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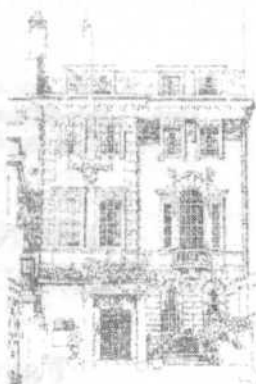
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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Wednesday 16 June 2004, The National Trust are holding a "**Kipling Day**" at Bateman's from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. The Society will be taking part and members are very welcome.

Wednesday 14 July 2004, 4.30 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's A.G.M. A cash bar will serve drinks at 5.30 p.m. before **Max Rives'** talk "Kipling and France" at 6 p.m. **Afternoon tea will be served in the Wrench Room from 4 p.m. and will be free to all members. If you would like to book tea, please telephone the Secretary before Saturday 10 July 2004.**

Wednesday 15 September 2004, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Stamers-Smith Memorial Lecture:** following the publication of the final volume of Kipling's letters, **Professor Tom Pinney** will give us "Some Reflections on Kipling's Letters".

Wednesday 17 November 2004, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Roy Slade** on "Promoting Rudyard Kipling".

Wednesday 19 January 2005, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Viscount John Julius Norwich** on "Kipling and the Browning Poems".

Wednesday 13 April 2005, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Dr Susan Walsh** on "Modern Critical Readings of Kipling".

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EDITORIAL

THE 'STALKY' CONFERENCE

This was a thoroughly enjoyable occasion, attended by about 80 members, mainly, though not all, from the U.K.. The papers given by Isabel Quigly, Neil Cocks, Harry Ricketts and Andrew Hambling generated much interest and a few school anecdotes during the discussions, whilst the spirited reading of the complete first draft of "Scylla and Charybdis" by Jeffery Lewins caused much amusement. We do not plan to print the Proceedings of the Conference in the *Journal*, but, as was done for the 2001 *Kim* Conference, they will be published on our website in due course.

SEDNA

On 15 March 2004, astronomers from Caltech, Gemini Observatory, and Yale University announced the discovery of the coldest, most distant object known to orbit the sun. The object was found at a distance 90 times greater than that from the sun to the earth — about 3 times further than Pluto, the most distant known planet.

Because of its frigid temperatures, the team has proposed that the object be named in honour of Sedna, the Inuit goddess of the sea from whom all sea creatures were created. Officially, the object is currently known to astronomers as 2003 VB12, based on the day of its discovery.

But why is the name "Sedna" already familiar? I finally remembered that it appears in "Quiquern" [The Second Jungle Book] where Kipling writes:

Now Sedna is the Mistress of the Underworld, and the Inuit believe that every one who dies must spend a year in her horrible country before going to Quadliparmiut, the Happy Place, where it never freezes and the fat reindeer trot up when you call.

These are apparently different versions of the Sedna legend, but I have found references to Sedna as combining both functions; either seems appropriate for 2003 VB12. Having re-read "Quiquern" and properly appreciated the depth and accuracy of the geographic and anthropological detail, I was not surprised to find that background reading had been supplied to Kipling from the Smithsonian Institute (Andrew Lycett's biography, *Rudyard Kipling*).

My thanks to Prof Michael Brown of Caltech for the use of the first two paragraphs from his website, which can be found, with much more information, at www.gps.caltech.edu/~mbrown/sedna/.

RUDYARD KIPLING: A MAJOR PROPHET?

By DR MICHAEL G. BROCK, C.B.E.

[Dr Brock, who needs little introduction to Members, presented this paper at a London meeting on 19 November 2003. He was President of our Society for 13 years from 1988 and had a long and distinguished career at Oxford – his description of himself as an 'Oxford don' doesn't even begin to cover the variety of his interests and activities which are described more fully in the *Journal*, No.299, September 2001 – *Ed.*]

It is, I hope, legitimate for an octogenarian Oxford don to start with an ancient Oxford story. Until 1932 Oxford retained a vestige of an earlier day in an examination, which was compulsory for all undergraduates, called the Preliminary Exam in Divinity — 'Divvers Prelim'. The exam was, I fear, latterly, the subject of many jests. In one year, the compulsory question would concern the Kings of Israel and Judah: in the next it would be: 'What was the essential distinction between the major and the minor prophets?' On one occasion the alternation seems to have broken down and a quick-witted candidate found that he had prepared an answer for the wrong question: on the distinction between the major and minor prophets, about which he had been asked, his mind was a blank. He therefore began his answer as follows:

It would ill befit me to make invidious distinctions between one of these Holy Men and another; but the examiners may appreciate some words on the Kings of Israel and Judah who ruled in the prophets' times.

The story is that this candidate passed his Divvers Prelim. I will try to achieve a slightly higher standard of relevance than he did; but, in fact, his predicament, as I hope to show, was not wholly irrelevant to my theme.

In our times a major prophet must be a writer or speaker who has a great, and enduring, resonance. Unless he, or she, commands, and retains, a large audience, he will not be able to gain attention for the unpopular parts of his message. Indeed, if he is a writer dependent, as Kipling was, on the earnings of his pen, he may not dare to endanger sales by making unacceptable statements. Kipling passes this test by common consent. Of course, he knew that 'unless men please they are not heard at all'. Of course the occupant of the Bliss Cottage recognized the truth of the American insurance salesman's remark: as a writer he had 'to please folk' for his living. But Kipling was very soon famous enough to make risky experiments, and, above all, to improve

his countrymen in ways which were sometimes bound to anger them. No writer of his day bowed down before his public less than Kipling. In "The Lesson", and "The Islanders", which first appeared in 1901 and 1902, he took the British to task comprehensively¹. In "The Song of the Old Guard" and "The Army of a Dream", which followed in 1904, he told the Conservative government, which then commanded an overall majority in the Commons of 134, that their efforts at army reform were a dismal failure. In "The City of Brass", which appeared in the *Morning Post* a few weeks after Lloyd George had introduced his 'People's Budget' in 1909, he was still more severe on a Liberal government which then commanded an overall majority of 130. In this poem Kipling opposed the government paying an Old Age Pension of five shillings [£0.25] a week at age 70, and 7/6 [£0.375] per week for a couple; and he also derided both Haldane's remarkably successful army reforms, and, by implication, the government's Dreadnought battleship and battle-cruiser programme². Those examples establish, I think, that Kipling did not shrink from the unpopular parts of the prophet's role.

Kipling's fame was established before he was thirty-five and he always kept clear of official honours and membership of Parliament. This refusal to participate personally in the parliamentary process limited his knowledge; but it gave him a commanding stance as a prophet. He saw at once that democratic politicians are not well placed to tell the voters unpleasant truths: we can add that these inhibitions apply to all political leaders in states where traditional deference has been eroded by widespread literacy; and to keep their supporters, and perhaps themselves, in good heart, the leaders have to present their policies as being more beneficent than *any* policy can be. The opposition may mount fierce assaults on the measures proposed; but they have to ask themselves: are we going to repeal this when we become the government? So they too have their inhibitions. Finally, in the international scene, the modern statesman must avoid offending other electorates as well as his own. To take an example from Kipling's time, and one where he held a strong view, when the Liberal government granted self-government in South Africa, they did not conceal their regret that they had been unable to secure better guarantees for non-white people in the constitutional arrangements; but they did not admit to Cape Town, or even to Westminster, or perhaps to themselves, that the white system which they had sanctioned would probably last for more than seventy years and might well lead to an oppressive *apartheid*³.

When in December 1902 Kipling referred in "The Rowers" to the German government as 'the shameless Hun', Lord Lansdowne, the Conservative Foreign Secretary, thought it 'an outrage'⁴; but there was

nothing which he could do about these verses. Contrast with that the reaction to Robert Blatchford's articles about the German navy in the *Daily Mail* during December 1909. Edward VII wrote promptly to his nephew, the Kaiser, saying that 'the press [of the two countries] should not be allowed to stir up ill-feeling'⁵. I agree on all this with David Gilmour's stance, in his splendid survey of Kipling's 'Imperial Life', though not necessarily with every particular judgement. Let us start by summarizing some of Gilmour's criticisms. To Gilmour "The Army of a Dream" is 'boring political propaganda masquerading as a short story'; on 'votes for women' Kipling indulged in 'bad psychology and even weaker observation'; to have supposed the main German threat in 1914 to have consisted in the Ulstermen's preference for the Kaiser's rule to that of Dublin represented 'deranged thinking'; and to see Baldwin's succession to the premiership in 1935 as no more than a 'philosophical socialist' replacing an 'international socialist' showed 'virulence' at its height⁶.

Yet, as Gilmour concludes, 'pessimists and reactionaries make the best prophets'. Kipling's 'prophecies were fulfilled too often to be coincidences: the Boers and *apartheid*, the Kaiser and a war, Hitler and another war, the Hindu-Muslim strife whenever Britain decided to withdraw from India'⁷. That list and conclusion are not, I think, at variance with Gilmour's preceding remarks. They perhaps establish, in themselves, more firmly that Kipling was a prophet than that he ranks as a major one. As far as the deliberate prophecies are concerned we enter here the realm of questions which cannot be answered. As Lord Dufferin told young Kipling, the statesman has to be judged on the effects of his statements and actions: there could be 'no room (or was it allowance?) for good intentions in one's work'⁸; and, when a writer aims to affect the course of affairs he may be held to bring himself under the same rule. He has not been directly involved in decision making; but he has affected the climate of opinion within which the decisions were made. How, coming with some kind of interim historical view, do we judge the *effects* of what Kipling wrote?

Some of Kipling's contemporaries, including at least one, Theodore Roosevelt, who was very sympathetic to him, thought that the Ulstermen's antics early in 1914, so wildly encouraged by Kipling, had been an important contributory cause of war breaking out that summer.⁹ If we were to accept this view as valid we should have to say that, although until the last months of 1913 Kipling's voice had been the most effective of all for warning the British about the danger of German aggression, he had gone a long way to cancel that effect by what he wrote during those last months which preceded the actual outbreak of war in 1914. And Roosevelt's words cannot be dismissed out

of hand, since the Kaiser and others certainly believed Germany's chances of victory to depend considerably on whether the British entered the war on land, or were so preoccupied with the state of Ireland that they abstained from doing so¹⁰. On balance, however, the evidence now available to us controverts the view held by Theodore Roosevelt and some others at the time. In the chaos at the top, which characterized the Kaiser's regime, no news from Ulster would have led to the crucial decision, which brought Britain fully into the war, being cancelled, or indeed altered in any way. The basic fact here is stark and simply stated. The Kaiser and Bethmann-Hollweg did not know exactly what Moltke meant to do: they failed to realize that he was set on beginning his operations by bombarding and capturing Liège¹¹. Once the German army started doing that the British would respond to a Belgian appeal under the 1839 treaty, and intervene. So the Kaiser and the Chancellor lacked an all-important piece of information. What David Gilmour calls Kipling's 'deranged thinking' early in 1914 went wide of a large target: it was a very bad shot. But, despite that, the complaint which Kipling published in 1917 – in "The Fabulists" – was a just one. His warnings about the coming Armageddon had been defied or neglected by many British people. Where those people were concerned he had not been 'heard at all'; and he did not in 1914 help in creating the very effect against which he had been sounding such effective warnings. In giving these warnings he had, of course, some allies. Among these perhaps I might mention the Kaiser. It was the existence of the German battle fleet, the Kaiser's favourite creation, which first alerted most British people to the danger of German aggression¹².

We have to look at the broader interpretation of the prophet's role which Gilmour gives us. Kipling, we read in the final chapter, did more 'in his prime' than 'embody the hopes and the fears of his countrymen . . . His was a voice that people loved, not just because it articulated their thoughts, but because it also managed to express their feelings and illuminate their lives'¹³. In other words, the prophet not only makes deliberate prophecies; he also expresses, because of the immediate intensity of his responses to what his countrymen now think and feel, and the direction in which they are moving. He will therefore express fresh errors as well as new truths. Most people judge the present in terms of the past. The men who led their countries into the second world war had received their most formative experiences before the first war ended. The prophet exposes the new situation and the new problems; and the major prophet exposes problems which, however much they may change in form, will not disappear for many years. He does so in a style so compelling that his word lingers while those problems remain, despite all the changes of form which they undergo.

Surveys tell us that Kipling is still Britain's most popular poet; and, in my own parish, when a don protested the other day, in the Oxford dons' magazine, against the government's failure to understand Oxford's problems, he did so through a parody of "The Vampire", [see the *Journal*, No.307, Sep 2003, pp.55-56. – Ed.]

To restrict our view of Kipling as a prophet to his actual pronouncements would be to mistake his genius. His 'political ideas', in David Gilmour's phrase, 'were innate, intuitive, passed on by Lockwood or formed by experience'¹⁴. He possessed that energy of soul which is poles apart from analytic reflection and slowly achieved refinements. As a young man Socrates sought philosophic wisdom among the poets; but he soon saw, as he recorded, that he must search elsewhere: he realized that the poets wrote 'by a peculiar natural gift and by inspiration'; and in Greek the word translated there as 'inspiration' carries a direct reference to the divine spark in a person. The poets had revealed many truths; but they did not know how they had done it. In the last chapter of *Something of Myself* Kipling refers to the 'Personal Daemon' of the ancient Greeks, as you will recall, and he gives the rule by which he wrote: 'When your Daemon is in charge, do not try to think consciously. Drift, wait, and obey.'¹⁵

Here I may perhaps obtrude a speculation which I included in a paper some years ago. Did Kipling, I asked, come in later life to regret his interventions in what are called great affairs? I refer to this speculation solely because it has been dignified through a mention by Tom Pinney¹⁶. It is based on no more than the last story, in the 1938 Uniform Edition, of *Thy Servant a Dog' and Other Dog Stories*. This is called " 'Teem': a Treasure Hunter". In it Teem, who hunts for truffles, has the refrain: 'Outside his art an artist must never dream'. If Kipling did come to have this regret – a very large 'if – it was, I think, mistaken. Haggard was surely right, when, dedicating *The Way of the Spirit* to Kipling in 1906, he wrote: 'Both of us believe that there are higher aims in life than the weaving of stories well or ill'¹⁷. G. K. Chesterton put the point more generally. In his view, 'the only thing worth worrying about in [Kipling] or in any other man' was 'the message . . . , that upon which he has really concentrated'¹⁸.

It was a tragedy that in his 'teens Kipling, like H.H. Asquith and practically all the upper- and middle-class men of his generation, had received an education which was almost exclusively classical and literary. It was not mistaken to introduce young Kipling and his friends to Horace or indeed to the 'impassioned Diderot's' encomium on Richardson; but that should have been balanced by studies which came a little nearer to their own world¹⁹. Clement Attlee suggested to the Haileybury masters soon after he left in 1901 that they had an odd idea

of how 'to train a ruling class' since 'they taught . . . nothing about economics, government, or politics . . . One old master [replied] "Yes, but you see we know nothing about these things ourselves" '. Recalling this encounter in old age Attlee added: 'He was probably right'²⁰. These educational deficiencies were real; but, in Kipling's case, their effect should not be exaggerated. Writing of mesmeric power which reflects an immediate response does not consort easily with that opposite pole of unhurried reflection and analysis under any conditions ever achieved. If Kipling had embraced the psychological theories of his time fearlessly, and had studied institutional systems in detail, he might have written with more consistent wisdom; but it seems very likely that he would, in that case, have written either nothing, or, at best, little that anyone much would have read.

You will not expect me, in the time allowed, to deal with all the great changes to which Kipling reacted with such compelling artistry. His pages are full of technological advances in railways, shipping, and air travel. Those were associated with the advent by the 1870s of a world of great powers, in which Britain could no longer expect an easy pre-eminence, if only because of the menace represented by the newly-formed German Empire. The railways had made the Kaiser's empire possible; and it was steel production from the phosphoric ores which made it so formidable²¹. More generally we can track Kipling's changing view of technological developments by comparing "As Easy as A.B.C.", published in 1912, with "The Eye of Allah", which appeared fourteen years later.²² Kipling was the prophet, not merely of those developments, but of the people who had charge of them. In his pages we can see the rise of the unified upper class which we know, of the 'service class' as sociologists call it, of the 'meritocrats', of Classes 1 and 2 in the five classes of the Registrar General's reports. He was the first British writer of outstanding quality to take as his theme professional work and the lives of those who do it.²³

I am going to pass at once to a single area of change which seems to me particularly deserving of scrutiny. During Kipling's boyhood, dogmatic religious faith was in sharp decline in Britain among the articulate sections of society, under the twin blows of Darwin's evolutionary theories and German Biblical criticism. A whole generation of writers was oppressed by doubts and loss of faith – the historian J.R. Green, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Walter Pater and many others less well known. Mrs Humphry Ward made her name in 1888 with *Robert Elsmere*, a novel about a clergyman's torturing doubts, which achieved an enormous sale in Britain and the United States²⁴. The two leading Prime Ministers of late Victorian times, William Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, discouraged their sons, to put it mildly, from reading

Greats while at Oxford. Both thought that an honours course of Oxford philosophy had become dangerously liable to lead to agnosticism²⁵.

We can track the course of this storm with some assurance. In 1911 Mrs Humphry Ward returned to the theme which had made her famous. Her novel, *The Case of Richard Meynell*, published in that year, is far better written and constructed than *Robert Elsmere*; yet it fell completely flat²⁶. By that date her readers had either accepted a sceptical position, or adopted what we might call a modern form of Christian belief. Let us look at two Conservatives, uncle and nephew, both of them very intelligent, interested in science, and, at one time or another, Prime Minister. Here is Lord Cranborne, already mentioned, soon to succeed as the third Marquess of Salisbury, in the 1865 *Quarterly Review*: "The world has not yet seen . . . a society in which [Christian] dogmas . . . have lost their hold upon all classes and both sexes, and which has yet retained its morality, or even its civilization, through two or three generations"²⁷. Contrast with that the tone of the nephew, A.J. Balfour, in his 1914 Gifford Lectures: "The source of morality must be moral. The source of knowledge must be rational. If this be granted, you rule out Mechanism . . . Naturalism . . . Agnosticism; and a lofty form of Theism becomes, as I think, inevitable"²⁸. Cranborne sees the storm starting and tries to stand against it: Arthur Balfour has seen it pass and is repairing his battered house.

Kipling passed through all of this unscathed. He did not argue, or agonize, about the change. He simply accepted it; and, on the wider definition of the prophet's function, that makes him prophetic. He reflected what some of his countrymen were coming to feel, and what many more of them would soon feel; and the stance which he adopted must be judged a prophetic one. He was not a speculative thinker and he knew the East; and C.S. Lewis has, as I think, summarized his attitude fairly:

Kipling . . . has the Pagan tolerance, [one] so wide (which is unusual) that it extends even to Christianity, whose phraseology he freely uses to rhetorical effect. . . But the tolerance is weary and sceptical; the whole energy of the man goes into his worship of the . . . demigods or daemons in the foreground . . . These servants he has made masters; these half-gods exclude the gods²⁹.

I would like to start with the immediate political aspects of this change, because the most prominent of Kipling's half-gods – imperial expansion and consolidation and its economic corollary in the imperial preference side of tariff reform – were intended as a protection against what he saw as the weakness of democratic government. Like many of

his contemporaries he had inherited the evangelical attitudes of his grandfathers; but he had not inherited the doctrinal beliefs of those two Wesleyan Ministers.³⁰ So he made his favoured political policies a matter of faith. He wrote admiringly that for Milner imperialism 'had all the depth and significance of a religious faith'.³¹ Of course, contemporaries of a different political persuasion sneered. When former believers cease to believe in God, Chesterton wrote, they come to believe, not in nothing, but in anything. Among anti-Liberals, however, the later forms of Kipling's imperialist faith were admired even by those who doubted the believer's wisdom. Here is Salisbury, the great Prime Minister's son and successor in the marquessate, telling Selborne privately in April 1910 about the tactical ineptitude of the tariff reform 'missionaries'. There could be no explanation for this, Salisbury writes, 'except profound conviction . . . They are willing, if need be, to sacrifice everything that they value rather than the cause should be damaged by a single note of weakness . . . This is comforting,' he added, 'for there can be no such great faith without a profound effect on their generation'.³²

While our politics may be deplorable today, they are not like that; but, to quote from C.S. Lewis again, 'It is 'no good putting on airs about Kipling'.³³ Since Kipling died the appalling crimes of a mixed assortment of dictators have taught us, in Churchill's phrase, that democracy is the worst governmental system ever devised except for all the others. Kipling had an excuse for never being 'able to assimilate', in Gilmour's phrase, the notion of 'politics as "the art of the possible"':³⁴ we have none. The 'isms' of right and left have become 'wasms'. We have discovered that the golden keys offered never opened anything. The endless process of adjustment and bargaining between classes and interest groups, though far from beautiful, is now recognized as necessary; but to go on from that truth to suggest that we are by way of solving the problems of democratic government would be very foolish. The process of removing the illusions may lower enthusiasm and participation until some dreadful, but charismatic, demagogue gains a chance. A glance at the figures may reinforce the point. In the second general election of 1910, which was the first when Kipling took a very active part, 81 per cent of the electorate voted. That was considered a low figure. The election was held in bad December weather only eleven months after the last, and on an out-of-date register. In the first 1910 election the turnout had exceeded 86 per cent.³⁵ A great many men, and all women, were then excluded from voting, although many women at least showed by their conduct how anxious they were to vote. In the election of 2001, when virtually no British adult was excluded from voting, the turnout fell below 60 per cent.³⁶ That comparison surely constitutes an ominous warning.

Since Kipling was not a systematic theorist any interpretation of his views on morality and religion must be tentative. The basic problem was, and is: how are moral standards to be maintained when they are no longer thought to depend specifically on religious beliefs? Kipling was the first popular exponent of the moral law – the Law with an upper-case L – as a secular notion which does not depend on any particular religious creed. For him, as for so many who have come after him, the moral Law stands by itself. In this world, as opposed to any unseen world, it constitutes the bottom line. Question it and you are questioning everything, including your title to ask such questions.

I would be reasonably confident that Kipling's view of the Law did not represent a specifically Christian view; but, of course, I cannot be quite sure. Some of Kipling's poems, as C.S. Lewis writes, 'could not, on internal evidence alone, be distinguished from Christian work.' But the evidence supporting the view which I have given seems strong. 'When [a] man has come to the turnstiles of the Night,' Kipling tells us in the preface to *Life's Handicap*, 'all the creeds in the world seem to him wonderfully alike and colourless.' We have the 'cold Christ and tangled Trinities' line in "Lispeth" from *Plain Tales*, "Jobson's Amen", "Gallio's Song" and "The Two-Sided Man", the verses attached to *Kim*: admittedly Kipling is speaking directly only in the last; but the cumulative effect of those four pieces seems considerable. Nor is it of great moment that in "Ulster" and "The Covenant" Kipling invokes the Protestant faith and the help of God: writing for that cause he could hardly have avoided doing so. Again there are passages which may seem to question the doctrine altogether.

And the wildest dreams of Kew are the facts of Khatmandhu,
And the crimes of Clapham chaste in Martaban.

Ship me somewheres east of Suez, where the best is like the worst,
Where there aren't no Ten Commandments an' a man can
raise a thirst;

Those lines come in early poems of rather specialized application. "In the Neolithic Age" is concerned with the immense variety of poetical techniques, and "Mandalay" is of course the lament of a soldier back from the East about all the restrictions which he has encountered in England.

None of us would maintain, however, that Kipling had fathomed all the manifold difficulties of his moral Law doctrine. Let me instance just one. All the Christian churches are apt to give the moral Law part of their doctrine their own slant; but when you depart from an established religious canon your freedom to distort the doctrine is still greater. Kipling's emphasis is overwhelmingly on the duty of obedience. That serves well enough if the orders come from upright and

disinterested administrators like Orde and Tallentire as depicted in "The Head of the District"; but consider Kipling's description of the House of Lords, in November 1910, as 'a body of democratic aristocrats, chosen . . . to guard the life of the nation.'³⁷ To this we must, I think, reply, like Evelyn Waugh's obsequious secretary responding to one of his master's more notably outrageous statements: 'Up to a point, Lord Copper.' That description of the Lords hardly seems to be a view acceptable to 'the God of Things as They are'³⁸. We need not go all the way with Lloyd George to be reasonably certain that the peers of 1910 were the guardians, not so much of the nation, as of their own class interests, and, by an overwhelming majority, the interests of the Unionist party.

That distortion in 1910 resulted from impassioned political partisanship. In the 1890s Kipling had known plenty about the inadequacy, selfishness and hypocrisy of people in responsible positions. Three of the officials mentioned in "William the Conqueror" had been grossly incompetent; and the picture of the dishonest N.C.O. in "The Sergeant's Wedding" is explicit; but Kipling's abiding scorn for people who claimed their rights concealed from him that a moral code based solely on duties is gravely defective.

I must end with another difficulty about a secular moral Law doctrine which is more obvious to us than it was to Kipling, because, like many of his contemporaries, he knew the Bible very well. Our schools are enjoined by the 1988 Education Reform Act to promote their pupils' moral and spiritual education. How do you do that except by introducing young children to some religious tradition, and, in the case of indigenous British children, primarily to Biblical passages such as the Gospel parables? Once people reach the age of 18 or thereabouts they must be free to take their own ways; but the teacher coping with the Lower Third, when they have just missed a double games period because of the rain, has a tough job if required, in promoting their spiritual education, to acquaint them with Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Wherever we look, the problems which Kipling outlined, with the vivid freshness of a major prophet, are with us still, and show no sign of disappearing.

NOTES

1. First publication dates throughout as in Chandler's *Summary*, Grolier Club, 1930.
2. David Gilmour, *The Long Recessional*, John Murray, 2002, pp.205-6, 208-11.
3. *Pad. Deb.* 16, 19 Aug 1909, 5th Series 9, pp. 1010-14, 1656-8 (Asquith).
4. Gilmour, p.206. The German troops leaving for China in 1900, to avenge the Boxer rising, were told by the Kaiser to gain the reputation of 'the Huns': A.J.P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe*, 1954, p.392.
5. Sidney Lee, *Edward VII*, ii, p.693. This semi-apology was made in a birthday letter: *Esher, Journals and Letters*, ii, p.442.

6. Gilmour, pp.179, 228, 245, 299.
7. *Ibid.*, pp.310, 311.
8. *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Thomas Pinney, 1990, p.57. Hereafter cited as *SOM*.
9. Theodore Roosevelt to G.W. Russell, 6 Aug 1917: *Roosevelt's Letters*, ed. E.E. Morison, vol.8, 1954, p. 1220-1.
10. For Lichnowsky's confession that he had reported to the Kaiser, 'the English were not likely to go to war . . . they had a civil war on their hands in Ireland', see *National Review*, lxxii, Nov 1918, p.335. For fears of the Kaiser and others on learning the truth (c. 30 July 1914) see Avner Offer, "Going to War in 1914", *Politics and Society*, vol.23, 1995, pp.220-1, 226-7. For Waldersee's memo, 18 May 1914, on Britain having then 'absolutely no inclination to participate in a war' because of the Irish troubles, see J.C.G. Rohl, in *Decisions for War*, ed. K. Wilson, 1995, pp.45, 53 (n. 61). The memo was one of 40 tons of documents returned to Germany by the Soviet Union, 1988.
11. G. Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan*, trans. A. and E. Wilson, 1958, p.96, and *The Sword and the Sceptre*, trans. H. Norden, 4 vols., 1972-3, vol.ii. pp.206, 266-7; S. B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, 2nd edn., 1930, 2 vols., vol.i, p.42; L. Albertini, *The Origins of the War of 1914*, trans. and ed. I. M. Massey, 3 vols., 1952-7, vol.ii, p.581, vol.iii, pp.195, 250, 391. Bethmann-Hollweg seems to have learned about this feature of Moltke's plan on 31 July 1914 (five days after the ultimatum text had been sent to the Ambassador in Brussels). For the impact of the news on Britain, see [Harold Begbie], *The Mirrors of Downing Street*. 1922 edn., pp.43-4.
12. A.J.P. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp.458-9, 525.
13. Gilmour, p.310. Grey thought, Sep 1914, that, if Kipling were to speak in the U.S.A., the effect might be unfortunate. An expression just then of British feelings about the key neutral could, as was feared, imperil blockade policy: L. Masterman, *CFG. Masterman*, 1939, p.277.
14. Gilmour, pp.241-2.
15. Plato, *Apology*, p.22, Jowett's translation; *SOM*, p. 123.
16. *Essays by Divers Hands*. Royal Society of Literature, vol.45, 1988, pp. 103-26, and *Kipling Journal*, No.245, March, 1988. pp.9-32. For Teem's refrain see *Thy Servant a Dog*, in the 1950 Library Edition, pp.162, 200. For reference in Pinney see *Kipling's Letters*, vol.3, 1996, p.7.
17. *Essays* (see Note 16), p. 124.
18. Chesterton, *Heretics*, 1905, p.36.
19. For Horace, see chiefly "Regulus", 1926. For Denis Diderot's (1714-1784) view of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) as a 'singular genius', see Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), *Curiosities of Literature*, as in *Readers' Guide*, ed. R. Lancelyn Green, vol.i, 1961, pp.472-3. Beetle passed this gem to Taffy Howell for use in the Army Prelim. Exam.: "The Propagation of Knowledge", 1926. For defects in Oxford's pre-1914 honours courses, see *History of Oxford University*, vol.7, ed. M.G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys, 2000, pp.66, 866-73.
20. *Spectator*, 21 Nov 1958, p.678.
21. R.C.K. Ensor, *England, 1870-1914*, pp. 105-7, 277, 504-6.
22. For Kipling's view by 1926 see letter to De Forest (22 May 1926) quoted by Gilmour, p.310. For an earlier expression of these forebodings see Elizabeth Barrett (1809-1861, from 1841 Mrs Robert Browning), "Lady Geraldine's Courtship".

23. See Dixon Scott, *Men of Letters*, 1916, pp.51-2. This article on Kipling appeared originally in *The Bookman*, 1912. Dixon Scott died in a hospital ship off Gallipoli, 23 Oct 1915.
24. John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, 1990, pp. 106-31.
25. *Oxford University History*, vol.7, pp.27, 41; Lord Cecil of Chelwood, *All the Way*, 1949, p.24.
26. Sutherland, *op. cit.* p.316-17.
27. *Quarterly Review*. No.cxviii, July 1865, p.207.
28. Delivered at the University of Glasgow, published as *Theism and Humanism*, 1914.
29. C.S. Lewis, *They Asked for a Paper*, 1962, p.91 (Address to the English Association).
30. Joseph Kipling (1805-62); George Browne Macdonald (1805-68).
31. Gilmour, p. 198.
32. *The Crisis of British Power*, ed. D. G. Boyce, 1990, p.429.
33. C.S. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p.92.
34. Gilmour, p.277.
35. N. Blewett, *General Elections of 1910*, 1972, p.377. In Great Britain 81.7% and 87%; in the United Kingdom, when University seats are included, 81.4% and 86.7%.
36. 59.2%: in 1977 it had been 71.5%.
37. *A Book of Words*, 1928, pp.65-6.
38. Last line of "When Earth's Last Picture is Painted".

MISCELLANEA

HARDY AND KIPLING

The Thomas Hardy Society holds its 16th International Conference in Dorchester from 31 July to 7 August this year. One lecture that may be of interest to members is at 6 p.m., 5 August by Dr Alan Chedzoy on "Hardy and Kipling". Details at www.hardysociety.org, Tel: (0)1305 251501.

JUST SO – CHICHESTER FESTIVAL THEATRE

A musical play inspired by Kipling's Just So Stories will be presented in Chichester from 11 June to 25 September as part of their 2004 season. Since it was last seen in the UK in 1990, *Just So* has been reworked and updated with nine new songs and a new book. The creative team behind its production in Boston in 2001 have been reunited to premiere this new version in Chichester. Box Office: (0)1243 781312.

"OUR LADY OF THE SACKCLOTH"

A beautifully illustrated version of this 1935 poem has been set up on a website devoted to the culture of the Byzantine or Eastern Catholic Church. It can be found at www.byzantines.net/byzcathculture/sackcloth.html.

RAILWAY REFORM IN GREAT BRITAIN

By RUDYARD KIPLING

[I am indebted to Michael Smith, one of our Vice-Presidents and a former Hon. Secretary, for bringing this story to my attention. First printed in *The Fortnightly Review* for Feb 1901, it was later printed in *Elected Prose Part II*, Sussex Edition, 1938, Vol.XXX. Michael has provided a glossary, but I have deliberately printed this at the end in order not to deprive readers of the pleasure of making their own identifications. Little seems to have changed in 100 years, but I do wonder to what precisely the Kiplings had been subjected in 1900?

The story was described briefly by John McGivering in his article "Kipling and Trains", *Kipling Journal* No.149, March 1964, p.18. – *Ed.*]

Know, O my masters and noble persons, there was, in the days of the Caliph Haroun Alrashid, a certain Afrit of little sense and great power, named Beiman Be-uql [Faithless and Senseless], dwelling in the city of Bagdad, who had devised brazen engines that ran upon iron roads. These, by the perfection of their operations, dilated the heart with wonder and the eye with amazement, for they resembled, as it were, litters drawn by fire-breathing dragons. Now the Afrit did not make benefactions for the sake of the approbation of Allah, but for money. For such-and-such pieces of money the brazen engines of unexampled celerity accommodated themselves to the desires of the adventurous. They bore the lover to his beloved, the merchant to his market, the fisherman to his nets, and the weaver to his loom, as was permitted by the All-Merciful. The people of Bagdad, who are both amorous and adventurous, disported themselves by day and by night on these engines, and gave the Afrit gold as from a catapult; and some twelve merchants of the city entered into a partnership with the Afrit, for the gains that accrued. Accordingly the Afrit became slothful and of a negligent disposition, forgetting that which is written:—

'Except sword contend against sword in battle how shall a sword be sharpened?

Except his neighbour contend against him in the market-place even the Very Veracious would sell rotten figs at enormous profit.'

Allah (Whose Name be exalted!) caused the belly of the Afrit to expand with fatness, and his eyes to be darkened with over-much meat; and he dismounted from the steed of zeal and stretched himself upon the pillow of shamelessness, and ceased to concern himself at all with the comings and the goings of his brazen engines.

The rumour of these things reached the ears of the Prince of the

Faithful (whose perspicacity be rewarded!), and he called Mesrou, chief of the Eunuchs, and Giaffar into his presence, and he said: 'What is the complaint against the Afrit that his engines are lacking in celerity?' Upon which Mesrou kissed the ground, and said: 'O my Lord, let the Prince of the Faithful go out into the city and make enquiry.' Then Mesrou fetched the clothes of three Frankish merchants, and they went out, all three, disguised as Frankish merchants, to the place of the brazen engines, which is over against the chief quarter of Bagdad. And they met a young man with a pair of linen drawers upon his shoulder and a linen cloth under his arm—for he would bathe in the water—and as he walked he wept and recited the following verses:—

'May Allah preserve the pure-intentioned from the engines of the Afrit!

I am old in calamity, but expert in resignation. I enter the engines constrained only by stringent necessity:

They regard the efflux of time as a drunkard regards the fallen petals of his chaplet: and they attain their ends solely by the fortuitousness of unmitigated fatuity.'

Then they went into the caravanserai appointed for the coming and the departure, and it was as though a battle had passed that way; for the caravanserai was full of smoke, black and white, and the ground was piled with the baggage of the faithful—pots, and bundles, and food, and medicaments, and the implements of exercise and diversion, all in little heaps, and by each heap stood distressful women and children not a few, imploring guidance. Hereupon the Caliph enquired: 'What have these done to merit extinction?' And Giaffar replied: 'They go a journey in the brazen engines,' and he recited the following verses:—

'The Mercy of Allah is upon all things created, whereby the ignorant emerge from vicissitude:

If it seem good in the eyes of the Fashioner of Events, doubt not that these, even these, shall ultimately arrive at their destination.'

Then came a servant of the Afrit clad in bluish raiment, and cried: 'With thy permission!' and smote the legs of Giaffar from under him by means of a small wheeled cart which he wheeled in haste, and he recited the following verses:—

'O True Believers! The first is behind the third, and the third is before the second. Advance boldly and turn to the right! Continue and turn to the left, for that brazen engine which departs for Lawaz and

Isbahan upon the hour of second prayer lacking one eighth of an hour.

Come hither, O true Believers, and behold the brazen engine which departs for Raidill: but go elsewhere if thou wouldst behold the towers of Harundill!

Ya Illah! Allah! Six is four and three is five; but the second and third are only little engines from Sha'ham.'

Then the Afrits of the engines shrieked with a lamentable shrieking, and the faithful were cast into turmoil.

Then came Mesrour with written bonds which he had purchased from the Afrit for money, and upon each bond was written the following verses:—

'By the merit of this white bond it is permitted to such an one, the son of such an one, to enter into such-and-such an one of my engines, and to sit in the place appointed for such as hold the white bonds, and to proceed to such-and-such a place.

But it is forbidden to such an one to linger more than a day after that he has purchased the bond: nor may he give away the bond even to his maternal uncle, but must strictly seat himself at the hour appointed.

Moreover, I take Allah to witness that I wash my hands thrice of all that may befall this person, either by the sloth and negligence of my Afrits, or by the sloth and negligence of any other Afrits, or by the errors of any of the creatures of Allah!'

And it was signed with the seal of the Afrit. And the Caliph said: 'This is a notable bond. Whither go we?'

And Mesrour said: 'To Isbahan by way of Lawaz. Come swiftly.' So through the Protection of Allah, Who protects whom He will, they entered the litter appointed for such as hold the white bonds of the Afrit—a room of six seats and no more, of a bluish colour, with windows upon either side, and in the roof a lamp. Now there followed upon their heels the wife of a fisherman, perfumed with new wine, a woman of scandalous aspect; and four children who had never known the baths; and two men, sons of a kabab-seller; and a gambler upon the swiftness of horses; and a maiden, whose hair was like brass wire, who leered with the leer of invitation; and the wet-nurse of a sickly one.

When the Caliph perceived that their bonds were written on blue or brown paper only, and not one upon white, he said: 'This is the place appointed solely for such as have the white bonds. I conjure ye by Allah, remove elsewhere!' But they laughed, and the wife of the

fisherman demanded of the maiden her opinion as to whether the Caliph resembled a water-bird of antiquity, and the two sons of the kabab-seller said: 'Behold his hair!' which is the salutation of the unseemly. But the wet-nurse said: 'Has Allah deprived thee of understanding, that thou hast forgotten the day is Saturday?'

At this the Caliph laughed and replied: 'What is the merit of this one day which, by the ordinances of Allah, hath recurred once in the seven since the beginning?' And the wet-nurse recited the following verses:

'When the carpet of Opportunity is unrolled before thee, do not consider where thou shalt sit, but leap swiftly into the middle thereof, and take firm hold on all four comers.

Let the proud man be abashed, but consider thou thine own advancement.

What are the colours of bonds to the true believer, or the gradations of affluence to such as go in haste?'

So the Caliph said: 'Of what good is the Afrit's bond?' And the maiden with the hair like brass wire laughed and said: 'None to thee, O my beloved, but much to the Afrit,' and she spoke with laxity of the Caliph's wife (for she thought him to be a Frankish merchant) and of the legs and visage of Mesrour. So they abounded in impure talk and contention upon the way, and the wife of the fisherman vomited the wine from her stomach, and the Caliph's heart became contracted on account of the incommodiousness of the situation.

Thus they reached the city of Lawaz, and waited for a brazen engine to bear them to Isbahan. Now there are some eight alley-ways in that city for the entry and departure of the engines, but no man, not even the servants of the Afrit, knows by which alley-way any one engine will enter or depart. And lest men should by study attain enlightenment the place is without lamps, and the alley-ways are joined by magic bridges and corridors, and mazes that are each the work of Afrits. Therefore the adventurous must lay hold upon the bridle of courage and pursue the ball of his goal with the mallet of ferocity.

After a great while Mesrour said: 'O Prince of the Faithful, there is no escape from this pestilent locality till the Afrit brings a new engine, and it is reported to me by the veracious, whose skins are wrinkled through long waiting, that that engine is not here.' Now upon the wall of the place was written: 'At the hour of evening prayer a brazen engine will depart for Isbahan.' This was written in large characters, but beneath had the Afrit written the following verses:—

'O true believers, who can do more than set forth his holy intentions?

This is a heart-lifting verse to read—the verse of the engines arriving and departing.

Consider it no more than as a song sung in a rose-garden, or as the voice of the nightingale among roses.

I have bound roses round the rod of Inaccuracy, and wreathed Emptiness with a desirable wreath:

But of the coming and the going of the engines I have washed my hands thrice.'

And it was signed with the seal of the Afrit.

Then the Caliph's liver grew congested, and he said: 'What are the promises of this impure Afrit?' And Mesrour said; 'As a stake in bran! Behold his shamelessness, and the names of those whom he has afflicted.' And upon another wall was written that all might read:—

'Such an one, the son of such an one, was upon such-and-such a day beaten with fifty strokes of the ferash for that he tampered with a white bond of the Afrit. And such an one, the son of such another, was fined an hundred pieces of gold because he gave the half of a white bond to his maternal uncle.

O true believers, read and fear!'

And the Caliph said: 'Not content with afflicting us by the means of his own idleness and uncleanness, he afflicts the faithful by means of the law. Assuredly I will subject him to the operations of a law which he does not comprehend, and pursue him with a torment which he has not in the least anticipated.'

Then they leaped upon a brazen engine that came out of the darkness, and it bore them to a city called 'Alisham, and it ceased; and they waited in an extreme discomfort for yet other engines which came not. For three days and three nights the Caliph, and Mesrour, and Giaffar resigned the direction of their feet into the hands of the Afrit, but Allah (Whose Power is uplifting) maintained them alive. Throughout the length and the breadth of the Caliph's dominions there was not one brazen engine which arrived upon the hour appointed; nor within an hour of that hour; nor was there any shame or penitence among the servants of the Afrit. There was no dependence upon their veracity and no refuge under the shadow of their assertions. And the Caliph spoke with men anxious to see their sick who desired them; and with merchants hastening to the market; with lovers seeking their beloveds; with women purchasing commodities; with muleteers, and craftsmen, and butchers, and courtezans, and widows, and the pious, and the clean and the unclean who had confided themselves to the engines of the Afrit.

There was but one thing certain in all the machinations of the Afrit—that he had taken the money of the true believers, and that he had cheated them all every one. Then the Caliph returned to his palace and bathed and refreshed himself, and repaired to the Lady Zobeide, his wife, and told her all that story. And she said: 'O my Lord, I conjure thee to chastise the Afrit with a heavy chastisement.' And the Caliph said: 'He is an Afrit. How may a creature of Allah chastise a son of fire?'

Then the Lady Zobeide recited the following verses:

'At the end and the beginning of all events permitted upon the
Footstool of God sits either a Man or a Woman.
Can a Woman be more than a Woman? No, or she would be in
Paradise. Can a Man be more than a Man? No, or he would be else-
where.
Allah be exalted, Who has decreed that we of flesh and blood, confi-
dent in integrity, meet with nothing in the world other than Men or
Women!'

And the Caliph took counsel with the Lady Zobeide and together they devised an excellent device.

Know, O masters and noble persons, that the first of the twelve merchants of Bagdad who had associated themselves with the Afrit for the sake of gain was called Ali, son of Abu Bakr, and he was wealthy and he loaned money to the Afrit and took usury therefor. His stall was in the market, but his house where he received his friends was in the rich quarter of the city of Bagdad.

Upon a day appointed, when he was making merry with his friends, there came to Ali a messenger with a message, written upon pale paper, and the message said:

'Peace be unto thee, O Ali, son of Abu Bakr. I am a man with red hair, the father of three sons and two daughters. Also my income is sufficient for my needs. I am delayed an hour upon my journey by the faithlessness of one of thy brazen engines, and I tell thee this for the love I bear thee.'

And Ali said: 'Whose is this shamelessness? I am no more than an overseer of the partnership with the Afrit. What have I to do with brazen engines?'

Then came a second messenger with a second message and it said:—

'May we never be made sad by thy loss, O Ali, son of Abu Bakr. I am a widow lame of one leg, and I bear a little black bag. Moreover, it rains and I am cold. One of thy brazen engines has experienced a contrac-

tion of the interior, whereby it has ceased to proceed. Send hither an implement for its repair, if thou lovest me.'

And the skin of Ali's forehead wrinkled, and he cursed the widow and her forefathers, and said: 'By Allah, am I the refuge of the destitute? Bring no more such messages to this house, O messengers, but take them to my stall in the market that the clerks may receive them. This house is the house of my rest.'

And the messengers said: 'Little rest for thee, O son of Abu Bakr, for there walks an host behind us bearing messages which are not to thy clerks, but to thee! Doubtless thou hast relieved a city by stealth, which is only now known to the grateful.'

And there came a third messenger with a package, intricately corded, demanding a price and receipt, and in its heart was a huge stone delicately wrapped, and on the wrapping was this message:—

'Allah preserve thee, O chief of the Directors of the brazen engines! I am the son of a barber newly affianced to be wed. It is reported to me in the city of Krahidin that one of thy brazen engines has not arrived upon the hour appointed. I myself use not thy brazen engines, preferring mules when there is any haste; but I have found upon the roadside this large stone which, it may be, falling upon the iron road, has delayed thy engine. I send it thee for a love-gift, worthy of acceptance.'

Then the moisture ceased in the mouth of Ali, son of Abu Bakr, and his eyes manifested anxiety, and he said: 'What is this calamity which has come upon me from associating with Afrits? May Allah confound all red-haired men, with all lame widows and the affianced sons of barbers!'

Then entered Fatima his wife, and her countenance was dark, and she bit her lips and said: 'What dost thou know of Cypress-Branch, O man of impure associates?' And he said: 'I am in no humour to jest. Begone!' And she exhibited a message upon pale paper which the messengers had delivered to her, and she read it aloud, and it said:—

'To the Lady Fatima, wife of Ali, Greeting! Kiss thy husband for me. I am slender as an Oriental willow-shoot, and of unequalled gait. Ali has caused me to be delayed in the city of Tabriziz because of the unverity of his brazen engines. Wherefore I am unable to bestow upon him the kiss of affection, and supplicate thee to be my substitute.'

And the message was signed 'Cypress-Branch.'

Then Ali took off his turban and cast it upon the floor, and tore his hair, for his wife was old and of an unforgiving disposition, and she

ceased not to load him with reproaches for an hour; and she retired into her apartments and wept. Then Ali left her and went out, and he saw a multitude of messengers advancing in their stately procession, or sitting in the court and playing games of chance upon his doorstep, or winking upon his female slaves. In each man's hand was a message upon pale paper, or a packet intricately corded, demanding receipt, and to none might the messages be given except to Ali, son of Abu Bakr. So he dismissed his friends and forsook diversion, and he wrote receipts until evening, and he wept and said: 'By Allah, this life is unendurable!'

Then there came a messenger to him and cried: 'I conjure thee by thy ancestors to hasten to the hall of the merchants, O son of Abu Bakr, for they have called a council and thy attendance is requisite.' And Ali said: 'It is the custom of those who are in partnership with the Afrit to meet but four times a year. Wherefore do they meet now?'

And the messenger said: 'Inconvenience has overtaken them and they are afraid.'

Then Ali put on his turban and washed his face and went to the hall of the merchants, and the first that greeted him cried: 'O son of Abu Bakr, hast thou seen the inscriptions by the roadside where our brazen engines go up and down?'

And Ali said: 'No, I have sufficiency of sorrow in mine own house.'

And they told him that within a night had sprung up intolerable inscriptions over against all the fields through which the brazen engines passed.

Then Ali laughed and said; 'This is the work of a red-haired man and of a woman lame in one leg and of the newly affianced son of a barber.' And they said: 'Allah preserve thy understanding, O Ali! Thou art mad.' And he laughed yet louder and said; 'It is the work of Cypress-Branch.' Upon this the unmarried drew away from him, fearing the excess of his madness, but such as were married embraced him and said: 'Is thy house also darkened by the machinations of Cypress-Branch and Jasmine, and Musk and Almond-Blossom? Verily this is an evil day for the upright.' So Ali's bosom expanded, for he said: 'Fellowship in calamity diminishes the sharpness of sorrow. Shew me the inscriptions.'

The first inscription was white and blue, three-and-thirty times repeated upon high poles to the left and right hand of the iron road to Isbahan, and it said:—

'There are no engines like the brazen engines of the Afrit. Let us therefore thank Allah!'

The second inscription was blue on white, an hundred times repeated upon painted wood to the left and right hand of the iron road to Krahidin and Tabriziz; and it said only:—

'O True Believer, why dost thou not walk?'

And the third inscription was red upon black, an hundred and nineteen times repeated on the right and the left hand of the iron road, and it said:—

'When the Artificer of all Things created Eternity He foresaw that the brazen engines of the Afrit would require a reasonable time to reach their destination.'

This was the nature of the three inscriptions, and they were offensive to all the twelve merchants. Then said Ali, son of Abu Bakr: 'Let us issue a proclamation demanding the heads of those who have caused the intolerable inscriptions to be written, lest we become a mock to the people of Bagdad.' This they did, but there appeared forthwith an officer of the law, and cried: 'I conjure ye by your pure forefathers to declare by what authority ye have issued the proclamation: for I am the servant of a great company of the oppressed, who have hired the ground in the fields whereon those inscriptions stand. May Allah render them salutary to you, O merchants!' And he haled them before the Caliph on account of their proclamation, and the people assembled in multitude like pelicans on a lake and waited on the judgment of the Caliph. Then the Prince of the Faithful took up the first inscription and said: 'What is your complaint, O traffickers with the Afrit; for it is not said whether there be engines worse or better than the engines of the Afrit, but only that there are no engines resembling them? This is no more than extreme laudation: yet if there be doubt, call thy witnesses.' And the twelve merchants scratched with the toe of distress upon the ankle of embarrassment and said nothing, and the Caliph spoke to the people: 'O True Believers, are there any engines like to the engines of the Afrit?' Then there came forward seven-and-fifty men, young and old, and thirty-four women, old and young, and said that were there no engines like to the engines of the Afrit. And he said: 'Do ye thank Allah therefor?' And they said: 'We thank Allah by day and by night.' So he fined the twelve merchants a thousand pieces of gold each. Then he took the second inscription and said: 'Where was this found?' And the merchants said: 'In a field.' And he said: 'Do men walk in a field?' And they said: 'Yes.' And he said: 'Do the brazen engines walk in the field?' And they said: 'No.' Then the Caliph said: 'Where is the offence of this enquiry, seeing that those who go by the brazen engines are not walking, and that those who walk in

the fields are not in the brazen engines?' And he fined the twelve merchants two thousand pieces of gold each. And he took up the third inscription, and the veins of his forehead swelled, and he said: 'Do ye deny that Allah created Eternity?' And they said: 'We do not deny.' And he said: 'Do ye deny that the brazen engines require a reasonable time wherein to reach their destination?' And they said: 'We do not deny.' And he said: 'Do ye know for what reason Allah created Eternity?' And they said: 'Who are we to fathom the secrets of Allah?' Then he said: 'What is your complaint?' and he fined them three thousand pieces of gold each, and the people extolled the justice of the Caliph (upon whom be blessing!), but the merchants wept.

When they had returned to their hall. Ali, son of Abu Bakr, said: 'By Allah, O my masters, we have fallen into grievous calamity, and I see no method of delivery from the inscriptions wherewith we are tormented, except we expedite these accursed engines.' And the merchants said: 'It is impossible, for it hath never been.' Then Ali recited the following verses:—

'We are as those who have ascended a blossoming mulberry-tree, from which there is access neither to Heaven nor to Earth.
When the charioteer is Eblis, and the reins are held by the son of Eblis,
who may talk of what is possible or impossible?'

So they took counsel with the Afrit, and by the Permission of Allah, to Whom nought is impossible of accomplishment, the merchants caused one brazen engine to arrive in the caravanserai upon the hour appointed. And they swooned with amazement. And when they were recovered they went, some to the baths, and some to the wine-sellers, and some to the inner apartments. About second cockcrow Ali, son of Abu Bakr, was washing himself in the baths and there came a messenger from the Caliph mounted upon a white camel, bearing a dress of honour, and he cast it upon Ali wet from the bath and constrained him by the wrist and said: 'This is the reward of diligence.' And Ali said: 'I conjure thee by Allah, O interpreter of the way, compliment me with no more compliments, for I am sick of compliments, but fetch me the towels.' And the messenger said: 'I am but the mouth of the Prince of the Faithful, who hath need of thee!' And Ali groaned and wept and said: 'Am I not already sufficiently afflicted?' And the messenger said; 'Doubt not there are companions!' And he sat him upon a high white camel of unbridled disposition, and led him before the Caliph. And there were gathered in the courtyard of the palace the eleven his companions, each upon a white camel of a lofty nature, and each attired in a dress of honour; and they were speechless because of the honour that had been done them. At the hour that men can distinguish a black thread from a white, the Prince of the Faithful

appeared at an upper window and he said: 'O persons of integrity, it is reported to me that a brazen engine has arrived upon the hour appointed,' and he ceased not to extol their wisdom and diligence, their perspicacity and their zeal, until the hour of second prayer, in the presence of the city of Bagdad. And when the sun was high and men had eaten—all except Ali, son of Abu Bakr, and those eleven his mates upon the camels, he said: 'O True Believers, I conjure ye by the benefits that ye have received from the Afrit that ye do not let these men of pure countenances at any time go unrewarded for their endeavours. If, therefore, one of their delectable brazen engines arrive upon the hour appointed, acquaint me of the circumstance that I may honour them in this fashion, and in others, upon whatever hour of the day or the night that that brazen engine may arrive.' And the people said: 'Upon the head and the eye.'

Then he gave the merchants permission to depart and they returned to their houses. But the people of Bagdad sat by their doorsteps waiting for word of the arrival of yet another brazen engine upon the hour appointed. So the merchants within ate in haste and drank expeditiously and denied themselves to their wives, and remained far from their stalls in the market, and forsook the company of musicians. When a second brazen engine arrived upon the hour appointed, the people of Bagdad broke in upon them with salutations, and set them all upon tall camels of unbridled dispositions, and the messengers of the Caliph cast upon them dresses of honour, and they were borne to the very presence of the Caliph, who in all respects entreated them as before, for a very long while. But when that second engine arrived the Caliph (may his mercy be requited!) excused Ali, son of Abu Bakr, from the attendance; and when the third engine arrived he excused Hussein of the Fishmarkets from the attendance; and so with the other engines as they arrived, for he said: 'If I make this honour common how shall it be prized? Verily punctuality is an unheard-of virtue, rarer than the egg of the Roc, but we must also remember the infirmities of mankind.'

The people of Bagdad delighted rapturously to do honour to the remnant of the twelve merchants. When the fifth brazen engine arrived upon the hour appointed, they beat drums and cymbals; and for the sixth engine they closed all the markets; for the seventh engine they lit torches and shouted; and for the eighth they burned fires, red, white, and blue, in all the wards; for the ninth they assembled the Army and exercised them in the exercises of war; for the tenth they invited their friends and acquaintances, in number like netted fish, who came drawn by brazen engines from Isbahan and Lawaz, from Krahidin and Tabriziz; for the eleventh they extended the arm of allurements to all the inhabitants of the earth as far as a brazen engine might travel, nor were the inhabitants undesirous to attend to assist and to admire; for the twelfth, when there

was called but one merchant to the presence of the Caliph, they altogether abandoned gravity and delivered themselves in multitudes, together with vast assemblies from other cities, to the dominion of mirth and excess. On that day at one time they beat gongs and the instruments of music, they blew upon horns without ceasing; they burned coloured fires, and they exercised the Army, and they closed the markets, and they waved banners and recited verses in honour of the twelve merchants and their wives and their daughters and their sons unborn, so that for a day's journey round Bagdad the clouds quaked with tumult. And when the merchants had occasion to come forth the inhabitants of Bagdad pursued them with the steeds of unbitted praise, and buried them beneath the blossoms of importunate compliment, so that the merchants covered the face of humility with the hand of modesty.

And Ali, son of Abu Bakr, joined himself to a company of those rejoicing and said: 'I conjure ye by your most remote ancestors, declare to me in what way ye have profited by the laudations wherewith ye have belauded us? For it is brought to my notice that through seven weeks the inhabitants of Bagdad have abandoned the pursuit of all trade and gain, that they may pursue me and my associates with an unmerited honour.'

And the merry-makers said: 'May we never lose thy presence, O son of Abu Bakr!' and they recited the following verses:—

'Have we wasted a day, or forty days, in unseemly revelry?

Still we have revelled, and the remembrances of our diversions will not soon depart from us.

But we assert that our merry-making was not flagitious, and that the echo of our laughter shall not perish out of men's hearts.

Give us an equal occasion, and we will disport ourselves anew, lest any should believe us incapable of more than a little mirth.

Truly our benevolence is inexhaustible, and our goodwill knows neither beginning nor end.

This is but a foretaste of our favours. We have unexpended a million million others.'

Then Ali said: 'Is this of a truth your intention?' And the merry-makers said: 'Have we not already proved it, or shall we set thee again upon the camel and delight thee with amazing caresses?'

Then he trembled excessively, and the sweat leaped out upon his forehead like seed-pearls, and he said: 'I hear and I obey and I toil,' and he cast off his garments and bought a leathern apron and a porter's knot and went down to the caravanserai to oversee and to expedite the brazen engines.

But he found in the caravanserai, attired in leathern aprons, adorned with porters' knots, the eleven his companions, and the sweat stood out

upon their foreheads also like seed-pearls by reason of the vehemence with which they laboured both to oversee and to expedite the engines. And Ali said: 'I am not alone in affliction.' And they said: 'By Allah, dost thou call this affliction? It is altogether Paradise by the side of the honours to which we have been subjected, and we purpose to endure in it to our lives' end rather than to incur again the attentions of the inhabitants of Bagdad'...And they recited the following verses:—

'Against all things, except Ridicule, hath Allah fortified the hearts of men; but even the most vicious desire not to be made a butt; and the brazen-faced preserve still a remnant of shame.

When sweet words are useless the fool speaks sourly; but the wise man maketh his speech yet sweeter, till the teeth of such as hear it ache from excess of sweetness.

Hast thou forgotten the red-headed man, or the widow lame of one leg, or the newly affianced son of the barber, or the inscriptions in colour like to the rainbow, or the lamentable chapter of the camels?

Be sure that these are prepared against the day of Dereliction, and will inevitably return at the hour of Unpunctuality.

Allah hath applied a goad to the extremities of our reason.

He hath sent a remembrancer into our secret apartments, and an open shame about our feet going forth.

Alas for the days when, free and uncontrolled, we lived among the valleys of Bagdad, merrily, and in no very good fame!"

So, then, these twelve merchants, who were partners with the Afrit, laboured unremittingly for many years in honesty and sobriety and zeal and devotion to expedite the engines of the Afrit; and having, by the Permission of Allah, attained these ends, they were each at the appointed hour overtaken by Death, the separator of companions, the divider of real estate, the terminator of leases, the herdsman of heriots, and the completer of operations.

Extolled be the excellence of Allah-al-Bari Who alone is the contriver of wonderful things; the Artificer of the destinies of the Universe, and the Compeller of the hearts of men!

GLOSSARY

All Stations on the London, Brighton & South Coast Railway (LB&SCR).

Raidill = Redhill

Harundill = Arundel

Isbahan = Eastbourne

Lawaz = Lewes

'Alisham = Hailsham

Krahidin = Croydon

Tabriziz = Three Bridges

Bagdad = Brighton

Sha'ham = Shoreham

A GOLDEN CROWN: THE MACHIAVELLIANISM OF "THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KING"¹

By COLIN D. PEARCE

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Kipling's "The Man who would be King" tells the story of two wandering adventurers who make it their purpose to acquire a kingdom all for themselves. What I would like to do in this essay is to point out the surprising parallels between Niccolo Machiavelli's recommendations for making just such an acquisition, made all of four centuries before Daniel Dravot's and Peachey Carnehan's effort, and the procedures adopted by these two adventurers for fulfilling their dreams of empire. That such a parallel is not a fanciful imagining is evident if we take a quick look at Chapter VII of *The Prince*. In this famous chapter Machiavelli's main concern is to show the necessities one must face if one is to govern a newly acquired principality. Amongst other things, Machiavelli suggests to the would-be prince that he must make conquests by 'force and fraud,' create a new military, become followed and revered by his soldiers, renew old orders through new ones and make himself both loved and feared by the people.²

As anyone who knows the story of Daniel Dravot and Peachey Carnehan will see, the above checklist from Machiavelli seems to fit their programme very well. We can only conclude that when it comes to the nature of politics, there is an area of agreement between Kipling and the writer who is sometimes credited with founding the modern science of politics. Not only do Machiavelli's suggestions cohere more or less perfectly with Daniel and Peachey's strategies but one can also find in Machiavelli's work the explanation for their ultimate failure.

Religion and Rule

Peachey and Daniel begin their campaign for a kingdom of their own by coming to the aid of men 'with bows and arrows' who were chased down the valley by twenty men with bows and arrows. After picking off a few of the larger faction with their Martinis the members of that party lay down prostrate. Daniel then 'waves his hand for all the world as

though he was King already.³ Arriving at the village Daniel pays great respect to Imbra – the largest of the stone idols there – while taking food from the local village boss and priest. Thus the two take their first village very easily 'just as though we had tumbled from the skies.'⁴

After using their guns to good advantage in the tribal conflict in the region, Dravot becomes the supreme magistrate of the area and 'leads the priest of each village up to the idol, and says he must sit there and judge the people, and if anything goes wrong he is to be shot.'⁵ Dravot understands that political rule requires "priestcraft" and that the chains of the carbine must be draped with the flowers of religion if his rule is going to work. The priesthood must control the people through "values" while he in turn controls the priesthood through fear of the power conferred on him by his weapons. Daniel and Peachey's political recipe works very well as 'Next week they was all turning up the land in the village as quiet as bees and much prettier.'⁶

So Peachey and Daniel are now kings. But they have been fortunate in that the people over whom they would rule have been maintaining a tradition which allows the new authorities to appear as orthodox or initiates in the local religion. Because of the historical accident that Kafiristan was once conquered by Alexander the Great, while at the same time Daniel and Peachey are familiar with Freemasonry, the two new Kings do not have to introduce a wholly new religion. Rather they have to show they are a part of the existing structure of the priesthood, and indeed they show themselves so to be at its highest level. 'The Craft's the trick, so help me!' Daniel says when the significance of the Kafiris' familiarity with the rites of Freemasonry dawns on him.⁷ They may not be as advanced in the ceremonies as the two Englishmen but they know the two degrees. 'A God and a Grand-Master of the Craft am I, and a Lodge of the Third Degree I will open, and we'll raise the head priests and the Chiefs of the Village.'⁸ So Kipling's point here, in making the connection between Freemasonry and the rule of Kafiristan is that Daniel and Peachey can "use" Freemasonry as a political ruse, precisely because it is not a "real" religion to them. They do not believe in it literally. It is a "private" institution within Western secular society. But for the Kafiris it is the official "state religion."

Peachey has more scruples about priestly rule than Daniel. He states that 'It's against the law, holding a Lodge without warrant from any one; and you know we never held office in any Lodge.' It's as though he believes religion has a meaning or carries an obligation regardless of its present utility from the strictly political point of view. But Daniel replies 'It's a master-stroke o' policy ... It means running the country as easy as a four-wheeled bogie on a down grade. We can't stop to inquire now, or they'll turn against us. I've forty chiefs at my heel, and

passed and raised according to their merit they shall be . . . The temple of Imbra will do for the Lodge-room . . . I'll hold a levee of Chiefs tonight and Lodge tomorrow.' Despite his scruples Peachey quickly sees 'what a pull this Craft business gave us.'⁹

It all works out splendidly when the old priest turns over the stone of Imbra to reveal the "Master's Mark" underneath. They can then hold a Lodge and rank the priests into a new Freemason clergy. The procedures the two leaders instituted in the new church were 'not in any way according to Ritual, but it served our turn.' So Daniel and Peachey have become the quasi-divine founders of a new social order. 'Dravot gives out that him and me were Gods and sons of Alexander and Past Grand-Masters in the Craft, and was come to make Kafirstan a country where every man should eat in peace and drink in quiet, and especially obey us.'¹⁰ Religion makes rule or politics just that much easier. Piety and obedience on the part of the populace will get the rulers peace and enjoyment in private. Indeed, the outcome of the story suggests stability of religion is absolutely necessary for a stable government.

A glance at Machiavelli shows that Daniel and Peachey are acutely aware of what rule entails according to "the father of modern political science." Above all Machiavelli recommends caution in changing the established practices in a newly acquired kingdom: 'He who desires to reform the government of a state,' while keeping it 'capable of maintaining itself . . . must at least retain the semblance of old forms.' It must 'seem to the people that there has been no change in the institutions, even though they are in fact entirely different from the old ones.' Machiavelli uses the Roman situation when they had moved from having a king to having two consuls to illustrate. At this time they 'were accustomed to an annual sacrifice that could only be performed by the king in person.' And the new rulers did not wish that the absence of the king should give the people occasion to regret the loss of any of their old customs. Thus 'they created a special chief for that ceremony, whom they call the king of the sacrifice, and placed him under their high priest; so that the people enjoyed their annual sacrificial ceremonies, and had no pretext, from the want of them, for desiring the restoration of the kings.' Such wise policies from Roman history suggest a general rule for all those who 'wish to abolish an existing system of government in any state, and introduce a new and more liberal one.' Indeed, Machiavelli observes, 'as all novelties excite the minds of men, it is important to retain in such innovations as much as possible the previously existing forms.'¹¹

In discussing the case of Numa, Machiavelli explains that this statesman found 'a very savage people' and wished 'to reduce them to civil obedience by the arts of peace.' To this end he had 'recourse to

religion as the most necessary and assured support for any society.' Machiavelli concludes that 'In truth, there never was any remarkable lawgiver amongst any people, who did not resort to divine authority.' This is because such remarkable lawgivers as Numa understand that otherwise than if backed up by religion 'his laws would not have been accepted by the people.' The problem to be dealt with here in Machiavelli's estimation, is the same as that to be dealt with by the two Englishmen in Kafiristan *viz.* that 'there are many good laws, the importance of which is known to the sagacious lawgiver, but the reasons for which are not sufficiently evident to enable him to persuade others to submit to them.' Given this situation it is only natural for 'wise men' who wish to remove this difficulty, to 'resort to divine authority.' Thus 'did Lycurgus and Solon,' and thus did Dravot and Carnehan and 'many others who aimed at the same thing.'²

Nation-Building, Military Virtue and Social Progress

The next task facing the two adventurers is nation-building. The historical problem the two kings face with their subject population is that the villages have been fighting with each other time out of mind. And when not fighting between themselves they are 'fighting with the Mohammedans.' Daniel's strategy is to unify the country by focusing on national security. He will fight the Mohammedans 'when they come into our country' by means of a Frontier Guard. And he will identify himself and his policies as those of the true 'sons of Alexander' thus making a common heritage with the Kafiris. 'You are *my* people, and by God, . . . I'll make a damned fine Nation of you, or I'll die in the making!'¹³

After two or three months on his own campaign, Daniel returns at the head of a train of hundreds of followers wearing a 'great gold crown on his head.' 'We've got the whole country as far as it's worth having' Daniel says to Peachey, and 'I am the son of Alexander by Queen Semiramis, and you're my younger brother and a God too!' Daniel has his Council of War and his Privy Council and Peachey is in charge of supplying and training a growing army. In due course he 'turned out five hundred men that could drill, and two hundred that knew how to hold arms pretty straight.' In the meantime 'Dravot talked big about powder-shops and factories.'¹⁴

When we turn again from Kipling to Machiavelli we learn that by this philosopher's lights Daniel and Peachey have instinctively chosen just the right means to attain their ends. In Machiavelli we learn of the case of Pelopidas and Epaminondas who, after having liberated Thebes and rescuing her from the yoke of Spartan rule, 'found themselves in a city accustomed to servitude, and in the midst of an effeminate people.'

Such was the 'wisdom and valour' of these two that they 'did not hesitate to put the Thebans under arms, and to take the field with them against the Spartans, whom they defeated.' These two 'great citizens' proved in a short time 'that it was not Lacedaemon alone that gave birth to warriors, but that they were produced in all countries where men were capable of instructing others in the art of war.' Daniel and Peachey's motto could be the same as the one taken originally from the poet Virgil which is so warmly endorsed by Machiavelli – '*And Tullus converted his indolent men into brave soldiers.*'¹⁵

The new Kings and their Kafiri subjects, as 'sons of Alexander' are, like Machiavelli before them, in effect making a return to the pagan or 'Greco-Roman' times, and these times are identified by them, as well as by Machiavelli, with 'nationalism' or 'patriotism' and civil improvements. In hearkening back to the days of Alexander, he has, paradoxically enough, brought the 'modern project' or 'Enlightened Despotism' to Kafiristan. Daniel was a 'dreamer' in that 'he was thinking plans' of what would make his new country a better and more 'progressive' place.¹⁶ Agriculture is encouraged, bridges (albeit of rope) are built across 'the ravines which cut up the country horrid,' and a militia supervises the territory on a regular basis.¹⁷ Peachey goes off to use his military skill for the purposes of rural pacification after which procedure the locals are given land to till and plant, thus turning a previously unproductive area into an agricultural region.

So we have learnt that Daniel and Peachey, our would-be Romulus and Remus, in seeking to found their own "private" Rome beyond the Hindu Kush, have been taking page after page out of the book of Machiavelli. But we also know that at the end of the day Daniel and Peachey's project is a failure. They meet with astounding success but then lose it all – their kingdom, its riches and ultimately their lives. But then where did Daniel and Peachey go wrong? Where did they depart from Machiavelli's "playbook" in such a way as to ensure their failure and the loss of their new possessions? What was their fatal mistake? The short answer for both Machiavelli and Kipling is "*Cherchez la femme!*"

Women and the Ruin of the State

At the end of the day Daniel failed to follow one key Machiavellian precept – leave the local women alone. Machiavelli says that a survey of history will show 'that women have been the cause of great dissensions and much ruin to states, and have caused great damage to those who govern them.' This was the case with Rome where 'the outrage committed upon Lucretia deprived the Tarquins of their throne, and the attempt upon Virginia caused the Decemvirs the loss of authority.' It is

for this reason, Machiavelli says, that 'Aristotle mentions as one of the first causes of the ruin of tyrants the outrages committed by them upon the wives and daughters of others, either by violence or seduction.'¹⁸

Thus Machiavelli sets the stage for the fatal turn in Daniel and Peachey's story. This comes when Daniel confesses to Peachey that he thinks the 'Contract' they had signed back before the adventure began, and which stipulated that they both abstain 'from the two things that make life worth living', i.e. 'any Woman black, white or brown' (and liquor) now allows him to take a woman. Peachey allows that it might be okay to go for some better tobacco and perhaps some liquor but women should be off limits 'till we are a dam' sight more settled than we are now.' But as a new Emperor Daniel thinks he needs a son and heir to cement the dynasty. He wants 'a Queen to breed a King's son for the King.' Peachey senses this is a very unwise move. Peachey knows that marrying a local is the ultimate risk: 'I wasn't any means comfortable, for I knew that dealings with a woman in foreign parts, though you was crowned twenty times over, could not but be risky.'¹⁹ 'For the last time o' asking, Dan,' he says, 'do *not*. It'll only bring us harm. The Bible says that Kings ain't to waste their strength on women, 'specially when they've got a new raw Kingdom to work over.'²⁰

Peachey refers to Scripture here but it might just as well have been to Machiavelli's *Prince*. In this famous little treatise Machiavelli explains that above all, the Prince must avoid being hated and despised by his subjects and 'He will chiefly become hated by being rapacious and usurping the property and women of his subjects, which he must abstain from doing.'²¹ It is as a result of Daniel's failure to follow this advice that the Englishmen come to ruin.

But Daniel will not be deterred even though there is the very great problem that the locals could never understand the idea of divine-human matrimony or why a god would bother to marry a mortal. Unlike the two kings themselves, the Kafiris actually do believe that Daniel and Peachey are divine and therefore could not possibly seek commerce with human females. Daniel and Peachey's aide 'Billy Fish' asks 'How can daughters of men marry Gods or Devils? It's not proper.' Billy explains that 'There are all sorts of Gods and Devils in these mountains, and now and again a girl marries one of them and isn't seen any more.' Peachey's reaction here is telling: 'I wished then that we had explained about the loss of the genuine secrets of a Master-Mason at the first go-off; but I said nothing.'²² Peachey sees that the problem with pious frauds is that once perpetrated there is no going back. One has made a life and death choice in assuming power through the mysteries of priest-craft.

The pious fraud upon which Daniel and Peachey's power rests is a

precarious arrangement to say the least. And surely enough it comes undone when Daniel's bride-to-be, on being presented to the King, bites him on the neck drawing blood. This causes the priests to howl 'in their lingo: "Neither God nor Devil but a man!"'²³ At this point all hell breaks loose and the adventurers' fate is sealed. While on the run Billy asks plaintively 'Why didn't you stick on as Gods till things was more settled? I'm a dead man.' In other words, Daniel's foolish marriage plans exposed the "Divine Right of Kings" as just the selfish rule of couple of "loafers." Revolution broke out accordingly.

Daniel is marched to a rope bridge and is sent hurtling to the bottom of the ravine after the tribesmen cut the supporting chords. For his part Peachey is crucified 'between two pine trees.' But against all odds he makes his way back to civilization carrying Daniel's head in 'a black horse-hair bag embroidered with silver thread' with its golden crown still in place. After telling his tale to the "Kipling" character he is transferred to the asylum where he dies a day later.

If we turn again to Machiavelli we find him explaining exactly what happened. 'The religion of the Gentiles,' he says, 'had for its foundation the responses of the oracles, and the tenets of the augurs and auspices (which) kept the world in admiration and devoutness. But when these afterwards began to speak only in accordance with the wishes of princes, and their falsity was discovered by the people, then men became incredulous, and disposed to disturb all good institutions.' In other words, when Daniel revealed he had the very human intention of taking a wife he behaved in such a way as to undermine the divine authority of his rulership. For Machiavelli it is a duty for rulers 'to keep their people religious' because it is as a consequence of the people's piety that they will be 'well-conducted and united.' The 'wiser the rulers are, and the better they understand the natural course of things,'²⁴ the more they will be scrupulous on this point. Machiavelli would have no choice but to fault Daniel and Peachey for failing 'to uphold the foundations of the religion of their countr(y).' Machiavelli most likely would say that the failure of Daniel and Peachey's project was not because their goal of acquiring a kingdom for themselves was impossible, but because of their own deficiencies as rulers. They suffered from a failure to understand the natural or necessary connection between of their sworn celibacy and the political effectiveness of their religious leadership.

The Limits of Ambition

Kipling makes Daniel Dravot into a figure of limitless political ambition. He has hopes of playing a role in world affairs and of treating 'with the Viceroy on equal terms.' He envisions a pyramidal structure

of Imperial rule in Kafiristan. He will be the *primus inter pares* of the two kings, who will in turn command twelve 'picked Englishmen,' who in turn command 100,000 'Sniders' who in turn will command the 2,000,000 residents of Kafiristan. Such a population can provide him with a quarter of a million fighting men 'ready to cut in on Russia's right flank when she tries for India!' ' "Peachey man," he says, "we shall be Emperors—Emperors of the Earth!" '25

From Machiavelli's standpoint Daniel's "vaulting" ambition is nothing of which he should be ashamed. His deficiency lies not in his being insufficiently humble but in his being insufficiently self-disciplined. For Machiavelli the problem of ruler pride is in principle soluble. Daniel needs to be less impulsive and more calculating in his desire to be 'an Emperor of the Earth.' There is no reason "in principle" why Danny and Peachey could not have succeeded. Lord Acton was indeed right to say that 'power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely,' but the trick is for the corruptive process to be gradual, controlled, self-aware and self-directed. The ruler must be master of his own decline from the virtue of humility into the practice of pure "egoism" (so to speak).

Speaking of the demeanour of rulers Machiavelli says that it was very ill judged in Appius 'suddenly to change his character.' This ruler went 'from being humble to becoming haughty, and from being easy of access to becoming difficult.' But this in itself was no fault according to Machiavelli. Rather his fault was 'to do this so suddenly and without excuse that everybody could see the falseness of his soul.'

For he who for a time has seemed good, and for purposes of his own wants to become bad, should do it gradually, and should seem to be brought to it by the force of circumstances; so that, before his changed nature deprives him of his former friends, he may have gained new ones, and that his authority may not be diminished by the change. Otherwise his deception will be discovered, and he will lose his friends and be ruined.²⁶

The Machiavellian twist on Acton's dictum about power corrupting, and absolute power corrupting absolutely is that the prince should know ahead of time that he will be corrupted. He could try indeed to resist this corruption but then he would sooner or later give way to it all of a sudden and thus lose everything anyway. Alternatively he could give up all thought of rule for the sake of maintaining his virtue; but such a step would beg the very question of the nature of the demands placed on those would seek to successfully fulfil their ambition to rule. If one has no intention of seeking power of any kind, then the issue of

"fast," "slow" or "no" corruption is of no consequence. The real option for Machiavelli then is a "controlled descent" which will ultimately bring the would-be ruler what he desires. But such is not the perspective of Kipling. His story tells a tale not of "controlled descent" but of ultimate disaster and annihilation. Obviously from Kipling's point of view a "controlled descent" is impossible given the conditions involved in acquiring a new kingdom, and the kind of human beings that are most likely to attempt such an experiment.

Conclusion

So what is it that Kipling is trying to say through the outcome of his story about the "Machiavellian" project of "stealing" a kingdom? Two things come to mind. Machiavelli's plan assumes that the ruler will be able to control himself with respect to women. This makes its success very unlikely in Kipling's view. If Daniel had only stuck to his and Peachey's 'Contract' which stipulated that they both abstain 'from the two things that make life worth living' the religious imposture upon which their rule depended would not have been uncovered, and their governance of Kafirstan might have continued. Daniel and Peachey had done so well in advancing their plans, but when they started to realize their dream, Daniel lost the self-discipline which Machiavelli says is essential. Kipling's point is that one may indeed acquire a kingdom by Machiavellian means if there is enough daring and cooperation of fortune; but if the continuance of rule over a newly acquired principality is dependent on the renunciation of the companionship of the fairer sex by a fellow such as Daniel, who is after all the true engine behind the whole venture, then the thing is impossible. Daniel's "eros" inevitably triumphed over his earlier cool-headed strategy to attain and maintain power. His longing for immortality through the begetting of an heir on a local maiden gets the better of his Machiavellian judgment, and the grand scheme comes undone.

Daniel and Peachey, because of their military training and natural daring may have been the right two characters to *acquire* a new principality, but they were the wrong two fellows to *maintain* it. Their simply human appetites for the basic pleasures were too much. At the end of the day Daniel and Peachey were not Machiavelli's Romulus and Remus or Pelopidas and Epaminondas who could bring off the successful continuance of the new and "enlightened" regime in Kafirstan. The asceticism required for the success of nation-building could not be maintained by "The Man who would be King" much beyond the time of his assuming authority over his new subjects. But in fairness to Daniel and Peachey it should be recalled here that two better educated, more "gentlemanly" types than they would most likely never have conceived of such a wild

adventure in the first place, and even having done so would most likely have lacked the basic "enlisted man's" experience which made it possible for Daniel and Peachey to make it as far as they did.²⁷

Given how closely Daniel and Peachey's policies follow those recommended by Machiavelli it would appear to be Kipling's view that "Machiavellianism" must form part of one's political thinking if one is to meet with political success. On the other hand the fate of his two characters in this tale suggests Kipling's simultaneous view that there are very close limits to politics, limits constituted by the deepest drives of human nature. This is something which Machiavelli appears to deny. Obviously Kipling agrees with Machiavelli's "political science" in some profound way and yet he tells a story of the failure of a Machiavellian "grand strategy" to exercise rule over a new principality. This strikes us an expression of Kipling's forceful dissent from Machiavellian "optimism," given that the whole point of the Florentine's careful and considered counsel to 'would-be' princes, a counsel which Daniel and Peachey have in large measure followed, is to guarantee success. The mirage of the successful completion of the Machiavellian project will forever retreat as one approaches it, Kipling seems to say.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. I am using the text of the story to be found in *The Man who would be King and Other Stories* (Oxford University Press,] 999). The classic movie of the story was made by John Huston in 1975 starring Sean Connery as Daniel Dravot, Michael Caine as Peachey Carnehan and Christopher Plummer as "Kipling."
2. Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince and the Discourses*, New York, Modern Library, 1950, p.30.
3. *The Man who would be King*, p.261.
4. *Ibid.*, p.262.
5. *Ibid.*, p.262.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.262-263.
7. *Ibid.*, p.265.
8. *Ibid.*, p.265.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.265-266.
10. *Ibid.*, p.266.
11. "Whoever Wishes to Reform an Existing Government in a Free State Should at Least Preserve the Semblance of Old Forms." *Discourses* I, xxxv, pp. 182-183.
12. "Of the Religion of the Romans," *Discourses* I, xi, pp. 146-47.
13. *The Man who would be King*, p.267.
14. *Ibid.*, p.264.
15. 'Princes and Republics Who Fail to Have National Annies Are Much to Be Blamed,' *Discourses* I, xxi, p. 176.
16. Daniel's rule is akin to that of Bolingbroke's theory of progressive monarchy in which a "Patriot King" brings the best talent from across the land into his government and proceeds to implement a twenty point programme of civil improvements. Needless to say Bolingbroke was a student of Machiavelli. See Henry St. John,

Viscount Bolingbroke, *The Idea of a Patriot King*. New York. J. J. Harp, 1965.
See also Colin D. Pearce, "Beyond Political Parties," *Journal of Indo-Canadian Studies* 1, 2001, pp.141-155.

17. *Ibid.*, p.268.
18. "How States Are Ruined On Account of Women.", *Discourses* III, xxvi, p. 489
19. *The Man who would be King*, pp.272-273.
20. *Ibid.*, p.m.
21. "Of Avoiding Contempt and Hatred." Chapter XIX, *The Prince* in Lerner, p.66.
22. *Ibid.*, p.272.
23. *Ibid.*, y.21A. '(T)he man who has made himself king is destroyed by the natives that have adored him the instant they come to realize that he is not a god, as they had supposed, but a man.' Edmund Wilson, "The Kipling That Nobody Read" in *The Wound and the Bow: Seven Studies in Literature*, New York, Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1978, p.130.
24. "The Importance of Giving Religion a Prominent Influence in a State," *Discourses* I, xii, p.150.
25. *Ibid.*, p.269.
26. 'It is Imprudent and Unprofitable Suddenly to Change from Humility to Pride, and From Gentleness to Cruelty.' *Discourses* I, xli, p.225.
27. Edmund Wilson summarizes the story as one of 'Two low class English adventurers (who) put themselves over the natives of a remote region of Afghanistan (and) organize under a single ruler a whole set of mountain tribes.', "The Kipling Nobody Read", p. 130.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 2003

The Kipling Society whose postal address is 6 Clifton Road, London W9 1SS, was founded in 1927. The Society is registered with the Charity Commissioners (No 278885) and is constituted under rules approved in July 1999.

As stated in the Rules, the object of the Society is the advancement of public education by the promotion of the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling.

The Society is administered by a Council comprising 11 Honorary Executive Officers and elected ordinary members. Those serving during the year under review are listed below:

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Chairman	Mr. P.G.S. Hall (to July 2003) Lt-Colonel R.C. Ayers, O.B.E. (from July 2003)
Deputy Chairman	Lt-Colonel R.C. Ayers, O.B.E. (to July 2003) Mr J. Radcliffe (from July 2003)
Secretary	Mrs J. Keskar
Treasurer	Mr R.A. Bissolotti
Journal Editor	Mr D. Page
Membership Secretary	Lt-Colonel R.C. Ayers, O.B.E.
Meetings Secretary	Dr J.D. Lewins
Librarian	Mr J.F. Slater
On Line Editor	Mr J. Radcliffe
Publicity Officer	Mr D. Fellows

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Mrs Elizabeth Inglis	(2000-2003)
Cmdr Alastair Wilson	(2000-2003)
Mrs Anne Harcombe	(2001-2004)
Mr John Walker	(2001-2004)

The activities of the Society in furtherance of its **Object remain unchanged.** (See Report of the Trustees for 2002 in *Kipling Journal*, No.306, June 2003, p.59 and the web-site www.kipling.org.uk)

State of the Society and Specific activities in 2003

Four issues of the *Kipling Journal* were issued during the year.

The web-site continues to attract considerable interest from both members and the general public.

During the year there were five meetings, inclusive of the Annual General Meeting, at each of which there was a lecture given by a guest speaker. There was also a Society visit to Rottingdean with a tour of the village, church and museum, with appropriate readings from Kipling's prose and verse. The Annual Luncheon was held on 7 May when the Guest of Honour and Speaker was Sir Nicholas Barrington, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.

At the end of 2003 the Society had 507 individual members and 102 "Journal-only" subscribing universities and libraries in 22 countries. In addition, 8 Journals were provided free of charge to educational institutions at home and abroad.

The revision and updating of the massive *Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Works* is well under way incorporating much new work. The responsible sub-committee have made good progress in the first year and are on target to complete it within the five years anticipated. When completed, the revised sections are added to the body of work displayed on the Society's web site.

Financially the results of the year 2003 show a surplus of income over expenditure of £4,794, compared with a surplus of £2,601 for the previous year. This is very **largely** due to the savings made by the reduction in *Journal* production costs consequent on the decision taken to change printers. This will allow the trustees to continue to expand the activities of the Society while assisting them in their efforts to maintain subscription rates at the present level.

[Signed] R.C. Ayers (Chairman)

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2003

1. Chairman's Opening Remarks

Mr Patrick Hall welcomed Members to the 76th Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on 9 July 2003, Royal Over-Seas League, London, and promised to be brief. He knew that Members would be sorry to hear that the Government of Maharashtra's Educational Institution Regulatory Authority was planning to convert the Dean's bungalow at the Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Mumbai into the office of the Directorate of Technical Education. The site, a Grade 1 heritage building, is the site of Kipling's birth. Our President, Sir George Engle, has written to the Indian High Commissioner to express our concern but has not yet received a reply.

The sub-committee under the guidance of George Webb which is revising the *Readers' Guide*, was making good progress and much of its work may be seen on our web site. The annual Luncheon was very well attended and enjoyed by all present. Jane's arrangements were excellent and she is due our thanks for the high standard achieved.

Finally, Patrick paid tribute to the contribution of all the Council Members towards the smooth running of the Society.

2. Apologies for Absence

Dr Michael Brock, David Fellows, David Vermont and Alastair Wilson

3. Minutes of the 75th A.G.M. and 4. Matters Arising.

The minutes (summarised in the *Kipling Journal* No. 306, June 2003) were taken as read, approved and signed. There were no matters arising.

5. Election of Council Members

The following nominations were made for the election of Council Members at the September meeting: Geoffrey Siphthorpe, Dorothy Sheridan and Judith Flanders.

6. Election of Officers (who serve as ex-officio Members of the Council)

Honorary Membership Secretary	Lt-Col R.C. Ayers
Honorary Treasurer	Mr Rudolph Bissolotti
Honorary Secretary	Mrs Jane Keskar
Honorary Editor	Mr David Page
Honorary Meetings Secretary	Dr Jeffery Lewins
Honorary On Line Editor	Mr John Radcliffe
Honorary Librarian	Mr John Slater

7. Approval of Independent Financial Examiner and Legal Advisor

The A.G.M. approved the re-appointment of Professor G.M. Selim and Sir Derek Oulton respectively.

8. Honorary Officer's Reports

a) Secretary

Jane Keskar reported on the many events for members to attend during the last year, including a production of "The Jungle Book" at Sussex University at Christmas; and two performances of Colin Pinney's one man show entitled "I've taken my Fun where I've found it". Jane had attended an exhibition of paintings "Writers Rooms" which exhibited 2 paintings, one of Kipling's Study, one of the entrance hall at Bateman's, both sold to private collections. Among the many requests for information about Kipling and his works during the year; Jane had advised on a short biography of Kipling for Brighton's Guide Book to their "Walk of Fame", where Kipling is commemorated by a plaque. House of Stratus, which is reprinting at least 20 of his works, had included an acknowledgement to the Society for help given in the preparation of its introduction to Kipling.

Jane said that we were fortunate to have David Gilmour as our speaker after the A.G.M. His biography of Kipling had won the first Elizabeth Longford Prize earlier in the year. This had put Kipling centre stage, in the *Daily Telegraph* in particular.

Jane drew attention to the Society's main event, the Annual Luncheon, in which Kipling was promoted to the wider public and which had been a success. We had been fortunate to have Sir Nicholas Barrington, formerly High Commissioner of Pakistan, as our speaker. He had not only attracted 104 guests but also a few new members. Next year, through the kind offices of a new member, John Crookshank, Sir Christopher Bland, Chairman of BT, would be our Guest Speaker. Jane drew attention to her policy of widening the Society's influence by drawing in prominent figures to the Luncheon, in keeping with the aim of the Society as "the promotion of the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling".

Jane then thanked all fellow Council members for their invaluable help and support.

b) Treasurer

Rudolph Bissolotti reported that the accounts were published in the June *Journal*. There had been savings in 2002, with a discount from our previous printer. He anticipated greater savings, around £2,000, during the following year. The net assets of the Society had increased by £9,000 mainly because of the £2,600 surplus for the year and a further payment from the Stammers-Smith bequest of £6,000. Rudi also noted that only 25% of members paid by Gift Aid or Covenant. U.K. taxpayers who paid in this way meant that the Inland Revenue returned 28p in each pound to the Society.

c) Meetings Secretary

Jeffery Lewins was pleased to announce that a full programme of meetings had taken place at the Royal Over-Seas League. He expressed his gratitude to all the RO-SL staff and even more to the distinguished speakers who had attracted such good audiences. He observed that we had 'bought' on a rising market since David Gilmour, who was speaking after the A.G.M. had attracted the Elizabeth Longford prize! Later in the month Roger Ayers would be shepherding a visit to Rottingdean, where Michael Smith would generously act as guide. In September we would have Boyd Tonkin talking on Kipling and Afghanistan – another very topical subject. In November our previous President, Dr Michael Brock, has been persuaded to share his distillation of Kipling studies.

Jeffery promised equal riches for 2004. A musical evening had been arranged which would explore Kipling set to music with live performances by Brian Martinson, his son David accompanied by David's wife Clare Toomer.

There would be a major event on 7 April, with a public presentation of the newly transcribed "Stalky" story, "Scylla and Charybdis". An afternoon symposium from 2-6 pm was expected to attract a wide audience of members and enthusiasts and specialists from around the world. The story itself- which features golf prominently – would be published free to all Society members in a special issue of the *Journal*.

The Society's A.G.M. on 14 July would be followed by Max Rives' talk on "Kipling and France", and for the next Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture in September 2004, the Society had invited Professor Tom Pinney to launch his completed masterpiece, his edition of Kipling's letters.

d) Membership Secretary

Roger Ayers reported that with 540 members and 105 universities and libraries, membership was down by about 40 individuals over the year. While the large majority of members renewed promptly, for which he was very grateful, there were some annual payers who paid late or not at all. This was partly due to a change in the make-up of part of our membership, where we have problems in maintaining, rather than recruiting, members. The web-site brought in many new members, 18 in the last three months, but a proportion of these were transients, whose interests have changed by the end of a year. Despite the renewal reminders on the address labels of the *Kipling Journal*, additional reminders were often necessary. E-mail, which should have made this quicker and easier, was not all it might be, since people changed e-mail addresses with some frequency. Roger hoped to get our printers to put a more obvious reminder on the cover sheet in the *Journal* packet. He asked all members, who paid annually, to respond to *Journal* renewal notices and those who have UK banks and to take advantage of payment by Standing Order. Subscriptions remained unchanged and were shown in the Membership News in the *Kipling Journal*, except Joint Membership, which was £30 for two members at the same address, receiving one copy of the *Journal*.

d) Librarian

John Slater reported that last year he had announced that the room where the Library was housed would no longer be used for exams. In the event this had not proved the case. We

had experienced two periods of exams totalling some 9 weeks and an additional week when the room had been occupied by an outside function due to the Great Hall being double booked. He was relieved, however, that exam occupancy was never total and he had been able to 'box and cox'. He continued with the good news that both last year and in the coming year the room was not and would not be used for exams during August and September. This was the time when major work could take place as students were denied access in those months. Last year, therefore, with the help of Frank Noah and John Walker, books had been completely rearranged and book supports installed.

John reported on this year's new acquisitions. This year had been a quiet one but the two most important had been Durand's *Handbook of Kipling's Poetry* published in 1914 and the third edition of Carnngton's *Biography*, published in 1978, and containing substantial extra material not included in the original nor in the Penguin paperback. John hoped that in the coming year the Society would be able to continue the policy of acquiring items that the library lacked.

e) Editor

David Page reported on his year as Editor. He first thanked Sharad Keskar for his help and guidance, which had made the transfer of editorship as smooth as possible. He also wished to put on record his thanks to John Radcliffe, John Slater and Rudolph Bissolotti for all their work in selecting our new printer, J.W. Arrowsmith. He was finding them most helpful and their charges had so far been as quoted.

He made the following points about the Journal:

1. The minimum size of the Journal was now 64 pages and Arrowsmith would simply leave blank pages if there was less material, as their process required this.
2. He was accepting articles that were rather longer than any published by previous Editors, and hoped that members found them acceptable.
3. The supply of articles continued and he was already planning the September 2004 issue. His main area of concern was the lack of "Letters to the Editor" and suspected that the Kipling mailbase was picking up much of what historically appeared in the *Journal*, although he had occasionally persuaded letter-writers to expand their letters into short articles.

Mr Bryan Diamond suggested that an annual summary of the mailbase correspondence would be useful. Judith Flanders felt that this would encourage those who wrote to the mailbase, who would be aware that their letters may be published.

e) On Line Editor

New Readers' Guide: John Radcliffe told the A.G.M. that work on the New Readers' Guide continued to go well, thanks to a number of industrious contributors, and to his colleagues on the Project Group, George Webb, John Walker, John Slater, and Alastair Wilson. They were now meeting every couple of months. They had also had a good deal of useful help from the forty or so members of the Editorial Board for the project.

So far they had completed and published notes on thirteen of the fourteen tales in *The Complete Stalky & Co.*, twelve of them edited by Isabel Quigly. Lisa Lewis was already half-way through the notes on *Debts and Credits*, and when this work was complete, she would be looking at *Just So Stories*. Meanwhile John McGivering had so far covered twenty-five of *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Leonee Ormond had nearly completed a re-edit of her notes on *Captains Courageous*, Sharad Keskar was working on *Kim*, Peter Havholm was planning to annotate *Life's Handicap*, and Alastair Wilson was working on the notes for *A Fleet in Being*. John also reported that they had recently secured permission to use Tom Pinney's authoritative notes on *Something of Myself*, which had been written for the Cambridge University Press edition published in 1990.

John said that John Walker was taking responsibility for the verse within the Project group, and that they currently had notes on twenty-two poems, including the first two

from Roger Ayers on *Barrack-Room Ballads*, and the first two from Roberta Baldi on *Departmental Ditties*. Meanwhile work was proceeding on a longish list of general articles, including "Kipling's Sussex" by Michael Smith, "Kipling and Medicine" by Gillian Sheehan, and "Kipling in America" by David Stewart.

John reminded members with access to the Internet that they could find news of the latest developments in the NRG via the "Readers' Guide" button on the front page of the Society's web-site. The notes on particular works could also be found via the lists of stories and collections available on the site, with links to the NRG entries shown in red. The main entries were laid out with generous use of space, and large-sized fonts for ease of reading on the screen, but there were also versions for printing which were more economical in their demands on paper and printing cartridges. For members who did not have access to the Internet and were interested in seeing the notes on a particular subject, these could be printed off on request, subject to a modest charge of around 5p per page, for printing and postage.

The NRG group were particularly keen to have comments and suggestions from members, since they could take advantage of the flexibility of the Internet to update the entries as new ideas or material emerge. The New Reader's Guide was not so much a fixed and final publication, as a continuing dialogue between Kipling scholars and enthusiasts around the world. And John was delighted to report that it had got off to a flying start.

The Society's web-site: John continued, saying that use of the web-site had continued to grow at a lively rate. There had been just over 100,000 visits to the site, of which some 40,000 had made use of the Readers' Guide pages. In the peak months of May and June the site had been getting some 350 visitors a day. There had been rather over 600 visits to the *Kipling Journal* Index, with 107 people requesting membership forms through the site. Use of the site overall was growing at the rate of about 35% a year.

John explained that the site continued to offer the features which members, who use the site, would be familiar with, news of meetings and other events, such as new publications; the quotations and poems of the week, specialist articles for collectors, and regular updates to the *Journal* Index and, for example, Brian Mattinson's summary of his research on the musical settings of Kipling's verse. There was an opportunity to join the mailbase discussion group through the site; this now had some 110 members and there continued to be lively discussion on points large and small. The site itself continued to generate a good deal of correspondence. The main development over the past year, John said, had been the creation of the New Reader's Guide as part of the site.

f) Publicity Officer's Report

There was no report from David Fellows, who was absent.

9. Any other business.

a) Patrick Hall, the Chairman drew attention to the two job vacancies of Membership Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. He asked anyone who was interested to contact the Chairman or the Secretary.

b). The Council discussed writing to the High Commissioner of India and the Chief Minister of Bombay to express their concern about the conversion of Kipling's birthplace into offices. John Radcliffe would publish Sir George Engle's letter on the web-site together with addresses so that concerned members could write individually.

KIPLING SOCIETY YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2003

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

	2003		2002	
	£	£	£	£
INCOME				
Subscriptions	14,054		15,048	
Bank Interest	2,128		1,905	
Other Income (2)	272		482	
	————	16,454	————	17,435
EXPENDITURE				
Print and despatch of <i>Journal</i>	7,244		10,128	
Lectures and meetings	1,084		915	
Library/Publicity	104		98	
Administration (3)	1,318		2,396	
Website / On-line	959		850	
Readers' Guide	500		24	
Bank Charges	95		69	
Depreciation (4)	356		354	
	————	11,660	————	14,834
Surplus for year		£4,794		£2,601

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

1. These accounts are prepared on an accruals basis.
2. Includes miscellaneous sums from advertising, sale of journals, and copying, etc.
3. The Society employs no paid staff and has no permanent office. All overheads, professional fees and running expenses are allocated to the heading 'Administration'.
4. Fixed assets are depreciated over 5 years at 20% per annum pro rata, except the library bookcases which are depreciated at 10% pro rata.
5. Payments including reimbursement of expenses were made during the year to Trustees: R. Bissolotti £ 61; D. Fellows £104; Mrs J.M. Keskar £ 884; D. Page £ 94.

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2003

BALANCE SHEET

	2003		2002	
	£	£	£	£
FIXED ASSETS				
Library, including additions		14,562		14,562
Office Equipment – cost (including additions)	9,361		9,361	
Depreciation	(8,119)	1,242	(7,763)	1,598
		15,804		16,160
CURRENT ASSETS				
Cash at Bank	69,132		60,166	
Debtors	500		1,798	
	69,632		61,964	
CURRENT LIABILITIES				
Creditors	(3,675)		(1,157)	
NET CURRENT ASSETS				
		65,957		60,807
Net Assets		£81,761		£76,967
RESERVES				
Balance at 1 January		48,579		67,978
Legacy at 1 January		28,388		6,388
Surplus for year		4,794		2,601
Balance at 31 December		£81,761		£76,967

SIGNATORIES

Note: The signatories were *R.A. Bissolotti* (Honorary Treasurer) and *Mrs J.M. Keskar* (Honorary Secretary).

INDEPENDENT FINANCIAL EXAMINATION

These accounts have not yet been scrutinised by the Society's Independent Financial Examiner.

IF— (YOU WANT TO BE A G.P.)

By ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR MITKO GORANOV

(After Rudyard Kipling)

[Dr Goranov works at the Higher Medical Institute of Pleven in Bulgaria. He was trained as an obstetrician (in Bucharest), and has actually taught himself English over the past eight years because he wanted to be involved in the Health Care reforms in Bulgaria, and particularly, in the introduction of general practice-based primary care. He was appointed to lead the development of an academic department in "general medicine" (what we would call a general practice department), and since then has put together the first Bulgarian textbook of General Medicine which the British Council helped to publish.

His pastiche on "If—" demonstrates that Kipling is still a source of inspiration around the world, and I am very grateful to Dr Richard Haythornthwaite in New Zealand for bringing it to my attention. – *Ed.*]

If a fellow-countryman would cure and care for Men,
 yet never forget: "The Sick One is a Personality";
If the first appeal for help, scattered like a puzzle –
 in Confidence, Trust and Hope –
 is addressed with Devotion to One's Own Doctor;
If this Doctor is able to understand the Pain of Body and Soul –
 and first will grasp the Problem, here and now;
If he should decide Why and How, sometimes,
 the Sufferer with another Kin-Soul to shelter –
 yet never leaving him while he is alive . . .
If with the same zeal, with the same skills,
 and in the same warm breath –
 mother, father and the whole tribe will comfort;
If by changing their Tiny World –
 gently will put Guilt and Fear aside;
If he always keeps calm and concerned,
 and turns up – through storm or in the heat;
 awake or asleep – at home . . . in the office . . .
If this Doctor can appear to be not only almighty,
 but also a Bosom Friend today, a Prophet tomorrow;
If he should spare your woe; and save your country's riches –
 without neglecting his matrix, his own Spiritual essence;
Then this Doctor, my son, is my cherished, my Bulgarian GP.

A KIPLING CONCERT

Performed by

David Mattinson	Bass
Clare Toomer	Piano
Brian Mattinson	Narrator

[Brian Mattinson has provided us with expert discussions on "Kipling, Music and Musicians" in the *Journals* of Sept and Dec 2003 (No.307, pp.49-54, No.308, p.33). The occasion of this Concert, on 18 Feb 2004, gave those of us who were able to attend, a set of perfectly chosen and executed examples, linked by Brian's impeccable narrative. We are deeply grateful to all the Mattinson family for providing us with such a delightful evening. – Ed.]

Gethsemane / If— excerpts sung to popular old tunes

I expect you recognised the hymn tune "There is a green hill far away," and the traditional Irish melody "Londonderry Air", later "Danny Boy", both well-known in Kipling's time. Whether or not he was humming these particular tunes as he wrote "Gethsemane" and "If—", it is well documented that he conceived verses in this way and thought of many of them as songs. Carrie Kipling recorded in her diary 'Ruddy was singing a new poem today' and he perhaps acknowledges his Daemon's debt to song with 'Omer, who 'went an' took—the same as me!' Writers in the *Kipling Journal* have been both "surprised", and "not surprised", that so much of his verse has been set to music. The facts are that some 300 composers are linked with a similar number of Kipling song titles, in addition to instrumental items and theatre and film music; I have so far catalogued over 700 songs of which I have heard over 250, roughly the same figure as the total in Stewart's 1959 bibliographical catalogue.

We begin in 1890 with the *Barrack-Room Ballads*. The verse soon attracted composers on both sides of the Atlantic, notably the English musician Gerard Francis Cobb who published three series of the ballads. Many composers set the same poem 'because it jumps out of the page'. "Danny Deever", featured by Geoffrey Annis in the September 2003 *Journal*, has attracted nine composers since Cobb, whose setting we hear now, followed by – but which of my twenty-one listed settings of "Mandalay", whose wording incidentally was slightly altered by Kipling to make it 'more singable', if somewhat confusing geographically?

Danny Deever

Gerard Francis Cobb

We could not decide which of the twenty-one settings of "Mandalay" to choose and are not aware of any setting of the complete poem. We have therefore arranged a medley of four verses, each set by a different composer and joined seamlessly together so that you may

think it is one song.

Mandalay

Charles Willeby (verse 1)

Walter W Hedgcock (verse 2)

Gerard Francis Cobb (verse 3)

Oley Speaks (verse 6)

The Australian Percy Grainger was influenced by Kipling books given to him by his father at the age of thirteen. His intended group of *Barrack-Room Ballads* never materialised, but he planned a lifetime series of 22 Kipling settings which he dedicated, through "Mother o' Mine" (No.1), to his mother. Half of them formed his song cycle *The Jungle Book*, which he considered 'one of my very best works – my Kipling "Jungle Book" Cycle, begun in 1898 and finished in 1947, was composed as a protest against civilisation.' Here are two contrasting settings by Grainger, "Men of the Sea" (No. 10) and the tempestuous "Ride with an Idle Whip" from his equally large unnumbered output.

The Men of the Sea

Percy A Grainger

Ride with an Idle Whip

Percy A Grainger

Just as poor eyesight saved Kipling from time-consuming games at boarding school, and later perhaps from public service in India, so tuberculosis made the French composer, Charles Koechlin, unfit for the military career intended for him by his father. Composition, revision and lavish orchestration of his highly atmospheric *Jungle Book*, four symphonic poems and three contrasting songs, occupied him on and off from 1899 to 1940, another lifetime commitment. The eclectic English composer Dora Bright published her own "Six Songs from the Jungle Book" in 1903; this was also the year of Sir Edward German's popular *The Just So Song Book*, twelve songs excellently recorded in 1999 under the auspices of Jeffery Lewins, our Meetings Secretary. Here is the tiger from the Bright jungle and a German animal nearer home, one of Kipling's favourites.

Tiger! Tiger!

Dora Bright

The Camel's Hump

Sir Edward German

German went on to set "Big Steamers", "Dane-geld" and "A Song in Storm" before, possibly at Kipling's request, matching musically the grief and elation in the harrowing poem "My Boy Jack". He set no more of the verses from *The Fringes of the Fleet*, but Sir Edward Elgar responded to a request from Admiral Lord Charles Beresford with four songs including "Submarines", or "Tin Fish". Kipling's later objection to these verses being turned to musical entertainment may have been influenced by the growing conviction that his son John was dead in France. Here is how German and Elgar paint the threat to the merchant navy of gathering war-clouds, the sinister wartime menace of the submarine and the anguish of personal loss.

Big Steamers

Sir Edward German

**Submarines
My Boy Jack**Sir Edward Elgar
Sir Edward German

There is much anecdotal, at times controversial and apparently contradictory, evidence of Kipling's attitude to music and his response to those who set his verse. David Peters concluded his article "Kipling and Elgar" in the June 1990 issue of the *Journal* with the question 'Why, then, was Kipling so uncooperative when Elgar set his wartime verses to music?' Why do we find similar conflict, for example, between Gilbert and Sullivan, between Puccini and his librettists and, painfully in my personal experience, between clergy and their church musicians? We regularly visit the parish church of St Peter in Oundle, built possibly on the site of the monastery founded by St Wilfrid about 700 A.D. "Eddi's Service" was for me the highlight of our Society's recital at Brown's Hotel in February 1995. I succumbed to its imagery and for the following Christmas wrote the next song; any credit is Kipling's, for I have never been able to compose anything else of substance. Clare is a woodwind quartet.

Eddi's Service

Brian J. H. Martinson

To return to David Peters' question about Kipling and Elgar. Kipling surely appreciated music and welcomed its impact on his work but, at the same time, he fiercely defended his ownership of it. He wrote congratulatory letters to German, but was meticulous in correcting errors in his copy and German was later distressed by a copyright dispute. In his autobiography Kipling even used a revealing musical analogy to illustrate his own high standards; his sheer pleasure in writing 'made it easier to throw away anything that did not turn out well; and to practice, as it were, scales'. Our pioneer, Cobb, included this advice with his song "Shillin' a Day" – 'a careful study of the poem itself. . . will be the singer's best guide to a correct rendering of the music'

The words are indeed the key, the music a sort of lubricant. However, the appeal of music, and its prominence in publicity (Elgar is a good example), can strain the working relationship between contemporary poet and composer. Furthermore, most of us remember tunes more readily than words, the composer of a song rather than the poet; songs are generally indexed by title, possibly first line and composer, not by poet, making my search for Kipling songs particularly difficult.

Not all composers have been as deferential as Cobb. For example, manuscripts exist of Grainger's early settings of "The Rhyme of the Three Sealers". He later retitled it "At Twilight" and, possibly after a dispute over words, 'Away by the lands of the Japanee' became 'Away by the reefs of the Chilean Coast' and the published score contains no reference to Kipling. The unorthodox American Charles Ives set the first and apparently last verse of "Tarrant Moss", but it was published

with only the first four words printed 'I closed and drew *etc. .*'. A subtle footnote explains helpfully 'Permission to use this verse had not been obtained from Mr Kipling at the time of going to press'. Later Ives used the music, Kipling inspired, for his own song "Slugging the Vampire"; 'I closed and drew for my love's sake' became 'I closed and drew, but not a gun'.

Here is his controversial "Tarrant Moss", with the missing words replaced, and then another typical Ives song, "Tolerance"; this is the verse from "The Fires" chosen by Kipling to head his autobiography's chapter about Bateman's, "The Very-Own House".

Tarrant Moss Charles Edward Ives

Tolerance (Fires) Charles Edward Ives

Peter Bellamy, Vice-President of our Society from 1981 until his untimely death ten years later, loved Kipling's poems, which he saw as 'folk songs without a tune'. Drawing extensively on traditional tunes, never apparently writing any down, he recorded all 77 of his folk titles in his mannered style and, by his own admission, 'not a pleasing voice'. His music is well known in Australia and in the American folk/filk scene.

Filk is a word I had to learn and is probably a 1950's spelling mistake that stuck; it is the folk music of the Science Fiction and Fantasy "fandom" where Kipling has been described as 'the true father of science fiction'. Prominent among contemporary American filk composers is guitarist singer Leslie Fish. She told me 'When I found Kipling's *Definitive Verse* I really took off – the Kipling tapes have some of my best tunes'. Prompted by other enthusiastic filkers, she helped me to list 115 Kipling settings by her – like Bellamy's, not written down. I've heard most of them and to share these extraordinary riches I have for sale a few copies of one of her CDs, *Our Fathers of Old*, sixteen Kipling songs including "The Disciple", which should be required listening for all clergy, and a very moving setting of "The Roman Centurion's Song".

So, here is Bellamy's "Philadelphia", paired by Kipling with "If—" and a rare expression of his knowledge of a bit of America, and our final song, Fish's "The Prodigal Son" for which Clare becomes Leslie's twelve-string guitar, "The Monster". Leslie did in fact offer to bring it herself this evening.

Philadelphia Peter F Bellamy

The Prodigal Son Leslie Fish

To conclude, some 300 composers world-wide have been touched, and at least five of them profoundly influenced, by Kipling – Cobb, Grainger, Koechlin, Bellamy, Fish and all the others continue to spread his genius to new audiences. This evening you have heard a tiny somewhat arbitrary selection from twelve. Have a glance at the rest in my current catalogue on the Society web-site – please tell me what I have missed.

BOOK REVIEWS

UN TAUREAU INTELLIGENT by Rudyard Kipling, translated from the English by Max Rives, published by Actes Sud, France, 2003 (ISBN 2-7427-4471-1, Paperback, 17 €). 215 pages.

Review by M.J. HEALY

Max Rives, who will be well known to followers of the Society's mail-base list, has translated five of Kipling's stories which span the whole of his career. As well as "The Bull that Thought" (*Debits and Credits*) these are "The Man who would be King" (*The Phantom Rickshaw*), "Mary Postgate" (*A Diversity of Creatures*), "Little Tobrah" (*Life's Handicap*) and "Dayspring Mishandled" (*Limits and Renewals*). The linkage between them is explained by the book's subtitle – they are *contes cruels*, cruel tales, more than just tales of cruelty. As the series editor explains in a brief introduction, 'Each in its own way goes to the heart of desolation, of wounding, and presents a pitiless picture of the death which is ever present'. She continues, with the faintly patronising tone which will not be unfamiliar, 'Rudyard Kipling, for all his faults, excels in the description of reality in its most perfect nakedness; all of his characters, confronted by the despair of their own making, show forth the moving sincerity which almost renders them recognisable to us'. As well as the translations, Max Rives has added several useful explanatory footnotes – there is a mild irony in the provision of explanations of Carpentier, Soult and Foch to a French readership.

It would be presumptuous of an English speaker (who was told recently by a French lady that 'he must have been quite fluent in French – once upon a time') to comment on the quality of the translation, but a few remarks may be permitted. Max Rives stays close to the original and the cruel force of the stories is strongly conveyed. Very occasionally, his own language lets him down, at least to an English ear. In "Little Tobrah", the short vowels of '*crever de faim*' do not have the long drawn agony of 'starve', and I was a little daunted when the head (*la tête*) of the dying airman in "Mary Postgate" ('it' in the original), with no neuter gender in French, takes the feminine pronoun. Perhaps the least successful is "The Man who would be King". Here, Carnehan's minutely observed accent and speech patterns go awkwardly into the other language – '*Seigneur!*' is not really equivalent to 'Gord!'. The two poems that are included, "The Beginnings" and "Gertrude's Prayer", are translated line for line, and not much of the original flavour comes through (though to be sure, a true French equivalent for 'dayspring' is hard to come by). One real complaint – surely Apis deserves to be '*Le Taureau Intelligent*'?

But these are trivial shadows on a fine achievement. Reading *Un Taureau Intelligent* alongside the original stories has brought me a

dream. One of these fine days (*un de ces beaux jours*) I shall head South in my automobile (not a Rolls, alas, and self-chauffeured), and over an outsize bottle similar to that provided by M. Voiron I shall spend a happy evening arguing bilingually with Max over the problems of translation. In the meantime, I can only add that he has done his author a true service and that a French reader, encountering these translations, will be hungry for more.

TRIX, KIPLING'S FORGOTTEN SISTER. *Previously Unpublished Writings of Trix Kipling*, with Biographical Notes by Lorna Lee, Foreword by Michael Smith, published by Forward Press Ltd (Imprint: Pond View), 2004, (ISBN: 1 871044 76 6, Paperback, £24.95). 384 pages including Index and 33 illustrations.

Review by ROGER AYERS

Anyone interested in the life of Rudyard Kipling cannot fail to be aware of the existence of his younger sister, Alice Macdonald Kipling; as little Judy to Kipling's Punch in "Baa Baa, Black Sheep"; as Trix, the clever and beautiful 'Ice Maiden' of Simla; and as the fourth side of 'The Family Square', whose marriage to John Fleming and later interest in psychic research met with Rudyard's strong disapproval.

To this extent, Trix Kipling (1868-1948) is not forgotten, but she has remained a person caught only in snapshots where the focus has been on her brother or, more recently, on her parents, as in Arthur Ankers' biography of John Lockwood Kipling¹ and Judith Flanders' study of Alice Kipling and her Macdonald sisters.²

Lorna Lee has undertaken to rectify this, not by a full-blown biography but by a presenting a collection of documents by and about Trix, to which she has added her own brief but well written biographical notes, which by themselves give a more complete review of Trix's life than has previously been available. This is an unusual approach but one that Lorna Lee has taken in order to 'enable the reader to share some of the excitement that I felt' when first handling the documents.

For the reader, this has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are that the book does make available, unedited and uncut, a large number of previously unavailable or difficult to find original pieces of prose or verse by Trix, together with recollections by younger relatives and others who knew her late in her life. The disadvantages are that, in attempting to generate in the reader her own excitement in handling the originals, her use of reduced facsimiles of pages of original typescript or, less successfully, replication of typescript or handwriting in an unfamiliar modern font makes sustained reading tiring.

After Lorna Lee's biographical notes, the book is broken into three parts; the reminiscences, Trix's verse and then her prose. As a major source for all three parts, the help is acknowledged from the Macdonald family archive maintained by Miss Helen Macdonald and by the late

Miss Betty Macdonald, both Trix's first cousins, once removed.

Both have contributed brief recollections of their cousin, known to them as Aunt Trix, but they only knew her for two years at the end of the war. The major 'recollections' are provided by a fairly long document by Mrs Gwladys Cox, who through marriage was connected closely enough to John Fleming to call Trix 'Aunt'. She, too, only knew Trix for some three years, having met through the Kipling Society, of which both were members. Mrs Cox wrote this after Trix's death, putting together pieces from previously published work but also much from the Fleming side of the family. This includes some most enlightening glimpses, such as: '(Trix) found herself... out of tune with many of her Scots in-laws, who, narrow and conventional, and in their dull dark everyday tweeds, criticised her pretty clothes and classed her as a vain Bohemian, scribbling stuff they did not understand'. With her brother and father equally hostile to her husband on the other side, Trix was truly caught between the upper and the nether millstones.

There is little information on the complex and difficult periods of Trix's life between 1898 and 1902, when she suffered some form of nervous breakdown, to be repeated more severely in 1910, and then, exacerbated by the deaths of her parents within weeks of each other, to last until the late 1920s. There is evidence, however, in reminiscence, verse and prose that her recovery was eventually amazingly complete and she is portrayed and remembered as the lively, witty and sometimes sharp-tongued woman that her girlhood had foreshadowed.

The verse comes from Trix's own notebook of verses, started in 1931 but containing dated verses from much earlier. They show some competence but have a distinct family relationship to the style and content of the earliest of Rudyard's "Early Verse"³. Three separately included later poems are deliberate parodies of her brother's work.

The bulk of the prose consists of monologues depicting aspects of Army domestic life in India, written with a fairly acid pen, either before 1898 or between 1902 and 1908. Relations between the husband and wife are not good and his golf seems to be a sore point. There are also some unexceptional stories, again set in India, together with some revealing pieces about Trix's relationship with her brother.

One is Trix's version of "Baa Baa, Black Sheep", entitled "Through Judy's Eyes", which Lorna Lee dates by external evidence to 1936, i.e., after Rudyard's death, which is purportedly fictional, and even more explicit than he was in listing the cruelty and abuse meted out to him at the hands of Aunt Rosa and Harry. How much is true and how much might just be backing up her brother is hard to say, but it never got published.

The final contribution is a letter from Trix to her cousin, Florence Macdonald, in 1939, which shows her dislike of Carrie Kipling and, of Carrie's assumption of the role of arbiter of what may or may not be written about Rudyard. The Macdonald tongue bit to the last.

The only error of significance is the caption to a picture on p. 123, first published in *Kipling Journal* No.51 in October 1939, which mistakes Maj-Gen Dunsterville, then President, for J.H.C. Brooking, our first Hon. Secretary.

A different book, but a useful book, and one that will always be useful even when the hoped-for full biography comes along.

NOTES

1. *The Pater*, Arthur Ankers, also by Hawthorns Publications. Otford. 1988.
2. *A Circle of Sisters*. Judith Flanders. Viking. (The Penguin Group). London, 2001.
3. *Early Verse by Rudyard Kipling 1879 1889*. Andrew Rutherford. Clarendon , Oxford, 1986

THE MAN WHO WOULD BE KIPLING: *The Colonial Fiction and the Frontiers of Exile* by Andrew Hagiioannu. published in 2003 by Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hants. (ISBN 1-4039-2029-X. Hardback. £45.00). vii + 222 pages including Notes, Bibliography and Index. No illustrations.

Review by THE EDITOR

Andrew Hagiioannu's stated purpose is to increase 'the understanding of Kipling's cultural and historical experience, adding new coverage and critical analysis to areas of his life, politics, and writings unduly neglected in the past.' In this volume, he concentrates on Kipling's career from 1886 to around 1906, and although aimed at an academic readership, there is much here for the Kipling enthusiast. The author has clearly carried out extensive research into the uncollected and rarely collected material as well as the standard works, and, from the acknowledgements, has had the rare privilege of a period of study at Bateman's together with the opportunity to examine the works in Kipling's library.

The layout of the book broadly follows Kipling's geographic location – Lahore, Allahabad, America, South Africa, and Sussex – identifying elements in these times and places that had specific influences on his development. Starting with the attitude to work found in Carlyle, the author considers that this was further reinforced by Kipling's residence in Lahore (the Punjab recently being a non-regulation Province) which still had the ethos of John Lawrence, so that 'values of personal initiative and responsibility reverberate through the young Kipling's comments to his cousin'. This theory is supported by an unsigned article of approximately 7,000 words , "In the Year '57" about the "Mutiny men" which appeared in the CMG in May 1887. It is claimed for Kipling because of its inclusion in Kipling's scrapbooks at the University of Sussex, and an indirect reference in a letter from Kipling to R.U. Johnson.

The move to Allahabad and the *Pioneer* is seen as less than happy after his position in Lahore, and the author draws parallels between this

situation and that of Punch in "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" who was 'suddenly and humiliatingly demoted to a lowly position in the affairs of the house.'

In America, there was the growing activity of the labour unions and the post-civil war widening of the gulf between the agrarian and industrial societies. *Captains Courageous* and the stories in *The Day's Work* support the industrialist capitalist viewpoint and this, it is suggested, also influenced the *Jungle Books* which display Kipling's 'highly sophisticated interpretation of the new imperialism.'

Then to South Africa; "A Burgher of the Free State" is described as the 'work of a writer who understands the psychological trauma and the temptations of moral compromise'; in *The Comprehension of Private Copper* Kipling recognises that 'Copper's circle has legitimate quarrels with the English political system'; for Kipling the 'South African War had discredited the political complacency and elitism of Edwardian parliamentary politics.'

There are unusual readings of many of Kipling's works up to, and including, the "Puck" stories; a clear refutation of the claim that Kipling was a racist in the eugenic sense, unlike several people at that time – the tale of Kadmiel in "The Treasure and the Law" forcefully opposes 'the ideology of racial exclusion with its message of Jewish heroism'; the Widow in "Dymchurch Flyt" is 'an un-propertied working mother with two unemployed sons', but 'despite their disadvantages, they exemplify the qualities of Kipling's "good family", challenging stereotypes of degeneracy, idleness and stupidity implicit to policies of working-class uplift.'

There are some irritants in this work; the use of the terms 'hermeneutic' and 'epistemology' in Chapter 1; the psycho-sexual speculation on "The Light that Failed"; the 'Ariel Board of Control' in "With the Night Mail", and a 'Lavelle' amongst a sprinkling of Lavalles in discussing the "Review" appended to that story. Nevertheless, this is a thought-provoking piece of work, and not something to be skipped through lightly.

My overall view is that the author demonstrates in detail, and with examples, that Kipling's views were rarely as black as they have been painted by some of his critics. My own conclusion from reading this book is that rather than being an out-and-out imperialist, Kipling was a colonialist at heart, but who nevertheless saw the need for a strong centre to a diverse empire. One final quote from Hagiioannu's "Conclusion": 'The rebellious impulse that took him [Kipling] outside the newspaper office, . . . took him also beyond the frontiers of British imperialism, leading him to challenge the very terms and values of conservative England – even while he seemed so intractably a part of conservative culture.' I only hope that Mr Hagiioannu does not keep me waiting too long before the release of his planned second volume.

MARK TWAIN & COMPANY: *Six Literary Relations* by Leland Krauth, published in 2003 by The University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia (ISBN 0-8203-2540-6, Hardback, \$34.95). xv + 307 pages including Notes, Bibliography and Index. No illustrations.

Review by THE EDITOR

The idea behind this work – an examination of Mark Twain's personal and literary interactions with six, at least partial, contemporaries – is interesting, with the chosen six being Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Matthew Arnold, Robert Louis Stevenson and Rudyard Kipling.

Unfortunately, throughout this book, rightly or wrongly, I have an impression of disapproval, a sense of antipathy to the writers under discussion. Although the author approves of much of Twain's work, he seems to object strongly to much of Twain's humour; in discussing Howells's review of *The Innocents Abroad* '[It] seems a curious recasting of the wild, offensive Twain into a tamer, thoughtful one'. Discussing Stevenson's and Twain's 'boy adventure fantasies' Krauth describes Twain's 'affectionate representation and his ever-present, estranging humour'.

Dr Krauth draws parallels, apparently to suit his thesis, between Jim Hawkins (*Treasure Island*) and Tom Sawyer, and between David Balfour (*Kidnapped*) and Huckleberry Finn. Then in the chapter on Kipling, parallels are drawn between Stalky and Sawyer, and Kim and Finn. Tom Sawyer is '... the clear progenitor of Kipling's famous—or infamous—Stalky'. 'Stalkiness is English boarding school for Tom Sawyeriness.'

There are clear misreadings from *Kim* – 'The woman of Shamlegh provides ... a litter to carry the sick lama (and Kim)' whereas Kipling makes it crystal-clear that Kim walked when wrote at the end of Chapter XIV, '[Kim]. . . re-stowed the precious food-bag at the lama's feet, laid his hand on the litter's edge, and buckled down to the slow pace of the grunting husbands'.

Finally, there is a misquotation from Kipling – the Elephant's Child was full of " 'satiabile curiosity" not "satiabile curiosity", and "M'Turk", as too frequently happens, has his apostrophe printed the wrong way round.

Although the author does make some interesting points concerning what he identifies as the fundamental difference between Kipling who 'cherishes authority' and Twain who 'challenges it', he shows such an anti-colonial spirit that there is again a sense of bias rather than true impartiality in his assertions. In consequence, I cannot recommend this book to members.

THE NEW READERS' GUIDE AN UPDATE AT APRIL 2004

By JOHN RADCLIFFE

John McGivering has completed his notes on *Plain Tales from the Hills*, and is now working on *Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories*, of which – at the time of writing he had covered three of the fourteen stories. Sharad Keskar's notes on *Kim* and Tom Pinney's notes on *Something of Myself* are now up on the Society's web-site, as are notes by Lisa Lewis on ten of the fourteen stories in *Debts and Credits*. Gillian Sheehan has written a major article on "Kipling and Medicine" and Michael Smith is working on the "Bateman's" section of his "Kipling and Sussex". Plans for further entries on the prose for this year, including the two "Puck" collections, *Just So Stories*, the two *Jungle Books*, *Life's Handicap*, and a number of general articles, are in hand. We will be demonstrating the New Readers' Guide at the National Trust's "Kipling Day" at Bateman's on 16 June.

John Walker has completed a first draft of his massive (20 column) Index of the verse, covering over 1,500 published and unpublished items. This should be a superb resource for future students and scholars. A much shortened (3 column) version can now be seen on the web-site in two versions, by title, and by first line. John will be very glad to have any comments or suggestions on this work. Despite energetic detective work, we have been unable to trace Harbord's notes for his second volume on the verse, and if any Member can offer any further suggestions for tracking these down, we will be most grateful.

Notes on over 30 of the poems have so far been published on the web-site. Roger Ayers' notes on *Barrack-Room Ballads* are nearing completion, Roberta Baldi is continuing her work on *Departmental Ditties*, and Peter Keating on the historical poems in *A School History of England*. We are hoping that – as with Harbord's Readers' Guide – we will be able to secure permission to display a good deal of previously unpublished material as part of the Guide.

We are also exploring the possibility of making the complete run of *Kipling Journal* backnumbers available in electronic form. We would probably aim to offer them in a simplified format on the web-site (as "text files") and as virtual facsimiles (as Adobe Acrobat ".pdf" files) on a CD-ROM disc; we have put up some examples of KJ305 in both formats on the web-site for test purposes. The CD-ROM disc could also include John Morgan's *Journal Index*, and should, at a stroke, greatly improve access to this splendid resource for scholars and researchers.

MEMBERSHIP NOTES

NEW MEMBERS

Mr Shoaib Butt (*Lahore, Pakistan*)
Miss Harriet Collins (*Durham, Co. Durham*)
Mr Lars Dyrud (*Islamabad, Pakistan*)
Dr Barbara Fisher (*New York, New York, U.S.A.*)
Mr H. L. Griffiths (*Ashtead, Surrey*)
Mr Guy F. Isitt (*Wallingford, Oxfordshire*)
Mr Charles Knell (*Falls Church, Virginia, U.S.A.*)
Captain Robert E. McCabe, U.S.N. (Ret) (*Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*)
Dr Mark Nicholls (*Cambridge, Cambridgeshire*)
Mr Anirban Roy (*Exeter, Devon*)
Allen S. Rubnitz (*Reston, Virginia, U.S.A.*)
Ms M. Turner (*Bayswater, London W11*)
Mr James A. Van Sant (*Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A.*)

SUBSCRIPTION REMINDERS – NEW SYSTEM

From this issue onwards we are making use of the address carrier sheet which accompanies the *Kipling Journal* inside its wrapper to carry a message to those individual or joint members who pay by cheque, draft or bank transfer, should their annual subscription be due before the dispatch of the next issue of the *Journal*. The address label for these members will carry a prominent reminder on the front of the carrier sheet and a subscription form on the reverse.

This form points out that the subscription is due before the next issue and give the rates for the types of membership (Individual or Joint), the rate of postage (surface or airmail) and the currency (£ or \$US). It will also list methods of payment possible. When paying, members are asked to tick the rate and method of payment and send the carrier sheet with their subscription to the **Membership Secretary, 295 Castle Road, Salisbury, SP1 3SB, England.**

It is regretted that cheques drawn on other than UK or US banks in any currency are not acceptable and this includes Eurocheques. Payment by credit card is currently not economic for the small number of members who might need to make use of it but the possible introduction of payment by credit card is being kept under review by the Council.

All members may make use of the carrier sheet to notify the Membership Secretary of a change of address or other membership details,

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

RUSKIN AND "RECESSIONAL"

From: Mr K.M.L. Frazer, 3 Roseacres, Sawbridgeworth, Herts CM21 0BU

Dear Sir,

On reading the John Julius Norwich book on Venice, *Paradise of Cities* (2003), I was struck by his quotation from *The Stones of Venice*:

Since first the dominium of man was asserted over the ocean three thrones, of mark beyond all others, have been set upon its sands: the thrones of Tyre Venice and England Of the First of these great powers only the memory remains; of the Second the ruin; the Third, which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction.

Through Ruskin's friendship with the Pre-Raphaelites, especially Burne-Jones, and reading of Ruskin as portrayed in *Stalky & Co.*, possibly encouraged by their friend Cornell Price, Kipling had a good knowledge of Ruskin. He only had to read the opening page of *Stones of Venice* to find this quotation. It could have been a major influence on the sentiment if not the words of "Recessional"; but perhaps this is well known among Kipling scholars.

Yours sincerely

KEN FRAZER

OPINIONS FROM WASHINGTON'S SLAVES

From: Mr Shamus.O.D.Wade, 37 Davis Road, Acton, London W3 7SE.

Dear Sir,

Geoffrey Annis, B.A. reminds us in "Rudyard Kipling: Poet or Verse Writer?" (*Kipling Journal*, Sep 2003) that Kipling had such a high opinion of George Washington that he made "If—", the Nation's favourite poem, a companion piece to "Brother Square-Toes".

However Kipling's views were not shared by the following persons; Peter, an old man; Lewis, an old man; Frank, an old man; Frederick, a man about 45 years old, an overseer and valuable; Gunner, a man about 45 years old, valuable, a Brick maker; Harry, a man about 45 years old, valuable, a Horseler; Tom, a man about 20 years old, stout and Healthy; Sambo, a man about 20 years old, stout and Healthy; Thomas, a lad about 17 years old, House servant; Peter, a lad about 15 years old, very likely; Stephen, a man about 20 years old, a cooper by trade; James, a man about 25 years old, stout and Healthy; Watty, a

man about 20 years old, by trade a weaver; Daniel, a man about 19 years old, very likely; Lucy, a woman about 20 years old; Esther, a woman about 18 years old; Deborah, a woman about 18 years old.

They were George Washington's slaves who, in the American Revolution, escaped to serve the King.

Yours sincerely,
SHAMUS O.D. WADE

"GARDE TA FOIE"

From: Sir Derek Oulton, Magdalene College, Cambridge CB3 0AG.

Dear Sir,

The care that Kipling took over detail is legendary. A small example may be of interest.

In *Stalky & Co.*, M'Turk's emotional tirade against the vixen-shooting keeper endears him and his colleagues to the choleric Colonel Dabney, who wishes to entertain them. He says 'Sherry always catches me under the liver, but beer, now ? Eh? What d'you say to beer, and something to eat ?'

I had long been puzzled by this curious condition of which the colonel complains, until a medical colleague here explained it. He said that the expression was well-known among elderly people as describing a symptom of gall bladder trouble, since the liver lies immediately above the bladder in question. Colonel Dabney's 'catch', to which he refers, would have been due to the painful muscular spasm induced in the gall-bladder, or in the duct which connects the gall bladder to the duodenum, by the attempted passage from the gall bladder towards the gut of the granular material that has developed in it. (This 'sludge' may sometimes amount in size to small stones.) The condition is on occasion referred to as 'gall-bladder colic', and can be extremely painful. Individuals who abuse alcohol are more prone to gall-bladder disease (including stones), concomitant with or subsequent to alcohol-induced liver damage. However, since Kipling's story contains no evidence (except possibly for his cholera) to suggest that the colonel was a heavy drinker, his particular gall-bladder colic may have had a non-alcoholic hepatic aetiology, which would be uncommon, or indeed no association with the liver at all, which would be even more uncommon.

The heading to this letter is the motto of my College, of which Kipling was an Honorary Fellow. Wags translate it as 'Take care of your liver'.

Yours sincerely,
DEREK OULTON

"THE GREAT GAME"

From: Dr T.A. Heathcote, Cheyne Cottage, Birch Drive, Hawley, Camberley, GU17 9BY.

Dear Sir,

G.F.C. Plowden's letter (*Kipling Journal*, Dec 2003) makes a valuable contribution to the history of the phrase "The Great Game". I myself have found an example of its use by Lord Lytton, Governor General of India, in a private letter dated 29 September 1876 to Captain Robert Sandeman, who was at that time engaged on a mission to re-establish British control over Baluchistan – "Potentates such as the Khan of Khelat or the Ameer of Afghanistan are mere dummies or counters, which would be of no importance to us were it not for the costly stakes we put on them in the great game for empire we are now playing with Russia." Professor Malcolm Yapp, whose reviews of books on Central Asian subjects may be familiar to those Society members who read *The Times Literary Supplement* and at whose feet I sat some forty-five years ago at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, finds the expression in use in the 1840s. As he has pointed out, it was then used (as it was by Lytton) as a simple metaphor, and it was Kipling, in *Kim*, who first gave it almost metaphorical overtones as a phenomenon demanding an absolute personal commitment from the players. Such a concept would fit in well with Kipling's fascination for all-embracing codes, "The Law", etc.

Yours faithfully

T.A. HEATHCOTE

[A footnote by David Gilmour in his *The Long Recessional*, p.80, states that 'The phrase was first used by one of the "Game's" earliest victims, Captain Connolly, who was executed in 1842 by the Emir of Bokhara'. – Ed.]

"WHY SNOW FALLS AT VERNET"

From: Mr A, Mattingly, 4 Chemin des Escoumeilles 66820 Vernet-les-Bains, France

Dear Sir,

In the June 2000 issue of the *Journal*, No.294, p.39, queries were raised [by George Webb, the Editor of that issue – Ed.] about the meaning of the terms "heady Vaporarium" and "strong Barara", as used by Kipling in his short story.

Our French translation of Kipling's short story has now been published in *La Revue de Vernet-les-Bains*, and although we had no idea of what these terms meant whilst working on it, the editor of *La Revue* helpfully offered an explanation.

"Barara" is probably a misspelling of "Barrera", which was the

name given to one of the hot sulphurous springs in Vernet (and hence to the water which gushed from it). That spring was named after a Doctor Barrera, who acquired the hot baths in 1788. The baths were then, I believe, in a state of some dilapidation. Dr Barrera began a series of improvements and developments around the springs which eventually led to Vernet becoming, in the *Belle Epoque* period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a favoured health resort for wealthy people from England and many other countries.

"Vaporarium" was a name given to another hot spring (and hence to the water which issued from it). According to *La Revue*, the two springs were within a metre of each other, but the water they produced came from different sources underground, so their respective temperatures and compositions would have been different.

Readers of *The Merry Thought*, in which Kipling's short story was first published, would have been well acquainted with these terms. Indeed, some of the poor souls (including, I think, Kipling's wife) had to drink quantities of the sulphurous water every day as part of their treatment. They might therefore have identified closely with the two English knights who drank the stuff from their helmets each day and who are at the centre of Kipling's short story.

However (and here I am getting out of my depth), Kipling presumably knew that very few people outside the English colony at Vernet would have understood the terms "Barara" and "Vaporarium" in the context in which he uses them. This suggests perhaps that, at least at the time he wrote the story, he had no intention of making the story available to a wider audience and that, as your Editor concluded, it 'was meant to be an ephemeral item, not intended to rank among Kipling's permanent writings.'

Nevertheless, the story is now a permanent part of this small town's history, and I am sure that the people here are grateful for it. I would also like to reiterate my gratitude to you and your colleagues at the Kipling Society for re-publishing this story and for all your help and advice during the past few months. And, if you discover any more hitherto unknown stories by Kipling which refer to Vernet-les-Bains, do please let me know!

Yours sincerely
ALAN MATTINGLY

INFORMATION WANTED ON TRIX KIPLING

From: Dr B. Fisher, 601 West End Avenue, Apt. 7A, New York, NY 10024

Dear Sir,

I am an independent scholar (Ph.D. in English Literature from Columbia University) living in New York City. I am in the early stages of researching a biography of Trix Kipling, Rudyard's younger sister. I

know that the members of the Kipling Society possess a vast amount of knowledge about Kipling and his family, and I am hopeful that through the membership I can find letters, documents, photographs and perhaps personal recollections about Trix that might not become known to me through more public channels. I would be very grateful to anyone who would contact me with any information they might have about Trix. I am especially eager to locate a copy of third novel, "Her Brother's Keeper" (suggestive title) published by Longman in 1901, which is not listed in the British Library catalogue and which Lorna Lee in her wonderful study of Trix could not find. Thank you for your help.

Yours faithfully
BARBARA FISHER

THE WESTWARD HO! COMMUNITY HISTORY PROJECT

From: Mr H Bartlett, 14 Tower Street, Northam, Bideford, Devon EX39 1JL.

Dear Sir,

May I take this opportunity to introduce our history project to you in the hope that we may be of some small help to any of your members who may be visiting Westward Ho! in the future.

The Westward Ho! Community History Project was formed in November 2002 by a small group of residents with a common interest in collecting memorabilia connected to the village. Since its inception members have gathered a quite considerable amount of photographs and information on this theme and we have held four exhibitions to date. The popularity of these events has been enormously encouraging. At Easter 2003 a basic "Heritage Map" was published for visitors and we have conducted a couple of summer evening walks.

Without doubt one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the village was the attendance of Rudyard Kipling at the United Services College and the subsequent adventures related in *Stalky & Co.* Some feel that the village could do more to celebrate its literary connections and this is just one of the issues we endeavour to address as part of the project.

One of the village residents recalls a television series based on *Stalky & Co.* some years ago. As yet we have been unable to shed any light on the matter. I wonder if you would be able to help us on this i.e. when the series was screened, on which channel, and whether some or all of it was filmed in this locality.

Many thanks
"HARRY" BARTLETT
CHAIRMAN, THE WESTWARD HO! COMMUNITY
HISTORY PROJECT

ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY

The Kipling Society is for anyone interested in the prose and verse, and the life and times, of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). It is one of the most active and enduring literary societies in Britain and, as the only one which focuses on Kipling and his place in English Literature, attracts a world-wide membership. (Details from the Society's web-site and membership forms from the **Membership Secretary, Kipling Society, 295 Castle Road, Salisbury, Wilts SP1 3SB**. The forms quote the minimum annual subscription rates. Some members contribute a little more.)

The Society is a Registered Charity and a voluntary, non-profit-making organisation. Its activities, which are controlled by a Council and run by the Secretary and honorary officials, include:

- maintaining a specialised Library in City University, London,
- answering enquiries from the public (schools, publishers, writers and the media), and providing speakers on request,
- arranging a regular programme of lectures, and a formal Annual Luncheon with a Guest Speaker,
- running the web-site at **www.kipling.org.uk** for members of the Society and anyone else around the world with an interest in the life and work of Rudyard Kipling,
- and publishing the *Kipling Journal*, every quarter.

The *Journal* of the Society aims to entertain and inform. It is sent to subscribing paying members all over the world free of charge. This includes libraries, English Faculties, and 'Journal – only' members. Since 1927, the *Journal* has published important items by Kipling, not readily found elsewhere, valuable historical information, and literary comment by authorities in their field. By not being wholly academic, the *Journal* is representative of Kipling, whose own diverse interests and versatile talent covered a wide range of literary writing – letters, travel, prose and verse. For the serious scholar of Kipling, who cannot afford to overlook the *Journal*, a comprehensive index of the entire run since 1927 is available. Apply to: **The Librarian, Kipling Society, 13 Canonbury Road, London N1 2DF, England**. Back numbers of the *Journal* can also be bought. Write to; **Mr Michael Smith, 2 Brownleaf Road, Brighton BN2 6LB, England**.

The Editor of the *Kipling Journal* publishes membership news, Society events, and the texts of talks given by invited speakers. In addition, he is happy to receive letters and articles from readers. These may be edited and publication is not guaranteed. Letters of crisp comment, under 1000 words, and articles between 1000 – 4000 are especially welcome. Write to: **The Editor, Kipling Journal, 32 Merton Road, Harrow HA2 0AB, England or email to davpag@yahoo.co.uk**

