



The
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Many thanks to members who have brought their subscriptions into line with the new rates. A Bankers' Order form is enclosed with this Journal and it is hoped you will use it if this is convenient to you. It would help the administration if you could pay on 1 January each year from 1979. If you now pay in September, October, November or December, please regard these as 'paid-up' months this year, and start again on 1 January 1979.

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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

COUNCIL MEETINGS 1978

On *Wednesdays 21 June and 13 December* at 50 Eaton Place, S.W.1, at 14.30 hours.

On *Wednesday 13 September* at 'The Clarence', Whitehall, immediately after the Annual General Meeting and before the Discussion meeting.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1978

On *Wednesday 13 September* at 'The Clarence', Whitehall, near Trafalgar Square Tube station, at 17.30 hours, to be followed by a brief meeting of the Council. The Discussion Meeting will take place directly after the Council Meeting; members not taking part in the Council Meeting may find solace in the bar of The Clarence between the A.G.M. and the Discussion Meeting.

DISCUSSION MEETINGS 1978

All at 'The Clarence', Whitehall, at 17.30 for 18.00 hours.

Wednesday 12 July: Angus Wilson, CBE, C.LITT, author of 'The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling'.

Wednesday 13 September immediately after the Annual General Meeting (17.30 hours) and the brief Council Meeting: Shamus O. D. Wade on 'Kipling and the Bent Copper'.

Wednesday 15 November: Miss A. M. D. Ashley on 'I would not call them Poets'.

ANNUAL LUNCHEON 1978

On *Friday 20 October* at The Hanover Grand, Hanover Street, London W1R 9HH (near Oxford Circus) at 12.15 for 13.00 hours. The Guest of Honour will be Peter Bellamy, a Member of the Society, who has done much to give Rudyard Kipling's songs and ballads authentic settings and performances. A booking form is enclosed with this Journal, and this will be repeated with the September Journal.

J.S.

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NEWS AND NOTES

SLIPS AND GARDENERS

In *Something of Myself* (p.212), Kipling wrote: "Luckily the men of the seas and the engine-room do not write to the Press, and my worst slip is still underided." This definite reference makes it certain that he was not referring to 'Winning the Victoria Cross' (see Mr. Shamus O. D. Wade's letter in *K.J.* 205), and probable that Mr. P. W. Inwood may have hit upon it. Apparent inconsistencies, if not actual mistakes, exist in most of Kipling's work if we bother to sort them out: but to do so in most cases is quite pointless, and indeed it would take a most vicious determination to hunt them out. A good example, if one is wanted, occurs in *The Complete Stalky & Co.* in the lay-out of the United Services College buildings. Thus, in 'An Unsavoury Interlude', we are told explicitly that: "Macrea's House lay next to Prout's, King's next to Macrea's, and Hartop's beyond that again"; but in 'A Little Prep' when Prout's House realises that Crandell is going to claim his Old Boy's right of sleeping in their dormitory, "Beetle ran into King's House next door and executed a public 'gloat' up and down the enemy's big form-room." Again, although the Three are members of Prout's House, King has his study immediately below theirs in 'Slaves of the Lamp'—but it is occupied by Dick Four & Co. in 'The Satisfaction of a Gentleman', and King is there referred to as his Housemaster, as he is also in 'The United Idolaters' where he, Pussy and Tertius are already inhabiting the study below Stalky & Co. . . . But no one notices, or minds—or accuses Kipling of making careless mistakes.

Surprising to relate, no one answered or followed Mr. Malcolm Deas's letter in the *Times Literary Supplement* about the identity of the Gardener in the story of that name. Perhaps, like me, everyone interested thought that someone else would be bound to answer—and waited to see what they would say! . . . Reading it yet again it seems as always to be simple, straightforward and very moving: without doubt one of Kipling's finest stones.

KIPLING AND LEWIS CARROLL

Two of the books which Kipling quoted most frequently are *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*: four times in *Stalky & Co.* for example, and as many in *From Sea to Sea*, twice in *Abaft the Funnel*, and so on. Kipling never met the Rev. C. L. Dodgson in the flesh (had they done so, Dodgson or Carrie Kipling would certainly have mentioned it in their Diaries) but in 1895 they

had shared a title-page. In that year James Clarke & Co., of London, published a volume edited by the minor poet Francis H. Fisher called *Tommy, and Other Poems for Recitation*, by Rudyard Kipling, Lewis Carroll, Norman Gale, May Kendall, Hal Finden, Constance E. Naden, Mary E. Manners, and others. Kipling is represented by "Tommy" and Lewis Carroll by "The Walrus and the Carpenter". (Carroll rarely allowed his verses to appear in anthologies: Gleeson White's *Book-Song* (1893) is the only one which leaps to mind—but this does not include anything by Kipling.)

It was natural that Kipling should recognise and appreciate the greatness of *Alice*, but it is unexpected to find that Dodgson was a great admirer of Kipling's works. One could realize this to a certain extent from the fact that the sale catalogue of his books and other possessions after his death in 1898 included all Kipling's works published in England at least up to and including the *Jungle Books*. But even surer evidence is given in a letter included in Professor Morton N. Cohen's magnificently edited collection of his letters now in the press and due for publication later this year. On 7 February 1895 he wrote to Mary E. Manners who had been instrumental in persuading him to contribute to F. H. Fisher's anthology: "Would you kindly let him know that it isn't at all necessary to tell me the contents of his book: as *your* friend, I trust him. Also that I greatly admire Rudyard Kipling's writings, and that "Tommy" is a special favourite of mine."

KIPLING'S HOMES

'The Bliss Cottage' is for sale, if any Member wants the house in which Josephine and *The Jungle Book* were born. An American Member sends the following cutting from the *Country Journal* of Southern Vermont Country Properties: "RUDYARD KIPLING'S FIRST HOME in Vermont. Originally built in 1860, this classic Vermont farmhouse is beautifully restored with panelled living and dining rooms, 3 fireplaces and a lovely qt. acre setting with distant views, but only 3 miles from 1—91 (*sic*). Also: Four room barn apartment, excellent barns and stables, much, much more. A rare find at \$130,000."

'The Bliss Cottage' and 'Naulakha' are well illustrated in Mr. Howard C. Rice's pamphlets about Kipling at Brattleboro, and in other volumes; and so, of course, are 'Bateman's' and the house at Rottingdean. His parents' house at Tisbury, Wiltshire, is shown in several places, but not the house which he rented there for some months—and has anyone even identified the house at Maidencombe whose "evil spirit" gave him the idea for 'The House Surgeon'? 'The House of Desolation', Lorne Lodge, 4 Campbell Road, Southsea, is still standing, and the photograph which I took of it some years ago has since been reproduced in several books on Kipling: at the same time I identified and photographed the building which once housed 'the terrible little day school', Hope House; it has not so far been published, but at least there is a record of it. Westward Ho! is fully chronicled and so are the two remaining sites in London, Embankment Chambers and Brown's Hotel. The houses at Cape Town and Allahabad are well recorded, and Mr. Angus Wilson in his recent book has identified and photographed the Kipling house at Simla. Part of Kipling's birthplace in Bombay still stands, built into the later residence of the Principal of the Sir J. J. College, but I was unable to find 'Bikaner Lodge' in Lahore—and so

far as I know no photographs of it exist and it is always represented in its stark squareness by what is said to be a drawing by Lockwood Kipling. This picture seems to have appeared for the first time in *McClure's Magazine* for July 1896 as one of the illustrations to E. Kay Robinson's article 'Kipling in India', where it is said to be "From a drawing by Baga Ram. Owned by Mr. John Lockwood Kipling." In the same article there is a photograph of "A Room in the Kipling House at Lahore", also owned by J.L.K.

It is claimed that 'Bikaner Lodge' forms the nucleus of the present Principal of the Art College's house: if so, it must have been almost entirely rebuilt, for it shows no resemblance to Baga Ram's drawing. Even the arches have rounded tops, while the original had pointed Gothic.

Would it not be worthwhile for Members of the Kipling Society to collect as many authentic photographs and drawings, contemporary and modern, for purposes of reference, and also to supply accurate and detailed illustrations to lend future authors of books on Kipling?

BOER WAR SONGS

A book of considerable interest to those who would follow Kipling's trail wherever it leads has just been published by the Oxford University Press at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, for £9 :50 on this subject. Edited and narrated by Professor Malvern van Wyk Smith, of Rhodes University, South Africa, it is a work of intensive research and scholarship. The volume unfortunately falls rather between the two stools of the popular and the academic: the very title gives this away: *Drummer Hodge: The Poetry of the Anglo-Boer War*. Hodge is the name of the soldier in a very minor poem by Thomas Hardy, quoted in full on p. 147—the first echo of a theme made immortal by Rupert Brooke in "If I should die . . ." But many of the poems by unknown poets are far finer than Hardy's, notably that on p. 152, "I killed a man at Graspen" by an Australian, M. Grover. And why "Anglo-Boer"? Professor Van Wyk Smith keeps this affectation up with difficulty for chapter one, but then slips back into 'the Boer War', by which it has been known since it broke out in 1899. There are superbly detailed references given for every verse quoted, but most of these would be very difficult to follow up to their sources—and very few are quoted entire. They are all strung together on an interesting narrative, but this method makes it almost impossible to skip anything (or refer back to particular poems) and continuous reading becomes boring in a way that such interesting material should not do. There is an interesting chapter on Kipling and his influence on the type of verse in question—but the very quantity of truncated quotations leaves one sighing with Andrew Lang in 1900 (in some doggerel *not* quoted in the book):—

"Would that a bard might sing
To a more tuneful string,
Bother this Mafeking
Also the laurel!
Soon may Victoria
Reign in Pretoria
Happy and—*gloria*,
Ending the quarrel."

"OUR TRUMPETS WAKEN THE WALL"

We are honoured to publish in most of this number of the *Journal*, the splendid Inaugural Lecture on the Parnesius stories by A. L. Rivet, Professor of Roman Provincial Studies in the University of Keele, whom all classical students will know for his excellent contribution on Roman Britain to M. I. Finley's recent *Atlas of Classified Archaeology* and to the *Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classical Sites*.

No one has yet solved the minor query of how Parnesius got his name. It was given him by Kipling's cousin Ambrose Poynter, but appears in no Classical Dictionary. My own interpretation, for what it is worth, is that Poynter was thinking of Mount Parties in Attica, and coined the name for a dweller on that mountain—Parnesius the Parnesian. According to Pausanias (Bk. 1, section XXXIII paragraph 2) there was a bronze statue of Zeus on that mountain called "Parnethius Zeus"—Zeus of Parnes. The names are very near.

R.L.G.

RUDYARD KIPLING'S ROMAN BRITAIN

By A. L. F. Rivet

Probably no part of Kipling's work has received more consistent praise than the Roman stories in *Puck of Pook's Hill*, and the general attitude towards them is well summed up by Charles Carrington:

"The story of the centurion's task . . . strengthened the nerve of many a young soldier in the dark days of 1915 and 1941: and, if that was its intention, it mattered little that Rudyard Kipling's soldiers of the fourth century too much resembled subalterns of the Indian Army."

This deals adequately with the moral side, but a good tale, superlatively well told, has effects which are other than moral, and the purpose of this paper is to examine how far the characters resembled Roman officers and whether the story paints a true or a false picture of the Roman Empire in the fourth century. This matters a good deal to the historian, and especially to a teacher of history, whose pupils' ideas have been conditioned by what they have read or been told in extreme youth.

In discussing this question, we may best begin by considering the genesis of the work. The stories were written in the years 1904-1906, when the Kiplings were living in Bateman's, and in fairness to the author we must remember that the information available to him was what had been published up to that time. As he himself tells us, the idea of writing about Roman Britain was first suggested to him by his cousin, Ambrose Poynter, and it was also Poynter who invented the name of Parnesius (unlike Pertinax, which is fairly common, it does not appear anywhere in antiquity). When he settled down to write the *Puck* stories his father remarked: "And you'll have to look up your references rather more carefully, won't you?"—and Kipling implies that he did. Even given the closing date, however, it is difficult to determine all his sources. Some information can be gathered from his autobiography, *Something of Myself*, and some from the books in the study

at Bateman's, but there are several complicating factors. In the first place, during these years the whole Kipling family engaged in an annual transhumance, spending the winters at the Woolsack, and much of his reading for the stories was done in the public library at Capetown. Secondly, as he himself states, the stories were regularly taken over to Tisbury to be 'smoked over' with his father, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the contributions of Kipling *père* and Kipling *filis*. Thirdly, there is the notorious difficulty of gaining access to all the relevant papers. Nevertheless it is possible to take some examples of his use, and sometimes his misuse, of information, and also some examples of pure invention, and to draw conclusions from them.

Parnesius first describes his background. His home is a villa on the Isle of Wight, "on the south edge of the island, by the Broken Cliffs", and when he was about 16 or 17 his father took the whole family to take the waters at Bath. There Parnesius decided to enter the army, his younger brother to become a doctor, and his elder brother, having met and married a long-haired philosopher, to settle down as a philosopher and farmer. This is a most elegant touch, for the villa in question is undoubtedly that at Brading, which was excavated in the years 1879-81 and is especially notable for its mosaic pavements, including the so-called "philosopher's pavement". It received wide publicity at the time and Haverfield's critical account of it had already appeared in 1900, in the first volume of the Victoria History of the County of Hampshire. But there is no copy of this, nor of the guide to the villa, in the study, and it seems more likely that this detail is based on personal observation, either by Kipling himself or by his father. Kipling had stayed at Freshwater with the Balestiers and his father was, at the appropriate time, arranging the Indian Suite at Osborne for Queen Victoria. Neither of them was in a position to know that the pavement dates more probably from the early than from the late fourth century. .

Parnesius duly enlists in the army at Clausentum (Bitterne), where he is first seen by Maximus, who forthwith appoints him a centurion; and he is then sent by way of Chichester (called, after the mistaken belief of the time, Regnum), to Anderida (*recte* Anderita), or Pevensey. There Maximus is inspecting some auxiliaries, the Abulci. This again reflects good research, since a *Numerus Abulcorum* is indeed given as the garrison of Pevensey in the *Notitia Dignitatum*—though Kipling probably got it at second-hand, through a county history, such as Horsfield's. Parnesius's own unit, however, is the XXX Legion, with headquarters at Pevensey, while his particular cohort, the seventh, is stationed on Hadrian's Wall. And this is very curious indeed.

Kipling's own account of the matter in his autobiography is this:

"A longer chance that I took in my Roman tales was when I quartered the Seventh Cohort of the Thirtieth (Ulpia Victrix) Legion on the Wall, and asserted that there Roman troops used arrows against the Picts. The first shot was based on honest 'research'; the second was legitimate inference. Years after the tale was told, a digging-party on the Wall sent me some heavy four-sided, Roman-made, 'killing' arrows found *in situ* and—most marvelously—a rubbing of a memorial-tablet to the seventh Cohort of the Thirtieth Legion! Having been brought up in a suspicious

school, I suspected a 'leg-pull' here, but was assured that the rubbing was perfectly genuine."

The arrows present little difficulty (though the samples preserved in the study are actually three-sided, not four-sided; they almost certainly came from Corbridge, where very similar arrows are recorded). Archers were always used by the Roman army; a specialist cohort of Hamian archers, raised in Syria, was stationed on the Wall at Carvoran in the second century, and, as Vegetius tells us, some legionaries too were regularly trained in the use of the bow. Furthermore, a large store of arrows had already been found, in a late context, in the *principia* of the fort at Housesteads in 1898, and Kipling may well have known this, for he had visited the Wall, staying with the Straker family at Stagshaw House. But the legion requires further comment.

The XXX Legion was, as its cognomen *Ulpia* implies, raised by Trajan, for his Dacian wars. After a fairly brief spell of duty on the Danube, it was transferred, under Hadrian, to the fortress of Vetera, near Xanten, in Lower Germany, and there it seems to have remained. Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing Julian's campaign in 359, gives the name *Tricensima* to Xanten itself and later still some *Truncensimanf*, evidently the rump of the legion, appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum* under the command of the *Magister Equitum Galliarum*. The only known movements from Germany of troops belonging to it were to the Eastern Frontier, to which it sent vexillations, or detachments, in 225 and again in 359. It is, therefore, virtually certain that its headquarters were never in Britain, and there is no record of even a vexillation being sent here, though that is always a possibility.

The actual stone to which Kipling refers is easily identified (*Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, plate No. 1166). It was found at Corbridge in 1912, six years after the publication of *Puck*, and we may well share Kipling's suspicions regarding it. It is a building inscription, of a type which is common on the Wall and in its associated forts, recording work done by the three legions, II Augusta, VI Victrix and XX Valeria Victrix, which were mainly responsible for the construction. Most of them date from the Hadrianic period, but we also know, from other inscriptions, that further work was done by XX Valeria Victrix at Corbridge in Antonine times, in AD 163. In all these inscriptions *Legio Vicesima Valeria Victrix* is abbreviated to LEG XX VV; similarly, the normal abbreviation for *Legio Tricesima Ulpia Victrix* would be LEG XXX VV. Looking at Kipling's stone, one can see that its inscription originally read LEG XX VV, but that an additional X. the first, has been added in a different and somewhat cruder style. This looks very suspicious indeed, but at this point it is necessary to introduce an element of bathos. Every experienced epigraphist, from Haverfield onwards, who has inspected the stone has expressed himself satisfied that the first X was added before and not after the stone was buried: and they have been able to offer no better explanation than that suggested by Haverfield himself: "Probabilities seem to suggest not that a vexillation of the 30th was in Britain, but that the stone was set up to the 20th and afterwards some traveller or soldier from Germany, perhaps a stray man from the 30th, added the third X for auld lang syne."

The directors of the excavation are certainly above suspicion, but some doubt must still persist regarding their assistants, who included a number of Oxford undergraduates. It might help if we knew the identity of Kipling's correspondent, who was probably one of the Strakers or a friend of theirs. Miss Kathleen Straker married Captain J. H. Cuthbert, who owned the land on which the Corbridge excavations of 1912 took place, and in later years she told Professor Eric Birley that they had once asked Kipling why he chose that particular cohort of that particular legion; but, sadly, that "he refused to enlighten them". Nevertheless it is a fair supposition that he had seen some inscriptions of XX Valeria Victrix and had realised how easily they might be taken for those of XXX Ulpia Victrix.

From Pevensey, Parnesius marches his men northwards, and their first night's halt is at the forge at Furnace Gill, called in the stories "Little Forge". Wealden iron was indeed worked in Roman times, largely by men of the *Classis Britannica*, the British fleet, whose tile stamps have been found on many sites, but not, unfortunately, here, and the nearest Roman workings were at Bardown, some four miles to the North. This mistake is venial, since the technical distinction between Roman and later working, and the distinctive cinders and slags produced by them, had not yet been worked out, but more surprising is Parnesius's account of the march and the route which it implies: "From the Altar of Victory at Anderida to the First Forge in the Forest, here, is twelve miles, seven hundred paces. It is all in the Road Book. A man doesn't forget his first march." The distance is just about correct, in Roman miles, and it agrees well with the normal spacing of road-stations (which must reflect good research); but it is measured as the crow flies, and this would involve a straight and totally unnecessary crossing of the marshy area of the Pevensey Levels. No Roman road is known here, and it is most unlikely that one ever existed.

The rest of the journey north is dismissed in a few sentences. As Parnesius says, "There are no adventures South the Wall", and this is essentially an adventure story. In fact, apart from one curious incident, to which we shall refer in a minute, there is little to remark, except perhaps the very thin impression which is given of the central parts of Britain. Kipling was evidently not interested in this, and his picture may reflect the extraordinarily skeletal map which Kiepert drew for the fifth volume of Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*. This work had been recommended to Kipling by Sir Edward Burne-Jones as long ago as 1897, and although, once again, there is no copy in the study, it may be presumed that he had seen it—probably in the rather poor English translation by W. P. Dickson, which was later edited and improved by Haverfield to emerge as the *Provinces of the Roman Empire*.

So they come to the Wall at Hunno (that is, Onnum, or Halton Chesters), where Parnesius's cohort is stationed, and it is here that Kipling's imagination really runs riot. The fact that Dere Street, the road to the North, does not cross the Wall at Halton Chesters itself, but some half a Roman mile to the west of it, is of minor importance, and so also is the fact that Valentia, wherever it was (and this question is still debated), did not lie to the north; but Parnesius's description of the Wall itself is largely fantasy;

"Along the top" he says, "are towers with guard-houses, small towers between. Even on the narrowest part of it three men with shields can walk abreast, from guard-house to guard-house. A little curtain-wall, no higher than a man's neck, runs along the top of the thick wall, so that from a distance you see the helmets of the sentries sliding back and forth like beads. Thirty feet high is the Wall, and on the Picts' side, the North, is a ditch, strewn with blades of old swords and spearheads set in wood, and tyres of wheels joined by chains."

And all this, supplemented by some precariously mounted catapults, is reproduced in the illustrations provided by H. R. Millar.

The 'guard-houses' are clearly intended to be the milecastles, which were in fact small forts, or fortlets, with one and sometimes two barrack blocks on either side of the road that ran through them. The 'towers between', usually called turrets, are in fact hollow, more in the nature of signal stations, and they could certainly not support the huge engines which Millar has put on them; while his engines themselves resemble nothing known to the Roman army, but are, perhaps, intended to be onagers, or stone-throwing catapults. In fact these were used more for an assault on buildings, as part of a siege-train: defensive catapults, or *ballistae*, were smaller, rather like overgrown cross-bows, and they were usually mounted under cover, to protect their sinews from the weather.

More serious is the gross overstatement of the Wall's height, and on this we have a good deal of information. The earliest statement comes from Bede, who says that in his day, before serious stone-robbing had begun, some of it (presumably not too far from Jarrow) stood 12 feet high. Christopher Ridley, in 1572, gave the height as "vii yardis", and Samson Erdewick, two years later, as 16 feet; Camden, who visited it in 1599, records it as 15 feet. These figures, coupled with the probability (which Kipling realised) that there was a battlement along it, led to an estimate of its total height as 18 feet—and that is what is given in the 4th edition of Collingwood Bruce's authoritative *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, which was published in 1895 and so available to Kipling and Millar if they had cared to consult it. A little later, the excavation of Milecastle 48, at Poltross Burn, on which F. G. Simpson's report appeared in 1911, provided interesting confirmation of the estimate. The stone stairs here would, if projected, reach the rampart walk at a height of about 14 feet, to which Simpson added a further six feet for the supposed battlement. So Kipling has added half as much again to the height of the Wall, and it looks as if Millar has gone still further.

The width of the Wall is similarly exaggerated. Kipling may, perhaps, have been misled by a portion which did not survive above foundation level, but in fact the width of the superstructure varies from 10 feet for part of the so-called Broad Wall to 5 feet 6 inches in the Narrow Wall sectors—or, in some sections which were reconstructed under Severus, to as little as 5 feet. Allowing at least one foot for the parapet, one can easily see that at least one of Kipling's three men with shields would very quickly have fallen off.

So far as the ditch is concerned, *lilia*, or pits containing sharpened stakes, were indeed used by the Roman army, and there is an interest-

ing series of them to the north of the ditch of the Antonine Wall at Rough Castle, in Stirlingshire, but there is no evidence to suggest that the ditch of Hadrian's Wall was ever adapted to this sort of use.

These points of false description, each of them relatively unimportant in itself, add up to a misconception not merely of what the Wall looked like but of how it could be used. Hadrian's Wall was not designed as a fighting platform, and it would have been very difficult to use it in this role. Besides the fact that it is 80 Roman miles long, it is clear that it was originally conceived as a line of frontier demarcation. At its inception the troops were based in forts behind the Wall, along the Stanegate, and when, after a Hadrianic change of plan, forts were built actually along its line both their siting and their garrisons show that it was intended, in normal Roman fashion, to be a springboard rather than a passive defence. Of the sixteen forts from Wallsend to Bowness, no fewer than seven (including Halton Chesters itself) were garrisoned by cavalry units, and where the terrain allowed they were built projecting beyond the Wall, so that sallies could be made simultaneously from three gates.

Much better, and indeed remarkably perceptive, is Kipling's appreciation of the civil settlements which grew up behind the Wall—what Parnesius calls "the town". His description of them as "a snake basking beside a warm wall" has been often quoted with approval, by Collingwood and Richmond among others, but even this requires modification in two respects. First, it was a very disjointed snake, since the settlements were never continuous, but clustered round the individual forts which provided the markets for the goods and services which their inhabitants offered; so that Parnesius's words "... a thin town, 80 miles long . . . one roaring, rioting, cock-fighting, wolf-baiting, horse-racing town from Ituna on the West to Segedunum on the cold eastern beach" though happily evocative, will not do in this respect. Secondly, there is probably anachronism here, since most of the archaeological evidence indicates that the civil settlements were evacuated during the troubles of 367—the "Picts' War", which is several times referred to retrospectively in the story—and were not reoccupied thereafter; though there is now some evidence for continued occupation of the settlement outside Chesterholm, just to the south of the Wall.

There are other anachronisms. In this period sea-raiders from the east, whom Kipling seems to present as Vikings, are always called Saxons by contemporary writers, and they did not wear winged helmets. In fact all the evidence suggests that most of them did not wear helmets at all, while those few who did had to rely on Roman imports. Although a little later, in the fifth century, a new type of helmet, the *Spangenhelm*, made its appearance, it is still not winged (and as a matter of fact, I know of no evidence, literary, iconographic or archaeological, that even the Vikings wore winged helmets; it seems likely that this convention owes its birth to the fantasy of a Wagnerian scene-designer). In any case the very name of the Winged Hats, who play an important part in the story, must be discarded.

A more interesting anachronism concerns the episode, referred to above, which Parnesius recounts in connection with his journey north: ". . . a wandering philosopher had jeered at the Eagles. I was able to show that the old man had deliberately blocked our road; and the magistrates told him, out of his own Book I believe, that

whatever his Gods might be, he should pay proper respect to Caesar'."

This is clearly a reference to Christianity ("Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's", or perhaps "Fear God, honour the king"), which is here presented as an obscure minority religion. By this date, however, this is very far from the truth. Since the conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan in 313, Christianity had, apart from a brief intermission under Julian the Apostate, been officially recognised and supported; and although many peasants and some members of the old senatorial class still clung to paganism, the emperors themselves were, at least nominally, Christians—and this includes not only the legitimate emperor of the day, Gratian, who was devoted to St. Ambrose, but also in a rather more muscular way, Maximus himself, who suppressed the Priscillianist heresy and later moderated his attitude in deference to a plea from St. Martin. The army too, was expected to conform. Of all the many pagan shrines in the Wall area the only one which continued in use after the Constantinian period was Coventina's Well at Carrawburgh, and that is a special case: it needs more than a change of faith to stop people throwing coins into water—as a Regent Street store found when they installed a fountain on the second floor.

As a corollary to this, and perhaps as the reason for it, Kipling presents Mithraism as still flourishing. There were, of course, mithraic temples in Britain, including at least three on the Wall, and that at Housesteads had been excavated by Hodgson in 1822 and re-excavated by Bosanquet in 1898, when it probably came to Kipling's notice. But all the *mithraea* on the Wall, like other pagan temples, had in fact gone out of use earlier in the 4th century.

Now Mithraism plays an important part in the story. It is the setting sun, provoking a mithraic prayer from Parnesius, which brings the first part of the story to a close. It is in a *mithraeum*, where they are both being raised to the grade of gryphons, that Parnesius first strikes up a friendship with Pertinax. It is the theme of the splendid "Song to Mithras", which is inserted between the second and third parts. And, most significant of all, there is the strange episode when Amal, one of the Winged Hats, is washed up on the shore.

"We dealt with them thoroughly through a long day, and when all was finished, one man dived clear of the wreckage of his ship, and swam towards the shore. I waited, and a wave tumbled him at my feet. As I stooped, I saw that he wore such a medal as I wear' Parnesius raised his hand to his neck. 'Therefore when he could speak, I addressed him a certain question which can only be answered in a certain manner. He answered with the necessary Word—the Word that belongs to the Degree of Gryphons in the science of Mithras my God. I put my shield over him till he could stand up. You see I am not short, but he was a head taller than I. He said: "What now?" I said: "At your pleasure, my brother, to stay or go." He looked across the surf. There remained one ship unhurt, beyond the range of our catapults. I checked the catapults and he waved her in. She came as a hound comes to a master. When she was a hundred paces from the beach, he flung back his hair and swam out. They hauled him in and went away. I knew that those who worship Mithras are many and of all races, so I did not think much more upon the matter'."

In fact there was a sequel, for Amal sent him a gift and later was useful in negotiations, but it is the implications of this encounter, and especially the wording of Parnesius's account of it, which are significant. Kipling had become a freemason in 1885, and in *Something of Myself* he relates his experience in a masonic lodge in India.

"Here I met Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, members of Arya and Brahma Samaj, and a Jew tyler who was a priest and butcher to his little community in the city."

The analogy is certainly deliberate. Regrettably, despite the importance which he gives to Mithraism, Kipling has erred in his choice of grade. The seven grades of the cult are as bizarre as anything one hears about freemasonry, namely, Raven, Bridesman, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Courier of the Sun and Father, but they do not include Gryphons. This reflects a current misunderstanding, by which one of the attributes of the second grade, which is "kruphios", or "the hidden one", in Greek, was wrongly transliterated as a gryphius, with a g, in Latin.

This craving for some super-community, transcending racial distinctions, contrasts oddly with what is probably the most damaging aspect of the whole story, Kipling's inability to appreciate the real meaning of the word "Roman". He was not, of course, unique in this, for it was typical of his generation, and it is rather a mark of his greatness that he seems sometimes to have sensed the morass of contradictions into which his preconceived ideas, rooted presumably in his experience of British India, were leading him. A few quotations will illustrate this :

" 'But you're a Roman yourself, aren't you?' said Una. 'Ye-es and no (says Parnesius), I'm one of a good few thousands who have never seen Rome except in a picture'."

This is an excellent beginning, but Kipling draws back from the implication, and Parnesius goes on:

" 'The founder of our family had his land given him by Agricola at the Settlement'."

One can say categorically that there was no such settlement—if there had been, Agricola's son-in-law, Tacitus, would surely have told us of it in his biography—and there is no reason for supposing that the owners of the Brading villa were of anything but Celtic descent.

Again, Kipling was well aware of the racial diversity of the Roman Empire; for example, Parnesius had a Numidian for a nurse (a recognisable ayah) and a Greek for a governess, and this is his description of Aquae Sulis, or Bath :

" 'The best baths in Britain. Just as good, I'm told, as Rome. All the old gluttons sit in hot water and talk scandal and politics. And the Generals come through the streets with their guards behind them; and the magistrates come in their chairs with *their* stiff guards behind *them* : and you meet fortune-tellers, and goldsmiths, and merchants, and philosophers, and feather-sellers, and ultra-Roman Britons, and ultra-British Romans, and tame tribesmen, pretending to be civilised, and Jew lecturers and—oh, everybody interesting'."

This somewhat over-vivid scene might almost have prompted Haverfield's tart correction of it in his article on Roman Bath in *V. C. H. Somerset I*, which was also published in 1906, but it is the characters

in it which are of interest to us. The ultra-British Romans and the ultra-Roman Britons again recall British India, and one does wonder where the tame tribesmen are supposed to have originated.

Worst of all, because it is specific, is the dialogue between Parnesius and his father:

" 'Now, like many of our youngsters, I was not too fond of anything Roman. The Roman-born officers and magistrates looked down on us British-born as though we were barbarians. I told my father so. "I know they do," he said, "but remember, after all, we are the people of the Old Stock (Kipling gives it a capital O and a capital S), and our duty is to the Empire".' "

Two rebukes are obviously being handed out here to Kipling's contemporaries, but it is nonsense in Roman terms. Similarly, though he acknowledges Maximus as Spanish-born (just as he is British-born), Parnesius calls his Gaulish and Iberian auxiliaries at Clausentum "foreign", but refers to the legionaries of the XXX Legion as "Roman-born Romans". Current estimates put the population of ancient Rome at its height as about one million (though it had declined by the fourth century), but did Kipling really believe that all legionaries came from the city—or, indeed, that the city population would have made good soldiers?

The truth is very much otherwise. In the early Empire legionaries had indeed to be Roman citizens, and auxiliary units were recruited from men who were not; but Roman citizenship was not confined to those who were born in Rome, and from an early date the legionaries came from widely scattered areas. The essential point is that "Roman" had long ceased to be a genetic term and had become a description of status. As the Emperor Claudius pointed out in his speech on the admission of Gauls to the Roman Senate in A.D.48, what had brought about the downfall of Athens and Sparta was that they segregated the people they conquered, but the Romans, from Romulus onwards, had known better. The story of the extension of Roman citizenship to the whole of Italy, which was completed by Caesar's grant of it to the Transpadanes, is itself long and complicated. Outside Italy, the citizenship was spread both by Italian emigrants, whether as members of military or civil colonies or as individuals, and by the grant of it to individual non-Italians who had deserved well of the Roman state—a practice which went back at least to the Punic Wars but was most developed by Caesar. Again, towns with a large number of Roman citizens might be raised to municipal status and so incorporated in the Roman commonwealth, while other towns might be granted so-called "Latin Rights", which in an imperial context meant that magistrates and their families, on completing their year of office, received the citizenship. Further, by a practice which may have been begun by Augustus but which was systematised by Claudius, soldiers in the auxiliary units of the army who had enlisted as non-citizens became Roman citizens on discharge. And finally, a slave who was freed, as very many were, took the status of his master, though with some limitations in the first generation, so that freedmen of the most varied racial origins contributed substantially to the number of Roman citizens. It follows that long before the time of Parnesius not only was

there a majority of Romans who had never seen Rome (or even Italy) except in a picture, but only a small minority could claim to be of the Old Stock—whatever meaning can be put on such an expression. On top of this, in A.D.212 the Emperor Caracalla had granted Roman citizenship to all freeborn inhabitants of the Empire who did not already hold it.

The stages in this process which were best known to Kipling were those of the first century before and the first century after Christ. The curriculum at Westward Ho! did not lay such great stress on the classics as was then usual in the greater Public Schools, but what there was was firmly rooted in the old tradition, where Roman history ended with Trajan and only golden Latin writers were studied, with occasional references to silver Latin, represented by what were called "Tacitus and other late authors." Kipling's mentors here were F. W. Haslam and William Crofts, both traditionalists, and the most lasting effect on Kipling was a devotion to Horace. In his reading, then, the Gauls and the Britons were still barbarians and even at the end of his period Juvenal (who was born at Aquinum, not Rome) was still objecting to the growing influence of Greeks and other orientals in the city. Such attitudes were indeed still maintained by a few crusty senators in the fourth century—themselves not all of unimpeachable descent—but to apply the complaints of Juvenal to an Empire which had owed its recovery to a succession of Illyrian Emperors is as absurd as attributing the fall of that Empire to the immoralities which Juvenal castigates (which involves overlooking the fact that the Western Empire lasted for 3½ centuries and the Eastern Empire for 13½ centuries after Juvenal's death).

All this does not mean, of course, that any cook could rule the state, for there was no democracy in the later Roman Empire. To be anybody in the Roman world, you had first to be somebody, not merely a Roman citizen, but also *honestus*—which means "honourable" in the precise sense that you were capable of being honoured: that is, of good birth, respectability and credit, but above all rich (which in turn involved being a land-owner). There was some social mobility, and even some senators were ultimately not merely of provincial but actually of servile origin, but it took time. If you were not one of the *honestiores*, but merely an *humilior*, of the lower social grade, the simple possession of Roman citizenship, or even being of the Old Stock, did not mean very much, especially after 212: the fact that they were Roman citizens did not save the *coloni*, or small tenant farmers, of the late Empire from being reduced to the condition of serfs.

Superficially it might appear strange that Kipling, with his imperial interests, wrote so little fiction based on Roman history: the *Puck* stories represent the whole of his output on Roman Britain and on the rest of the Roman Empire there are only two others, both of them set in the first century and centred on St. Paul. Lack of interest can hardly be adduced as a reason, for it is clear that he threw himself as fully into these stories as into any others, and even a realisation of the amount of research required is not convincing as a complete explanation: as we have seen, most (though not quite all) of his errors reflect the state of knowledge in his day rather than a failure to acquaint

himself with it. Is it possible that in writing the *Puck* stories or perhaps in re-reading them, he became aware of the failure of the analogies that he realised not only that Roman officers were not Indian Army subalterns but also that the Roman Empire was not a prefiguration of the British Empire, and on that account refrained from pursuing the subject further?

[This article is extracted from an inaugural lecture given at the University of Keele: 6 Nov: 1975. The author is Professor of Roman Provincial Studies in this University]



The stone of the seventh cohort of the "thirtieth" legion, found at Corbridge in 1912, now in Corbridge Museum. The text reads

LEG(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictrieis)
COH(ors) VII

amended by the addition of the first X to

LEG(ionis) XXX V(lpiae) V(ictricis)
COH(ors) VII

R G Collingwood and R. P. Wright: *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I* (1965), No. 1166. Photograph by Charles Daniels.

LETTER BAG

Re: SPEECH BY KINGSLEY AMIS AS QUOTED IN THE JOURNAL

As "depressing and ominous" Kingsley Amis describes the atmosphere of Bateman's (or non-atmosphere, perhaps, for he states in his biography of Kipling that "houses . . . cannot by their nature possess an atmosphere").

I find myself in complete disagreement, although Kipling himself said of his newly-acquired home that it 'was not of a type to present to servants by lamp or candle-light'. (Nor, it seems, to an erstwhile lecturer in Eng. Lit. and a TV camera crew on a dull, winter's day!) But Kipling said that before he electrified it.

If Mr. Amis is "the last person to be sensitive to the atmosphere of places" and I will not quarrel with that, I am one of the first, thanks to a nervous system inherited intact from my Macdonald forbears. And yet, not so long ago, I was privileged to spend a week at Bateman's sleeping not only under its roof but under the canopy of the four-poster bed in the West Bedroom as well. I can testify to seldom having felt more serene and relaxed than I did in that 'good and peaceable place'.

Each morning I awoke refreshed to gaze up at the embroidered initials R.K./C.K. above my head and to reflect with some surprise that not a single qualm had disturbed my sleep during the hours of darkness in that still, old house.

This feeling of serenity extended throughout the grounds where at the beginning and the end of each day I took a ruminative walk along the 'Quarter Deck', past the ornamental pond and across the little brook at the bottom of the garden, 'what they call a river . . . the Dudwell . . . quite ten foot wide', to the old mill pond beyond, its surface disturbed only by two or three ducks and the shadow of the great oak tree leaning so hazardously over it. During my stay at Bateman's I did not leave the grounds once, except to walk to Pook's Hill, nor did I have the least desire to do so, even when it was time to say my farewells, so great was that feeling of tranquillity.

In between my morning and evening walks I experienced the two distinct aspects of life at Bateman's today; the hustle and whirl of hundreds of holiday visitors crowding the rooms (many of whom commented on the house's pleasing atmosphere), and the deep quiet that settled on the place when the front door had been closed for the day and I had the library to myself (where half an hour earlier it had been impossible to see across the room for the crush of people), for an hour or so's study.

By day or night, empty or full of people, I found 'her Spirit—her Feng Shui—to be good'.

DISCUSSION MEETING

RUDYARD KIPLING AND THE FLYING MACHINE

By John Shearman

At a discussion Meeting on 15 February 1978 John Shearman spoke on 'Rudyard Kipling and the Flying Machine'. *With the Night Mail* (1905) and *As Easy as A.B.C.* (1912) prophesy a world in which powered flight by airships and aeroplanes is not merely possible, but commonplace. John briefly described the state-of-the-art in both lighter and heavier-than-air craft as it was in 1904, when Kipling was writing *With the Night Mail*. He mentioned Kipling's meeting in 1895 with Professor S. P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, and clarified some dates in the career of this pioneer of powered flight.

The trans-Atlantic flights of British airship R.34 in 1919 had striking similarities with that of Postal Packet 162 in *With the Night Mail*. John speculated about some of Kipling's technicalities—cloud-breaking navigation lights, Fleury's gas and ray, moving maps, and the General Communicator. Kipling was taken with the idea of flying at more than sun-speed, both here and in *Hymn of the Triumphant Airman* (1929). Today Concorde and military super-sonic aircraft perform this feat—so long as the fuel holds out.

Many other prophetic insights can be seen in these stories and (to a lesser extent) in *The Edge of the Evening* (1913). Real-life aircraft crop up incidentally in *Mary Postgate* (1915), *A Flight of Fact* (1918) and other stories and articles, but here the insights are human and psychological, not technical.

Flying is often mentioned in Kipling's miscellaneous writings. John showed a photo-copy (courtesy of the Librarian of the Royal Automobile Club) of *Protection Suits for Airmen* from 'The Car' of July 27 1910 with Kipling's own sketches.

In a speech to the Royal Geographical Society on 17 February 1914 (collected in A BOOK OF WORDS) Kipling described many of the effects of long-distance air travel which we experience today.

John concluded by quoting the last paragraph of the last chapter of SOMETHING OF MYSELF : —

'Left and right of the table were two big globes, on one of which a great airman had once outlined in white paint those air-routes to the East and Australia which were well in use before my death.'

Discussion ranged over the apparently wilful public ignorance of the work of Wilbur and Orville Wright, the political and philosophical implications of *As Easy as A.B.C.*, and the importance of stories sometimes dismissed as 'mere' technology or science-fiction.

A list of the references is available on request.

J.H.McG.

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