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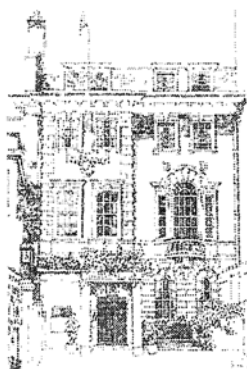
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FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Wednesday April 9 2014, 5.30 for 6 p.m. in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League. ‘Kipling and the Great War’: The best-selling historians **Patrick Bishop** and **Nigel Jones** discuss Kipling’s attitudes to the Great War: its origins, its conduct and its aftermath.

Wednesday May 7 2014, 12.30 for 1 pm in the Hall of India and Pakistan, Royal Over-Seas League: **The Society’s Annual Luncheon. Professor Hugh Brogan** will speak on “Kipling and Schooling”. For further details and advanced booking, please contact John Lambert.

Wednesday July 9 2014, Annual General Meeting in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Overseas league. A complimentary tea will be served at 4 pm in the Wrench Room for members who inform the Secretary in advance. **Phiroze Vasunia**, Professor of Classics at Reading University, will speak on “Kipling and the Classical World”.

March 2014

ANDREW LYCETT
(*Meetings Secretary*)

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EDITORIAL

Guy Liardet's report on the Vermont Symposium 'Rudyard Kipling in America' held in October 2013 is followed here by four articles on Kipling's narrative art and opinions. Sarah Lonsdale analyses the funny, cruel story 'The Village That Voted The Earth Was Flat', pointing out Kipling's prescient portrayal of the amoral power of a worldwide publicity machine. Dominic Davies' essay on the 'Kipling Scrapbooks' in the archive at Cape Town University addresses the global dissemination of Kipling's own words and ideas long after his death, showing how mid-twentieth century journalists from London to Sydney would repeatedly refer to Kipling by quoting, misquoting or sometimes parodying his poetry. Jaine Chemmachery's 'Lies and Narrative Self-Censorship' deals with the unspoken and unspeakable in Kipling's Indian stories. She argues that Kipling's gestures towards 'unspeakable' truths enact censorship in the interests of imperialism, yet subvert it by ironising received imperialist wisdom, allowing the voices of 'subaltern' races and ranks to have their own contradictory say. Andrew Scragg probes the story 'In the Same Boat', previously little mentioned in the *Journal*, in the context of psychiatric history. He shows how Kipling unites scientific and imaginative approaches to the human psyche in his compassionate handling of the effect of trauma on the innocent. Alastair Wilson summarises some lively conversations on the 'Kipling Mailbase'. Sir Sebastian Roberts' speech at the 2013 Annual Luncheon has prompted two Letters to the Editor.

DAVID PAGE

I am very sorry to announce the death on 18 January 2014 of David Page, formerly editor of the *Kipling Journal*. David will be much mourned and his memory valued by contributors for his enthusiasm, courtesy, efficiency and unfailing helpfulness, by myself as his successor in the editorial chair for his most generous support, counsel and kindness, and by all members of the Kipling Society for his splendid work as Editor. A full obituary will appear in the June issue of the *Kipling Journal*.

‘KIPLING IN AMERICA 1892–1896’
A REPORT ON THE VERMONT SYMPOSIUM
OCTOBER 7–8, 2013

By GUY LIARDET

Decorated by the blazing colours of a New England fall, underpinned by meticulous planning by John Radcliffe and Jan Montefiore, warmed by the generous hospitality of Marlboro College, this symposium was an outstanding success. In a clean-cut modern auditorium, built in 2005 with the College’s core musical and performing arts in mind, the scholarship demonstrated by the speakers was world class, a meeting of minds that hugely reinforced friendships between some sixty American and British enthusiasts. Elsewhere, dry martinis and a communal dinner at the Putney Inn played their part.

The themes exposed were often original or in want of further exploration. After a welcome from Ellen McCulloch-Lovell, now in her tenth year as president of Marlboro College, Professor Thomas Pinney, editor *inter alia* of the 2013 three-volume Cambridge edition of the poems, delivered the keynote address which picked away at one of the conference’s dominant issues – what was Kipling’s relationship with Americans in general and Vermonters in particular? He was currently reported to ‘make as much as a hundred dollars out of a ten cent bottle of ink’. Did this antagonise his neighbours or were they flattered by his presence, his collegiate cider-drinking in a Brattleboro bar, his essential sweetness of heart, his energy and his manifest interest in the welfare of others? These four years were highly productive and Kipling has described them as the happiest of his life. His relations with the press were ambivalent – while Brattleboro newspapers were always respectful and sympathetic, ‘his day was wrecked by two reporters from the *Boston Globe* ... cowardly, vile... American journalism had nothing to admire and less to respect.’ He refused an interview; this brief and angry encounter set the tone for the rest of his time in the USA, he being described as ‘insular, unamiable, impolite’.

In his study of the American chapters of *Something of Myself*, Professor Daniel Karlin described how this ‘stranger of an unloved race’ settled into the Vermont countryside and society, having ‘married a Balestier girl’, noting ‘the loneliness and sterility of life on the farms’, the excessive drinking habits in this ‘dry’ state, the political corruption – in all an observant summary not lacking in affection. Karlin made the point that *Something of Myself* with its post-hoc criticism of immigrant national characteristics was written in 1935; hence Kipling’s implication

that ‘America had failed him’, not ‘he had failed to establish himself in America’. His account was no doubt influenced by the unhappy story of his quarrel with Beatty Balestier, the unwritten cause of his departure. Certainly Kipling’s contemporary letters from Brattleboro are vastly more positive.

The other side of the Vermont Question – what were the people really like? – was entertainingly described the following day by Charles Fish of the Dummerston Historical Society. Himself a seventh generation Vermonter, he touched upon many subjects – the state regulation of schooling under the ‘vicious law’ of 1892, the sluggish demographics, liquor sales statistics, the vulnerability of the soil to mismanagement, the erosion effects of logging, the almost Athenian method of local decision-making, a ‘suffering state’ and a migrating people. He noted that Kipling’s tone varied from gently ironic to darkly acerbic. Beatty Balestier, who threatened Kipling with a lawsuit for defamation and false arrest if he ever returned to Brattleboro, seems to have been a reprobate, fond of ‘hard’ cider and given to shouting at people in the street. Following Charles, Mary Hamer talked about her *Kipling and Trix, A Novel* with its remarkable insights, which was reviewed by Jan Montefiore in the September 2013 *Journal*.

Professor U. C. Knoepfelmacher of Princeton University traced the intricate timeline of the stories in Kipling’s *Jungle Books*, showing how they were reshuffled, jumbled and variously published to make a pattern of interconnecting motifs. Professor Judith Plotz of George Washington University described Kipling’s relationship to the Victorian culture of modernisation and machinery, speculating that ‘.007’ was inspired by chats with the Brattleboro station-master and pointing up the commentary on American social divisions and engineering efficiency concealed in the texts. Professor Tricia Lootens of the University of Georgia compared *Huckleberry Finn* with *Kim*, noting Kipling’s friendship with Mark Twain, showing how both novels are open-ended, while both protagonists, Kim with his lama and Huck with Jim, have to struggle with their consciences.

Janet Montefiore dealt with Rudyard Kipling’s *The Seven Seas* (1896), in relation to the sea stories in *Many Inventions* (1893). From ship-owners to lighthouse keepers, from sea serpents to fishermen on the Grand Banks and naval petty officers, the sea is a persistent interest which often reveals Kipling’s uncanny ability swiftly and accurately to sop up seafaring terms of art.

A highlight was the introduction by David Alan Richards of an important unpublished text, written in an otherwise blank and undated exercise book: Kipling’s instructions on how to write a short story. These were given to his sister-in-law Josephine, who herself wrote

short stories and published poetry. There are thirty maxims, running from 'A short story needs a beginning, middle and an end' through 'Call a spade a bloody shovel and not an agricultural implement' and 'Be accurate to a scruple, there are experts on everything out there', to the final 'Do not be afraid of anything'. The high clear voice of great-niece Mary Balestier Dunham provided a moment of charming theatre as, backed by a photo of Josephine stately in her white court dress, she read from letters written by Josephine to her sister Carrie in 1890: 'I wasn't afraid of Henry James so I won't be afraid of Mr Kipling.'

Forgotten for 90 years, the famous Tin Box, discovered in the vault of a Brattleboro bank in 1992, was, with its contents, part of a display of some of the important collection of some 400 catalogued and uncatalogued items held in the Rice-Aron Library at Marlboro College. The tightly folded papers in the box included a copy of Kipling's wedding certificate, a will, business papers, a royalty account book, early drafts of eight poems and the only surviving letter from Kipling's brother-in-law, Wolcott. Also in this display, compèred by librarians Emily Alling and Sally Andrews and introduced by Tom Ragle, former President of the College, was the important contemporary memoir by local historian Mary Cabot, a rare and intimate picture of their personal lives. The Symposium concluded with a lively panel question-and-answer discussion of the day's subjects by, at which it was agreed that Jan Montefiore would collate and edit the Symposium papers in a Supplement to the *Kipling Journal*, to be published in 2014.

It was a delight the next day to visit the shrine of 'Naulakha' after the lecture by Charles Fish and the reading by Mary Hamer at Scott Farm, (where they also laid on a professional storyteller to give a charming rendition of the first three *Just-So Stories*). Mike Kipling's article in the September 2013 issue of the *Kipling Journal* tells of the history of the house since Kipling's day and the restoration by the Landmark Trust USA that has created not only a perfectly repaired exterior painted in 'Kipling Green', but tobacco-brown, highly polished and exquisitely carpentered woodwork in the interior with much original furniture. Several interesting photographs include one of John Lockwood Kipling, described here as unique but in fact 'rare'.

We are grateful to Matthew Barone, Marlboro College's Director of Marketing and Communications, who efficiently engaged media attention, resulting in widespread coverage through the many outlets of the Associated Press agency as far away as the *Washington Post* and the *San Diego Union Tribune*. The Symposium naturally made a particularly good story in Vermont, featuring in the *Boston Globe* and all the Brattleboro papers.

Will there be a return match? What about Shimla and Mumbai next time?



Rudyard Kipling in his study at Naulakha

VISIONS OF MODERN JOURNALISM IN 'THE VILLAGE THAT VOTED THE EARTH WAS FLAT

By SARAH LONSDALE.

[Dr. Sarah Lonsdale is a journalist and university lecturer. She wrote her doctoral thesis on 'The representation of journalists and the newspaper press in British Literature 1900 – 1939', and teaches in the Department of Journalism at City University, London. She writes a weekly column on ecological issues for the *Daily Telegraph*. Ed.]

Kipling's short story 'The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat' (1913) tells how three disgruntled journalists, an M.P. and a music hall impresario gain revenge on the corrupt Magistrate and 'Rad' (Radical) M.P. Sir Thomas Ingell, who has abused his power in his local court house. The journalists use their newspapers *The Cake* and *The Bun* to take their revenge by circulating increasingly ludicrous stories, both true and fabricated, about Sir Thomas Ingell's constituency village of Huckley, 'a little pale-yellow market town with a small, Jubilee clock-tower' ('Village' p.163). 'Bat' Masquerier, the owner of a chain of music halls, 'a large, flaxen-haired man in somewhat striking clothes...with gunmetal-blue eyes' (pp.165–7), uses his access to the mass public to compound and intensify the press stories. When it emerges that the villagers, after manipulation by Bat's crew of actors and unlimited beer, have voted that they believe the earth is flat, the story takes on a life of its own – 'goes viral' as we would say today. In this essay I intend to show how 'The Village That Voted', although wholly of its time, is both more modern and perceptive than other contemporary narratives about the press, but also contains surprising and instructive parallels with today's technological and ethical 'crisis' in journalism. Today when 'traditional' news organisations like the BBC make journalistic errors, as in the recent Lord McAlpine affair,² the error is magnified and rages out of control on social media networks like Twitter. In 'The Village That Voted', newspaper fabrications are magnified through other forms of contemporary media including the music hall, popular songs and the burgeoning magazine industry. Ultimately, the journalists lose control of the story, as even 'Bat' concedes:

'We've put it over the whole world – the full extent of the geographical globe. We couldn't stop it if we wanted to now. It's got to burn itself out. I'm not in charge any more' (p.207).

Narrated by one of the journalists responsible for the ultimately shocking and humiliating fate of Ingell, the story is also a sophisticated exercise in 'spin' that today's experts in the modern art of public relations would be proud of.

After leaving Vermont in the spring of 1896, Kipling and his wife returned to England and a settled life in Sussex. This was a time of enormous change in British newspapers. Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, launched the halfpenny *Daily Mail* in May 1896; Arthur Pearson launched the rival *Daily Express* in 1900; Harmsworth's *Daily Mirror* (initially with all-female staff) would be launched in 1903. This was the birth of the popular daily press. Circulations exploded from tens of thousands to millions in just a few short years. The democratisation of knowledge was nothing short of revolutionary. Lower middle and working class people had access to serious political and foreign news on a daily basis, as opposed to salacious police court stories from the popular Sundays that had been working class newspaper fare for the previous half century.

Edwardian novelists, often journalists themselves, responded to the rise of the popular press in overwhelmingly positive fashion. In this 'Golden Age' of journalism, writers depicted swashbuckling heroes along the lines of real-life correspondents like Sala of the *Telegraph*, G. W. Steevens of the *Daily Mail* and Archibald Forbes of the *Daily News*.³ Fictional journalists righted wrongs, saved the world from disaster and spoke for the people rather than simply the politicians, aristocrats and upper middle classes. Here for example is a description of Harold Spence, the foreign correspondent in Guy Thorne's 1903 bestseller *When It Was Dark*, as he contemplates the challenge of saving the world after a dastardly plot to convince Christians that the Resurrection never happened plunges civilisations into anarchy: 'All the long day Spence had asked himself what would be the outcome of this wild journey. He was full of grim determination to wring the truth from the renegade. In his hip pocket his revolver pressed against his thigh. He was strung up for action.' The vital equipment this Edwardian journalist-super-hero needs for his work consists of: 'pads of paper, the stylographic pens with the special ink for hot countries which would not dry up or corrode, his revolvers, riding-breeches, boots and spurs, the Kodak, with spare films and light tight zinc cases...'.⁴

Kipling wrote 'The Village That Voted' at the very end of this 'Golden Age', before a mixture of censorship and execrable reporting standards during the First World War, followed by a steady rise of sensationalist stories, damaged the image of mass newspapers, and the press in general, irreparably. Kipling was of course schooled in, and had a nostalgic fondness for what he calls 'the old Black Art' of journalism

in the poem 'The Press', which follows the story in *A Diversity of Creatures*.⁵ In his memoir *Something of Myself* (1937), he acknowledged the debt of gratitude he owed to his early days as a journalist working for the Lahore-based *Civil and Military Gazette* and later for the *Pioneer* published in Allahabad, both for being given the chance to publish his fiction and for the rigorous training which writing for newspapers gave him:

I have told what my early surroundings were, and how richly they furnished me with material. Also how rigorously newspaper spaces limited my canvases...it was necessary that every word should tell, carry, weigh, taste, and, if need were, smell.

Here Kipling seems to be attributing his famous concision and distinctive robust style to his newspaper apprenticeship. The technique took him 'an impatient while to learn' but, once mastered, allowed him to 'keep abreast of the flood' of all the things he wanted to say and report on even in short genres of writing. Thus as a new writer in London in the 1890s, he found it easier to write short stories for the literary journals of the day, 'with a daily paper under my right elbow' like some kind of talisman.⁶ That fondness for his first trade is highlighted in his earlier short stories featuring newspapers, notably 'The Man Who Would be King' (1888) and in 'A Burgher of the Free State' (1900). In the frame story of 'The Man Who Would be King' the journalist narrator highlights the strange duality of the journalist's existence, hovering indeterminately between palace and gutter:

Sometimes I wore dress clothes and consorted with Princes and Politicals, drinking from crystal and eating from silver. Sometimes I lay out upon the ground and devoured what I could get, from a plate made of leaves, and drank the running water, and slept under the same rug as my servant.

When he first meets the adventurer Peachey Carnehan, the narrator describes him as 'a wanderer and a vagabond like myself', suggesting a kinship between the roving reporter and the desperado. Kipling is also placing his character within the long and distinguished tradition of the journalist as 'loveable rogue' that has been a constant in literary narratives since Autolycus and his ballad-peddling in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*. However, in 'The Man who would be King', once his vagabond phase is over, the journalist returns to the 'respectable' newspaper office, rigorously working to the timetable of the deadline. In this story, one of the rewards of journalism is the regular pattern of crisis

and release, both physical and psychological, as the deadline is reached and the order to print is given, in contrast to the unfettered anarchy of Carnehan and Dravot's adventuring:

I sat there while the type ticked and clicked, and the night-jars hooted at the windows, and the all but naked compositors wiped the sweat from their foreheads, and called for water... as the hands crept up to three o'clock, and machines spun their fly-wheels two or three times to see that all was in order before I said the word that would set them off, I could have shrieked aloud. Then the roar and the rattle of the wheels shivered the quiet into little bits.⁷

The familiar cycle of crisis and calm is captured with nostalgic fondness in the 1917 poem 'The Press', which presents the striking image of the man who *Has lit his pipe in the morning calm/ That follows the midnight stress*, admitting that *He hath sold his heart to the old Black Art/ We call the daily Press*.⁸ In 'A Burgher of the Free State', the journalists tasked to take over a Boer newspaper and 'turn' it to the British cause are depicted as mischievous charming imps who are thrilled, after weeks on the veldt, to be in a newspaper office again: 'Vincent entered the press-room, rubbing hands joyously'.⁹ This story is based on Kipling's own experience of taking over the Bloemfontein newspaper *The Friend*, together with Percival Landon of *The Times*, H. A. Gwynne, then of Reuters, and Julian Ralph, an American correspondent for the *Daily Mail*; other correspondents including Arthur Conan Doyle and Lionel James of the *Times* also contributed. In his memoirs, James recalls Kipling's enthusiasm for the project: 'Kipling entered into the spirit of the enterprise with boyish enthusiasm and during the early issues was to be found at all hours in the Editor's room.'¹⁰ This delight at being back in a newspaper office after several years' absence recalls the pleasure taken in newspaper production described in 'The Man Who Would be King'.

However, 'The Village That Voted' is no light nostalgia trip. It is one of Kipling's dark revenge fantasies, possibly the darkest of the lot. As in 'A Friend's Friend' (1888) and 'Steam Tactics' (1904), the avengers are deadly serious. As with these revenge tales, ridicule is used as a way of righting the wrong, and there is certainly delight in the mischievous journalists using the circulation, readership and resources of *The Cake* and *The Bun* newspapers, together with the influence of 'Bat' Masquerier, to heap ridicule upon their quarry and his fiefdom: "Now we'll pool our assets" says 'Bat' as the plot is hatched ('Village' p.168). The fabricated stories begin in a low-key way, provoking indignant letter-writing from Huckley residents – which the journalists give 'good

space' to, understanding that all publicity is good publicity. First *The Bun* reports that Huckley sportsmen have 'of course' shot a rare Hoopoe bird; partially fabricated correspondence then follows in *The Bun* as to the origins of the word 'Huckley' – was it pre-Conquest 'Hugly', 'Hogslea', or 'Argile on account of its much clay' ? (pp.170–1). This is the first of several references in the story and its accompanying poem 'The Press' to the Book of Job, whose theme is the supremacy of God's divine will over earthly laws: 'Behold, he put no trust in his servants how much less in them that dwell in *houses of clay* whose foundation is in the dust, which are crushed before the moth?'¹¹ The next story, that Ingell's five-strong herd of cattle has foot and mouth disease, is based on the 'sub-stratum of fact' ('Village' p.174) that Ollyett saw one of them lying down on one of his regular fact-finding visits to Huckley.

Other papers, first *The Spectator*, then another newspaper *The Pinnacle*, start picking up on *The Bun* and *The Cake's* Huckley stories. *The Pinnacle* joins in on Ingell's side, praising Huckley as a 'Model Village' with 'Fallen Virgins who wash Sir Thomas's dress shirts' (p.180). More prestigious publications including *Punch*, *The Lancet* and *The Times* take it up, followed by the Press Association and Reuters, global news agencies with the latest communications technology at their disposal, so that the journalist Ollyett's boast 'I mean to have it so that when Huckley turns over in its sleep, Reuters and the Press Association jump out of bed to cable' (p.179) comes true. We are in the first age of mass media where owning a paper or periodical brings access to vast wells of public opinion. Even a 'ponderous architectural weekly' (p.194), is brought into play to discuss Ingell's culpably careless treatment of the fourteenth century font he has had removed from Huckley's church. As the story starts to take on a life of its own, the journalists begin to be slightly afraid. Like the Sorcerer's Apprentice, they couldn't stop it if they tried. Whereas the order and modernity of the newspaper office in 'The Man who Would be King' represents the civilised world in contrast to the 'Native States' where there is cruelty and irrationality, this modern newspaper office is confused, anarchic and run by men who don't quite understand what they are doing. In addition they are being controlled by 'Bat', of whom even the worldly Ollyett is afraid: "He's the Absolutely Amoral Soul. I've never met one yet" ('Village' p.176).

The journalists' amorality and inability or refusal to take responsibility for what they and their papers have done is a disturbing theme, which runs counter to most fiction about the press written between 1900 and 1914. Edwardian novels about the press written by new recruits to Northcliffe's newspapers tend to assert the triumph of the liberal-rationalist-educative model of newspapers, even as that old model was giving

way to the market-based one of Northcliffe's revolution.¹² Kipling's is virtually a lone voice of warning, and it would not be until after the First World War that other writers caught up. Although Kipling's early newspaper training is clearly a source of delight to him, he was also wary of the attentions of the new commercially driven press and the direction it was taking. He himself had experienced the doubtful pleasures of being a newspaper celebrity when he got married. His 1899 poem 'The Press', written a few years after his wedding and not long after his bitter experience of being mocked by US newspapers during the unhappy law-suit against his brother-in-law,¹³ also suggests the unwanted attentions of an intrusive press eager to capture an interview with a celebrity writer:

Do you hope to enter
Fame's immortal dome?
Do you put your washing out
Or have it done at home?
Have you any morals?
Does your genius burn ?
Was your wife a what's its name ?
How much did she earn ?¹⁴

Yet Kipling composed this satirical poem at around the same time as 'The Absent-Minded Beggar', written as part of an early and immensely successful *Daily Mail* 'stunt' to raise money for soldiers fighting in the Boer War. Arthur Sullivan's setting of the verses to 'a tune guaranteed to pull the teeth out of barrel organs'¹⁵ must surely have inspired the episode in the story when the song 'The Village that Voted the Earth was Flat', sung to the tune of 'Here we go gathering nuts in May' becomes a global hit.

By the time Sir Norman Angell wrote his critical work on the popular Press *The Press and the Organisation of Society* in 1922, which argues for a 'Truthful Press Act' (prefiguring Justice Leveson's recommendations for statutory press regulations in 2012), 'The Village That Voted' had been in circulation for more than five years. Post-war fiction referring to the press, from the 'windy scribes' in Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) to the idiotic news placards in Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (1925), are descendants of Kipling's negative vision of the press in 'The Village That Voted'. The idea that something becomes news simply because the global media says it is, a relatively new notion in 1913, would be taken up in Evelyn Waugh's famous novel about journalists *Scoop* (1938).¹⁶

Unlike other Kipling 'revenge' stories, 'The Village That Voted' has no moment of resolution when the culprit gets his come-uppance.

In 'Steam Tactics' the narrator experiences a moment of bliss, driving through the English countryside on his way to punish the wrongdoer by incarcerating him in a zoo of kangaroos and beavers:

'We climbed out of the violet purple shadows towards the upland where the last of the day lingered. I was filled to my moist eyes with the almost sacred beauty of sense and association that clad the landscape.¹⁷

The healing beauty of the Sussex countryside is here as important as the act of revenge. Other stories in *A Diversity of Creatures* contain images of English pastoral with healing potential: in 'Friendly Brook', the eponymous river rises up and takes the life of a wrong-doer; in 'My Son's Wife', the dissolute citified Frankwell Midmore is regenerated by inheriting a country house where he discovers the joys of fox-hunting; and in 'In the Same Boat', the beaches of south-west England are tranquil sanctuaries where Miss Henschil recovers from her drug abuse. But in 'The Village That Voted', rural England does not heal. Huckley (or 'Hugly') is a banal rural locality, disparaged not only in the press reports but also in the meta-text of the short story. Malicious newspapers describe the local dialect as a 'glutinous native drawl' and, at dusk, 'the crepuscular penumbra spread[s] her dim limbs over the boskage' ('Village' p.172) – both deliberate attempts by Ollyett to construct phrases of unparalleled ugliness. When the narrator returns to Huckley at the height of its notoriety, he is 'disappointed' to find the village 'as mean, as average, as ordinary as the photograph of a room where a murder has been committed' (p.196). The tea shop and pub are full of tourists eager to take pictures of the village that voted the earth was flat, and the sexton's wife is selling post cards of the famous fourteenth century font. The village's Jubilee clock tower indicates new building, while its large corn exchange suggests it is overly interested in commerce. The fourteenth century font, Huckley's only piece of heritage, has been desecrated by Ingell who had it removed and replaced with a horrific-sounding 'new one of Bath stone adorned with Limoges enamels' (p.194). Huckley, as one might say, is being done up like a kipper.

But who is telling us these things about Huckley? Not a detached narrator, nor even a neutral participant who has nothing to gain in describing Huckley in such disparaging terms. We are told these things by one of the agents of revenge, a journalist with shares in *The Bun*. During the story he is rapidly learning his trade, from fabricating events to creating fantasy correspondents in the letters page and faking photographs. While reports of Huckley that appear in the newspaper

are obvious lies, we must also suspect the meta-text of the narrator's story: 'The Village That Voted' is, as it were, a 'Dodgy Dossier'.¹⁸ We will never really know what the villagers felt like when 'all the zealous merciless press' focused its attention on the village, 'laid out for it to look at, as a drop of pond water is exposed on the sheet of a magic-lantern show' (p.191). This image suggests both a detached, scientific interest in cause and effect, and also a mere piece of entertainment for the masses, like one of Bat's shows. The people of Huckley have been dehumanised by the process of media frenzy – why should we, the readers, feel sorry for them? A similar process of dehumanisation was revealed as a technique of the modern press in the 2013 Leveson Inquiry and Phone Hacking trial, which uncovered how newspaper editors had claimed sympathy for the parents of abducted and missing children, while at the same time ordering the parents' phones to be hacked by reporters. As for Ingell, his is a terrible public humiliation, far worse than the fate of Jevon the drunken party guest who in 'A Friend's Friend' is elaborately decorated in gelatine, meringue and cream, or even of the phoney policeman in 'Steam Tactics' who ends up sequestered in a zoo. In 'The Village That Voted', the fascinated journalists are 'studying the interior of a soul, flash-lighted to its grimiest corners by the dread of 'losing its position' (p. 205). Ingell is first humiliated in his own court house where he had recklessly fined the journalists, and then publicly exposed, just before he loses his parliamentary seat, in front of six hundred M.Ps hysterically chorusing his enemies' hit song 'The Village That Voted The Earth Was Flat' at 'the tops and bottoms of their voices' (p.211). This scene of politicians in chaos, interrupting a debate about the vexed question of Home Rule in Ireland which Kipling the Unionist passionately opposed, evidently alludes to the Bill for Home Rule which in 1913 was twice passed by the House of Commons and then vetoed by the House of Lords.¹⁹

By this time, the journalists have lost control of the story. The 'great Baron Reuter himself' has now taken up the story, 'for Huckley was News' (p. 192). We must be alarmed and afraid, as the narrator keeps telling us he himself is, of this terrifying new force in society, fed by the 'impersonal and searing curiosity' of a new kind of newspaper reader interested in gossip and trivialities rather than serious, political news (p.191). While the narrator's 'beloved but unremunerative *Bun*' does some of the press work, particularly in fostering debate on the origins of 'Huckley' in its letters pages, it is the new popular London daily *The Cake* that does most of the damage (p.181). 'The Village That Voted' anticipates the urgent debates of the inter-war years regarding press standards, when critics warned that sensationalism and catchy headlines 'must in time reduce the popular mind to childishness'.²⁰ Parallels with

the debates in 2013 on the effect of the Internet on people's capacity to read for concentrated periods, on the hurricane-like uncontrollability of a Twitter campaign, and on 'serious' journalism, are obvious and unavoidable.

But the moral of this story, is also, I think, a pragmatic one. In the final words of the poem 'The Press' accompanying its first publication, *King over all the children of pride* [such as the heads of Church and State] *Is The Press – The Press – The Press!* The poem makes overt and emphatic allusions to the Book of Job, celebrating the 'entered soul' who *saith 'Ha! Ha!' where the trumpets are/ And the thunders of the Press* – like the war-horse who 'saith among the trumpets, Ha, Ha; and he smelleth the battle far off, the thunder of the captains and the shouting'. The boast *Canst thou number the days that we fulfil,/ Or the Times that we bring forth ?* likewise puns ingeniously on the Lord's challenge 'Canst thou number the months that they [wild goats] fulfil? or knowest thou the time when they bring forth ?'²¹ These allusions seem to imply that for all its faults, while there are men like Ingell who want to exercise dominion unfairly over others, we need a watchdog Press. Or better still – and maybe this was Kipling's covert message to his friend and fellow Unionist Max Aitken – if you want to get things done, you ought to own a paper outright and make it work for you. Like the narrator's friend Woodhouse, Aitken in 1913 already owned the old evening *Globe* newspaper (surely the original of *The Bun*), and at this time of political turmoil over the Liberal Government's attempts to deliver Home Rule to Ireland,²² had also just bought shares in a relatively new London daily newspaper, the *Daily Express*. The power of the press is a terrifying thing, so Kipling implies that if you want your voice heard – and even have a bit of fun along the way – you had better control a newspaper.

NOTES

1. Kipling 'The Village That Voted The Earth Was Flat', abbreviated hereafter to 'Village', is dated 1913 in *A Diversity of Creatures* (London: Macmillan, 1917) where it first appeared. All page references are to this edition.
2. In November 2012 BBC *Newsnight*, without naming the Tory peer Lord MacAlpine, suggested he had sexually abused a boy in a children's home. There ensued a 'Twitter storm' in which some 'tweeters' who named MacAlpine were successfully sued for libel.
3. See for example James Startt *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press 1903–1913* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) p.1.
4. Guy Thorne *When It Was Dark* (1903; LaVergne, 2009) p.341.
5. Kipling 'The Press', *A Diversity of Creatures* pp.214–15.

6. Kipling, *Something of Myself* (1937; London: Wordsworth Editions 2008) pp.109–110, 42.
7. Kipling ‘The Man Who Would Be King’ (1888; Oxford: Oxford World’s Classics 2008) pp.247, 244, 248, 250.
8. Kipling, ‘The Press’ (1917), *A Diversity of Creatures* p.214.
9. Kipling ‘A Burgher of the Free State’ (1900; *Sussex Edition* volume xxx (London: Macmillan and Co., 1938) p.172.
10. Lionel James *High Pressure: Being some Record of Activities in the Service of the Times Newspaper* (1929; London: John Murray 1932).
11. Job IV, 19; emphasis added.
12. See Sarah Lonsdale, ‘A Golden Interlude’ in *Parliamentary Affairs* April 2011. For the evolution of newspapers’ roles see Mark Hampton *Visions of the Press in Britain 1850–1950*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
13. For details of the lawsuit, see Harry Ricketts in *The Unforgiving Minute: A Life of Rudyard Kipling* London: Chatto 1999) p.223.
14. Kipling ‘The Press’ (September 1899) in Thomas Pinney (ed.) *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. III p.2951.
15. Kipling, *Kipling Something of Myself*, p.79.
16. In Waugh’s *Scoop*, the ace American reporter Wenlock Jakes starts filing reports of a revolution from the wrong Balkan capital. Rather than point out his mistake, rival publications send their own reporters to the same town to file their own mendacious reports and soon enough there is a real revolution as a result of the news stories.
17. Kipling ‘Steam Tactics’ *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904; London: Macmillan and Co 1928) p.208.
18. The Blair Government’s 2003 dossier, compiled to convince the nation of the need to go to war with Iraq, later proved unreliable and became known as the ‘Dodgy Dossier’.
19. See David Gilmour *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling* (London, John Murray 2002), pp.242–7.
20. Arthur Baumann ‘The Functions and Future of the Press’ in *Fortnightly Review* April 1920 p.624. For a comprehensive overview of intellectual criticism of the popular press in the 1920s see Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
21. Kipling, ‘The Press’, *A Diversity of Creatures* pp.214–15; Job XXXIX, 25, 2.
22. Dennis Griffiths *Fleet Street: Five Hundred Years of the Press*, London: British Library Publications, 2006, pp.179–182.

THE KIPLING SCRAPBOOKS AND THE END OF EMPIRE

By DOMINIC DAVIES

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*Hail! Snatched and bartered oft from hand to hand,
I dream my dream, by rock and heath and pine,
Of Empire to the northward. Ay, one land
From Lion's Head to Line!*¹

Tanya Barben's article of 2003, 'By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town', first presented on 5 September 2001 at a Kipling Conference entitled 'One hundred years of *Kim*' in Cambridge, traces a range of inscriptions left by Kipling on the South African university that lies in the shadow of Devil's Peak, 'one of the most beautiful campuses in the world'.² Her narrative describes the journey that I myself, as a visiting researcher at the University of Cape Town, walked daily for two weeks during my stay there: up from All Africa House on the eastern slopes of the mountain, across the sports fields and a steep climb up the tiered steps, through the bustling campus set into the hillside, to the Rare Books and Special Collections situated in the grand Jagger Library, next door to the even grander Jameson Hall. But the campus's centrepiece, as Barben describes, is the pondering bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes, looking out and up into Africa; the colonial gaze of the 1890s admiring its 'Empire to the northward'. Kipling's words are inscribed beneath the brooding statue and on the foundation stones of the university. They come from 'The Song of the Cities' (1893), Kipling's poem written to celebrate the emerging international network of imperial hubs in the four-line stanzas 'spoken' by each great port city; it marches through Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, swings by Hong-Kong and Singapore, down into Melbourne and Victoria, and back to that other Southern city, Cape Town. The poem, which seems metonymic both of Kipling's whole writing career and of his own cross-border biographical movements, encapsulates an emerging world geography in its succinct lines of rhyme. For Kipling, this complex web of interconnected cities was consolidated under the rule of the British Empire. That word 'Empire' inscribed beneath the statue of Rhodes at

the heart of UCT's campus, reverberates through the landscape within which it is situated; Kipling's lines look north from 'Lion's Head', the distinctive cone-shaped peak standing opposite Table Mountain, up into the African continent to the equatorial 'Line', envisioning 'one land' stretched out in between. Within this huge geographical expanse now lie numerous independent sub-Saharan African nations with their own complex colonial and postcolonial interactions, and their differing imperial and post-imperial histories. But if we follow Rhode's gaze beyond that 'Line', tracing its trajectory further north, the vegetation falls away and the Sahara emerges, leading eventually to Egypt in the north-eastern corner of the continent. My long-haul flight from Britain to South Africa took me first to Cairo, where I changed planes to fly that route that is also suggested by the word 'Line' in Kipling's stanza: the Cape to Cairo railway of which Rhodes dreamt and which, for both men, would tie the Empire together.

Other connection between Kipling, Cape Town, Cairo and Empire can be traced through inscriptions situated on UCT's campus. Barben hoped, when she gave that paper in Cambridge in 2001 and turned it into an article in 2003, that she would provide a 'means of alerting Kipling scholars' to the 'existence' of this trace, encouraging them to explore what must surely be one of the richest archival collections of Kipling material on the planet.³ but from my conversations with her during my research visit in April 2013, a decade after her article appeared, it would seem that the rich, intertwining stories of the Kipling Collection are yet to be fully explored and exploited, their golden traces still lying buried within the geology of the archive, waiting to be unearthed. This article attempts to sketch some of these stories, and in the process to further publicize this valuable resource to an interested and international Kipling community, through the vehicle of the *Kipling Journal*.

My daily journey took me past the statue of Rhodes, with Kipling's imperial words resounding out over the view of the Cape Flats, on up the slope and to the Jagger Library, to explore the Kipling Collection, and more specifically, the Kipling Scrapbooks. If Barben describes the Kipling Collection as 'the jewel of the Rare Books and Special Collections at UCT,'⁴ then I feel that the Scrapbooks are surely the Koh-i-Noor of the Kipling Collection. The contents of these dusty bound folders, of varying sizes and thicknesses, were carefully pasted in to the browning paper by the man who donated them to the university: John Scott Ivan McGregor, who, like Kipling himself, lived an international life. Born in London in 1887 and graduating from Jesus College, Cambridge in 1909, McGregor eventually left Britain in 1915 to serve, for the duration of the First World War, in the Dardanelles as an Army Chaplain.⁵ After the war he spent two years serving in the

Indian Army Reserve in India, before finally deciding to settle in South Africa in 1921.⁶ Though he had initially planned to set up a farm, financial circumstances prevented him from doing so. Instead, he became a teacher, working as English Master at the Potchefstroom Boys' High School, founding the school library, and donating a thousand of his own books to it. As Barben describes him, McGregor was both 'a voracious reader' and a prolific collector of books.⁷ He gathered together so many that when he retired from teaching in 1947 and moved to a smaller house where there was no room for all his library, he began donating large segments of his collection to the UCT Libraries. But though McGregor had been an avid reader of Kipling since his childhood in London, it was in his retirement that his real enthusiasm for collecting Kipling-related memorabilia took off. Barben, now curator of the Kipling Room at UCT, describes his Kipling library as a 'near complete collection of over 2,000 volumes which included books by and about Kipling, first editions, selections, bibliographies, etc., all meticulously catalogued, analysed and annotated in his neat hand, and those annotations indexed.'⁸ The more intricate details of this incredible collection can be read about in Sue Ogterop's article 'The Kipling Collection, Cape Town' in the *Kipling Journal* (1993, no.266); but it was in the 32 volumes of his Scrapbooks that McGregor brought his bibliographic knowledge of Kipling to bear on the world's media, spotting, remembering, interrogating, cutting out and recording every mention of Kipling that appeared in newspapers from Britain, South Africa and Australia, wherever he happened to be travelling at the time. I use the word 'mention' here in the broadest sense: McGregor not only collected articles about Kipling, but news items that quoted or invoked Kipling, reviews and segments that *misquoted* Kipling, articles that quoted Kipling without even realizing they were doing so. He then cut out the article and pasted it into his scrapbooks, which were ordered chronologically, noting not only the newspaper from which it came but also the Kipling text, be it novel, short story or poem, from which the reference originated. For misquotations of, or misattributions to Kipling, McGregor would write to the publication asking from which Kipling text the reference came, to which the authors would normally reply with an acknowledgement of their mistake; these epistolary interchanges are also included in the Scrapbooks, next to the relevant article. The newspapers from which McGregor drew his sources were astonishingly heterogeneous, including both London-based newspapers and magazines with global readerships across an Empire that was transforming into the Commonwealth, such as *The Times*, *The New Statesman*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Mail* and the *Illustrated London News*, and more local publications from across the Empire such

as the *Nottingham Guardian*, *The Cape Argus* and *The Sydney Herald*. He apparently did not discriminate between sources, his search being framed by his geographical location, reading appetite and his project of gathering together Kipling's words. He was well and truly engaged in the act of what Jacques Derrida would call 'consignation' – that is, the act of 'gathering together' which enacts the 'archontic principle of the archive'⁹

This act of 'consignation', the gathering together of material to organise it beneath a common sign (in this case, 'Kipling') is what makes the Scrapbooks an archive. The result of this process is an extensively catalogued documentation of the way in which Kipling was remembered through the adoption and co-option of his parlance by the imperial culture. As the diverse geographical locations and broad political spectrum of the publications from which McGregor's texts are taken demonstrate, Kipling's words had 'gone viral', catching and spreading through the linguistic and cultural networks that sustained the British Empire in the first half of the twentieth century. Elleke Boehmer has commented on the capacity of the jingo poem, in particular, to latch on to and circulate through these networks, a process which she describes as 'worlding'. As she explains:

Traversing colonial borderlines and ocean spaces, migrating, as refrain, from music hall to newspaper page, and, as exhortatory rhetoric, from the *oeuvre* of one colonial versifier to that of another, the poem carried not only British imperial convictions but also British nationalist feelings, projected on to a global stage.¹⁰

The Scrapbooks offer an insight into the way in which such poems – of which Kipling was, of course, a primary contributor – continued to navigate the linguistic networks of imperial culture, not only in the metropolis of London but also across the lingering colonial cultures of South Africa and Australia. They reveal the way in which the words of Kipling, particularly his memorable and re-deployable poetry, came to be used to describe a new kind of worlding, one that no longer registered an imperial context, but rather that of the transition towards a new global dispensation: the Commonwealth. For this reason, the Kipling Scrapbooks are far from a neat and tidy record of the way in which Kipling was remembered, though they do collate the traces and memories of his fiction and life from a dispersed and erratic network of newspapers and articles. Whilst the Scrapbooks are about Kipling, they are also about their own period of postwar history between 1947 and 1959, presenting newspaper collections that register some of the important social and political movements (as well as some of the more

banal interests and trends) of the mid-twentieth century. But because of that overarching archival label, 'Kipling', this archive demonstrates the way in which these historical movements were understood through a continuously evolving lexicon decades after Kipling's death, one that he himself had deployed and made popular in and through his literature, especially his poetry. Because of their archival location, their collection under the sign, 'Kipling', and their juxtaposition with each other, the thousands of scraps of writing pasted into the books can give shape to the way in which certain aspects of history came to be perceived through the language that Kipling gave us. They reveal the way this language was used to sculpt out a range of perspectives on this history, crystallizing the residues of linguistic and cultural traces that Kipling had brought into common parlance through the preceding half century. The Scrapbooks are so valuable because, like a series of snapshots, they catch these residues that are otherwise so fluid, slippery, and difficult to document and grasp.

It is thus not surprising to learn that the vast majority of the articles collected in the Scrapbooks come from discussions of the British Empire, colonial territories, and global and cross-cultural encounters; Kipling's imperial language is used, even after his death, to speak about the issues with which his writing was almost always concerned, explicitly or not. Kipling's various phraseologies and linguistic idiosyncrasies encapsulated, and in turn came to define and articulate, the imperial imagination; as Boehmer has shown, Kipling's poetry permeated common parlance, both becoming part of and creating, the lexicon used to talk about imperialism.¹¹ In the Scrapbooks, these words experience both an historical re-location and some uneasy, occasionally hostile disjunctions. McGregor began collecting Kipling memorabilia after his retirement in 1947, and continued to do so until he donated the collection to UCT in 1959. His keen eye and voracious appetite for collecting Kipling scraps meant that he was able to source some earlier articles, including a selection of reviews of Kipling's work from the early 1900s, which are fascinating in their own right; but by far the most consolidated and comprehensive segment of the collection falls within the mid-twentieth century. By the late 1940s and 1950s, the imperial zeal of so much of Kipling's quotable material had lost its popularity; moreover, it had often become the subject of ridicule and mockery that concealed deeper feelings of discomfort at some of the underlying hypocrisies and unpleasantness of empire. As the Scrapbooks show, the Kipling became the symbol of a form of high imperialism against which so many of the newspapers now turned. This was in part because of the unfortunate fanaticism that Kipling had, at this historical moment, come to signify – largely through the cultural memories of his poetry, so quotable and

so virile, and yet so often racist and imperialist – but also because of the disintegration and readjustment of the British Empire that was occurring throughout this period. In 1947 when McGregor began his Kipling Collection, Mahatma Gandhi had led India, the jewel in the crown of Britain's Empire, to independence, and through the 1950s and 1960s many of Britain's African colonies would achieve the same status. As the direct rule of the British Empire was reconfigured into the more benign, global community of the Commonwealth, Kipling's imperial words became, the Scrapbooks show, a way both to talk about and to reject the imperial zeal that had peaked at the turn of the twentieth century.

One historical event that manifests this disjunction between Britain's lingering imperial confidence and her dwindling global power is the Suez Crisis of 1956. The Scrapbooks document the way in which Kipling's language, and in some cases Kipling himself as 'the poet laureate of British Imperialism',¹² was used to talk about the 'crisis' that according to Gordon Martel 'seemed to symbolise the end of the age of European dominance'.¹³ One article in the *Sydney Herald*, entitled 'Kipling and the Canal' and published on 23 September 1956, observed that there had been numerous 'satirical references' in recent newspapers in response to the 'controversy over Suez', the 'gunboat diplomacy' that had been employed 'and the outmoded Kipling spirit'.¹⁴ A look through the Scrapbooks shows how Kipling's literary language gave shape to the narrative deployed by the newspapers of the time to describe the explicitly neo-imperial British intervention in Egypt; yet this language is simultaneously resisted, configured as a now unfashionable jingoism. Another article from *The Daily Mail* in November 1956 which directly discusses the possible outcomes of the Suez Crisis, comments:

I am reminded of Kipling, who believed in Britain, the Empire, and all that unfashionable nonsense, and who wrote:

*If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you ...
You know the rest:
You'll be a man, my son.*¹⁵

The article alludes to a cultural climate in which a Kiplingesque imperialism is uneasily configured as 'unfashionable nonsense'. The writer points ironically to the 'unfashionable' nature of conservative values (shared of course by the *Daily Mail*), dismissing them through a rebuttal of Kipling while simultaneously invoking him to propound the imperial residues of its political opinion. *The Daily Mail* article

concludes that, if Britain's war in Egypt 'drags on and this country is bogged down in the morass of a long, wasting, guerilla war, the Prime Minister will be cast out'¹⁶ – which makes it clear that the British still have a right to secure profitable resources for themselves, and that to do so will stand Anthony Eden, then Prime Minister, in good stead with popular opinion. Yet this can no longer be achieved through prolonged imperial occupation and its accompanying ideologies of 'civilisation' – ideologies so well expressed, as the Scrapbooks quite clearly demonstrate, through Kipling's language of 'The White Man's Burden' (1899): *Take up the White Man's burden—/The savage wars of peace—/Fill full the mouth of famine/ And bid the sickness cease.*¹⁷ Instead, the Empire is in the process of being transformed into an economically viable Commonwealth, with colonial relations held together informally through profitable economic sanctions and swift military operations. The Scrapbooks allow the researcher to chart the process of the end of Britain's formal Empire, not only offering insight into some of the subtleties of different political relationships to imperialism, ranging from feelings of nostalgia to a weary ambivalence, but also revealing, on this textual level at least, some of the tactical decisions and aggressive *Realpolitik* that marked the years of decolonisation.

Recent historical reassessment of the British Empire during the period of decolonisation by Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon and others, stress the extent to which the British government embarked upon a 'concerted imperial strategy designed to secure the colonies for the Commonwealth'.¹⁸ Rather than understanding the transfer of power from Empire to Commonwealth as a British retreat from resistant indigenous populations clamouring for independence, Grob-Fitzgibbon defines the process as a consciously tactical strategy in which the British sought to retain as much global power, and political and economic leverage, as they were able. The Scrapbooks bear out these historical analyses that understand decolonisation 'not simply [as] a response to demands from below but a conscious effort by those from above to continue to exploit the opportunities that the world beyond Europe offered them'.¹⁹ Gordon Martel uses 'the terms of contemporary business thinking', to describe decolonisation as 'a conscious design on the part of the managers to "downsize", "restructure", and "re-engineer" the imperial project'.²⁰ The Scrapbooks thus chart this reconfiguration of 'Empire' on a cultural terrain, in which Kipling becomes at once the metonymic symbol for outmoded, 'Victorian' conceptions of British imperialism, and the source of popular phraseology used to describe the newly emerging economic, albeit informal, empire. In this way, the Scrapbooks provide a unique description of the decolonisation process through the linguistic and cultural residues of Kipling's earlier high-imperial work.

Some of the most politically poignant, and certainly the most amusing, critique of Britain's shifting imperial policies during this period are to be found in *Punch*. The poem printed below by 'Evoe', the pseudonym of E. V. Knox (editor of *Punch* from 1932 to 1949, and a contributor since 1905),²¹ published in 1956 – the year in which Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, nationalized the Suez Canal and destabilized Britain's major avenue for its, by this time essential, oil supply²² – demonstrates the historical and ideological nuances that the Scrapbooks throw up. Given the broad historical movements of the mid-twentieth century, such as the rising geopolitical importance of oil and Britain's loss of political power in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa and India, British post-imperial strategies shifted their focus, more than ever before, to North Africa and the Middle East. The Scrapbooks demonstrate the way in which Kipling's words, so often dealing with the geographical spaces of South Africa and South Asia, showing how us how, on a cultural level, Kipling's words and literary forms were still used to describe the neo- and post-imperial processes of Britain's global interventions. This poem, which appeared in *Punch* on 21 March 1956, a few months before the Suez Crisis, shapes itself, with obvious satirical undertones, on Kipling's 'Recessional' (1897), the imperial poem composed for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee that advocates Empire, while simultaneously warning of its fragility when Empire's own expansive ambitions become the source of its downfall: *Far-called, our navies melt away*.²³ Evoe's punning title ironically recalls Kipling's warnings while registering the changed political and imperial landscape.

'Concessional'

Sheiks of the Desert, loved of old,
 Lords of the far-flung petrol line,
 Inked in whose awful hand we hold
 Agreements you were glad to sign:
 Masters of Camels, aid us yet
 And don't forget! And don't forget!

Dim with the dust your honour lies,
 Infirm the faith and false the heart,
 The future outlook terrifies
 The parties of the second part:
 Sultans of Asia, don't forget
 And aid us yet! And aid us yet!

If led by hate or lured by greed
 You make the ancient memories void,
And turn towards the bruised reed
 We shall be hurt – and much annoyed:
Khans of the Desert, aid us yet
And don't forget! And don't forget!²⁴

The poem's invocation of Kipling's form is undercut by its content, which departs from the pro-imperial solemnity of its original to satirise the suspect economic deals and power plays engaged in by Britain in the Middle East as part of its attempt to hold on to British geopolitical and economic strength. Kipling's refrain *Lest we forget – lest we forget!* which formulates a resounding warning, yet locates agency over the future of the British Empire firmly with England's imperial government within national borders, becomes an appeal to 'Masters of Camels...Khans...Sultans' to 'aid us yet/And don't forget!' The exclamation mark that gave Kipling's warning its urgency, here reduces the request for help from the imperial centre to an almost desperate plea which, by voicing the loss of a global British hegemony, acknowledges the agency and power of emerging nationalist governments and registers the shifting nature of its own global influence. But as we read these verses, we don't suppose that the 'future outlook terrifies' the liberal opinions of writers such as Knox. Rather, the poem's critique is aimed primarily at those clinging to an outmoded imperial sentiment and Britain's now dwindling global and governmental hegemony. As with the less elegant *Daily Mail* citation of 'If –' discussed above, Evøe's critique is generated through the use of Kipling's recognisable form and language, and the cultural significations that have come to be associated with him.

McGregor's collection, generated through his collector's eagle-eye, is an astonishing archive, awaiting further academic interrogation and analysis, as well as being a fascinating set of documents in their own right. The Scrapbooks show how Kipling made available a lexicon that newspapers, and both popular and high culture more broadly, would use to speak about the British Empire. Of course the way in which this vocabulary is used is always evolving and shifting, being transformed through the forms of satire, critique, resistance, and so on. But the fact that these divergences nevertheless take something of Kipling's vast *oeuvre* as their starting point, even when misquoted, or even misattributed, demonstrates the influence of Kipling on twentieth-century thought about the British Empire, and empire in general. This brief survey of the Scrapbooks' documentation of the final years of the formal British Empire has attempted to unearth some of the mechanics

of these processes, as well as stressing the complexity of the historical evidence which they have to offer. The Scrapbooks in the Kipling Collection at the University of Cape Town undoubtedly hold much more valuable material waiting to be discovered.

NOTES

Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holder of the poem 'Concessional' on pp.28–9. Any claim for copyright should be sent to the Editor of the *Kipling Journal*.

1. Rudyard Kipling, 'Cape Town' from 'The Song of the Cities', Thomas Pinney (ed.) *Cambridge Edition of the Complete Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, vol. 1), pp.325–7, p.326.
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LIES AND NARRATIVE SELF-CENSORSHIP: REVEALING THE 'UNSPEAKABLE' IN RUDYARD KIPLING'S INDIAN STORIES

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Rudyard Kipling is nowadays famous mainly for his *Jungle Books* and his novel *Kim*, and for his reputation as an imperialist writer. It would indeed be absurd to consider Kipling's art and the politics and ideologies of his time as entirely separate; Kipling's strong interest in British imperial politics is perceptible in his writings from the beginning. Well before Kipling met Cecil Rhodes in 1902, Charles Eliot Norton and W. D. Howells emphasised the patriotic fervour underlying the author's poems and his unrestrained enthusiasm for imperialism.¹ The English male characters in 'The Bridge-Builders' and 'William the Conqueror' (*The Day's Work*, 1898) are certainly presented as exemplary imperial heroes. Yet if Kipling is the author of the phrase 'The White Man's Burden' (1897) and of other sentences that earned him his reputation as the defender of British imperialism,² several recent studies have highlighted the ambivalence lying at the core of his writings. My point in this essay is to show how Kipling used censorship both as a theme for his stories and as a mode of writing. The author drew the readers' attention to the 'unspeakable'³ of the Empire, namely colonial violence, in his early writings on British India. After examining the paradoxical power of censorship as a spur for creation and the centrality of lying in Kipling's fiction, I will study how the dramatisation of self-censorship and of silence appear as means of revelation in Kipling's narratives.

CENSORSHIP AND LITERARY CREATION

Biographers of Kipling have described the harsh separation that Kipling had to endure both from his parents and from India when he was five years old and his sister Alice (known as 'Trix') three. His painful story 'Baa Baa, Black Sheep' (1888, collected in *Wee Willie Winkie*, 1895), deals with this childhood trauma. Punch and his little sister Judy (*alias* Rudyard and Trix) are sent to England to get a British education, having only known India since their birth. Punch is subject to many forms of physical and psychological violence in his English foster family. The boy with no prior experience of lying is beaten on several occasions by his foster mother who believes he is lying, and he discovers how useful

lying can be. As the woman forbids him to read and wants him to play noisily – which would be a proof that he is not reading – he ends up inventing new tricks:

At last, with infinite craft, he devised an arrangement whereby the table could be supported as to three legs on toy bricks, leaving the fourth clear to bring down on the floor. He could work the table with one hand and hold a book with the other (*WWW*, p.266).

The interdiction has led the boy to find ways of deceiving his persecutor. Being forbidden to do several things favours creation on the boy's part, specifically that of lies. In his memoir *Something of Myself* (1937), Kipling suggests an interesting connection between fiction and lying:

If you cross-examine a child of seven or eight in his day's doings (especially when he wants to go to sleep) he will contradict himself very satisfactorily. If each contradiction be set down as a lie and retailed at breakfast, life is not easy. I have known a certain amount of bullying, but this was calculated torture ... Yet it made me give attention to the lies I soon found it necessary to tell: and this, I presume, is the foundation of literary effort (*SM*, p.6).

Analysing his childhood experience *a posteriori*, Kipling becomes aware of a specific link between interdiction and creation through the feature of the lie.⁴ This does not mean that Kipling's art of storytelling strictly relies on his bitter experience at the 'House of Desolation', but that the awareness of the bonds between repression, lying and literary creation played a role in shaping the storyteller he would become.

In Kipling's colonial fiction, self-censorship is made perceptible through silence and/or lies, because the need to keep some truths hidden leads the colonisers to censor themselves or to lie 'by omission'. Colonisers who do not lie in Kipling's stories often omit to say the truth. In 'Without Benefit of Clergy,' the English hero Holden leads a double life: he is officially an English bachelor while he secretly lives with Ameera, an Indian woman who is also the mother of his child. When an epidemic threatens to overwhelm the city and its surroundings, the Deputy Commissioner tells him: "You're a lucky chap. *You* haven't got a wife to send out of harm's way." (*LH*, 131). Holden remains silent. The irony lies in the fact that he does have a 'wife' who would deserve to be sent to the 'Hills'; actually he advises Ameera to go there, but she turns down his offer. Holden simply cannot refer to her as his wife, nor even mention her existence before his fellow-countrymen. Not only would it be improper of him to mention his mistress publicly,

but acknowledging this forbidden relationship would ostracise him from Anglo-Indian society, disturbing the balance upon which colonial society was to rest – i.e. the separation between ‘races’.

The lie is a recurring element in Kipling’s Anglo-Indian short stories. Pregnant with menace, it is often used to transform a hideous truth into a more acceptable one. At the end of ‘Beyond the Pale,’ the English protagonist is said to have ‘nothing peculiar about him, except a slight stiffness, caused by a riding-strain, in the right leg’ (*PTFH*, 132). But the reader knows that Trejago’s injury was caused by a spear he received after venturing, disguised in a *boorka* as an Indian woman, to visit his beloved Bisesa, a young Indian widow. She too is punished, even more terribly:

From the black dark, Bisesa held out her arms into the moonlight. Both hands had been cut off at the wrists, and the stumps were nearly healed. Something sharp – knife, sword, or spear – thrust at Trejago in his *boorka*. The stroke missed his body, but cut into one of the muscles of the groin, and he limped slightly from the wound for the rest of his days (*PTFH*, pp.131–132).

The story contains both the ‘scandalous’ story of forbidden love and the socially acceptable one of a minor horse-riding injury. The latter is ironically appropriated by the story’s narrator through free indirect speech, which indicates how Trejago accounted for his own impairment; but the (literally) duplicitous narrative highlights the necessity for some truths to remain untold in society so that alternative stories have to be told instead.

Other Kipling’s stories actually revolve around a lie which then becomes the narration’s central feature. In ‘Thrown Away,’ imperial authorities decide to tell the family of a young English army officer known as ‘The Boy’ (we never learn his name) that he died of cholera, whereas he actually committed suicide. His Major and the narrator find beside his dead body letters which they destroy, because these would reveal the undesirable truth about colonial life to people at ‘Home’ that English soldiers in India could be led to kill themselves out of despair. The lie in this early colonial fiction by Kipling is not only used to hide monstrosity, it is also the medium through which creation becomes possible, since the joint censorship generates a lie which is both a literary and an imaginary creation. Censorship is what makes it possible for the narratives – both the mendacious cover story and Kipling’s own fiction – to be told and *re*-told, since censoring the boy’s suicide note requires the invention of a new story:

Then began one of the most grimly comic scenes I have ever taken part in – the concoction of a big, written lie, bolstered with evidence, to soothe The Boy’s people at Home (‘Thrown Away’, *PTFH*, p.21).

The creative and collaborative dimension involved in the making of the lie is emphasised in the narrator’s description of the letter, a new artifact in which the Boy’s career is entirely reinvented.

I made the draft to my satisfaction, setting forth how the Boy was the pattern of all virtues, beloved by his regiment, with every promise of a great career before him, and so on; how we had helped him through the sickness – it was no time for little lies, you will understand – and how he had died without pain (*ibid.*)

The patchwork of the invented story is here conveyed by the staccato prose. The characters’ action contains a *grand guignol* dimension: lying is not far from playing in this story. The lies prompt more lies: not only do the narrator and Major lie to the mother about her son’s supposed mortal illness and ‘how we had helped him’ (completely untrue, since no one knew the Boy needed help until he was dead) but they think it proper to send her that characteristic Victorian keepsake for mourners, a lock of his hair. The corpse’s hair being sullied with blood (‘the Boy had shot his head nearly to pieces’, p.20), they cut off a lock from the Major’s head:

The Boy was black-haired, and so was the Major, luckily. I cut off a piece of the Major’s hair above the temple with a knife, and put it into the packet we were making. The laughing-fit and the chokes got hold of me again, and I had to stop. The Major was nearly as bad; and we both knew that the worst part of the work was to come.

We sealed up the packet, photographs, locket, seals, ring, letter, and lock of hair with the Boy’s sealing-wax and the Boy’s seal (*ibid.* p.22).

The artificial nature of the made-up story is also emphasised by the fact that it has to be ‘rehearsed’: after burying the body themselves, they ‘talked together all through the evening and rehearsed the story of the death of the Boy’ (*ibid.* p.23). The necessity to perform the new story hints at the performativity of the lie as fiction: telling a lie in Kipling’s fiction makes the made-up story the new truth. The creation of the new story enables the men to exteriorise their unease; they alternate between laughing and crying hysterically. Behind the farce and the

multiplication of untruths lie cynicism and tragedy; the *topos* (motif) of the lie can thus be seen as signalling a darker truth. As Ambreen Hai puts it:

This second lie is Kipling's fiction, here the story 'Thrown Away' itself, which narrates instead a *fictionalized* horror, and almost maliciously creates a terrible doubt for the mothers at 'Home' reading it. By telling them this tale, it opens up to question the perhaps hidden secrets behind the multitudes of deaths of sons who remained in India – deaths that were cloaked from them forever by a physical distance and the conventions of a masculine imperial discourse over which they had little control. (Hai, p.607).

The narrative of 'Thrown Away', which stages a lie while presenting itself as fiction, reveals hidden truth. But sometimes in Kipling's fiction, the awful truth is revealed plainly; it is then disclosed as a secret. In 'The Drums of the Fore and Aft,' the truth about military life is occasionally revealed to a few insiders who keep their knowledge secret:

The courage of the British soldier is officially supposed to be above proof, and, as a general rule, it is so. The exceptions are decently shovelled out of sight, only to be referred to in the freshest of unguarded talk that occasionally swamps a Mess-table at midnight. Then one hears strange and horrible stories of men not following their officers, of orders being given by those who had no right to give them, and of disgrace. ('The Drums of the Fore and Aft,' *WWW*, 303–304).

The atmosphere surrounding the secret is expressed through phrases such as 'shovelled out of sight' and 'midnight', which refer to the secrecy of a private, intimate conversation. Similarly, in 'Thrown Away, the Major only agrees to tell the narrator 'awful stories' of young colonials driven to commit suicide 'as the dusk gathered' ('Thrown Away, *PTFH* p.23).

While colonial discourse abounds with stereotypes constructing natives as liars, white men in Kipling's stories are the ones who master the art of lying. In 'Lispeth' and 'Georgie Porgie,' Englishmen lie to Indian and English women. In both stories, the native women misunderstand Englishmen and discover the nature of lying through their betrayers. In Kipling's stories, white men's capacity to lie easily may even be interpreted as a metaphor of the fact that the British Empire rests on lying. In 'The Man Who Would Be King,' Carnehan and Dravot manage to build their own empire by pretending to be gods. Yet once

Dravot decides to take a wife among his subjects, thus transgressing the two men's 'Contract', his subjects can no longer be deceived: "The slut's bitten me!" says he, clapping his hand to his neck, and, sure enough, his hand was red with blood ... while the priests howls in their lingo – "Neither God nor devil but a man!"' ('The Man Who Would Be King,' *WWW*, 229) The bite of the woman reveals the humanity of Dravot and thus leads to the destruction of the newly-built empire. This tale, which has often been considered as an allegory of empire,⁵ reveals that the viability of Empire depends on the preservation of some lies as received truth. In Kipling's colonial stories, self-censorship leads to lying and to the production of other tales, yet lying itself is a tell-tale sign of unwanted truths. Kipling's narrators also practise self-censorship, by dramatising both their adhesion to imperial ideology and the impossibility of speaking.

DRAMATISING IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY: SILENCE AS MEANS OF REVELATION

The narrative voices in Kipling's short stories could sometimes be considered as 'overdoing' the defence of imperial ideology. In the first half of the twentieth century Kipling was considered by many as a harsh imperialist,⁶ but current criticism, especially in Postcolonial Studies, highlights the ambivalence of his writings. Some of his 'narratorial' assertions comply too excessively with the official doctrine of imperialism to be taken at their face value. Kipling as a person certainly supported colonialist doctrine, and the narratorial voices in his works strongly dramatise such support: 'Beyond the Pale' begins with the statement 'A man should, whatever happens, keep to his own caste, race and breed. Let the White go to the White and the Black to the Black' ('Beyond the Pale', *PTFH*, 127). The end of the story can be seen as the restoration of order according to imperial ideology: the two main characters, an Englishman and an Indian woman, are punished for transgressing colonial rules. Yet at other times the narrator of the story truly sympathises with the lovers:

Something horrible had happened, and the thought of what it must have been comes upon Trejago in the night now and again, and keeps him company till the morning ... He cannot get Bisesa – poor little Bisesa – back again. He has lost her in the City where each man's house is as guarded and as unknowable as the grave; and the grating that opens into Amir Nath's Gully has been walled up (*ibid.* p.132)'.⁷

The passage is pervaded with melancholy, as the expression ‘something horrible’ shows; and the reference to Trejago’s occasional sleepless nights reinforces this effect. The phrase ‘poor little Bisesa’ is no expression of narrative irony; it conveys tenderness. ‘Beyond the Pale’ also contains an epigraph which precedes the actual narrative: ‘Love heeds not caste nor sleep a broken bed. I went in search of love and lost myself’ (*ibid.* p. 127). One cannot help wondering who speaks here and whether the narrator agrees with the philosophy conveyed by this alleged ‘Hindu proverb’. The illicit lovers begin by exchanging verses from the Hindu ‘Love Song of Har Dyal’, and Kipling’s rendering of the passage Bisesa sings into the three quatrains beginning *Alone upon the house-tops of the North* would later become an admired poem in its own right. The seemingly authoritative narrative speaker who says ‘Let the White go to the White’ is thus de-centred by the intrusion of other voices. The presence of these radical assertions of the power of desire pulls the narrative towards working as an act of performed support of imperial power and prejudice, instead of an expression of strict adherence to imperial ideology. The narrator’s expressions of compassion for the lovers also suggest the possibility for alternative relations to the ‘other’ to be considered, even though Kipling as a man supported imperialism and did not personally promote interraciality. Kipling’s several mentions of interracial love and his use of the voices of ‘subaltern’⁷⁷ people can therefore be seen as hints of subversion within the ideological frame of his stories.

In ‘Without Benefit of Clergy,’ the narrator also expresses tenderness towards the protagonists even though the story, depicting the deaths of the native woman and the baby, does not allow the interracial family to survive. At the end, Holden is forced by his (Indian) landlord to have their house knocked down and any trace of their relationships erased. Some critics read this story, along with ‘Beyond the Pale’, as proofs of Kipling’s racism and imperialism, because both narratives seem to illustrate the ultimate necessity for a separation between races.⁸ Yet, even if a final order in accordance with colonial ideology is restored – the Englishman will live on as if he had never had an Indian wife nor a child with her – the crossing of racial boundaries did take place. The final order is no restoration of initial order. Everything may look the same and yet everything has been unsettled. In ‘Beyond the Pale,’ in spite of the visibly restored order, the marks carved upon the lovers’ bodies are signs of colonial violence and patriarchal violence (Bisesa’s mutilation is evidently her family’s ‘honour’ punishment of unchastity), yet both are linked traces of the transgression that took place. The ultimate act of transgression, a desire for the other, has been enacted in these short stories.

Forms of minor subversion of the colonial ideology can also be found in the voices of minor characters within the imperial system, such as children, women and private soldiers. In opposition to conventional male certainties about England having to bring progress to the colonies, female characters in Kipling's stories voice different ideas. In 'The Education of Otis Yeere, Mrs Hauksbee says "We are only bits of dirt on the hillsides – here one day and blown down the *khud* the next... Who cares for what Anglo-Indians say?"' ('The Education of Otis Yeere, *WWW*, p.6). Children's and privates' voices also stand out against the authoritative voice of imperial doctrine. Anglo-Indian children are located in an in-between space from where they can speak jarringly. In 'Tods' Amendment', the child's speech sounds different since it is a mixture of English and Hindustani words: "Has it been *murramuttet* yet, Councillor Sahib?"' ('Tods' Amendment', *PTFH*, 147) But children's speech is also 'other' in Kipling's fiction in that it departs from the 'standard English' in which imperial doctrine is expressed.⁹ In 'Wee Willie Winkie,' an English boy tells an Englishwoman: "Vere's a man coming – one of ve Bad Men. I must stay wiv you. My faver says a man must *always* look after a girl." (*WWW*, p.246) The boy has interiorised the masculine bourgeois ideology about men's duty of protection towards women, but his mispronunciation of English words is potentially disturbing. If the words themselves are not subversive at all, the otherness of the child's speech stands out against the univocal adult masculine imperial discourse.

'Soldier speech' in Kipling's short stories is also worth mentioning: the privates, who belong to the British colonial structure but rank low in it and do not embody authority, constitute another source of disruption, as when Ortheris utters his *cri du coeur*:

I'm sick to go 'Ome — go 'Ome — go 'Ome! ... No bloomin' guard-mountin', no bloomin' rotten-stone, nor khaki, an' yourself your own master ... An' I lef' all that for to serve the Widder beyond the seas, where there ain't no women and there ain't no liquor worth 'avin', and there ain't nothin' to see, nor do, nor say, nor feel, nor think. ... There's the Widder sittin' at 'Ome with a gold crownd on 'er 'ead; and 'ere am Hi, Stanley Orth'ris, the Widder's property, a rottin' FOOL!' ('The Madness of Private Ortheris', *PTFH*, p. 210)

Ortheris' references to women and alcohol are at odds with the British colonial ideal of discipline and restraint, and his language can be read as a distortion of the King's English. The Indo-Irish-English of his mate Private Mulvaney is another of many Kiplingesque 'Englishes'. The linguistic alterations of Ortheris' Cockney demotic may be read in

relation to Jean-Jacques Lecercle's concept of 'the remainder' being 'the other of the language,' *i.e.* what escapes linguistic theories and threatens to return in various guises as the Freudian unconscious. In Kipling's 'soldier speech,' a form of violence is forced upon the King's English and makes it sound and look other: 'Ome' stands for 'home,' 'on 'er 'ead' for 'on her head,' etc. The destabilisation of the orthography and the alteration of words can be read as metaphors of the possibility of unsettling hierarchies and of subverting the social order. The omission of the H from 'head', a word that is itself a synecdoche of the Queen as the head of England, can be read as a form of beheading, ominously implying that England may not be ruling forever in India. This illustrates another level of Lecercle's concept of the 'remainder' as 'the return within language of the contradictions and struggles that make up the social; it is the persistence within language of past contradictions and struggles, and the anticipations of future ones' (Lecercle p.182). Even if one argues that Kipling's 'soldier speech' is artificial and in the end contained within correct grammar, such linguistic variations can be interpreted as slight hints of subversion of colonial ideology produced by the poetics. Jan Montefiore wrote in 2007:

Kipling's sympathetic rendition of the voice of the coarsely aitch-dropping soldier can be read positively as a form of pluralist heteroglossia that enables the voice of the underprivileged, excluded from poetry by their low class and diction, to be heard ... yet given Kipling's firm assent to existing social hierarchies, it would be naïve to think that the inventing of an idiom for the Army private is the same thing as giving him a voice equal to Standard English (Montefiore 2007, p.44).

While I cannot but agree with this statement, the poetics of Kipling's works have effects of their own which do not necessarily comply with his ideological stance on imperialism. These 'corrupted' forms of English suggest that there are contrasting power relations within the English language. They convey the possibility for other voices, voices of others who do not belong to the sphere of power in colonial society, to be heard. If native voices can be said to be staged so as to finally assert England's power over its colonies, the intrusion of elements that make English 'estranged' to itself is upsetting; so is the transformation of 'Sahib Strickland' into 'Estreekin Sahib' in 'The Bronkhorst Divorce Case' (*PTFH*, p.182), which suggests that the English policeman is severed from both his authority and identity.

While nothing harmful to colonial power is visible in Kipling's colonial fiction, imperial violence is frequently present in it. Narrators

often insist on the unspeakable nature of the object of their speech. The use of aposiopesis, the rhetorical figure in which a speaker halts as if unable to proceed, as in 'Words fail me', enables the narrator to point out the existence of a textual space beyond the narrative. But phrases like 'This part is not to be printed' ('The Mark of the Beast,' *LH*, p.189) and 'I am not going to write about this. It was too horrible' ('Thrown Away', *PTFH*, p.22) do not only refer to a 'meta-text' of actions beyond the story, they also highlight the impossibility of truth-telling which is related to colonial violence. This discreet silence is made visible by the many words which underline its necessity, so that Kipling's sentences enable the hidden to appear. The remarks on unspeakability point to a reality beyond the set of assumptions on which the story is based, drawing the reader's attention to the absent word and the haunting presence of the unspeakable. Dramatising the impossibility of speaking, yet endangering silence by speaking about its necessity, Kipling triggers the reader's desire to hear that which should not be spoken. Such phrases thus create an intensified effect of meaning instead of suppressing it, suggesting that imperial violence cannot be contained in words, that there are limits to the 'sayable.' The writer is confronted by the issue of the limits of linguistic representation; what is at stake for Kipling's narrators is indeed to find how to speak the 'unspeakable.'

Kipling's meta-textual sentences like the well-known ending 'But that is another story' ('On the Strength of A Likeness,' *PTFH* p.221), recall Oswald Ducrot's notion of suggesting without telling, '*laisser entendre sans encourir la responsabilité d'avoir dit*' (to suggest something without being responsible for actually saying it: my translation: Ducrot, 1980, p.6). Kipling's narrators do not tacitly allude to colonial violence but insist on not being able to talk about it. Can we talk of 'suggestion' when what is explicitly told is the impossibility of telling? Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni writes in *L'Implicite* that implicit contents are not the real object of discourse (Kerbrat-Orecchioni, p.21). By resorting to aposiopesis, Kipling's narrators do not follow the traditional rules of suggestion. Instead of telling little about colonial violence to reveal more about it, the texts express a preoccupation with how to speak about it. The result is the same: the object of speech belongs to a place that lies beyond the text. Readers may easily imagine what happened in 'The Mark of the Beast', but they have not been told explicitly. Such a process makes it possible for a multitude of other texts to emerge.

Even though the time period and literary context are very different from Kipling's time of writing, his stories recall Ylpe,¹⁰ a French surrealist writer who substituted ellipses [...] for verbs or nouns in classical quotations. The idea was to transform a plain text into a textual 'matrix'

which could generate a multitude of texts. The ellipses, instead of hiding meaning, led to new interpretations, sometimes much more subversive than the original text. The reader of Kipling's stories, instead of facing an absence of words, is confronted by an excess of them, but they are not the expected ones. By providing an extra linguistic sign – either an ellipsis or a phrase such as 'this cannot be printed' – the narrator makes the absent word doubly present. To suppress referents without hinting at their unspeakable nature would have had no such disclosing effect. Kipling's narrators fill up the void that derives from such an impossibility to speak with words which trigger the reader's desire for presence. Derrida's concept of the *trace* is helpful in understanding the narrative strategy of understatement in Kipling's colonial fiction: 'A trace has taken place ... even if it occurs only to *efface* itself, if it arises only in effacing itself, the effacement will have taken place, even if its place is only in the ashes. *Il y a là cendre* (the ashes are there)' (Derrida, p.29). By insisting on self-censorship, the narrative voices in Kipling's Anglo-Indian texts leave a trace of the very existence of the censored element. Self-censorship therefore becomes a means of indirect revelation; it points to the unspeakable by dramatizing its own unspeakability.

Kipling's texts suggest that there is something unspeakable at the core of imperial power. In his fiction, the impossibility of speaking about colonial violence is expressed either through lying or meta-discursive¹¹ remarks which gesture beyond their own overt assumptions. His narrative strategy underlines the revealing power of silence and of self-censorship which function as markers of the 'unspeakable' while subaltern voices, both English and Indian, speaking from the margins of colonial power, become potential sites of subversion.

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NOTES

1. Charles Eliot Norton, 'The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling' (1897) and W. D. Howells, 'The Laureate of the Larger England' (1897), in *Rudyard Kipling: The Critical Heritage*, edited by Roger L. Green, London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1971, discussing 'Recessional' (1897) and 'The White Man's Burden' (1899).
2. 'Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet', 'The Ballad of East and West' 1889, *Barrack-Room Ballads* 1892. Collected in Thomas Pinney ed. *Complete Poems of Rudyard Kipling*: Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, Vol. 1 p.225.
3. Janet Montefiore writes: 'Few writers rely on understatement more than Kipling, whose language constantly gestures towards the unsaid or the unsayable: 'Day and Night in Kipling'', *Essays in Criticism* vol.XXVII no.4, October 1977, 113.
4. See Michael G. Levine, *Writing through Repression: Literature, Censorship, Psychoanalysis*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
5. Zohreh Sullivan *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.97; Peter Havholm, *Politics and Awe in Rudyard Kipling's Fiction*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, p.107.
6. See Edmund Wilson 'The Kipling That Nobody Read' (1941), *The Wound and the Bow*: London, Methuen 1959); George Orwell 'Rudyard Kipling' (1942), *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell* : London, Secker, 1968); and more recently Benita Parry 'Kipling's Unloved Race: The Retreat From Modernity' in Caroline Rooney and Kaori Nagai (eds.) *Kipling and beyond: Patriotism, Globalism and Postcolonialism*: Houndmills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2010.
7. I am using 'subaltern' in its postcolonial sense of 'peoples not belonging to the spheres of power in society'.
8. Cf. Ellen Dengel-Janic, 'South Asia' in *English Literatures across the Globe: A Companion*, edited by Lars Eckstein, Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag GmbH & Co KG, 2007, pp.133–157: 'Kipling's short story "Beyond the Pale" similarly opens with a narrator straightforwardly urging the separation of the races, thus establishing the imperialist frame in which the story is meant to be received. In retrospect, this provides an explanation for the tragic outcome of the English protagonist Trejago's love affair with a young Indian widow, Bisesa', p.151.
9. According to Tony Crowley, standard English is 'a monologic language which was thought of as pure, central to the English national life [...] and carrying with it the mark of both rectitude and cultural status ... It represented the linguistic embodiment of the authority of empire, and it sought to repress linguistic otherness by relegating all other languages to the state of non- recognition as forms of language

proper.' Crowley 'For and Against Bakhtin', Crowley, *Language and History*, London, Methuen 1996, pp.41, 48.

10. Cf. *Bizarre*, n° 48, October 1967.

11. Meta-discursive: a term drawn from Michael Foucault's concepts of 'discourse' and 'discursivity', referring to the ideological assumptions of the forms of knowledge, as in Edward Said's concept of 'Orientalism'. Kipling's remarks on the unspeakable in 'Thrown Away' and 'The Mark of the Beast', quoted above on p.43, are meta-discursive in that they point beyond the assumptions on which these colonial stories are overtly based.

‘A FLIGHT OF FACT’

Ian Burns, the author of ‘Marooned in the Maldives’ (*Kipling Journal* December 2011, no. 344, pp. 21–8) about the historical basis of ‘A Flight of Fact’ in Kipling’s *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* (1923), has kindly sent us this photograph of Guy Duncan Smith RNAS, the original of Kipling’s ‘Lieutenant Baxter’ who crash-lands his seaplane on an uninhabited island.



GUY DUNCAN SMITH RNAS

Via Ian Burns

COMING TO TERMS WITH TRAUMA: KIPLING, PSYCHOLOGY AND 'IN THE SAME BOAT'

By ANDREW SCRAGG

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'Kipling's longstanding interest in the uncanny had tilted into the absolution of the evil, the restoration of health'.¹ J.M.S. Tompkins' assessment of Kipling's later tales sees as his most significant theme the overcoming of pain, whether physical or mental. In tales such as 'My Son's Wife' (*A Diversity of Creatures*, 1917) and 'An Habitation Enforced' (*Actions and Reactions*, 1909) Kipling uses place, particularly Sussex, as the source of healing. He culminated this theme of healing in his stories centring on the ways in which the mental agony of men and women traumatised as a result of the Great War could be eased, for example by the Masonic Lodge as a support network in 'In the Interests of the Brethren' (*Debts and Credits*, 1926) or by the power of divine love to enable the bereaved to endure loss in 'The Gardener' (*Debts and Credits*, 1926). Kipling is clear that while there can be no cure for some pain, loving-kindness can make it bearable.

'In the Same Boat', which predates most of these stories (it was published in 1911 and collected in *A Diversity of Creatures*, 1917) represents an early venture into this developing theme. Kipling explores the nature of spiritual healing through the story of Conroy and Miss Henschil, two well-to-do, handsome young people who have become drug addicts to escape their nightmares. He examines the nature and consequences of unexplained mental torment on innocents who can neither understand nor bear it, the attitudes of the British medical establishment and the ways in which human support and understanding (but not necessarily romantic love) can be more effective than drugs and the efforts of doctors in soothing mental anguish and eventually enabling the patients to find healing.

In the story, Conroy suffers from terrifying nightmares recurring regularly, always preceded a few days beforehand by a warning of the date on which he must expect the horror. He has taken 'palliatives' in the form of 'Najdolene', a patent medicine that has left him addicted, enfeebled and despairing. At the suggestion of his empathetic doctor Rutherford Gilbert, he goes on an overnight train journey with a fellow sufferer and addict Miss Henschil and her attendant Nurse Blaber after receiving 'warning' of the next attack. It turns out to be 'my night' for

Miss Henschil too,² and the pair support each other in getting through their terrors without resorting to Najdolene. Over the next few months and attacks they build up sufficient strength to withstand their addiction and reconstruct their lives. The investigations of Nurse Blaber turn up an explanation for their night terrors in the shocking experiences suffered by their mothers while pregnant, of which neither child had ever been told. Both Conroy and Miss Henschil have thus unconsciously inherited their mothers' memories, which have manifested themselves as regularly occurring nightmares. Understanding the truth gives each the strength to move on with their lives, but as friends, not lovers – to the disappointment of the nurse.

The fact that the story appears deceptively 'simple and straightforward'³ has perhaps led to the story being largely ignored by Kipling's critics, of whom only Tompkins,⁴ Edmund Wilson⁵ and Angus Wilson⁶ have given it significant analysis. Edmund Wilson considers the story in his discussion of Kipling's own inner trauma and the effect that this had on his writing (as the story's title hints); he recognises that Kipling was one of the first writers to deal with mental trauma sympathetically, but does not relate this to specific elements of the text. Tompkins reads it in the context of Kipling's tales of healing. Angus Wilson, while dismissing some plot elements, recognises that Kipling has much empathy with the characters, unusually for the time of writing; but he does not stop to enquire why this might be. This article will build on the existing critical analysis to show how Kipling in this story explores attitudes to the psychic and the psychiatric, examining his personal understanding of mental trauma, his response to the issues of addiction in the story, and his artistic integrity in maintaining the truth of his characters rather than providing a neat romantic ending.

As with many of Kipling's later works, his craftsmanship and human understanding leave much for the reader to discover within the framework of the story. Kipling was a writer of his time; while not a Modernist like Joyce or Hemingway, he embraced and wrote of a modern world, a world that was changing rapidly with new technologies and new ideas. Amongst the pivotal ideas being developed at the turn of the last century were psychology and psychiatry, new fields of scientific knowledge which developed rapidly in the late nineteenth century. The 1880s saw an increased use of hypnotism in France to study the causes of hysteria and dissociated personalities. This enabled the development of a scientific understanding of trauma including the new concept of delayed shock following railway accidents, manifested in hysterical symptoms or in the splitting of the personality. These experiments were to lay the foundations of the modern psychiatric understanding of trauma developed by Freud and Janet in the 1890s.

There was a split in thinking regarding paranormal activity within the new discourse of psychoanalysis. Freud was sceptical, arguing in his 1919 essay 'The Uncanny' that apparently supernatural experiences were really effects of unconscious repression,⁷ but others, including Carl Jung, had a strong interest in the occult and psychic phenomena, making psychoanalytical interpretations of occult occurrences, or looking to align theories of the unconscious with paranormal experiences including Spiritualism.⁸

Practices such as hypnotism and automatic writing were also researched by what may be termed 'late Victorian Spiritualists': academics, thinkers and scientists whose work led to the creation of the Society for Psychical Research in 1882 with the ambition of understanding these phenomena and putting them to the use of humanity. While some sections of the British medical profession were sceptical or dismissive of psychical research into spiritual communication and telepathy, others, notably the psychologist and philosopher William James, were actively supportive of the Society.⁹ Among the early presidents of the Society were James himself, the future British Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour and the writer Andrew Lang, a lifelong friend of Kipling. It was Lang who introduced the young Kipling to London literary society when he returned from India in 1889, and who helped him join the Savile Club, thus opening many doors to help the younger writer's career. Like Lang, Kipling had a strong, enduring interest in the psychic world, evidenced in many of his tales such as 'My Own True Ghost Story' (*Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, 1895) 'At the End of the Passage' (*Life's Handicap*, 1891), "'They'" and 'Wireless' (both in *Traffics and Discoveries*, 1904). His attitude to the paranormal is ambivalent. Both his mother and his sister Trix claimed psychic abilities,¹⁰ but while Kipling accepted the possibility that psychic phenomena such as 'second sight', might be genuine, a number of scandals, including the unmasking of Madame Blavatsky's Spiritualistic Society in 1871, made him well aware of frauds like those he depicted in 'In the House of Suddhoo' (*Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1888). The fact that his 'psychic' sister Trix suffered a mental breakdown in 1898 and a serious though not permanent relapse into psychosis after her mother's death in 1910, left Kipling wary of the occult. He wrote in his memoir *Something of Myself* that 'I have seen too much evil and sorrow and wreck of good minds on the road to Endor to take one step along that perilous track',¹¹ which alludes to his sister's sad history and also implies that that he himself had felt but resisted the temptation to take that perilous step. He approached the paranormal with strong scepticism, roundly advising others, including his cousin A.W. Baldwin, to have nothing to do with Spiritualism or attempts to contact the dead.¹² During the Great War he

was explicit in his condemnation of Spiritualism and what he saw as the false hope it gave to bereaved families in the poem 'En Dor':

*And nothing has changed of the sorrow in store
For such as go down the road to En Dor!*¹³

Despite Bonamy Dobrée's plausible assertion that Kipling was aware of Freud but was 'more concerned with facing the root of the trouble',¹⁴ there is no direct evidence that Kipling ever read Freud's work. However, given his immense curiosity about human nature and desire to explore this through his writing, and the disapproving allusion to Freud in 'Dayspring Mishandled' (*Limits and Renewals*, 1932),¹⁵ it seems that he was aware, at least through second-hand sources, of developments in psychology, Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) and its influence this work on intellectual circles in London and Continental Europe.¹⁶ His intellectual and creative imagination allowed Kipling to look at these scientific developments in tandem with his guarded curiosity about the supernatural, and to use his artistry to combine them into a story that is related to real life and allows him to explore the human factor.¹⁷ It is through these two approaches, the scientific and the imaginative, that Kipling handles the issues in 'In the Same Boat', where we see the intellectual divisions about psychiatric treatment in the medical profession and in British society played out as the story unfolds.

Kipling had a complex relationship with doctors which is reflected in his work; few non-medically trained writers have depicted doctors so well. The technical and moral complexities of medicine appealed to him and he enjoyed doctors' conversation, their professional discourse whose jargon and slang sets it apart from others, just as he always enjoyed the exclusivity of specialist groups like soldiers, masons or engineers. In a speech to trainee doctors at Middlesex Hospital in 1908, Kipling spoke of the 'high ideals and lofty ethics' of the medical profession. Clearly Kipling as a patient valued honesty in his doctors, for he tells the medical students 'You are going into a profession in which you will be paid for telling a man the truth, and every departure you make from the truth you will make as a concession to man's bodily weakness, and not to your own mental weakness'.¹⁸ However, Kipling was also aware of the limits of the effectiveness of science and drugs alone, as he wrote in a letter to Andrew McPhail on 5 December 1911 mentioning the first appearance 'In the Same Boat':

Oh, and there's a spurio-pseudo medical yarn in Harpers this Xmas – based more or less (tho' that's no recommendation) on facts. I got a queer confirmation of it t'other day. There was a woman whose

husband went off his head temporarily. She being in the family way, saw him one night from behind her bedroom door, with horror in his eyes and a naked razor in his hand. There was a moment's contraction of the nerves, ere she said quietly "Give me the razor". Which was done and the incident as the papers say, closed. Then the child was born – to a heritage of deadly night terrors. They used to find her shaking and sweating, and hiding behind a door – always a door. And for fifty years that burden lay and was not lifted till, I suppose, the menopause.

And this, mark you, is the kind of animal we propose to govern with formulae'.¹⁹

Kipling is unconvinced by some doctors' total faith in drugs (formulae) to treat mental trauma; he wanted doctors to work with the latest science, but also with imagination,²⁰ exploring links between the unconscious mind and perceived paranormal experiences to seek a cure, not just mask the pain with drugs.

A concern for truth and a quest for understanding leading to a cure are at the heart of 'In the Same Boat'. Kipling contrasts the different attitudes of members of the medical profession both for dramatic effect and to make a larger, political, point. The medical men in the story are looking primarily to resolve the issue of the addiction; they do not guess at the underlying trauma that has led to the addiction, still less attempt to resolve it. Rutherford Gilbert is an experienced nerve specialist, respected in his profession and above all empathetic and supportive: "Don't apologise ... I'm used to people coming a little – unstuck in this room" (I.B. 70). He also has the imagination to challenge what he sees and what the patient tells him, to see the person not the addict and to look beyond traditional medical responses to find a cure. His imaginative intelligence strongly contrasts with Miss Henschil's doctor Sir John Chartres 'of the frosty eyebrows and Abernethy manner' (I.B. 71, referring to Sir John Abernethy [1764–1831], a surgeon at St Bartholomew's hospital famed for his bluntness). Sir John has no truck with Gilbert's account of Conroy resorting to drugs because of his nightmares. "Post hoc, propter hoc. The man or woman who drugs is ipso facto a liar" (I.B. 72). Sir John's formulaic Latin tags indicate his pomposity, while his repeated 'Post hoc, propter hoc' ('after this, because of this') underlines his logical fallacy: if one drug addict lies, that does not prove that the drugs caused the lying, or that all drug addicts lie (in fact, we learn later that no lies were told). Reproaching Gilbert or having 'no imagination' (I.B. 72), he reveals himself as self-satisfied and restricted in outlook. His knighthood and official standing, 'bracketed with, but before, Rutherford Gilbert among nerve

specialists' (I.B. 71), place Sir John at the heart of the medical and social establishment. For Kipling, he represents the broader arrogance and limited, inflexible thinking which threatened to weaken Britain's position and prestige in the Empire, most notably in the near-*debâcle* of the Second Boer War (1899–1902), when the ineptitude, confusion and poor strategy of British commanding officer almost led to defeat. This is the theme of the Boer war story 'The Way That He Took' first published 1900, in which a stupid, narrow-minded Colonel refuses to listen to his far more intelligent subordinate's warning of a Boer ambush. Like Sir John the Colonel repeats conventional wisdom ('Your duty, sir, was to take them in the rear'),²¹ dismissing the practical knowledge of the experienced junior. Such attitudes, which Kipling had seen at first hand, made him increasingly critical of the capabilities of the men in command of the Empire. Gilbert, conversely, approaches Conroy from a position of medical expertise but also offers imaginative solutions, recognising that science cannot be totally relied on and that the spirit also must play a part.

Sir John's censorious attitude to drug addiction was fairly commonplace both in British society and in the popular 'Imperial Gothic' literature of the time, where the fears and paranoias of the British Empire were played out. Key themes in such works were fears not only of invasion and other external threats to the empire (whether from the French or the Germans, or in H.G. Wells's case, Martians), but, more subtly, of internal threats: of Englishmen 'going native' due to the breaking down of time-honoured codes while serving the Empire in foreign lands, and of social degeneration where changes to social norms and structures led to a collapse of principles at home.²² Drug addiction was seen and condemned as a startling example of such shortcomings; Victorian writers depicted it as being brought on either by moral weakness, as happens to John Jasper in Dickens's *Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870) or aesthetic decadence, as in Marie Corelli's *Wormwood: a drama of Paris* (1890). Kipling developed the theme in 'In the Same Boat' to include strain and physical dependence on palliative drugs.

In the late nineteenth century the increased study of psychology was paralleled by rapid innovation and experimentation in psychopharmacology, including the first synthesis and widespread use of many of the drugs still used in managing psychiatric care today. Potassium bromide, used as a sedative, was available from the 1830s and in 1862 Von Baeyer prepared the sedative Barbituric acid. The first barbiturate hypnotic, Veranol, was produced in 1903. Phenothiazine, the forerunner of major tranquillizers, was synthesised in 1883, and the first mood modifying drug, Iminodibenzyl, in 1898.²³ Serious scientific investigation and medical use were accompanied by a growth of fraudulent

quack patent medicines. These had already boomed in England in the eighteenth century, linked to the socio-economic dynamic of an age when emerging affluence offered opportunities for charlatans and fraudsters to find ways to prey on fears to make money. This was still true in Victorian and Edwardian times when if anything the market for quack medicines had grown, fuelled by rapid scientific developments and the continued rise of an affluent but medically uneducated middle class, compounded by the limited capacity of Victorian doctors to diagnose many diseases or to treat them effectively. Sham remedies frequently played on the belief of sound health from a sound constitution, like Salvator Winter's *Elixir Vitae* which claimed to be a 'restorer of decayed nature'. Advertising and marketing of these products was crucial to hooking the gullible and desperate, using tricks like trading on a foreign name which hinted at exotic wisdom and cashed in on a smart cosmopolitanism within well-off sections of society.²⁴ In 'In the Same Boat' Conroy and Miss Henschil are addicted to

the tabloids of the excellent M. Najdol. These guarantee, on the label, 'Refreshing and absolutely natural sleep to the soul weary'. They are carried in a case with a spring which presses one scented tabloid to the end of the tube whence it can be lipped off in stroking the moustache or adjusting the veil' (I.B. 74).

Kipling captures neatly the character of the charlatan's addictive patent medicine, promising to cure the 'soul-weary' of whatever ails them without specifying any formula or admitting possible side effects such as addiction. Miss Henschil describes the effects: "It covers up the thing from being too real – if one takes enough – you know. Only – only – one loses everything else. I've been no more than a bogie-girl for two years. What would you give to be real again? This lying's such a nuisance" (I.B. 81). The names of the inventor 'M. Najdol' and his medicine 'Najdolene', with their hint of Eastern exoticism, suggest the idea of foreign threats to Britain and its Empire in an opiate of questionable medical value, weakening and degenerating the younger generation: Kipling's imperialism would have made him acutely conscious of this peril. The spring loaded case, so convenient for covert use, indicates the user's sense of shame.

In a 1916 letter to Sir Almroth Wright, a bacteriologist at St Mary's Hospital and author of an anti-suffragist tract, Kipling vituperatively attacked those whose views he disagreed with: the Germans ('Huns'), socialists, Irish nationalists and pacifists,²⁵ and in his fiction he condemned what he saw as a *Bandar-log* of dissipated youth and the 'Immoderate Left' in 'My Son's Wife' (*A Diversity of Creatures*, 1917).

From these writings, one might expect that Kipling, conservative in his political views and unafraid to state his mind, would have little sympathy with the condition of Conroy and Miss Henschil. Yet he is surprisingly sympathetic to these young people's plight, viewing them as child-like, innocent victims of prenatal experience. An incomprehensible burden has been laid upon them for which they are unprepared, and which has led them into the thralls of Najdolene. Kipling's attitude is nearer to that of Rutherford Gilbert than to the pompously judgmental Sir John. This was recognised by Angus Wilson who found the resolution to 'In the Same Boat' to be 'unlikely' but wrote that 'I know of no other English fiction of value where I could find such people so well understood'. He found the most effective parts of the story to be the 'really frightening and graphic descriptions of on-coming black despair',²⁶ yet he does not explore the contradiction between Kipling's sympathy and his rigid conservatism, or the possible reasons for this – for it is likely that Kipling was sympathetic to the plight of Conroy and Miss Henschil and able to depict the depths of their despair so well because he, too, had suffered trauma and at times shared a similar anguish.

Conroy and Miss Henschil's nightmares and panic derive from prenatal memories inherited from their mothers: in Miss Henschil's case her mother's shock at seeing sufferers in a leper colony on 'Molo' Island in the Pacific Ocean (probably Molokai),²⁷ and Mrs Conroy's panic and horror at witnessing the injuries suffered by sailors following an explosion aboard ship while 'returning from India' (I.B. 101). These traumas are thus the side effects of Empire, endured by the families of those who administered it. Such experiences although not uncommon were often unreported and unknown to the majority in Britain, yet as James Morris writes, 'The challenge of Empire must have seemed bitter enough for many a poor wife, condemned to unhealthy exile for most of her life, her children far away at school in England, her complexion crumbling in sun and humidity'.²⁸ Conroy and Miss Henschil suffer acutely just by inheriting memories of such incidents, but the lasting trauma for the men and women who directly experienced them must have been much greater. The responses of Mrs Conroy and Mrs Henschil remain uncertain; they do not talk about the incidents until directly asked. Mrs Henschil still feels a mixture of repulsion and shame; we learn that she had nearly fainted when the leper touched her and 'she's ashamed of that still' (I.B. 99). We do not know whether her shame is for not being stoic enough, or for her failure to respond to another human being in suffering. The mothers seek to protect their children by keeping silent about their own pain, yet only when their children learn of it can become adults – as Gilbert says 'My dear fellow ... when you're older you'll know what burdens the best of us carry' (I.B. 70).

The young Kipling working and writing in India was well aware of the threats and privations endured by the servants of Empire and wrote of them movingly in stories such as ‘The Daughter of the Regiment’ (*Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1888) when Mulvaney talks of cholera in camp: “Whin the childher wasn’t bornin’, they were dyin’, for av our childher die like sheep in these days, they died like flies thin. Lost me own little Shad – but no matther. ’Tis long ago, and Mrs Mulvaney niver had another.”²⁹ Stoical about his loss (‘but no matther. ’Tis long ago’), Mulvaney too keeps his own pain under wraps.

As an adult, Kipling could process such information and use his artistry to manage some horrors, but as a child he suffered a personal trauma which was harder to sublimate. His early years were spent happily with his parents and *ayah* in India, but in October 1871, when he was nearly six and his sister Trix three, his parents brought them back to England and left them at Lorne Lodge, Southsea in the care of a foster-mother Mrs Holloway, a strict Calvinist Evangelical, a sinister ‘woman in black’.³⁰ Her verbal and physical abuse of the young Kipling left a lasting psychological trauma;³¹ Kipling later described this as the ‘House of Desolation’ where ‘I had never heard of Hell, so I was introduced to it in all its terrors’.³² There were two elements to the trauma – the abuse by the foster-mother and her son, and the unexplained desertion of the children by their parents, as his sister would recall:

Looking back, I think the real tragedy of our early days, apart from Aunty’s bad temper and the unkindness to my brother, sprang from our inability to understand why our parents had deserted us. We had no preparation or explanation ... we felt that we had been deserted ‘almost as much as on a doorstep’ and what was the reason? ... There was no excuse; they had gone happily back to our own lovely home, and not taken us with them. There was no getting out of that as we often said.³³

These experiences left Kipling permanently vulnerable to depression and the stress and strain of overwork. As Edmund Wilson suggests, he used his writing as a strategy for both understanding and coping with his pain,³⁴ but this was not always successful. He fictionalised his traumatic experience of the House of Desolation in ‘Baa Baa, Black Sheep’ (1888, collected in *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, 1895), but the trauma was too deep to be removed by describing it. He had a serious breakdown in 1890, telling Samuel Hill in January 1890 ‘Can’t write you anything this week. I’m better but my head is all queer and I am going to have it mended some day.’³⁵ A month later he described his collapse in a letter to Edmonia Hill in early February: ‘My head has

given out and I am forbidden work and I am going away somewhere. This is not the first time that it has happened – last time was at the Honam on the Canton River but this time is the completest ... I can do nothing to save myself from breaking up now and again'.³⁶ These bouts continued until his marriage. In 'In the Same Boat', Kipling seems to be drawing indirectly on his experience at Southsea and his lasting trauma as the core of the story, transmuted through his readings about prenatal memory. (Interestingly, both Conroy and Miss Henschil have loving mothers who do not desert them and try to shield them from pain, however ineffectually.) Angus Wilson feels that the psychic element of supernatural 'warnings' and dreams, 'weakens otherwise interesting situations',³⁷ but at this time it was perhaps the most appropriate metaphor for the guiltless burden which Kipling himself felt. In terms of unresolved trauma it is not just Conroy and Miss Henschil who are 'in the same boat'.

Many of the characters in Kipling's earlier stories of healing – Conroy and Miss Henschil in 'In the Same Boat', Midmore in 'My Son's Wife' or Chapin in 'An Habitation Enforced' (*Actions and Reactions*, 1909), have father figures who are either dead or missing from the narrative (the post-war stories are more likely to feature bereaved fathers). It is possible that Kipling, even though he was close to his own father, repressed feelings of rejection by John Lockwood Kipling, who with Kipling's mother had dropped the young Rudyard off at Southsea – but it was Kipling's mother who came to 'rescue' him. There is an echo of paternal abandonment in the poem 'Gentleman Rankers' in *Barrack Room Ballads* (1892) about those estranged from their families / fathers: 'The curse of Reuben holds us till an alien earth enfolds us / And we die, and none can tell Them where we died.' This refers to the Biblical cursing of Reuben by his father Jacob – 'Unstable as water thou shalt not excel' (Genesis 49: verse), following Reuben's semi-Oedipal adultery with Bilhal the mother of his brothers. In the desperate voice of the ranker Kipling asks for understanding:

When the drunken comrade mutters and the great guard-lantern
gutters
And the horror of our fall is written plain,
Every secret, self-revealing on the aching white-washed ceiling,
Do you wonder that we drug ourselves from pain?³⁸

Like Conroy and Miss Henschil, the gentleman rankers are victims of their own weakness, desperately seeking respite. Kipling, too, knows the trauma that is the human cost of Empire; he understands their need for temporary relief, but believes that a permanent cure is preferable.

It may be asked why, if Kipling understands and empathises with Conroy and Miss Henschil, he did not end the story with a happy, romantic ending, indulging the reader's desire for closure? At the end of the story, Miss Henschil is about to be married to her very ordinary suitor George Skinner ('Toots'), whom we have seen early in the story distraught and weeping as she gets on the train. She declares: 'I want Toots. *He* has never been out of his mind in his life – except over silly me' (I.B. 100). Clearly the nurse Miss Blaber wishes for a romantic conclusion – when asked what she would like as a thank you for resolving the source of the attacks she says 'I don't want anything ... and if I did I shouldn't get it' (I.B. 102). Her romantic nature is revealed by her preferred reading: Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth*, a popular late Victorian historical romance of love triumphing over separation. But Kipling makes it clear from the beginning that this will not be a love story. While it is common in his stories for a man to be referred to by his surname alone, the fact that we never learn Miss Henschil's first name creates a formality and distance between her and the reader, while the fact that Conroy never uses it indicates the lack of familiarity between them. During the story Conroy becomes fitter, stronger, more mature and notices her as a woman, saying 'I hadn't realised how beautiful you were' (I.B. 85), but this is batted away as an aside by them both. They regard a shared romance as impossible: "I couldn't, could you?" said Miss Henschil, with a disgust as frank as that on Conroy's face. "It would be horrible – horrible" (I.B. 97). The reason for Kipling's decision to represent their relationship as asexual is hinted at in Sir John's words to Gilbert when the doctors are seeing off the two patients on their second train journey: "It's all very fine, but the question is shall I or we 'Sir Pandarus of Troy become', eh? We're bound to think of the children" (I.B. 91). By quoting Pistol's line from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act 1 Scene 3 after Falstaff has asked Pistol to help him seduce both Mistress Page and Mistress Ford simultaneously, he is questioning whether Gilbert's plan is to cure or procure for the couple, to create a remedy for their situations or to encourage them to fall in love. The words 'We're bound to think of the children' are ambiguous. On one level they certainly refer to the doctor's anxiety about any future children of two people with a shared history of psychic fragility and drug addiction, echoing contemporary concerns over heredity and degeneration; yet they could also refer to Conroy and Miss Henschil. Throughout the story, Kipling has paternalistically likened their distressed state to that of children. Miss Henschil 'sneezed like a child' (I.B. 83), she ambiguously refers to Nurse Blaber as 'Nursey' (Victorian nannies were known as 'Nurse', and Blaber in fact behaves more like a nanny than a medical nurse) and with growing

self-awareness admits ‘We’re still children, you see... But I’m well enough to feel the shame of it’ (I.B. 85). It is only through understanding and acceptance of the causes of their attacks that they become adults, and are described in adult terms by Kipling – he has Blaber call Miss Henschil ‘rightfully a woman’ (I.B. 100) and after their liberation Miss Henschil and Conroy ‘would have danced, but there is no room in the compartment for ‘giants’ (I.B. 100). Either way, Sir John’s phrase focuses on his and Gilbert’s obligations as doctors not matchmakers – though once again he is wrong, since each emphatically repudiates the idea of marrying the other, ‘not with a million in each stocking’ (I.B. 94). Miss Henschil is happy to marry her ‘Toots’, and Conroy is equally happy for her: “‘My dear chap!’” He shook hands unreservedly... “I can’t tell you how pleased I am!”” (I.B. 96).

Is ‘In the Same Boat’, then, about the resolution of personal trauma and despair, or a love story? Given that the subject matter of trauma and support was so personally important to Kipling, it is probable that his main obligation as a writer was to challenge and explore the human side of the couple’s illness rather than to write a comfortable, romantic story. He was intelligent enough to recognise that there would be the potential for sexual feelings to develop between the handsome couple and he nods towards this within the tale as we have seen; but he also knew how the characters would respond: friendship forged by their shared experience is fine, but romance would be too problematic. T.S. Eliot, though feeling like Wilson that in this story ‘the psychological explanation... comes as an anti-climax to the experience’, regarded the unromantic ending as ‘truer to the experience than is the end of *The Brushwood Boy*’, in which the hero discovers with rapture that he shares his life-long dream-world with his future bride.³⁹ Kipling is too fine an artist to be diverted from his daemon’s intention. Both the ending and the rationale for it become clearer when it is read in conjunction with the poem ‘Helen All Alone’ which follows in *A Diversity of Creatures*. We do not know if Helen is Miss Henschil’s name, but the circumstances are similar and the poem ends:

There is knowledge God forbid
More than one should own
So Helen went from me, she did,
Oh my soul, be glad she did.
Helen all alone!⁴⁰

The first person voice and use of a first name in the poem allow a more emotional exploration of the scenario than is possible in prose. The speaker (presumably Conroy) and Helen have shared their terrible

knowledge of traumatic experience. Living with each other would mean a constant reminder of that horror. The lesser pain of separation is preferable, allowing both to go on to live strong, happy lives.

'In the Same Boat' has often been overlooked or dismissed as too straightforward for serious analysis compared to many other Kipling tales. It has its faults; while Kipling handles the characters' distress with empathy and understanding, the final rationalization of the causes of the nightmares appears rushed and perhaps over-simplified, as both Eliot and Angus Wilson complained.⁴¹ However, a deeper reading and analysis of the story reveals a satisfying complexity which tells us much about Kipling's skill as a writer and his engagement with science and modernity, as well as his own inner struggles. Although the psychological explanation is rushed, we see that Kipling has thought deeply about the human aspects of both the situation and the 'cure', anticipating important later developments in psychiatry by many years. Key both to Kipling's story and to his characterisation of the two sufferers are medical concepts unheard of in his own day, such as the proneness of mental patients to use what is now called 'self-medication' by drink or drugs ('Najdolene' sounds very like an opiate), and the importance of patient-to-patient peer support in helping recovery. These aspects of psychiatric understanding and treatment, now widely accepted, were explored by an imaginative writer (and sufferer) decades before they were recognised or understood by the medical profession. The first analyses of patient peer support date from 1960, and it was not until 1985 that Khantzian proposed that psychiatric clients self-medicate or reduce their symptoms through use of substances such as opiates, cocaine or alcohol.⁴²

'In the Same Boat' thus demonstrates the development of Kipling's art and his attempts to understand and come to terms with his own complex psychology. As Edmund Wilson argues, the story is slightly contrived; it was only when Kipling explored the shattered war veterans' searches for respite that he came to a fuller and more artistically satisfying development of this theme.⁴³ Yet it remains a fine example of Kipling's writing about the modern world and its new ideas and technological developments to explore larger human themes that were of personal interest and importance to him. It shows his ability to embrace cold science and through the application of a far reaching imagination and a high degree of self-reflection and analysis, to create a work of art questioning the rigidity of the medical science of his day and its application, and full of empathy and understanding for circumstances and characters much more harshly treated by other contemporary writers. Others might have looked on the plot elements as perfect for a horror story like those of Algernon Blackwood, or a warning of the dangers of

‘degeneration’ like the thrillers of Rider Haggard, or a love story like the novels of Ethel M. Dell. Kipling’s inner demons helped him stay true to his theme of the psychological impact of trauma on the innocent, the limits of rational science and his belief in the ultimate strength and survival of the human spirit.

NOTES

1. J.M.S. Tompkins, ‘Kipling’s Later Tales: the theme of healing’ *Modern Language Review* 45 (1950) 18–32, p.19.
2. Rudyard Kipling, ‘In the Same Boat’, *A Diversity of Creatures*, [1917], London, Macmillan, Centenary Edition, 1952, p.78. I have shortened the title in the text to I.B.
3. A.E. Bagwell Purefoy, ‘Some thoughts on “In the Same Boat”, “The Wish House” and “Fairy Kist”’ (*Kipling Journal*, March 1971, p.8). This is one of just two references to this story in the index of the *Kipling Journal*.
4. J.M.S. Tompkins *The Art of Rudyard Kipling*, London, Methuen, 1959, pp.162–7.
5. Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow*, Cambridge Mass. Houghton Mifflin, 1941, Methuen 1962 pp.165–166.
6. Angus Wilson *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, London Secker, 1977, pp.268–9.
7. Freud ‘The Uncanny’ (Das Unheimliche, 1919), *The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud Vol 17: An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works* (ed James Strachey), London, Vintage 2001 pp.217–252.
8. Julia Gyimesi, ‘The Problem of Demarcation: psychoanalysis and the occult’ *American Imago* (66) 2010 (4) 457–470.
9. Jenny Bourne Taylor, ‘Psychology at the Fin de Siècle’ in *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp.13–30.
10. See Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*, London, Weidenfeld, 1999, p.117.
11. Kipling, *Something of Myself*, edited by Thomas Pinney, Cambridge, Cambridge University 1990, chapter VIII ‘Working-tools’, p.124.
12. For more detail see William B. Dillingham, ‘Kipling: Spiritualism, Bereavement, Self-Revelation and “They”’, *English Literature in Transition* 4 (2002) 402–425.
13. Rudyard Kipling, *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (ed Thomas Pinney), Volume 2 Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp.1094–5. The Witch of Endor was a sorceress who summoned up the angry ghost of the prophet Samuel at the request of King Saul (I Samuel, xxviii, 3–25).
14. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling: realist and fabulist*, Oxford, OUP, 1967, p.50.
15. The unpleasant Castorley reviews a rival’s book ‘with an intimacy of unclean deduction (this was before the days of Freud) that long stood as a record’. Kipling, *Limits and Renewals*, London, MacMillan 1932, p.7.
16. D.M.E. Roskies, ‘Telling the Truth in Kipling and Freud’, *English* 31(139) 01.01.1982, 1–17.
17. J.M.S. Tompkins *Art of Rudyard Kipling*, p.166.
18. Rudyard Kipling, ‘A Doctor’s Work: speech to Middlesex Hospital., 1908 *A Book of Words*, New York, Doubleday, 1928, p.47.

19. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters, Volume 4: 1911–1919* (ed Thomas Pinney) Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, p.73. The ORG suggests that he was perhaps, inspired by a novel on pre-natal influences, *Elsie Venner* (1861) by the American writer Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894).
20. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling* p.49.
21. Rudyard Kipling ‘The Way that he Took (1900)’, *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* London, Macmillan, 1923, p.54.
22. See Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British literature and imperialism 1830–1914*, Ithaca, Cornell UP 1988 p.230.
23. See Wilfred Llewellyn Jones, *Ministering to Minds Diseased: a history of psychiatric treatment*, London, Heinemann, 1983.
24. Roy Porter, *Quacks: fakes and charlatans in English medicine*, Stroud, Tempus, 2000.
25. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters, Volume 4: 1911–1919*, pp.420–422.
26. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, p.269.
27. Possibly Molokai, Hawaii. See D. A. Carmichael ‘Report on leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands’, November 29, 1898, *Public Health Reports (1896–1970)*, Vol. 13, No. 52 (December 30, 1898), pp.1539–1556.
28. James Morris, *Pax Britannica: the climax of an Empire*, London, Penguin, 1979, p 311.
29. Rudyard Kipling, ‘The Daughter of the Regiment’, *Plain Tales from the Hills* [1908], London, Macmillan, Centenary Edition, 1981.
30. Rudyard Kipling ‘Baa Baa, Black Sheep’, *Wee Willie Winkie*, London, Macmillan 1895, p.277. First published in the *Pioneer*, 1888.
31. See Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.33–44.
32. Kipling, *Something of Myself* p.6.
33. Alice Fleming (‘Trix’), quoted in Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow*, pp.108–109; no reference. Wilson was probably citing Mrs Alice Fleming ‘Some Childhood Memories of Rudyard Kipling’, *Chambers Journal* 1939.
34. Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow*, p.166.
35. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters, Volume 2: 1890–1899* (ed. Thomas Pinney) Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, p.7.
36. Rudyard Kipling, *Letters, Volume 2: 1890–1899*, p.9.
37. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, p.269.
38. Rudyard Kipling, ‘Helen All Alone’ *The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 2 p.952.
39. T.S. Eliot *A Choice of Kipling’s Verse*, London, Faber, 1941, p.20.
40. Kipling, *A Diversity of Creatures* p.104.
41. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, p.270.
42. On self-medication, see Arthur W. Blume *et al* ‘Revisiting the Self-Medication Hypothesis from a Behavioral Perspective’, *Cognitive and Behavioral Practice*, 7, 2000, pp.379–384. On patient peer support, see G. Gurin, J. Veroff and S. Feld, *Americans View Their Mental Health*, New York, Guilford, 1960, but there was little further research before the 1970s. See C. Barker and N. Pistrang ‘Psychotherapy and social Support: integrating research on psychological helping’, *Clinical Psychology Review* 22, 2002, pp.361–379.
43. Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow* p.173.

RUDYARD-KIPLING@JISCMAIL.AC.UK

Also known as 'the mailbase', July–November 2013

By ALASTAIR WILSON

Summer discussion began with a question about Kipling's lines 'And while the Celt is talking from Valencia to Kirkwall / The English – ah, the English! – don't say anything at all!' ('The Puzzler'). 'Why Valencia – surely that is in Spain, with few, if any, Celtic connections? Did Kipling mean Valentia, in south-west Ireland?' David Page noted that Kipling spelt the Irish location with a 'c' in 'With the Night Mail'. John Radcliffe suggested that since Valencia in Spain has associations with Cantabria, which has definite Celtic connections, 'Valencia to Kirkwall' represents the extreme north and south limits of Celtic settlements. Gisbert Haefs was firmly of the opinion that Kipling meant the Irish location. The subject prompted some splendid 'topic drift' (*c.f.* the childhood game of 'Chinese Whispers'); Valencia/Valentia led to *Don Quixote*, and on to Emerson. In September, Mailbase members were notified of the Society's intention to publish, in the Members' Only part of the website, an annotated transcript of Charles Carrington's 'Extracts' from Carrie Kipling's diaries. These are the only remaining authentic records of Kipling's movements, whom he met, when he started and finished various pieces of his work, etc. We believe that this will be an extremely valuable tool for researchers into Kipling's life.

In October, we discussed the geographical location of events in 'The Man who would be King'. The death of Carrie Kipling was covered in substantial detail by John Walker, citing an article by Cecily Nicholson, the last of Kipling's secretaries, about Carrie Kipling's life after Rudyard had died. Throughout the period, John Radcliffe has continued his 'Quotations', and many other members have kept us informed of events and publications concerning Kipling, including the Vermont Symposium. Alastair Wilson commented on Andrew Scragg's article on 'My Son's Wife' (*KJ* June 2013) endorsing Andrew's comments on 'A Charm', and his dismissal of the Chestertonian vision of the countryside, but arguing that 'the countryside' encompasses the midland Shires as well as the Home Counties, and that Andrew's jibe at the hunting fraternity was too subjective. Fred Lerner remarked the similarities between Tolkien and Kipling who both grew up in outposts of empire, and later wrote idealised versions of English rural life. John Walker reminded us those who didn't join the Mailbase are missing some good stuff, citing the above exchanges as an example.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

from Peter Borchers

Major General Sir Sebastian Roberts' remark (*Kipling Journal* Sept 2013) that John Kipling's intention to enlist as a private soldier 'seems to have precipitated his father in talking to Lord Roberts ('Bobs') whom Kipling had known since working on the Army newspaper 'The Friend' in India in 1890' (p.13) is slightly misleading. In 1890 Kipling was living in London (though he had known Roberts in India), and 'The Friend' was actually a South African newspaper. Founded in 1850 as 'Friend of the Orange Free State & Bloemfontein Gazette', it was printed in English and Afrikaans and became the English-language 'The Friend' in 1896. During the Boer War, Lord Roberts commandeered 'The Friend' in 1900 as a paper for the British troops, and Rudyard Kipling was indeed an important contributor at that time. Its owners later resumed control, and it continued publication till 2010.

Peter Borchers
University of Birmingham

From C. J. Driver

Major-General Sir Sebastian Roberts' interesting speech on John Kipling quotes Kipling's poem 'Recessional' (*Kipling Journal* Sept 2013 pp.11–12) including the line: 'Or lesser breeds without the law.' But Kipling actually wrote 'without the Law'. The capital L matters, because what Kipling is talking about is the Danelaw, as we know from other work. 'Without' has its old sense of 'outside'. The 'lesser breeds' outside the Danelaw were the old tribes of what wasn't then Britain: the Angles, the Saxons, the Picts, the Scots *et al.* – that is, **us**. 'We English' ourselves are the lesser breeds, not the nasty foreigners. The poem was a warning to ourselves, not a criticism of outsiders. If we aren't aware of the extent to which the mode of Kipling's mind was ironic, we miss much of his value as a writer.

C.J.Driver
Northiam, Rye

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MARCH 2014

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Miss Lucinda Bates (*Hertfordshire*)
Miss Nina Martyris (*USA*)
Mrs Fiona Renshaw (*East Sussex*)
Col. Dr Kenneth Radley (*Canada*)
Mr Peter Crowhurst (*East Sussex*)

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John Lambert
Hon. Secretary

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