loved and respected Uncle Ned.

Yours sincerely
JOSEPHINE LEEPER

KIPLING'S EYESIGHT

From Mr Philip Mason, C.I.E., O.B.E., 97 Glebe Road, Cambridge CB14TE

Sir,

I wonder if one of your readers would care to take up this point and deal with it. I would do it myself if I were younger.

Kipling all his life had very poor sight. The first evidence of this comes in "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" [collected in *Wee Willie Winkie, and Other Stories*], where the small boy was clearly having great difficulty with his eyes, and is spoken of as "half-blind". Of course, I

know that this is not necessarily autobiographical, but it is a strong pointer. Again, we know that at school Kipling was not able to take part in any games with a ball, because of his sight.

Now it has long been my belief that an important factor in the very complicated personality of Rudyard Kipling is that he always felt on the fringe of things, and wanted to be on the inside – one of a group of equals. What I wonder is, how far his poor sight contributed to this psychological factor. Is there any evidence that his sight didn't get worse with old age, as is normal to most people? He said much less about it as he got older. I wonder if some enquiring mind would collaborate with a psychiatrist and an ophthalmologist, and produce a thoughtful consideration of these points.

Yours faithfully
PHILIP MASON

MORE ON CHIL AND RANN

From Dr R.H. Pont, O.B.E., Principal, Edwardes College, Peshawar, Pakistan

Dear Sir,

In the September 1994 issue [page 48], Major Thornton asks about the change of the word *Chil* to *Rann* in the 1992 Folio Society edition of *The Jungle Book*, based on the 1908 Macmillan edition with Detmold illustrations. [See also a letter from Mr F.A. Underwood, which Dr Pont had not seen, in our December 1994 issue, page 50. – *Ed.*] Without having all the answers, I can offer one or two observations.

Everyone of course knows that the names Kipling gave to most of his animals in the Jungle stories are the Hindi/Urdu names for those species. *Chil* is the commonest word for the Kite (bird) in all the local languages round Lahore where Kipling was based from 1882-7. *Rann* is a word for Woman in Punjabi – the commonest tongue in the area in Kipling's day, and still the mother tongue of well over 50 million people in India and Pakistan. It is pronounced *runn* (with a drawn-out terminal *nn*), and is *not* found in Hindi/Urdu.

Rann has the same usage in Saraiki and Hindko, which are dialects on the western and northern fringes of the Punjabi-speaking areas. But it does not appear to be used for Kite anywhere in what is now Pakistan. So it is clear as to why the word was changed from *Rann* to *Chil*; but why ever was it *Rann* in the 1908 Macmillan edition? And

what was it in the first edition?

Some of my national colleagues here tell me that the word *Chil* is also used in the vernacular for a swooping woman (just as we might say in different contexts, "She's a bit of a vixen," or "She's rather a bitch.>").

Kipling had a good smattering of the vernacular, as did so many young Anglo-Indians of the day, to the horror of their parents. Is it allowable to think the unthinkable – that perhaps he slipped, confusing the two words, and corrected himself later?

Incidentally, my edition of the 1908 Macmillan *Second Jungle Book*, with decorations by John Lockwood Kipling, uses the word *Chil* for Kite, e.g. in "The Song of the Little Hunter" after the story of "The King's Ankus", and in "Chil's Song" after the wonderful story, "Red Dog". And at the back of the book, in the list of volumes uniform with it, is included *The Jungle Book* with illustrations by Lockwood Kipling, Drake and Frenzeny. I don't have copies of either of the 1908 Macmillan first *Jungle Book* (editions with different illustrators). Do they both use the word *Rann*?

The riddle has become more intriguing on finding that, in the same year, one book used the term *Rann* and one used *Chil*. And the third book?

Yours faithfully
ROLAND PONT

"LONDON STONE"

From Sir George Engle, K.C.B., QC, 32 Wood Lane, Highgate, London N6 5UB

Dear Sir,

Kipling's poem, "London Stone", was originally published in *The Times* on Saturday 10 November 1923, the eve of Armistice Day. The first of its eight stanzas reads:

When you come to London Town,
(Grieving — grieving!)
Bring your flowers and lay them down
At the place of grieving.

The words of the title do not occur in the poem itself; but they clearly refer to London Stone [no article], a stone (now built into the masonry of Wren's St Swithin's Church, Cannon Street, and visible through a

grille) which is mentioned by Shakespeare in his account of Jack Cade's rebellion of 1450, in 2 *Henry VI*, Act IV, Scene vi. The text of the First Folio (1623) reads as follows:

Enter Iacke Cade. . . and strikes his staffe on London Stone.
Cade. Now is Mortimer [*sc. himself*] Lord of this City,
 and heere sitting upon London Stone,
 I charge and command, that of the Cities cost
 The pissing conduit run nothing but Clarret Wine
 This first year of our raigne . . .

Augustus Hare [1834-1903] says of this stone that it "seems to have been looked upon as a kind of palladium in London, as the Coronation Stone was in Scotland" (*Walks in London*, 7th edition, 1901, volume I, pages 261-2). A reprint of that edition of Hare was issued in 1923, and it seems probable that Kipling's choice of title was prompted by the passage in Hare.

He must already have known all about the Stone which, as Hare mentions, was supposed by William Camden [1551-1623] to have been a milestone marking the point from which all distances in the province of Britannia were measured by the Romans – thus corresponding to the Golden Milestone in the Forum in Rome.

Kipling's 1923 thought would have been that the Cenotaph had become the focal point of the Empire. It is curious that there is no mention of London Stone in the text of the poem; but if I am right then – whether or not the re-publication of Hare in 1923 served as a prompt — this whole thought is conveyed by the title. Pretty economical!

Yours faithfully
 GEORGE ENGLE

[I do not recall seeing this interesting explanation of the title of Kipling's poem before. My only comment on the facts produced by Sir George is that in one respect I think they are outdated. According to *The London Encyclopaedia* [ed. Ben Weinreb & Christopher Hibbert, Macmillan, 1983] London Stone is now "in a niche in the wall of the Bank of China", on or near the site, I understand, of the former St Swithin's Church which was bombed in the second World War.

London Stone, or the Saxum Londiniense, is described in that book as a shaped piece of limestone with no inscription and of questionable origin, though it was noted "as far back as 1198 when it was referred to as Lonenstane". According to the same source, its site, as a centre for provincial mileages, "would be appropriate, since recent excavations have revealed the remains of the [Roman] Governor's Palace beneath Cannon Street station', nearby. – *Ed.*]

NIP AND TUCK, RIP AND CHUCK, ETC

From Dr J.D. Lewins, Magdalene College, Cambridge CB3 0AG

Dear Sir,

In the March 1995 issue, pages 24-25, John Whitehead refers to the phrase 'nip and tuck', with its adaptation in *Barrack-Room Ballads*; and hazards the surmise that it refers to two racehorses. As he says, Kipling later used these words as names in the Vermont story, "A Walking Delegate" [*The Day's Work*]; and they are known to have been used as names of real horses. But I do not think the phrase owes its *origin* to horses, however apposite the usage.

As Whitehead says, the phrase is recognised as an Americanism. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives it as neck and neck, a close thing (U.S., 1832). It also refers to:

- 1859: John Russell Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*. It was nip and tuck between us.
- 1884: *Harper's Magazine* (August, 369/1). It was nip and tuck, neither animal gaining nor losing.
- 1890: *Big Game N. America*. It was a nip-and-tuck race.

None of this explains the origin. Standard American dictionaries provide no better — Funk & Wagnell, Webster, etc. And Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* offers no origin. A colleague suggests a nautical source; but though both words have nautical meanings ('nip' in a rope, whence 'nipper' for a boy performing that office on raising an anchor; 'tuck' in a ship's stern), no specialised dictionary that I have consulted combines the two in a nautical phrase.

Something more is said in Murray's *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* [Oxford, volumes variously dated] promoted by the Philological Society. Sir William Craigie was the authority on Americanisms, and was also mainly responsible for the volume covering the letter N [ed. W.A. Craigie, 1908]. The volume has the Bartlett quotation of 1859 [above] *et seq.*; but in the Supplement [eds. Craigie & Onions, 1933] earlier variants are mentioned:

- 1832: J.K. Paulding's novel, *Westward Ho!* (I, p 172). There we were at rip [*sic*] and tuck, up one tree and down another.
- 1846: the sporting writer W.T. Porter's *A Quarter Race in Kentucky* (p 16), cited in R.H. Thornton's *American Glossary* (1912). It will be like the old bitch and the rabbit, nip and tack [*sic*], every jump.

Also (*ibid.* p 123, likewise in Thornton):- Then we'd have it again, nip and chuck [*sic*].

The *O.E.D. Supplement* throws some further light. There is a mid-century quotation:

1857: [cited by Thornton] *Knickerbocker Magazine* (L.498). [I got the trout off the fire] by the head, and the dog got him by the tail, and it was nip and tuck, pull Dick, pull devil.

And then one non-American source:

1890: A. Barrère & C.G. Leland, *Dictionary of Slang* (II, 87/1). Nip and tuck (Cornwall), a close contest. An old term in wrestling.

In conclusion, it seems that the earliest usage was not fixed; and did not, I suppose, spring full-blown from two racehorses, real or fictional. Indeed the expression is not always used to convey equality between *equals*.

Yours sincerely
JEFFERY LEWINS

[Another member, Mrs Bowlby of London, has written to enquire whether the Kiplings' carriage-horses at Brattleboro were called Nip and Tuck. Yes, they were, and were described in chapter V of *Something of Myself* as "seal-brown, full brother and sister Morgans" [a breed of trotting-horses], who were "perfect roadsters", and "took us all over the large countryside".

I have also had my attention drawn to pages 651-2 of the 4th (one-volume) edition of H.L. Mencken's *The American Language* (Knopf, New York, 1963), where note is taken of the "extravagant and often highly felicitous place names" which the pioneers of the expanding United States gave to the locations where they settled. In Texas these had included Black Ankle, Lick Skillet and – Nip and Tuck. (So Mencken had learned, from an article in the *Overland Monthly* of August 1869, by the felicitously named Socrates Hyacinth.)

Eric Partridge, in his classic *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (Macmillan, New York, 1961), said that in about 1890 [the year when Kipling adapted the phrase in a Barrack-Room Ballad] 'Nip and Tuck', meaning neck and neck, entered anglicised usage. He added, somewhat elliptically, that the development over the years of variants of form [a few of which were noted by Dr Lewins, above] was "an illuminating example of semantic phonetics, or, rather, phonetic semantics". — *Ed.*

POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS

CAPPING THEM IN

From Mr F.A. Underwood, 44 Station Road, Winterbourne Down, Bristol BS17 1EN

Mr Underwood writes about Mr John Whitehead's query [D] on pages 49-50 of our September 1994 issue. Mr Whitehead had quoted two lines from "The 'Eathen" –

*'E sees the blue-white faces all tryin' 'ard to grin,
An' 'e stands an' waits and suffers till it's time to cap 'em in –*

and had asked what the last three words meant.

Mr Underwood says this is "a term from fox-hunting, when the huntsman signals to his hounds to enter a covert to draw for a fox". He adds that it is 'very appropriate to describe the wait for the correct moment to send troops into action; for hounds should not rush into a covert till told to do so. In the older prints one sees the huntsman using an under-arm sweeping motion of his cap to direct the pack in various circumstances; but this signal is not much seen today — the voice or horn being regarded as sufficient".

MINE SWEEPERS DESPATCHED

From Mr R.T.A. Lindesay, 3687 Campbell Avenue, North Vancouver, British Columbia, V7K 2M4 Canada

Mr Lindesay asks for clarification of a term that is used twice in one of Kipling's best-known poems, "Mine Sweepers" [1916, from *Sea Warfare*; collected in the Definitive Edition of Kipling's Verse].

The last line of verse 1, printed in inverted commas, reads:

" 'Sent up *Unity, Claribel, Assyrian, Stormcock, and Golden Gain!*'

The last line of verse 3 is identical, except that the first two words are " 'Sent back". What puzzles Mr Lindesay is the apostrophe before the word *Sent*. This seems to imply a contraction, but from what? (Moreover, Mr Lindesay has clear recollections of learning the poem at school and singing it as a song; the word in question, he remembers, was simply *Send*, with no apostrophe.)

KIPLING A "MEDIA RECTOR"

From Dr J.D. Lewins, Magdalene College, Cambridge CB3 0AG

Dr Lewins, in Scotland recently, visited St Andrews, where he watched "a delightful Rag Parade, with the history of Town and Gown processing through the city in costume". Among those represented was Kipling, a former Rector of the University, who was impersonated by "a youth in eyebrows and glasses, straight out of Strang's portrait".

The Rag's charity programme included the following entry:

Kipling was the Nobel prize-winning author of *The Jungle Book*, *Kim* and *Stalky & Co.*, who was elected Rector in 1922. He started his career as assistant editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette* in India. It was in the sub-continent that he set many of his tales, be they the close observations of day-to-day military life, or the enchanted children's tales that are still appreciated today. In 1916 Robert Bridges described him as "the greatest living genius that we have". A popular writer, exposed to blazes of publicity when he returned to Britain, it could be said that Kipling was the first of the media Rectors – who are now synonymous with St Andrews.

As Dr Lewins remarks, it is interesting that Kipling's brief tenure as Rector – his lapidary Rectorial Address of October 1923 was collected in *A Book of Words* – is remembered by students.

"BENEATH MY CHIN"

From Mr A.A. Turner, 5 Foxlands Drive, Penn Terminus, Wolverhampton WV4 5NB

Mr Turner, in response to a suggestion from Mr Vermont [March 1995, page 56] that the Kipling Society should have its own club tie, comes out firmly in favour. He says that "while appreciating that Kipling's story, "The Tie" [*Limits and Renewals*] may, or may not, indicate a distaste for ties with a significance, that story is only one of very many that treat of Insiders and Outsiders."

[For the information of our members, the Society's Council, at a recent meeting, noted that this had been the only letter received by way of reaction to Mr Vermont's proposition; and doubted whether the likely degree of support for a tie, whatever its motif, would really justify adopting one. – *Ed.*]

KIPLING IN JAPANESE

From Professor Mahinose Hashimoto, 1-6-8-506 Tate, Shiki, Saitama T353, Japan

The Professor, a member, writing to the Society's Secretary to acknowledge receipt of some back issues which he needed, also mentioned the translation work on which he has been engaged.

My pocket-sized paperback edition of Kipling's stories translated into Japanese will come out some time in 1995. This will be the first Japanese version of Kipling's stories in omnibus form; because the former full-volume Japanese translation of his stories was only *Plain Tales from the Hills*, published half a century ago.

I hope my translation will rectify the wrong image of Kipling, formed here in Japan, as a minor imperialist writer.

I take pride in having become a member of the Society, which has a long-standing scholastic tradition.

NOT KIPLING'S ALBATROSS

From Miss Sue Henning, 13 Cornwall Road, Croydon, Surrey CR03RD

Miss Henning, who enquired last year [September 1994, page 58] regarding a supposed quotation by Kipling, imprecisely remembered, about the wonder of seeing the splendid Wandering Albatross in flight, has now come back, with apologies, to say she has found it — and it is not by Kipling but by Robert Cushman Murphy. He had written, "I now belong to a higher cult of mortals, for I have seen the albatross." But Miss Henning very reasonably feels that this "apt and delightful quotation" is "worthy of Kipling".

"STALKY'S LAST STAND"

From Miss M.S. Morison, 13 Ballast Quay, Lassell Street, Greenwich SE109PD

Miss Morison has sent us a cutting from the *Daily Mail* of 20 April 1995 — a highly-coloured article about controversial redevelopment plans for what was the cricket pitch of Kipling's old school, the United

Services College at Westward Ho! in Devon. (After the school closed, the pitch was bought by a group of old U.S.C. boys, who later sold it to the local Council, who in turn leased it to the Westward Ho! Cricket Club.)

It is now threatened with conversion into "a boating lake, car park and picnic area, to attract more tourists"; and the article describes the vehement resistance to this idea by the cricket club, strongly backed by local residents' opinion: "their battle with the planners is being called *Stalky's Last Stand*."

Predictably, Kipling's name is being vigorously called in aid; and the article concentrates on the supposed Kipling angle. In the reporter's words, this is "the cricket ground where [he] spent the tranquil summers of his schooldays Though an unremarkable cricketer – he was often excused games – Kipling spent many afternoons watching matches there and editing sports reports for the magazine." Later, he "immortalised the hallowed pitch in his ripping yarn, *Stalky & Co.*"

In the words of one of the leaders of the residents' action committee, "We are talking about a little piece of English history which the planners seem happy to chuck away. Kipling must be turning in his grave . . ."

Understandably, the conservationists of Westward Ho!, and the *Mail* reporter describing their campaign, do not mention the actual iconoclasm of the subversive trio in *Stalky & Co.* – not least in their attitude to participating in, or watching, organised sport. In a classic passage in "The Impressionists" Beetle derisively mimics his housemaster on the subject: –

"Why aren't you down watchin' cricket? I like a robust, healthy boy. You mustn't frowst in a form-room. Why don't you take an interest in your house? Yah!" quoted Beetle.

IN THE HOUSE OF DESOLATION

From Mrs John Bowlby, Wyldes Close Corner, London NW11 7JB

Mrs Bowlby refers to the recent broadcasting of the opera *Baa Baa, Black Sheep* [originally staged in Cheltenham in 1993 and reviewed in our issue of September 1993, pages 9-10]. It is partly based on the autobiographical short story of that name (collected in *Wee Willie Winkie & Other Stories*).

Mrs Bowlby had been harrowed to hear, in the preamble to the opera, that the composer, Michael Berkeley, visiting the house in Southsea where young Kipling had been so unhappy, had found scratched on the grimy wall of the wretched little cellar where the child had sometimes been confined, the word *Help*.

[This was also recounted by Michael Berkeley in an article on page 46 of the *Independent Magazine* of 11 February 1995 — kindly sent to me by several members. Incidentally, that article includes a highly interesting appraisal of Kipling's psychology which, if I can get clearance from the *Independent*, I hope to reprint in whole or in part in a future issue. — Ed.)

SPURSTOW

From Mr D.G.S. Jameson, March Furlong, Warborough, Wallingford, Oxon OX10 7DN

Mr Jameson, one of whose fore-names is Spurstow, and who has family connections with Spurstow Hall, an old house in Cheshire, asks if there is any evidence as to why Kipling should have chosen that relatively unusual name for the doctor who plays a key part in "At the End of the Passage" [*Life's Handicap*].

THE BOOK & MAGAZINE COLLECTOR

From Mr T. Hastie, 6 Penllwyn Park, Carmarthen, Dyfed, Wales SA31 3BU

Mr Hastie has written (in mid-March) to say that "the latest issue of the *Book & Magazine Collector* contains an article on Kipling's animal stories". It is an article by Richard Dalby which begins, "Once shunned as the outdated voice of Imperial Britain, Rudyard Kipling is now recognised as one of the greatest and most influential literary figures of all time and a storyteller of the first rank". It is followed by a bibliography of the animal stories. It is announced that the next month's [April] issue will contain an article by Dalby on Kipling's books for children.

Mr Hastie adds that the magazine has featured Kipling before, with articles and bibliographies, notably in issues 23 [January 1986] and 68 [November 1989]; and that back numbers can be obtained for £2.80 including postage, from the Magazine Editor, *Book & Magazine Collector*, 43/45 St Mary's Rd, London W5 5RQ.

A 'DAY SCHOOL' IN SEPTEMBER

From Mr J.W.M. Smith, Tree Cottage, 2 Brownleaf Rd, Brighton, Sussex BN2 6LB

Mr Michael Smith, Chairman of the Society's Council, has written to tell us of an event in Sussex, planned for September 1995.

Members living within a reasonable distance might (he writes) like to know that a 'Day School' on the subject of "Rudyard Kipling" will be held from 10 a.m. till 5 p.m. on Saturday 9 September at the University of Sussex. It will be chaired by Michael Smith himself, and will examine the various stages in Kipling's life and work which led to his extraordinary success. His love of Sussex will also be explored.

Details are available, and bookings may be made, through the Centre for Continuing Education, Education Development Building, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 1RG [telephone (01273) 678527/678040/678465]. The standard fee is £14, but concessions are obtainable.

BOLSHES AND BLACKGUARDS

From Mr G.L. Wallace, 9 Hathaway Close, Luton, Bedfordshire LU4 0HU

Mr Wallace has written asking about the provenance, and the full text, of some verses beginning, "Every Bolsh is a blackguard," relating to Kipling and the 'Liberty League'.

A full answer is in pages 110-15 of Morton Cohen's *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard* [Hutchinson, 1965]. The verses in question appeared in the "Way of the World" section on page 4 of the *Daily Herald* of 4 March 1920, and were seemingly written by "G.G." [unidentified].

They were part of an item that poked satirical fun at Rudyard Kipling and Sir Rider Haggard for the leading part they were jointly playing in the formation of something called the Liberty League – an organisation founded with encouragement from *The Times* (which on 3 March, in this context, described Kipling as "poet, seer, . . . patriot, . . . [and] national possession"), to combat what was very reasonably seen in the light of the Russian Revolution as the crucial menace of communism.

The verses, entitled " *Two Hearts that Beat as One. . .*", went: –

"Every Bolsh is a blackguard,"
Said Kipling to Haggard
– "And given to tipping,"
Said Haggard to Kipling.

"And a blooming outsider,"
Said Rudyard to Rider.
– "Their domain is a blood-yard,"
Said Rider to Rudyard.

"That's just what I say,"
Said the author of "They".
– "I agree; I agree,"
Said the author of "She".

VERANDAH BOOKS

Lists of secondhand and antiquarian books available from time to time on:



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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 vehement and 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. Moreover, 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 all receive the quarterly *Kipling Journal* (subject of a descriptive note on the previous page).

As an essentially non-profit-making literary 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 a formal Annual Luncheon with a distinguished 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, P.O. Box 68, Haslemere, Surrey GU27 2YR, England** (or, for those living in North America, to the address at the foot of page 4).

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

