



The
KIPLING JOURNAL

Published quarterly by the

KIPLING SOCIETY



DECEMBER 1968

VOL. XXXV

No. 168

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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

THE Society was founded in 1927. Its first President was Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, C.B., C.S.I. ("Stalky") (1927-1946), who was succeeded by Field-Marshal The Ead Wavell, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., M.C. (1946-1950), Lt.-Gen. Sir Frederick A. M. Browning, G.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O. (1951-1960).

Members are invited to propose those of their friends who are interested in Rudyard Kipling's works for election to membership. The Hon. Secretary would be glad to hear from members overseas as to prospects of forming a Branch of the Society in their district

The Subscription is : Home Members, 25/- ; Overseas Members, 15/-; Junior Members (under 18, anywhere), 10/-; U.S.A. Branch, \$3.50 per annum. These include receipt of *The Kipling Journal* quarterly.

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Be sure to telephone before calling, as the office is not always open.

THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

COUNCIL MEETING. Note new address.

The next Council Meeting will be held at St. John House, 50 Eaton Place, S.W.I, at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 18th December, 1968. **Note new address.**

DISCUSSION MEETINGS—1969

February 19th, at The Royal Society of St. George, 4 Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.I, at 5.30 for 6 p.m.

Mr. Roger Lancelyn Green will open a discussion on 'Mowgli'.

April 16th, same place and time.

Mr. J. H. McGivering will lead a discussion on a competition based on essays provided by Members and others on "The Kipling character I should like to be, and why". Members, their families and friends are invited to submit essays limited to 300 words by 16th March addressed to J. H. McGivering, Esq., 17 Addlestone Park, Addlestone, Weybridge, Surrey. For purposes of the discussion competitors will be divided into three groups, (1) under 14 years, (2) 14 to 21, and (3) over 21. Name and address and group number should appear at the head of the essay. Those who attend the discussion may read their own essays if they wish.

Note : Future Discussion Meetings will be held on July 9th, September 17th and November 26th. Subjects and speakers to be announced later.

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NEWS AND NOTES

MRS. VANSUYTHEN, AND OTHERS

Professor Carrington's 'Note on Mrs. Vansuythen,' printed on page 7 of this *Journal*, was written in July; the current number of *English Literature in Transition* (Vol : XI, No. 3) arrived in October—and it too contains an article concerned, partly at least, with the doings of this lady. (How many readers, even of this *Journal*, are turning, shamefacedly, to Mr. McGivering's useful *Kipling Dictionary* to remind themselves of the stories in which ladies of this name appear?)

The article in *English Literature in Transition*, called 'No Exit : An Explication of Kipling's "A Wayside Comedy",' by Elsie B. Adams of Wisconsin State University, compares the story with Jean Paul Sartre's play *Huis-clos* (No Exit) 1944. 'The parallels between Kipling's story and Sartre's play are so striking as to suggest literary influence,' says Miss Adams; but in fact her interesting article goes on to 'explicate Kipling's story as an early portrayal of the existentialist hell dramatized in *Huis-clos*.'

Describing 'A Wayside Comedy' in *Something of Myself*, Kipling says that he 'worked hard for a certain "economy of implication"' in it, and Miss Adams shows at some length that the "implication" is a universal parable or allegory, while the story is, on the surface, a straightforward—if rather cynical—sketch of Anglo-Indian life in the exceptionally isolated station of Kashima.

'Kipling universalizes his theme by allusions to the Christian pattern of fall and redemption,' notes Miss Adams. 'A Wayside Comedy' contains in allusion the spiritual history of mankind from paradise to judgement day. Kashima was "the Garden of Eden" until the arrival of the Vansuythens, who destroy paradise. Then comes the Flood: "Then the Rains came . . . The clouds dropped down from the Dosehri hills and covered everything." The discovery of "all Kashima's" hates and desires is the Day of Judgement, at the end of which the Major "unearths" the population, and the ironic "New Life" begins, a life which contains no hint of redemption and love.'

Reading hidden or allegorical meanings into stories is notoriously dangerous, and may lead to the most amazing follies. But Kipling definitely intended more meanings than that of the simple surface appearance in many cases: 'I worked the material in three of four overlaid tints and textures, which might or might not reveal themselves according to the shifting light of sex, youth and experience'—is true of other stories besides those in *Rewards and Fairies*. Often, of course,

a 'hidden meaning' gets in by chance and is not intended by the author to be taken as such nor worked up by him to play any part in the story as a whole : a red herring of this kind can lead scholars very far astray, as is shown in attempts to explicate 'Teem'. But Kipling's own reference to the story suggests that Miss Adams is right about 'A Wayside Comedy' — and Professor Carrington's interesting note on the developing idea behind the character of Mrs. Vansuythen suggests deeper research into the implications not only of 'The Dream of Duncan Parrenness' (Kipling's earliest story to be collected by him) but certainly of others which are given any sort of dream framework even, perhaps, as he suggests, the elusive 'Mrs. Bathurst'.

IS KIPLING 'ENG. LIT.' ?

The number of post-graduate theses, the articles and "bibliographies" in learned journals, the inclusion of *Kim* among the "Great Novels" in specialized courses at universities certainly suggests that Kipling has arrived on the summit of Parnassus, U.S.A. But his own country still holds back : in spite of his inclusion by J. I. M. Stewart as one of the *Eight Modern Writers* in the last volume of the Oxford History of English Literature, he does not yet appear in University book catalogues of 'English Language and Literature'. Perhaps some of our Members who teach English in British colleges and universities know if any of his writings are 'set books', and to what extent he is the subject of lectures, seminars and tutorials.

American readers have two surface advantages over those in this country : Kipling's politics are, for them, as ancient and alien and unimportant as those of Milton or Morris, and three-quarters of his works are out of copyright and can be reprinted in cheap textbooks and rearrangements, and included in series of classics and anthology volumes.

Thus 'A Wayside Comedy' is one of the stories chosen to represent Kipling in Helmut E. Gerber's *The English Short Story in Transition 1880—1920*, where his work can be compared with that of eighteen other writers ranging from Pater and Stevenson to Wells and Maugham. And he also finds a place in the companion volume edited by John M. Munro, *English Poetry in Transition 1880—1920*, in company with Bridges, Masefield, Housman, de la Mare and many others. (Both volumes are published by Pegasus of New York at \$3.95 in paper and \$11.95 in cloth. Unfortunately no copies have yet been made available for review in this *Journal*.)

By being included in these two anthologies Kipling has been accepted as "Modern" — a great diploma of respectability and proof of seriousness in the curious world of academic and "serious" criticism at present in vogue . . . 'Now, English Literature,' as Mr. King could have told them, 'was *not* divided into water-tight compartments, but flowed like a river.'

Never mind. His influence on T. S. Eliot and Sartre and Brecht is acknowledged on both sides of the Atlantic, and the annual bibliography in *Victorian Studies* (of Bloomington, Indiana) at last gives him full coverage — even unto *The Kipling Journal*. Perhaps *The Year's Work in English Studies* (John Murray, London) will soon follow suit : there are already welcome signs of change.

FOR KIPLING COLLECTORS

If Kipling has not yet quite regained the position he once held among great writers, he has never ceased to be collected, and at present his rarer books and editions seem to be commanding prices as high as they have ever achieved.

The Covent Garden Book Shop, for example, in its recent Catalogue No. 21, advertised as Item 747: 'KIPLING, RUDYARD. *Letters of Marque*. Allahabad. 1891, covers slightly spotted, contents very good. This book was suppressed by Kipling on publication. £110.'

And G. F. Sims of Hurst, Reading (Catalogue 70), offered a whole section of Kipling items, which seem worth transcribing here for future reference :

144. QUARTETTE. By Four Anglo Indian Writers. Lahore, 1885. First edition. The entire contents were written by Rudyard Kipling, his sister Alice, and his mother and father. Lacks back strip and lower wrapper : also the last blank page and three leaves of Adverts. (?); advert. pages numbered i-viii only. The front wrapper has had the corner cut off. Rare. Preserved in a blue cloth folder and a half blue morocco slip case, gilt. £75/-/-

145. UNDER THE DEODARS. A. H. Wheeler & Co. Allahabad (1888). First edition. Original wrappers (the first variety described by Stewart in his Bibliographical Catalogue, page 56); backstrip missing; preserved in a red cloth folder and red morocco and cloth slip-case, lettered in gilt. £25/-/-

146. SOLDIERS THREE. A. H. Wheeler & Co. Allahabad (1888). First edition. Original wrappers (the second issue design as described on page 43 of the Bibliographical Catalogue) detached from the spine; upper wrapper chipped at the edges. Preserved in a red cloth folder and a red morocco and cloth slip case, gilt. £30/-/-

147. THE PHANTOM RICKSHAW and other EERIE TALES. Wheeler, Allahabad (1888). First edition. The rare first issue in which the apostrophe before RICKSHAW is missing and there are no periods after the publisher's initials. The wrappers are marked and slightly torn but this is inevitable with such a fragile production after eighty years; apart from the spine having been detached the only real defect is a piece missing from the upper margin of the front wrapper, about one inch wide. Preserved in a cloth folder and a red morocco and cloth slip case, gilt. £55/-/-

148. DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. Thacker, Spink; Calcutta, 1888. Third edition containing several new ditties and verses. Apparently an advance copy with the publisher's compliments stamp on the title page. Original reddish brown cloth — this is different from all the bindings described by Stewart. The cloth is somewhat rubbed and marked. Bookplate. £12/10/-

149. THE LIGHT THAT FAILED. Macmillan. 1891. First edition. The unusually fine Sadleir copy (with his bookplate), preserved in a blue buckram slip case. £10/10/-

150. BARRACK ROOM BALLADS and Other Verses. Methuen, 1892. First edition. No. 7 of 30 copies on Japanese paper numbered and signed by the publisher. Original half vellum and white buckram

boards. Some slight marks on the buckram, otherwise a fine copy, completely unopened. An extremely scarce book. £42/-/-

151. THE SEVEN SEAS. Methuen, 1896. First edition. L.P. copy, one of 150 on hand made paper. Bound in full dark blue morocco, gilt. In nice state. £5/5/-

152. THE FIVE NATIONS. Methuen, 1903. First edition; special issue of 30 copies on Japanese paper. Original full vellum, gilt. A very fine copy. Rare. £30/-/-

153. COLLECTION OF TWELVE OF THE RARE PAMPHLETS PRINTED FOR COPYRIGHT PURPOSES, all with the imprint of Doubleday, Page & Company, New York. TALES OF "THE TRADE" (3 parts, 1916); THE NEUTRAL (1916); "THE HOLY WAR" (1917); A NATIVITY (1917); THE GREEK NATIONAL ANTHEM (1918); THE SONG OF THE LATHES (1918); ADDRESS BY RUDYARD KIPLING (1923); LONDON TOWN (1923); INDEPENDENCE (1923); CHARTRES WINDOWS (1925). All in the original yellow wrappers. Preserved in fine state in a red cloth folder and red morocco and cloth slip case, lettered in gilt. £75/-/-

154. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF RUDYARD KIPLING. By Flora V. Livingston. 1927. SUPPLEMENT TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY. 1938. 2 vols. First editions. From the library of the noted Kipling collector W. G. B. Maitland; the first volume bears his bookplate and some minor annotations; the second volume is inscribed to him by the compiler. Apart from Maitland's notes these are fine copies, the second one being in the d.w. (an interesting typed note by Maitland, loosely inserted, refers to a letter from T. J. Wise about PAN IN VERMONT with a succinct comment, "A. S. Watt says this is a fake"). £20/-/-

155. A SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF RUDYARD KIPLING. Grolier Club, New York 1930. Compiled by Lloyd H. Chandler; this copy is inscribed by him to W. G. B. Maitland. Large 8vo. Original linen backed blue grey boards, gilt. Nice copy in a worn slip case. £10/10/-

THE IRISH GUARDS

We are most grateful to the Revd. J. J. W. Murphy of St. Patrick's, Athenry, Co. Galway, for contributing an unusual and interesting article on 'Kipling and the Irish Soldier in India' which appears in this *Journal*. In a covering letter to Mr. Harbord he says: 'I had naturally heard the opinion of many Irish Guardsmen about Kipling's volumes of the Regimental history in the 1914-18 War. It was almost unanimously felt that he had not got "inside" us. I know how very hard he had tried, but on Page X of the Introduction he gives a hint that he felt this himself: "But when a civilian presumes to assist, all ranks unite against his uninformed criticisms . . ." Of course he is not talking here about the same thing, but rather as a danger that he intended to avoid, namely, telling soldiers how they could have done better. He did avoid doing that. But the deeper danger was unavoidable, as he must have known. My own view is that in those fourteen pages of Introduction he did get inside us, and in a few other places which I

have not space to enumerate in a letter. But I hope to do so if I ever get my paper for the Military History Society written. Why is it not written after such a long time? Well, I had to make a new approach.

' I said to myself, why did Kipling manage to get inside Mulvaney the Irishman who was most certainly not a fiction, made so that Kipling *could* get inside him, but the reincarnation of tens of thousands who had come from Ireland into the Company's European regiments and passed into the regular Army after 1857. I got to work on the answer to that question . . . '

" HAVE YOU FIXED YOUR FLINT ? "

In answer to the query about ' fixing one's flint ', the phrase used by Dick Helder in *The Light that Failed* (p. 224), Mr. E. N. Houlton makes the interesting suggestion that Kipling came across it in R. M. Ballantyne's *The Young Fur Traders* (1855). In this story, as he points out, ' the heavy father has a son and daughter, and in the first chapter he threatens to " fix their flints ", i.e. settle their careers. It seems likely that Kipling had read the book as a boy.'

According to Mr. Harbord the O.E.D. quotes an American usage of the phrase : " To fix another's flint : to ' settle ' or ' do for ' him." This is more violent than Ballantyne's use of it—which itself is at least more forceful than Kipling's. So it seems that a much smaller spark was struck from the flint at the end of the century than at the beginning — perhaps reflecting the change from flint lock guns by way of percussion caps to breech-loaded cartridges !

R.L.G.

HON. SECRETARY'S NOTES

Mr. R. E. Harbord. At the A.G.M. on 18 September 1968 a proposal was carried unanimously that Mr. R. E. Harbord should be entitled to attend and vote at all Council Meetings.

Kipling on "Stalky." Mrs. E. F. Makins, of Bruton, Somerset, has kindly presented our Library with RK's reply (circa 1907) to a query from herself and her brother (aged 16 and 18) as to whether " Stalky " was true. It is too long to quote in full, but, after starting "Dear Sir — and Madam," it states that "some parts of Stalky are too true, some are only true, and some not quite so true." He then dodges a direct question about the Dead Cat (which *he* calls a Rat), on the grounds that he does not wish to corrupt the minds of the Young.

The letter, with a covering note from Mrs. Makins, can be seen, on request, at the RCS Library. A.E.B.P.

NEW MEMBERS. We are delighted to welcome the following new members, **the largest number in any quarter for three years.** U.K.: Mmes K. Ayling, P. Ginner, D. Bingham-Hall. Miss S. Posey. Lord Milverton, Sir T. Austin, Sir L. Gluckstein. Canon J. Webdell. Messrs. A. F. G. Ayling, H. F. Fox, E. W. Hodge., CANADA : Windsor Univ. Library, Ontario. MELBOURNE : Mr. and Mrs. H. Mishael. U.S.A.: Dr. J. H. Evans. Messrs. W. Bascom, J. P. Donohue, P. Thompson, J. Wheelock. Angelo State Coll. Liby., Texas; Kent Liby., SE Missouri; Temple Univ. Liby., Philadelphia; Virginia State Coll. Liby., Norfolk.

A NOTE ON 'MRS. VANSUYTHEN'

By C. E. Carrington

I wish that one of our American colleagues would study the Kipling MSS in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library, listed by Stewart and Yeats in their Bibliography as an early draft of *At the Pit's Mouth*. When I was working in New York, I had time only for a cursory reading. From internal evidence it must have been written in 1884, that is, before Kipling's twentieth birthday, before his great Simla season (1885), and about the time when his engagement with Flo Garrard was broken off. The MS is written in double column in two styles of hand-writing, one being a rough outline of the story, the other a critical commentary indicating how the theme might be developed. Some students have been misled into supposing that the commentary was added by someone else, but both styles are variants of Kipling's normal hand, perhaps set down at widely different dates. This is eminently an example of the way in which he used the 'two separate sides' of his head. It is indeed a draft for *At the Pit's Mouth*, but it is much more than that; it includes material that he afterwards worked up into a second story, *The Hill of Illusion*, and Kipling gives the hero the curious name of 'Duncan Parrenness' which he soon used in another context. The episode of the two lovers who met at the cemetery was abstracted and re-written as *At the Pifs Mouth*; and a train of thought led from it through four later stories of illicit love.

I give some references from Stewart and Yeats, with comments:

- (1) *The Dream of Duncan Parrenness, Civil and Military Gazette*, 25 Dec. 1884, not collected until *Life's Handicap*, 1891.
(Kipling's first historical story, containing an element of transposed autobiography. 'Duncan Parrenness,' having been jilted by his English sweetheart, is fascinated and baffled by 'Mrs. Vansuythen,' 'a tall pale woman with violet eyes . . . (who) . . . had set all our young men by the ears'. The author makes it plain that, whatever had gone wrong, 'Mrs. Vansuythen' was not to blame. It is a dream-story of split personality, in which the hero is confronted with an image of himself.)
- (2) *The Hill of Illusion, C.M.G.*, 28 Sep. 1887, collected in *Under the Deodars*, 1888, and eventually in *Wee Willie Winkie*.
(A story in dialogue about an illicit love-affair at Simla. The man is fascinated by the woman but does not begin to understand her. She draws back.)
- (3) *A Wayside Comedy, Week's News*, 21 April 1888, collected in *Under the Deodars*, and *Wee Willie Winkie*.
(A far more accomplished piece than (1) or (2). All the men on a remote Indian Station are in love with 'Mrs. Vansuythen', who seems to be 'Duncan Parrenness's' friend, reborn. 'She was a fair woman with very still gray eyes . . . No man who had seen those

eyes could, later on, explain what manner of woman she was'. But she was innocent.)

- (4) *At the Pit's Mouth, Week's News*, 21 April 1888, collected in *Under the Deodars*, and *Wee Willie Winkie*.

(The final version of the Berg Collection Draft. A macabre episode in the life of a married woman at Simla; her lover is killed. The story is well told but without deep characterisation. No names are given.)

- (5) *Mrs. Bathurst, Windsor Magazine*, Sep. 1904, collected in *Traffics and Discoveries*, Oct. 1904.

(So much has been written about 'Mrs. Bathurst' that I need not now attempt an analysis. She fascinated all men, but she was innocent of whatever impropriety was committed. 'Some women 'll stay in a man's memory if they once walk down a street . . . an' if a man gets struck with that kind of woman . . . he goes crazy . . . She looked at me, under her eyebrows, in that blindish way she had o' looking'.)

From time to time, there have been contributions in the *Journal* about themes that Kipling handled crudely in his juvenile period and re-considered in his maturity. The development of 'Mrs. Vansuythen' into 'Mrs. Bathurst' might be worth investigation.

P.S. Among all the clues and half-tints in *Mrs. Bathurst* there is one on page 340 in the standard edition, which suggests that this might be a dream-story, like *The Army of a Dream*, which appeared in the same volume. Is it possible that *They* could also be a dream-story?

July 1968

C. E. CARRINGTON

HORSMONDEN SCHOOL BUDGET

Thanks to Mrs. M. V. Hodgson of Hawkhurst, Kent, whose family has been connected with this village of Horsmonden for many years, our President has been able to meet Miss Cecily Morley whose father was the Headmaster of the School; she still lives in Horsmonden near Tonbridge. It is an interesting double coincidence that another Kent school with Kipling interest was written about in the September 1968 *Kipling Journal*; Bethany House School still flourishing at Goudhurst, Kent; and for Horsmonden School itself we refer readers to the *Kipling Journal* of April 1940 No : 53 with accompanying frontispiece.

Kipling's letter to the Editors of *The School Budget* — Horsmonden School, was written from Cape Town in 1898. This was reproduced in the *School Budget* No. 13 which was produced in small mimeographed booklets. The Kipling Society already possessed a copy of this and so when Miss Morley presented the Society with a copy of No. 14 the gift was of greatly added value and interest.

Miss Morley's letter to Mr. Harbord follows — with our realisation that the gift has great value of itself but that it is greatly enhanced by being one of an important pair. The Librarian and all members of the Council and of the Society itself are most grateful to Miss Morley

and hope she will allow us to make her an Honorary Member of the Kipling Society.

Dear Mr. Harbord,

In 1855 Horsmonden School, then known as Heath House School, was founded by Mr. George Tabor in the village of Horsmonden at premises which were later used as the village Post Office for a number of years. Heath House eventually proved inadequate to accommodate the growing number of pupils drawn from a wide area of Kent and Sussex and in the 1880s, when his son, Francis (Frank) Hebard Tabor was of an age to go into partnership, Mr. George Tabor had larger premises built in the centre of the village with gardens and playing fields at the rear. This enabled a greater number of boarding pupils to be accepted and the school then became known as Horsmonden School.

Owing to ill health Mr. George Tabor retired from active headship in 1890 and died in 1894, after which the school was carried on by his son, Frank, and Arthur Morley, who had recently obtained his degree at Cambridge and had married Jane Hebard Tabor, daughter of Mr. George Tabor. Jane died in 1895 shortly after the birth of her son, now George Morley Tabor and who subsequently became a master at the school.

Arthur Morley went to South Africa at the turn of the century and Capt. Walter Masterman and Capt. Milner took over the school for a few years.

Horsmonden School remained in existence until about 1938 when the building was used to house a large number of Czech refugees. It has now been converted into flats and offices used by a fruit marketing and packing firm.

Regarding the *School Budget*—this was priced at one penny and 'published by boys for boys'. They evidently received contributions from the staff as Mr. Arthur Morley was responsible for many of the illustrations. No information can be obtained concerning the original manuscript. Mr. Max Beerbohm and Mr. Max Pemberton both contributed to subsequent issues.

As will be seen from the bound copy of the School Magazine, Horsmonden School appears to have received much support from residents of the surrounding area who invariably took part in school activities and in return provided hospitality and transport for excursions and cricket matches. The school was well known for its excellent sporting record and its productions of Gilbert and Sullivan operas.

Members of the Masterman family were connected with the school—Walter Masterman, a writer of many detective novels, was headmaster for a time. C. F. G. Masterman, Liberal M.P. and a member of Lloyd George's cabinet, was also on the staff in his younger days. Another Masterman brother later became Bishop of Plymouth (or Portsmouth).

G. K. Chesterton was also a visitor to the school and round about 1897-1898 opened the new cricket pavilion. He was described by a pupil who was present as having a shock of hair and in spite of the warm day was dressed in a Norfolk jacket and voluminous cloak.

A school for girls, 'Heathleigh', run on similar lines, founded by Miss Eliza Tabor, daughter of Mr. George Tabor, about 1890, was

carried on in a large building a few hundred yards from Horsmonden School. This remained in existence until the 1930s. 'Miss Lizzie' (Eliza) was headmistress for the greater part of this period."

CM.

Later It is understood that Master Medhurst and Master Chinnery were the Joint Editors of the *Budget*.

The young Editors had written to Kipling enclosing a copy of their *Budget*, drawing his attention to an article on "Schoolboy Etiquette" in its pages and asking for a contribution, their rate of remuneration being 3d. per page. They went on to observe that they knew they ran the risk of being considered cheeky but he ought to make good his statement —

The Song I sing for good red gold
The same I sing for the white money,
But best I sing for the clout o'meal
That simple people given me.

(This is from the *Last Rhyme of True Thomas* (1893)) [Slightly altered].

In case Mr. Kipling should not be amenable to argument and reasoned appeal, the Editors undertook to stifle his next book in its birth by an adverse critique in the *School Budget*.

Mr. Kipling replied at once. But we will quote from *School Budget* No. 13 itself —

'As some of our readers are aware, we wrote some two months ago to Mr. Rudyard Kipling, enclosing a copy of the *Budget* and mentioning the high rate at which we paid our contributors. As Mr. Kipling's literary efforts are currently reported to be paid for at the rate of a shilling a word, we reproduce his letter in full without omitting so much as an inverted comma. Here it is :—

Cape Town, Easter Monday '98

To the Editors, *School Budget*,

Gentlemen,

I am in receipt of your letter of no date, together with a copy of *School Budget*, Feb. 14th, and you seem to be in possession of all the cheek that is in the least likely to do you any good in this world or the next, and furthermore you have omitted to specify where your journal is printed and in what county of England Horsmonden is situated. But, on the other hand, and notwithstanding I very much approve of your "Hints on Schoolboy Etiquette" and have taken the liberty of sending you a few more as following :—

- (1) If you have any doubts about a quantity, cough. In three cases out of five this will save you being asked to "say it again".
- (2) The two most useful boys in a form are (a) the master's favourite, pro tem, (b) his pet aversion; With a little judicious management (a) can keep him talking through the first half of the construe, and (b) can take up the running for the rest of the time. N.B. A syndicate should arrange to do (b's) impots in return for this service.
- (3) A confirmed guesser is worth his weight in gold on a Monday morning.

- (4) Never shirk a master out of bounds. Pass him with an abstracted eye, and at the same time pull out a letter and study it earnestly. He may think it is a commission for someone else.
- (5) When pursued by the native farmer always take to the nearest plough-land. Men stick in furrows that boys can run over.
- (6) If it is necessary to take other people's apples, do it on a Sunday. You can then put them inside your topper, which is better than trying to button them into a tight "Eton".

You will find this advice worth enormous sums of money, but I shall be obliged with a cheque or postal order for 6d. at your convenience if the contribution should be found to fill more than one page

Faithfully yours

Rudyard Kipling

Next there are 'School Notes' with some reference to Mr. Kipling but we quote only one note—"We hope to publish before the end of the term interviews with the following celebrities—Dr. W. G. Grace, Messrs. Jessop, Marchant, Crouch and 'Sam'."

After Cricket Notes we find the two centre pages are illustrated with line drawings. Next Village Notes and there are advertisements.

With Jessop and 'Sam', we deal later, but there should be no need to write about Dr. W. G. Grace and we are not sure that Mr. Marchant is now a celebrity.

Now we quote from our new acquisition, No. 14, which bears this superscription on the front cover—

"Published Fortnightly by boys for boys"
at bottom—"Price one Penny"

The other 3 pages of the covers are filled with advertisements.

Page 1 (Part)

The Budget

"Saucy and piquant"

May 28th 1898.

Our first duty this time, is to render due thanks for all the public and private applause which greeted our last issue. So great has been the number of applications for copies that we have, day by day, been forced to make the prices more and more prohibitive. Now the price for the half-dozen unsold copies we have in hand is 7/6 each, and we should prefer keeping them to selling them even at that price as we imagine that in after years a set containing Nos. 13 and 14 will be worth wealth untold. The *Academy* is not far wrong when it calls No. 13 already "worth its weight in platinum".

Page 2

The Lion's Cage

In future we shall exhibit in this cage a fresh Hon every fortnight. This week's capture consists of Mr. Max Beerbohm.

45, Upper Berkeley Street,
Friday, May 20th, 1898.

Gentlemen,

Many thanks for the copy of your admirable magazine. I have read Mr. Kipling's letter, and I agree with you that its

tone is quite monstrous and unpardonable.

I have much pleasure in complying with your request for a caricature of Mr. Kipling. If it meets with your approval do not forget to send me a copy of the issue in which it appears. I am an ardent collector of my drawings.

With best wishes for your prosperity.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours obediently,

Max Beerbohm.

Page 3 is filled up by the caricature of Kipling by Max Beerbohm.

Pages 4 & 5 are filled with an article signed Gilbert L. Jessop. He was the famous, perhaps the most famous of all "hitters or sloggers" (that is the word in the less exalted cricket circles.)

He was born in May 1874, died May 1955 having played cricket for Gloucestershire (1894-1914), for Cambridge University (1896-9) and for England from 1899 to 1914. He was described as "the man who could turn a match; the finest field the world had ever seen and for a few overs could bowl as fast as anybody in England".

Who was 'Sam'? Can those young scoundrels of Editors have been referring to S. M. J. Woods (Sammy) who captained Somersetshire and played more than once for England?

Pages 6 & 7 Illustrations to represent well-known characters in the village. It is thought the Head-master helped with these drawings.

Page 8 "The Cantab". A Review by the Early Bird.

Pages 9 & 10 School Notes.

Page 11 Cricket Notes.

Page 12 Village Notes.

R.E.H.

KIPLING AND HAILEYBURY

By Hugh Sawbridge

(Housemaster, Kipling House, Haileybury)

In October, 1805, the estate of Haileybury was bought by the East India Company with the purpose of building 'The East India College' for a price of £5,900. Mr. W. Wilkins, architect of the National Gallery and part of Downing College, Cambridge, submitted an estimate of £50,855 for the new College buildings, which was accepted. The foundation stone was laid the following May, and the College transferred from their temporary quarters in Hertford Castle late in 1809.

In December, 1857, the East India College was closed, and the estate sold for £15,200 to the British Land Company. Thanks to the good offices of Mr. Stephen Austin, the Hertford printer, and other local men with foresight, Haileybury College opened as a Public School in September, 1862. Within three years there were 255 boys in the School, while in September 1863, the eighth assistant master was appointed to Haileybury by The Revd. A. G. Butler, the first Master—

Cornell Price, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., of Brasenose College, Oxford. On September 10th, 1874, the United Services College opened at Westward Ho ! in Devon. For a long time Officers in the Army wanted somewhere for their sons to be prepared and coached for the Army, and whereas Income Tax was then only Sixpence in the Pound, the cost of having a boy trained was anything up to £300 a year. Several Officers formed a Proprietary Company " to establish a School to which Service parents could send their sons for an education run on Public School lines ". A site was found for the School — a row of terraced houses by the sea in North Devon. The Founders-cum-Parents now had a series of buildings and some would-be pupils, but they had no Headmaster ! However, one of the applicants was Cornell Price, who was currently Head of the Modern Side and Housemaster of Colvin House at Haileybury. He was a friend of Lockwood Kipling, father of Rudyard, and presumably knew the Military set-up from his time at Haileybury with its strong E.I.C. connections. He took with him eight boys from Haileybury who were to be the first pioneers. The School started with fifty-nine boys, allotted to four Houses, one of which adopted the Haileybury Colvin's colours. G. B. T. Nicholls, Housemaster at the I.S.C. and Haileybury until his retirement in 1949 writes in " The Haileyburian and I.S.C. Chronicle of December 1961 :—

' . . . In the Natural History Society, as in the Debating Society, leading parts were taken by both J. R. Kipling (as he was then known) and L. C. Dunsterville. Thus despite the exploits attributed to " Stalky & Co.", mainly fictitious— (I hope our President will bear this out as having been Stalky's Brigade Major !) — " they contributed much to the intellectual life of the School. Kipling, as Editor of ' The Chronicle ' early revealed the talents which subsequently made him famous. The sale of forty copies of ' The Chronicle ' for £100 at a public auction many years later must be unique in the history of School Magazines.'

Cornell Price retired in 1894, and it is interesting to note that J. B. D. Joce, a boy at the U.S.C, kept up the Haileybury link. He went on to St. John's College, Cambridge, served as a Lieutenant in the R.N.V.R., was appointed as an assistant master at Haileybury in September 1914, went to and returned from the Great War, and was appointed Housemaster of Le Bas House in September, 1921. He was my predecessor-but-six as Housemaster of Kipling : but more of this anon ! By 1900 it became clear that the U.S.C. should move nearer London, since the lease on the Westward Ho ! premises was up, and more and more militarily inclined families were by now in or near London. The Imperial Service College Trust came into being, and suggested the transfer of the U.S.C. to premises in Harpenden in Hertfordshire. They moved— for a very short while — to St. George's School (then vacant), and the boys then moved to Osborne House, Richmond, in the Summer Term of 1906.

The Hermitage School, Bath, formed mainly for the sons of Army Officers, flourished in 1850. By 1890 Bath College and Monkton Combe (whose Centenary falls this year) were growing steadily, and pupils for The Hermitage were declining accordingly. In 1894 the Headmaster, The Revd. N. C. Nagel, took 100 pupils with him when he was appointed Headmaster of St. Mark's School, Windsor, which had been

founded by Dr. Le Bas, once a Principal of the East India College, in 1862—a few months before Haileybury. After the 1899 and 1902 Education Acts and the development of State Schools, some private schools began to suffer, and the amalgamation of the U.S.C. and St. Mark's soon became very likely. "The United Services College, St. Mark's, Windsor", came into being—as The Imperial Service College. The Headmaster of the Army School near Maidenhead, Mr. E. G. A. Beckwith, was appointed the I.S.C.'s first Headmaster. (His son has just retired from being Headmaster of the Haileybury Junior School at Windsor—fifty-six years later.) Mr. Nagel died in 1911, and in 1912, when the I.S.C. started, Mr. Beckwith brought with him from Maidenhead about twenty-five boys. St. Mark and the U.S.C./I.S.C. strove together and became one—the crest incorporated the Lion of St. Mark and the crossed sword and anchor. (The present Haileybury crest includes the crossed sword and anchor together with the Haileybury Hearts and Wings.)

Two new Houses appeared after the First War when numbers swelled again—Connaught and Roberts. Clewer Manor was bought, and since 1922 has housed first the I.S.C. and then the Haileybury Junior Schools. In May, 1931, the I.S.C. was granted a Royal Charter—two years before Mr. Beckwith's death. So we now had two Schools some fifty miles from one another, Haileybury and the I.S.C., who had had the same beginnings, as it were, but who were to wait another eleven years before they were one again—in the amalgamation of 1942. The U.S.C. had gone from Haileybury via Westward Ho! and Harpenden to the I.S.C., and St. Mark's, Trinity College (Stratford-on-Avon) and the Maidenhead Army School had also 'joined forces' eventually and indirectly. Rudyard Kipling died in January, 1936, and a Memorial Fund was opened, with Lord Athlone, Stanley Baldwin and General Godley amongst its sponsors. Over £30,000 was raised—the Commemoration Dinner at Grosvenor House in November 1937 concluded the fund-raising, with the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill as principal guest. The "Kipling Tors" at Westward Ho! were bought and presented to the National Trust, and a Kipling Scholarship scheme was started to help boys from overseas to go to the I.S.C. A 'Kipling Building' scheme was inaugurated, and Connaught and Roberts Houses were moved to new premises in the School precincts. A sculpture by Benno Elkan, portraying some of the "Jungle Tales" animals was placed on the west wall of the new building in September, 1939, and Connaught and Roberts Houses moved in: just in time, since their old premises were commandeered by the Army. By 1941 numbers were below 300, and more buildings were requisitioned. Haileybury, too, was down in numbers: a block of three Houses had been taken over for Military medical recuperation purposes. It was thought at one time that Haileybury would remove to Lancashire. The two School Councils met, and thanks to Clement Attlee *inter alia*, the amalgamation of the I.S.C. and Haileybury took place in May, 1942. Le Bas House at Haileybury had closed down in 1940, and the question of the name for the new 'joint' House arose. The I.S.C. also had a Lawrence House, and so they joined forces with the Haileybury Lawrence. But there were 125 I.S.C. boys to accommodate. Some went to other Haileybury Houses—

the Le Bas premises were by now vacated by the military. Connaught? Roberts? Le Bas again? No. The House opened with the new name of KIPLING.

Certainly there were teething troubles as the two Schools merged, but, when all was said and done, they were in fact two long-lost brothers : Haileybury was eighty years old, and the I.S.C. thirty—and the younger brother had come back home to the elder one. J. B. D. Joce had given up Le Bas House in 1938, and was succeeded by A. T. A. Wallace, who held office until the House's closure in the Summer of 1940. (Wallace was killed in action ; a man " untimely ripp'd " from his career, for Le Bas/Kipling would have thrived under his leadership.) F. W. Manning was the first Housemaster of Kipling, and steered the ' new House ' through its early life. He was appointed Housemaster of Allenby House in the Summer of 1952, and was succeeded by J. A. Bentley, an O.H., who held office for five years, and who then, alas, had to forgo Housemastering for three years owing to ill-health. (He has just given up Thomason House, which he had for eight years, and it was indeed fortuitous that the Fates smiled upon him again and enabled him to have another period, though in another House.) The Revd. R. F. Thomas succeeded Bentley in 1957, and stayed until 1967 when he went to Jerusalem to become Headmaster of the Anglican School.

Your correspondent succeeded him in May 1967, and at the Le Bas-Kipling Dinner in London last December (founded by Joce and continued annually ever since) was delighted to receive enthusiastic support for a LE BAS-KIPLING REUNION to be held this year to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of Kipling House. Though strictly a year late, this in no way mattered, and over 150 Old Members of Le Bas and Kipling attended a Party held out of doors at Haileybury on a glorious evening in June. We were indeed sorry that Mrs. Bambridge could not be present, but were delighted that the Society's President and Honorary Librarian were able to celebrate this happy occasion with us. We hope that one day—in the not-too-distant-future — there will be a Meeting of the Society at Haileybury.

REPORTS OM DISCUSSION MEETINGS

10th July 1968, at the Royal Society of St. George

Despite the unmentionably foul weather a gratifyingly large gathering attended this evening's discussion on " Their Lawful Occasions " (*Traffics and Discoveries*). Justifying his choice the speaker said that it was over sixty years since he first read this remarkable story, and after countless re-readings he was still enchanted by Kipling's brilliant performance, in particular by the inimitable Pycroft, his life-long hero.

The speaker then read the story, necessarily abridged but without, he hoped, excluding any of the gems with which it is studded.

That masterly treatise on the work of a master, Rear-Admiral P. W. Brock's 'Reader's Guide' to the story, was freely referred to in the ensuing discussion, and its author, who was present, obligingly enlarged on the many interesting points which arose.

"The Marine Captain, whose other name is Gubbins" after a lot of argument was accepted as having been introduced by Kipling as a "corroborative detail to lend an air of verisimilitude" to a narrative by no means "bald and unconvincing", and for no other purpose. A suggestion that he might have been related to Potiphar Gubbins, C.E., betrothed of the lovely Mehitabel Lee was dismissed as soon as uttered, and there was a good deal of support for the statement from the Chair that the remark was intended, as so often is the case with this author's opening statements, as a striking lead-in to the subject about to be dealt with, or a plunge *in medias res*, so to speak, in that it engages the reader's close attention at the outset. This gambit, introduced by Kipling to short-story-writing, is of course a commonplace today, but few of those who use it realize its origin or would give credit for it if they did.

The landsmen — and women — present shewed an unexpected interest in the minutiae of naval life as depicted by the author, and Admiral Brock was of the greatest service in answering their questions. Professor Carrington, declaring himself an interested landsman, enquired whether the story could be said to be based on an actual incident, or series of incidents, and Admiral Brock, called upon to reply, said that to the best of his knowledge this was not so, but that there is little doubt that Kipling avidly listened to and collected anecdotes, hints, reported happenings whether accurate or inaccurate, and conjectural tactical theories, from all of which he selected and wove the fabric of his story.

It may be mentioned here that on the other hand history has on occasion followed Kipling's lead, in for instance the late Rear-Admiral (then Captain) Bertie Dickson's dash through the Straits in H.M.S. *Manxman* disguised as a French warship, the inspiration for which is known to have come from "Their Lawful Occasions", and also the survey ship H.M.S. *Dampier's* exploit of the year before last, reported in *The Times*, when, having lost a propeller off Freetown, she proceeded to England to give Christmas leave, augmenting her reduced speed by a much-needed half a knot with five sails made from awnings, after the fashion of H.M.S. *Archimandrite* in "The Bonds of Discipline" — "bonnets in a needlecase", eleven good and drawing stuns'ls extemporized out of four tri-sails and a few awnings. But seamen especially will be amused to note that "our correspondent at Plymouth" referred to *Dampier's* sails as having been "erected", the words "hoisted" and "set" not being included it seems in his vocabulary.

To return to the meeting, some slight surprise having been indicated at the mention of a trawler skipper arrayed in a frock-coat, a few words of explanation may not be amiss. Up to the first World War, the senior members, at least, of the strong Nonconformist element in the West Country principally, but elsewhere as well, attended Sunday chapel in full fig — top-hat and frock-coat — but even the long-lived garments of those days did not last for ever and when replaced in due time by new were naturally for the sake of economy relegated to work-

ing rig. The present writer has more than once seen a workman, in frock-coat and cloth cap, pushing a barrow load of stores in dockyard precincts.

This most interesting evening closed with congratulations all round and with special thanks to those who by their knowledge had made the discussion worth while.

11th September 1968, at the Royal Society of St. George

The introduction of this evening's speaker, as the Chairman remarked, was a superfluity, since he was known to all present, and his entertaining dissertations on selected groups of Kipling's stories have for the past many years become an annual event, and long might they continue, a sentiment warmly applauded by the audience. For his subjects this evening Lieut.-Col. Bagwell Purefoy selected "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot", "On Greenhow Hill" and "Below the" Mill Dam".

The only common factor in these stories, the speaker began, is that each is hard to couple with any other in the whole of the author's works. Yet all are remarkable though widely different and so are worth our examination. "The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot", with its setting in the East End of London, in itself is unique, since Kipling never again wrote about the East End and that is no doubt why one is apt to forget about it. It is not all good; it has a serious flaw, yet it is remarkable that it has received SD little attention from the experts—no mention by Carrington and Bodelsen and little by Tompkins and Dobrée, while Hilton Brown in 1945 chose it as one of the first to offer a new reader, but said little more. Its first publication evoked the comments: "Too cynical and brutal", "Kipling went to the East End for ten minutes and produced the best coster story ever written", "Fouly indecent", "One long exemplification of the gratuitously brutal method" and "Kipling's first real awakening to the fact that women are not sexless".

Touching on the mystery of the story's first publication in America and not (apparently) elsewhere until it appeared in *Many Inventions* in 1893, the speaker then referred to the cynical use of the introductory verse (from "Pippa Passes" by Browning) and to the author's uncorrected misquotation of it. He then described the eponymous heroine and suggested that the flower-sellers of Piccadilly Circus, Burlington Arcade and other parts of the West End may have served as his models for manner and diction, and then drew attention to Badalia's resemblance in character to other Kipling (male) heroes—those who on the Roman Wall, in an Indian District or an Antioch bazaar shine with, in Carrington's words, "the public school virtues of loyalty and commonsense, and an absolute standard of honesty". She is shewn to possess these qualities while adhering to the code that decrees "You mustn't give your man away".

Regarding the public row in the street between Jenny and Tom as being very much overplayed, and the spate of words that mars the second half of the story as coming from Kipling's exuberance in the use of his exciting new cockney theme, he observed as typical of Kipling that the Church of Rome in the person of its representative should

acquit itself nobly in practical ways, while the Church of England can find no alternative to prayer, a contrast which is again used of the two chaplains in *Kim* years later. The cryptic reference to the priest's agony on the landing outside the death-chamber was left unsolved both then and in the ensuing discussion.

Quoting the comments of Edward Shanks, the only modern critic known to him who had given it serious attention, he said that this story is a unique example of the author's being led by fashion, under Henley's influence, in the choice of subject, the romance and tragedy of 'mean streets' being just then a fruitful source of material. But the hopelessness of the slum-dwellers' case turned Kipling's eyes elsewhere. "It gives a key," says Shanks, "to what is wanting in Kipling's first maturity that he came so close to this essential problem and then left it."

Leaving that story, Colonel Purefoy went on to say that in that amazing Kipling year, 1890, the year of "Badalia," Kipling wrote "On Greenhow Hill", which also first appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, but reappeared very soon after in an English magazine—the first of his wonderful stories of the English countryside and the only story of Yorkshire. It is also the first of what Carrington describes as the "frame and picture" method—a tale told in a certain setting about events in one quite different, and here, said the speaker, the contrast between the two is more vivid than in any other of the author's works. Mentioning that the verse-heading "Rivals" is ascribed to Kipling's mother, having been included in "Hand in Hand", a book of verses by his mother and sister, he then examined certain aspects of the story: the "frame" of the North West Frontier with troops engaged on a wet night exchanging shots (retaliatory fire *not* allowed in real life) with a roving deserter: Learoyd's description of Greenhow Hill and its villages (one of the most vivid and concentrated pieces of description Kipling ever did): Learoyd's reported conversations in the dialect of the West Riding, presumably correct since that is the country of the author's origin—at least nobody accepted the invitation to pass judgement on it: the clever transition from one topic to another—the Reverend Amos, Jock's dog "Blast", and the contenders for Liza's hand engaged in "settin' each other on the road" so that neither could sneak back to her company. Then follows the bitter complaint of Mulvaney and Ortheris at the treatment of soldiers in uniform by civilians, exactly as in the poem "Tommy" published six months before, the struggle at Garstang's Copper Hole, the climax of the story leading up to the tragic disclosure that Liza can be for neither suitor. Then the "frame" is neatly closed by Ortheris's tremendous shot—the only really unbelievable incident in the story.

Concluding his summary, Colonel Purefoy remarked that Carrington states that it is one of the Soldiers Three stories most noticed by modern critics, and suggests that the author's father may have helped with it; noting also high praise once more for the Roman Catholic Church. The speaker finished by saying that while, with great respect, he sometimes criticizes stories, with this one he could find no fault, and any criticisms must come from the audience.

Proceeding to the last story, "Below the Mill-Dam", the speaker

described it as a little fable likely to be missed, coming as it does at the end of the book after the tremendous "They" and "Mrs. Bathurst". It has, however, attracted more notice than "Badalia", e.g. from Carington, who speaks of it as Kipling's first production after removal to Bateman's (on September 3rd, 1902: the story actually appearing in print during that month). As, however, the Dudwell is without doubt the river and the fable is bound up with the Bateman's electrification, it seems that its master must have been 'poking around' before moving in, and this is borne out by the landlord of the Bear Inn, where it is said that he lodged at this time. It has also received critical attention from Doctor Tompkins, "aimed at the unproductive", and Professor Dobrée who sheds a small tear for the Black Rat. Into the character of the Mill Wheel, Spirit of the Mill for 900 years, Kipling puts his newly learned lore of Ancient England, but the speaker thought it a bit overdone.

The tale itself, which is not for a newcomer to Kipling, at first reading looks like a conversation piece, cf. "The Undertakers" (*Second Jungle Book*), described as "revolting"; but on getting to know it better we realize that it has more purpose than that. The remarks of the Cat and the Rat about Mr. Mangles's activities, of the dim-witted Water Wheel, of the Waters, the star performers of the drama, are directed towards the impending changes aimed at modernity. And then the climax—the lights flash on to the consternation of all but the Waters. Colonel Purefoy regarded the interest as declining after this; the author takes a great many words to make his point about the inevitability and acceptance of progress. He should, too, have placed "Our Fathers Also", with the explanatory first verse which it lacks here, at the end of the story.

Ending on a delightful note he referred to the Cat's remark at the end: "Praised be Pasht!", Pasht being one of the many feline goddesses. At the Annual Luncheon of 1967 (see *Journal* for March 1968), Lord Baldwin spoke of his brother Oliver's singing at the piano which inspired Baldwin minor, aided and abetted by Rudyard Kipling, to write the masterly poem "When Ollie sings", which begins: "When Ollie sings, the amorous Cat Says 'Praised be Pasht, I don't do that!'"

The ensuing brisk discussion was enlivened by a series of apt comments by Doctor Whittington on the three stories. In particular he praised the author's descriptions of the *milieu* of "Badalia", derived, as they must have been, from the briefest acquaintance with the districts in which they were laid. His experience of several years later as a young medical practitioner confirmed the exactitude of Kipling's observation, while Mrs. Purefoy was able to testify from her own experience to the efficacy of Sister Eva's, or any nurse's, uniform in permitting its wearer to move freely and unmolested in the most doubtful purlieus of the East End, even where the police patrolled in pairs. Miss Kelly, supported by the Chairman, rebutted a suggestion that a Roman Catholic priest would, or indeed could, administer extreme unction to one not of that Church. Enquiries about the origin of the name Herodsfoot received no satisfaction except that it appears to have been invented. It does not appear in the London Telephone Directory or any other directory so far consulted.

P.W.I.

KIPLING AND THE IRISH SOLDIER IN INDIA

PART I

By J. J. W. Murphy

Rudyard Kipling was born at Bombay of English parents in December 1865 into an environment which had long-standing and substantial Irish components. He was taken at the age of six, still unable to read and speaking Hindustani in preference to English, along with his only sister in order to go to school in England. His memories of early childhood in India are of native servants and local surroundings. There is no Irish contact at this stage. But in the house of friends in Kensington, still suburban London, with whom he and his sister lived as paying-guests, after he had learned to read, he tells us that he found all Wellington's Indian despatches and was fascinated by them. This was before he was thirteen and may seem surprising at that age. But defective eye-sight had stopped his reading just after he had begun to enjoy it; so when the doctor allowed him to read again, he read everything ravenously whether he understood it or not.

Wellington's Indian army was composed chiefly of native mercenaries. That was why Napoleon is said to have called him the Sepoy general before he met him for the first and last time at Waterloo. The white minority consisted of British regular army units temporarily stationed in India, and East India Company so-called European regiments practically all recruited directly from the British Isles, especially from Ireland. Sir Patrick Cadell in Volume 1 No. 2 of *The Irish Sword* (1950—51)⁽¹⁾ gives exact figures of the numbers from England, Ireland, Scotland recruited by the Company from 1825 to 1850. Only 4% were born elsewhere and probably were sons of soldiers settled in India. Most of these had Irish names. His estimate of proportionate figures is:—for England and Wales, per 10,000 of the population, about 6; for Scotland about 10.5; for Ireland about 13.4. The statistics on which this estimate is based, are taken from the records of the East India Company which, Sir Patrick says, kept an accurate record of the birth-place of their recruits. His estimate is that well over half the Company's soldiers in its three garrisons, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, were of Irish birth during the eighty odd years from early in the 1770s until the Mutiny in 1857. After the Mutiny they continued to join the same units re-named, or rather re-numbered, the 100th consecutively to the 109th. Of these the first four became the Leinster Regiment (1st Bn.), the Munster Fusiliers and the Dublin Fusiliers (two Bns. each), the Inniskillings took the 108th, and the last, the 109th, becoming the second Bn. of the Leinsters, making seven out of the ten battalions that composed the three former European Regiments in the above-named garrisons.

(1) Notes and Bibliography at end of article.

In the year 1857 the number in the Company's service of British troops was 15,000, that is independent of 24,000 belonging to the Queen's regular army stationed for the time being in various parts of India. The numbers of Irish in these regular troops must have been approximately one-third because at that time, and for long before it, the British War Office drew one-third of its annual recruits from Ireland. Of course the population of the British Isles was in different proportions then. Before the Famine of 1845-47 Ireland had three times the population of Scotland and nearly half that of England and Wales — 8m. to 2½m. and to 16m. almost. Even with the drop of nearly 2m. caused by the Famine, recruiting for the Crimean war, for the Mutiny and for the China war kept well over the allotted one-third. The Irish filled their own establishment and overflowed into English and Scottish regiments, especially Highland regiments which, being recruited from the clans, found it hard to keep up their numbers, with the changing of social conditions in 19th century Scotland.⁽²⁾

The East India Company which employed so many native non-Christian soldiers, could not be expected to differentiate between Christian denominations in recruiting at home. In Ireland, its only competitor for recruits was the Irish Brigade in the service of France; but as the 18th century passed the fifties it seems to have been chiefly officer material that was attracted to France, not the working-class youth that would be needed for other ranks. The ban on Catholics joining the British regular army persisted until the Catholic Relief Acts which led to the formation of the Catholic regiments, the 88th, later the Connaught Rangers, and the 87/89, later the Irish Fusiliers, in 1793. The ban was of course not always enforced and many Catholics joined on a nominal declaration that they were Protestants which was taken as a formality. But the position was unsatisfactory for a Catholic who took his religion seriously, and the Company, which required no such declaration, had the advantage here. It is not known if English-speaking priests were available in India until the early 19th century, but Portuguese and French priests were. French priests might usually be on the opposite side and not above using their influence on fellow-Catholics to the detriment of the Company, but the Portuguese were, nominally at least, allies even if trade-rivals in the East.

Another attraction which service with the Company had, was that the pay was very much better than in any other army. Major C. Lestock Reid says it was the best paid in the world in those days.⁽³⁾ An interesting side light on that aspect is found in the letter of a man from Dingle written in December 1848.⁽⁴⁾ He was then a corporal in the Worcester-shire Regiment which was in the first Sikh war and has the battle of Ferozeshah among its honours. He tells his family that a soldier's rations in India are more than enough, and that extras, such as fowl, eggs, sweetmeats and fruit are procurable and "are not beyond the means of any soldier in India". Evidently British regular troops serving in India must have been rationed and paid on the same scale as the Company's European troops, which was decidedly better than what they could expect elsewhere. This does not seem to have lasted after the Company's rule ended in 1858; at any rate Kipling's friends in the ranks of British regiments do not seem to be so well looked after. We

must now take up the account of Kipling's relations with the successors of several generations of Irishmen whose ancestors had lived, fought, and died in India during the century before his birth.

His first Irish contact was at the age of thirteen when he went to school at Westward Ho ! in North Devon. There he quickly made friends with George Beresford and Lionel Dunsterville. They are McTurk and Stalky of the school-story *Stalky and Co.*, which he would write twenty years later. McTurk is described as a rather aloof and aggressive Irish lad who had grown up an only son on his father's estate on the western coast. Like all boys at Westward Ho ! he was destined for India, but he was one of the few not for the Army. There was more money in civil engineering, and an Irish landowner of those days would need money very badly if he was to live a civilised existence in his native land, when the time for retirement would come. It may be of some significance that Kipling started to write *Stalky and Co.* the year after his first visit to Ireland when in 1898 he went ashore with a fishing-party from a cruiser of the Channel Fleet that had put in at Bantry Bay. He could have seen in that wild country what he had imagined to be the sort of place where McTurk came from. He could hardly have known that the Beresford home county was nearly half the width of Ireland away from Bantry, nor that the strict rule about preserving foxes, McTurk's knowledge of which got them out of a tight spot when the trio were out of bounds, did not hold until farther inland from the Atlantic coast than Bantry. This schoolboy friendship lasted through their schooldays and survived long separations in after-years. But now we change scene to where Kipling in India made his contacts with the Army and the Irish soldier serving in it. He went from his English school to Lahore in 1882 where a job was awaiting him on the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, where he tells us he represented fifty per cent of the editorial staff. That meant combining the duties of sub-editor and cub-reporter. It went on for six years in Lahore and one in Allahabad. As a reporter he came into contact with the world around him and thus with the soldiery, British and native. The latter he knew at first only through their British officers ; the former at all-ranks level, from the start and for all his time in India. But with the officers his contacts were seldom above regimental level. Newspapermen were not all that important eighty years ago.

From these contacts came the stories about Army life which were published first in India while Kipling lived there and later in London where they had made an impression before he arrived there in 1889. Most of the Army stories are in *Soldiers Three*. In all its seven stories but one, Privates Mulvaney, from Portarlinton or Cork, Learoyd from Yorkshire, Ortheris from London play their parts. Some officers appear but the only one that comes alive is Captain O'Neil of the " Black Tyrone ". Like people who have tried to find out the family background of Sherlock Holmes, many have tried to identify regiments and individuals in Kipling stories with more temptation, but with hardly any more success. The Royal Tyrone Militia did indeed exist — we have some particulars of them in the *Irish Sword* — but there does not ever seem to have been a regular regiment with that designation.⁽⁵⁾ Nor has

anyone identified Mulvaney's " Old Regiment ". In some cases Kipling seems deliberately to have changed names for his own reasons; in others he probably did not remember. Or rather he may have put well-remembered things into a mistaken context. His memory was always good above the average, and the strict training from his first editor, Stephen Wheeler, stood to him all his life. He hated it at the time, but paid tribute to it and to the man in later years. At his first talk with his Three Musketeers, as he called them, Learoyd asked him pointedly at the end what the note-book was for. We may assume that the note-book did not reappear. He was not reporting his Musketeers for Stephen Wheeler.

The story in *Soldiers Three* which I select as a good sample of how the British soldier revealed himself to Kipling, is " With the Main Guard ". The setting is grim ; it usually was in their lives. Things were not always like that. There were lighter moments and better times, or men could not survive. This time it is one o'clock in a June night at the main gate of what is called Fort Amara which was Lahore in fact, but the Latin adjective was more true to life than the Indian name for those who had to live there. Kipling is with the soldiers on guard until four in the morning. Learoyd the big Yorkshireman is nearly mad from the heat of the burning wind and sinking into dangerous depths of depression. Ortheris of lighter build had poured a skinful of water over his comrade's naked shoulders. The only reaction is to ask to be let die, awakening a sleeping soldier who tells him die and be damned ; *he* is damned and cannot die. Kipling asks Mulvaney who that is, and is told a gentleman by birth who is drinking himself to an end that Mulvaney silently indicates by slipping his boot and touching the trigger of his own rifle lightly with his naked toe. Rifles of those on guard were always loaded, a memory of the Mutiny. Instantly the rifle was dashed aside. Ortheris had misunderstood the movement and burst into indignant reproof, asking what would become of the rest of them if Mulvaney of all men were to take that way out. The answer was to push him aside — Kipling notes that it was done very gently — with the explanation that Mulvaney was only showing something. That *something* was all too well known to be spoken of during that kind of weather in India. Ortheris recovers his Cockney imperturbability and all except Learoyd join in a smoke until Ortheris suggests a drink of ginger-pop, hoping to bring Learoyd out of the depths. But it is all no use and they look at each other hopelessly, until Kipling remembers how Mulvaney had talked Ortheris out of another despairing fit some time before and implores him to start. Mulvaney with the coolness of an old soldier in a tight spot raises his voice and starts as it were in the middle of a story. Meantime Ortheris has deftly bundled up all the rifles and thrown them on Mulvaney's bed. If the worst comes, the three may be able to hold the huge man away from the death that he will certainly seek in that bundle, as they could not if the rifles were neatly placed in the rack.

The story goes on about a bygone battle in which the trio had taken part, until Mulvaney plays his trump by remarking that of course Learoyd was not there, being sick at the base. Learoyd promptly tells him that is a lie and that Mulvaney knows it is, showing the unmistak-

able scar of an old wound made by a Pathan long knife along the ribs downwards. Mulvaney has won the trick. Unabashed he says that of course he now remembers Learoyd *was* there; it must have been another man that was out sick. Doesn't he remember the way they and the Tyrones got jammed together with the Pathans in a narrow gut? Ortheris chimes in to say how he hates such close infighting because he is not bigger, and he might as well have a fishing-rod as a bayonet for it. Mulvaney speaks up for the bayonet and reminds Ortheris that he got a Pathan under Mulvaney's armpit whom Mulvaney's bayonet could not reach because he was jammed so tightly, front, rear and sides, against a Pathan who was breathing into his face and looked like getting his long knife into his ribs until Ortheris got in first with his bayonet. Learoyd is now evidently better, and when he picks up a rifle to demonstrate his own way of using it, nobody tries to stop him. It is a big man's way and not in the book, Learoyd remarks as he shows it to the others. Mulvaney's comment is that every man has his own way, like making love, and continues the story of the battle.

The Company Commander is 'Crook' O'Neil, formerly of the Black Tyrones, although the three Musketeers are in Mulvaney's Old Regiment. He is loosening up the jam effectively with sword and revolver (weapons more suited for that kind of work than rifle and bayonet) and of course has temporarily no control of the battle. When he feels his men have gained enough elbow-room for the effective use of their weapons, he disengages himself and looks for a bugler to sound the call which will bring them back under his orders.

What he sees brings to us who read, the glimpse of a hidden Ireland, a world of human relationships lost to history, but not to memory. The young officer in command of the Black Tyrone company is stretched on the ground beneath the full weight of one of his sergeants, whom he is cursing fluently and threatening with a court-martial. The sergeant explains to Mulvaney that the young man's father is his mother's landlord in Clonmel and he could not face home and admit to the young officer's mother that he had failed to look after him as he had promised her. How many such promises have been made to anxious mothers that could not be kept! But that does not excuse any man who has made the promise from doing his best while he can. What Crook O'Neil saw was one way of it. Apparently he had seen such things before, for he took the officer's appeals very coolly, and telling him to keep quiet borrowed his revolver on the excuse that his own was "backspitting". So indeed it was — Mulvaney noticed that the fork of Crook's left hand was black with the smoke of it — but past experience would have suggested a different reason to Crook for taking the youngster's revolver. He would be better without it when it would be time for the sergeant to release him.

Mulvaney produced a bugler, who had been getting himself into the fighting where he had no business to be, and was over-pleased with himself for having killed a Pathan. The boy had his ears well boxed by Crook before he came out of what Mulvaney called the *fog of fighting* — a very different thing from the *fog of war* that we used to hear about when the top people either did not know or would not say. But as the fog of fighting is a mental condition which does not seem to

vary with nationality as with individuality, it does not concern us here. Anyone curious to know, can look up Mulvaney's answer to Kipling's question about what it meant.

Captain O'Neil watched the Pathans showing signs of feeling pressure as the two-company British party got home with the bayonet and the butt and drove them slowly to where the gut widened into the valley. Then he gave the word of command; the bugler sounded the call: "Open order! Double!" Ortheris came into his own as the shooting started, but he does not interrupt as Mulvaney describes the steady movement in line with the flanking sergeants keeping touch — the fire running from flank to flank and the Pathans dropping as they retreated, till the valley narrowed again and the British closed like the sticks of a fan, and with concentrated fire-power completed the work. Ortheris chips in, conscious that in the hand-to-hand struggle he had not done much, to remind them that he had used thirty rounds going down that valley. There were no comments; they knew Ortheris did not waste a round on these occasions — a thing that few could boast of.

All this was in the days before the magazine rifle, when loading was by single rounds from the pouch. Probably the Pathans had the same weapon, or something certainly not inferior to it. Their supplies came from the same sort of source that is behind the Viet Cong to-day. The difference that cost them defeat that day was not in weapons, nor in courage, but in discipline.

The advance in open order down the valley was not a simple movement. The firing would have been done by platoons halting in turn on the word of command from their sergeants to fire a specified number of rounds while the others kept moving until their turn came. There was only one officer, O'Neil, who would remain where he could see and control the movement best, probably with one of the flanking platoons in the second rank. Hence the steady fire running from flank to flank of the two companies as they followed the broken enemy. It is worth while remembering that they had only just finished a hard-fought hand-to-hand battle and that the primitive fog of lighting was on them when the bugle-call and the word of command cut through it to the deeply-laid foundation of their military training to meet with the response of civilised men of action.

Notes and Bibliography

(1) At the Cardwell changes, 1872, seven, not six as Sir Patrick Cadell says, were "regarded as territorially Irish" battalions and designated accordingly in the Army List. In *The Irish Sword*, Winter issue 1967, a reply by J. F. Ware says that the Records of the Company are at India Office Records, 16, King Charles Street, S.W.I.

(2) See *An Account of the Scottish Regiments*, Nimmo, Edinburgh, 1863. It was published anonymously, but the author was a local Lowland historian, Peter H. McKerlie, as the National Library has kindly informed me.

(3) *Commerce and Conquest* by Major C. Lestock Reid, Temple London, 1947, p. 173.

(4) *The Irish Sword*, Winter 1956. Letter of Moriarty dated 1848, p. 366-7.

(5) *The Irish Sword*, Winter 1964. Article by Oliver Snood, pp. 252-6 and the Summer issue 1961 of the same, note on pp. 62-63" from Gen. Sir Ian Hamilton 1932.

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