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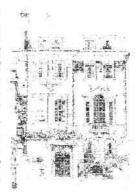
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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

- Wednesday 14 February 2007, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Professor Hugh Brogan** on "Kipling and History".
- Wednesday 11 April 2007, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, Kipling's latest biographer, Jad Adams "Must we Burn Kipling?" (A riposte to the Politically Correct).
- Wednesday 2 May 2007, 12.30 for 1 p.m., in the Hall of India and Pakistan, at the Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's Annual Luncheon. Guest Speaker: Sir Mark Tully, M.A. For details and advanced booking for tickets; see enclosed flyer.
- Wednesday 4 July 2007, 4.30 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's A.G.M. A cash bar will serve drinks from 5.30 p.m., Tea will be available before the meeting for those who book in advance. Details to follow.

December 2006

JANE KESKAR & ANDREW LYCETT

OBITUARY: LT CDR ALFRED DUNBAR ROAKE, B.D.

It is with great regret that we have recently heard of the death of Lt Cdr Roake (1925-2006) who, although a member for a relatively short time, was a keen Kipling enthusiast. In the December 2004 *Journal* (No.312) we printed some 'Comments on "The Ballad of the Bolivar" in which he recorded some highlights from his 30 year service in the Royal Navy, specifically in submarines. After retirement from the Navy he obtained a degree in Divinity and served as "Lay Chaplain" to the Bishop of London.

During the last two years he went to considerable trouble to arrange for publication of an annotated selection of *Rudyard Kipling's Religious Verse*, which this was reviewed by Lt Col R.C. Ayers, O.B.E. in the March 2006 *Journal* (No.317).— *Ed.*

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EDITORIAL

A CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN ... COURT

Members are all well acquainted with the battles that Kipling fought with various U.S. publishers over their unauthorised printing of his works. His views were vigorously expressed in Yokohama in 1889 when he first saw his own work included in the catalogue of The Seaside Library in the section headed "Miscellaneous".

'Don't you want any of these publications?' said the shopman. 'These aren't publications, they are burglaries, what you call thefts: do you understand? Things that men in civilized countries get imprisoned for.' I responded.

The full account can be found either in the original *Pioneer* letter or in *Kipling's Japan* pp.151-2, edited by Hugh Cortazzi & George Webb. Kipling excised this section from Chap.XIX *of From Sea to Sea*. where it should have appeared at the beginning on p.417. However, his 'curse' on America can be found in the June 1982 *Journal*, No.222, pp.31-2.

Rather than going into this subject in depth, you will find an excellent discussion in a paper by David Alan Richards, "Kipling and the Pirates" which was presented at the *Kim* Centenary Conference at Cambridge in 2001. The full text is available on our website through the members page, or at http://www.kipling.org.uk/members/paper richardspirates.htm.

The reason for this Editorial is the result of a chance find on the internet. Amongst other publishers, in 1900 Kipling sued R. F. Fenno & Co. for the unauthorized publication of several of his works, and Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) was summoned as a witness by A.T. Gurlitz, Kipling's counsel. I found a court report of the proceedings from the *New York Times* of 14 March 1901 on a website devoted to Mark Twain set up by Ms Barbara R Schmidt. The site address is www.twainquotes.com, and I have been advised by Ms Schmidt, who worked for many years at Tarleton State University, Texas, that there are a number of letters exchanged between attorney Augustus Gurlitz and Clemens prior to his appearance as a witness which may be of interest and which should be available from the Mark Twain Papers at the University of California, Berkeley. I thank Ms Schmidt for all her help and her agreement to my quoting this report.

Finally, before we get to the meat, I should point out that there is also a letter of thanks from Kipling to Clemens in Prof Pinney's *Letters* Vol.3., p.49-50, (6 May 1901), and others to Gurlitz in the same volume on his case against G.P. Putnam's Sons.

The New York Times, March 14, 1901

MARK TWAIN A WITNESS Summoned in Rudyard Kipling's Suit Against Publishers. THE HUMORIST NOT PLEASED

He Smokes at Commissioner Shields's Invitation and Then Testifies About Copyright Questions

Mark Twain was again hunted down and corralled as a witness yesterday, and was plied with questions by a number of inquisitors. His appearance this time was before United States Commissioner Shields in a hearing on a suit brought last November by Rudyard Kipling against R. F. Fenno & Co., publishers, alleging infringement of the copyright law. Mr Clemens appeared as a witness for the plaintiff in the action, having been summoned by A. T. Gurlitz, Mr Kipling's counsel, and he did not seem to be highly delighted at having been singled out as an expert on copyright questions. The hearing took place in Commissioner Shield's private office, and nearly all those present were directly concerned in the question at issue.

Mr Clemens was first questioned as to his technical knowledge of the trade mark used by Rudyard Kipling's publishers to identify his works. To nearly all of these questions Lawyer Rives, counsel for the defendants, objected.

'They don't seem to want me to talk at all,' said the witness hopelessly.

Then Commissioner Shields took pity on him and offered him a cigar. It looked like a pretty good cigar, but the witness regarded it doubtfully. Then he looked at the plaintiffs counsel and then at the defendant's counsel. Then, waving his hand deprecatingly, he said:

'No, no, I guess I'd better not take it. They would object, I know, and it's too good a cigar to have to refuse.'

On the assurance that there would be no objection, however, Mr Clemens took the cigar, lit it, and adjusting a pair of steel-rimmed eye glasses, leaned back in his chair and puffed contentedly.

'Now, I'm ready to meet all objections,' he said.

What is known as the "Outward Bound" edition of Kipling's works was shown to him, and he was asked if he recognized any mark or trade mark used by Mr Kipling. He pointed out the elephant's head on all three volumes. A ten-volume edition of Kipling's works published by the defendant company was then shown to him, and in answer to questions he said the volumes contained different stories from those in the "Outward Bound" edition.

'Have you written in your career?' asked Mr Gurlitz.

'Oh, yes. A number of stories and the like.'

'Have you later collected the same and had them published in book form?'

'Yes.'

'Give me some of the titles used by you.'

'Oh, there were a number of them. I don't recall just this minute. The first, 1 guess, was *Sketches, New and Old, The White Elephant*, and—well, that's enough, isn't it?'

The witness was told that he need not enumerate more, and then we went on to say positively, in answer to questions, that the titles under which his books were published were selected by him.

'Consider,' said Mr Gurlitz, 'a book of stories of an author, arranged and published under a title selected by an author. Do you consider that that could reasonably and generally be regarded as a book written by that author?'

'I should say yes,' replied Mr Clemens, positively.

'Do you consider that another publisher than the one bringing out such a book would have any right to issue a similar volume?'

'What's that? Give me that again,' said the witness, waving his hands about his head and blowing out a great cloud of smoke. The question was repeated.

'No. That wouldn't be square. Nothing square about such things.'

'What would you call such an act?'

'It might be called—piracy,' said the witness.

'Would you call it counterfeiting a book?'

'Yes, I think so-decidedly.'

'A manufacturer putting up soap, beer, whisky and the like under the label used by another manufacturer would be guilty of the same thing, wouldn't he?'

'Yes. No difference between counterfeiting, be it whisky or a book.'

'Do you think it a important thing for an author to preserve control and title of his books?'

'I certainly do,' replied Mr Clemens positively. '1 consider it very important.'

On cross-examination the witness admitted that when he said that certain acts could properly be classed by certain terms he was not speaking from a legal or ethical point of view, but merely giving the ordinary definition of a word.

When his examination was concluded Mr Rives stated that he would waive verification of the testimony and Mr Clemens's signature.

'I will have him read it,' said Mr Gurlitz, 'and make any corrections necessary.'

'You'll have a hard time getting me to read it,' said Mr Clemens.

'Don't you ever read your own productions?' asked Mr Rives.

'Never, when I can get a proofreader to read it for me,' was the rejoinder.

The hearing was then adjourned for one week, and Mr Clemens made his escape with all speed.

KIPLING'S SHAKESPEAREAN TRAFFICS AND DISCOVERIES

By JOHN LEE

[At the time of writing this article, Dr Lee was an Associate Professor at the International Christian University, Tokyo. Since then he has returned to the University of Bristol, where he is a Senior Lecturer. Most of his publications have been in the field of English Renaissance literature, and have concentrated particularly on the work of Jonson, Spenser, and Shakespeare. For several years, however, he has also been teaching courses on Kipling. Those courses, as well as ICU's kind purchase of a set of the Burwash Edition of Kipling's *Collected Works*, led him to become interested in some Shakespearean elements of Kipling's works. What follows was first given as a paper to the Shakespeare Society of Japan, and later published in their journal, *Shakespeare Studies*. Vol.41 (2003), pp. 1-24. I am very grateful to the Editors of *Shakespeare Studies* for their permission to reprint this article. – *Ed.1*

This paper is part of a larger project to consider the nature of Kipling's art, and in particular to consider the nature of Kipling's literary relations. At its most basic, I am interested in the way in which Kipling replaces a literary Anglo-India – the location of almost all of his early work with literary tradition. To argue that he does so is to argue against the Jamesian notion of a Kipling writing about ever-simpler things, and to modify the Eliotean notion of a Kipling moving from an imperial to a historical imagination (*Choice* p.30). I want to argue for a Kipling fascinated by the materiality of culture and the importance of literature. As might be obvious, anyone so fascinated will be deeply interested in Shakespeare.

Kipling's engagement with Shakespeare, however, is not solely a product of his replacement of his literary Anglo-India with literary tradition, but is rather a constant throughout his career, and is an engagement which can be seen to display a considerable degree of sophistication from quite early on. Life's Handicap, for example, a collection of Anglo-Indian stories published in 1891, some three years after Kipling made his breakthrough to literary celebrity with Plain Tales from the Hills (1888), has several Shakespearean moments. The opening story, "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney", features Kipling's "Soldiers Three" – three privates serving in the British army in India. Towards its climax the Irish Mulvaney tells the Cockney Ortheris, 'An' there's a dale more in nature than your squidgy little legs have iver taken you to, Orth'ris, me son' (p.36). Such mangled Shakespearean paraphrases are quite common from the characters in Kipling's Anglo-India, and are, in this volume, often from Hamlet. In "The Mark of the Beast", the narrator begins to give the Shakespearean

original of Mulvaney's paraphrase in explanation of the supernatural and horrific events that he has just experienced: 'There are more things . . .' He is cut off at that point by Strickland of the Police who, as the narrator informs us, 'hates that quotation [and] says that I have worn it threadbare' (p.258). Usually the usefully interpretable effects of these paraphrases and quotations are local, being limited to evoking a smile of recognition or serving the purposes of characterisation. As the second story in the volume shows, however, the effects may be more general, complicating and literary. Early on in "The Courting of Dinah Shad", another "Soldiers Three" story, Mulvaney draws on his Shakespeare to comment on the strategy he would employ in the army's manoeuvres: T am av the opinion av Polonius whin he said, "Don't fight wid ivry scutt for the pure joy av fightin', but if you do, knock the nose av him first an' frequint." 'Mulvaney goes on, for the narrator's benefit, to explain that he knows 'all that Shakespeare iver wrote' about Polonius, 'an' a dale more that the gallery shouted,' having loved in his youth to attend Silver's theatre in Dublin. There he was 'a patron av the drama', and hoped one day to be asked up from the audience to play Prince Hamlet as a stop-gap a relatively frequent occurrence, as Silver was famous for not paying his actors (pp.45-46). The opportunity when it came, in fact, fell to one Hogin, who later enlisted with the Black Tyrone, and was shot in South Africa. So far, so comic, but what we also come to realize, as the story progresses, is that Mulvaney has, in a sense, come to play the Prince. He is seen to be a Hamlet-like figure, a man of "inextinguishable sorrow", as the narrator puts it, unable to understand himself and his own actions, plunged into a "dumb hell" when he considers what he has done and what he hoped to do and to be (pp.47—48). And in the fact that Mulvaney himself has not realized this lies the irony which generates a large degree of the story's tragic power.

There is much which might be said about the literary relationships between Shakespeare and Kipling; in this paper I will be looking at only three examples of Kipling's engagements with Shakespeare. I want to consider how, according to Kipling, Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest*; and then how, again according to Kipling, Shakespeare wrote a part of the *Authorised Version* of the Bible. Finally, I will consider Shakespeare's presence in one of Kipling's short stories, "Mrs Bathurst" – how Shakespeare, perhaps, can be seen to have written Kipling, and Kipling to have written Shakespeare, at least by Kipling's lights. But perhaps that puts it a little too strongly; here I just want to sketch in a part of another chapter in the afterlife of Shakespeare, a chapter which I think interesting and which has not yet been examined to any great extent.

HOW SHAKESPEARE WROTE THE TEMPEST

In 1898, aged 32, Kipling wrote a letter to *The Spectator* giving a speculative account of the genesis of *The Tempest*. He did so in response to a previous article that had argued that Shakespeare's island had no connection with the real world, but was wholly the product of the dramatist's imagination. Kipling had visited the Bermudas in 1894, and he argued that the play accurately described the features to be found around a particular beach; this being so, Kipling reasons, it would seem that Shakespeare must have talked to sailors who had visited the islands, as well as knowing, as Malone had suggested, about the shipwreck of Sir George Summers.

The speculation is of minor interest; indeed, it might even be seen to be rather unliterary and anti-imaginative in its attempt to explain how the play came to be by reference to the world. However, while Kipling does want to locate Shakespeare's island in the real world, he wishes to do this as part of an argument concerning the interrelationship of the actual and imaginary in Shakespeare's work; what interests Kipling is the transformative nature of the artist's imagination. In order to draw attention to this, Kipling in his letter tells a story to explain how Shakespeare came to be talking to the sailors. Shakespeare, according to Kipling, was walking among the audience during the performance of a play, when he overheard a sailor talking of a shipwreck; intrigued by one particularly pungent phrase, the dramatist started talking to the sailor, and then, taking a hint dropped by the sailor, he took him to a pub where he listened to the sailor's increasingly incredible (and drunken) stories of his and his companions' adventures after they had landed on the island. Shakespeare transforms this mixture of fact and drunken fantasy into "the peculiar note of [The Tempest's] supernatural mechanism" (p.59).

It is significant that Kipling's story does not show Shakespeare being "given" lines by the sailor. There is almost a sub-genre of depictions of Shakespeare at work, a sub-genre which may most conveniently be found in Maurice J. O'Sulivan, Jr's *Shakespeare's Other Lives*. In the majority of these, Shakespeare is shown, Autolycus-like, scribbling down the phrases that fall from others' lips. By contrast, Kipling's letter (not included by O'Sulivan) is unusual in its interest in the transformative process by which the everyday finds its way into, or becomes, art. One can guess that *The Tempest* was a particularly intriguing and significant example of this process for Kipling; some thirty years later, in 1932, he returned to the subject and his speculative account of the play's origins in a poem entitled "The Coiner (*Circa* 1611)". The poem retells in brief the fictional account of

Shakespeare's meeting with the sailor, multiplying the one sailor of the original letter into four. The poem's title is doubly significant: Shakespeare is called "the Coiner" because he can transform the sailors' "lead pieces" of story into "metal as rare / As shall fill him this globe, and leave something to spare. . . . " (pp.503-4). The poem, that is, brings into sharper focus the underlying wit of the letter's account of the Shakespearean transformation, which lies in the sailors' sense that they are spinning tales to a gullible actor who has to pay for the pleasure of being fooled, when in fact they are giving up their tale for small beer to the master story-teller who will turn it into something rich, strange, and far more profitable for himself. Shakespeare is honourable enough to put some small change in their pockets when he leaves, and they, finding this on waking, feel well treated. The poem also, however, draws attention to the fact that Shakespeare's works are a kind of cultural currency themselves, pieces of an art of rare metal which bring him his audiences both in the globe as theatre and, from Kipling's later perspective, in the globe as the world. Indeed, that last line of the quotation may also be read as the rare metal filling the globe of the world with Shakespeare and his works, as well as filling the globe for Shakespeare; certainly, the poem is interested in and in awe of the subsequent endless circulation of this Shakespearean currency.

This coining and circulation was all set in motion, according to Kipling's letter to *The Spectator*, with one overheard line which captured Shakespeare's attention. Frustratingly, we do not know what the line was, only what it would later "be rendered" into: "What care these roarers for the name of King?" It is, however, a very good line for Kipling to have drawn to our attention. The line gives the first of several moments within *The Tempest* which offer up glimpses of a natural world free from the tyrannies of kings, custom and law, glimpses which have been labelled "utopian" by David Norbrook; other notable examples would be Gonzalo's description of his commonwealth, Ariel's dreaming of a time of freedom to come, and, more complicatedly, Caliban's memory of his own kingship. One might say, in fact, that this line is, as Kipling's account of the play's genesis suggests, the founding line not only of the first scene but of the play, as the issue it raises continues to be heard with variations throughout *The Tempest*. This may, of course, be chance; alternatively the choice of line may be seen as an interesting and productive act of criticism on Kipling's part, showing him to be aware of the importance of power and rule to the play. In which case the choice of line would show Kipling to be an intelligent and responsive reader of the Shakespearean text, as well as an interested admirer of its genesis and life.

HOW SHAKESPEARE WROTE THE BIBLE

In 1934, aged 68, Kipling published his last short story, " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' ", and with it set running one of the most persistent of Shakespearean myths - the myth that Shakespeare had a hand in the writing of the Authorised Version of the Bible. He was not the first to make this suggestion; at least as early as 1902 the cryptographically inclined had suggested that Shakespeare had concealed his signature in Psalm 46 (Friedman p. 182). Kipling had read (and dismissed) cryptographic analyses of Shakespeare's work, and so it may be that he came across the idea in those writings. There is, however, also an account that gives the birth of the idea to John Buchan. According to E. W. Martindell, the Winnipeg Free Press of Canada published an account of a meeting between Buchan (then Lord Tweedsmuir) and a Mr Grant Dexter, shortly before the former's death. Apparently, Buchan had recounted to Dexter, at a meeting some three weeks before his death, how " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' " came to be written (p.21). Buchan was lunching with Kipling and others at the Fleet Street Club. They had been discussing the magnificence of the Authorised Version's prose when Buchan suggested that Shakespeare and Jonson must have been involved in its writing, and a hunt for the rhythms of Shakespeare and Jonson then ensued. This may be true, but the report is inaccurate in its detail. It has the luncheon discussion climaxing in a reading of *Jeremiah*, which might be correct, and Kipling producing the next year a story about Shakespeare's and Jonson's revising of Jeremiah, which is incorrect; Kipling's story assembles Shakespeare and Jonson in the garden of the New Place, Stratford, where Shakespeare alone, if with some schoolmasterly help from Jonson, is at work improving the translation of certain difficult passages from Isaiah, Chapter 60. The choice of these passages makes much more sense of Kipling's own acknowledgement in his autobiography, Something of Myself, of the "inestimable" help he received from George Saintsbury, the former Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at Edinburgh (p.52). For the passages from *Isaiah* that Kipling's Shakespeare revises are, as George Engle has pointed out, those discussed in Saintsbury's A History of English Prose Rhythm (pp. 142-59). Given that Saintsbury died in January of 1933, and seemingly provided his help when Kipling was staying with him at Bath in 1932 at Saintsbury's "latter end", it would seem that the story about Buchan is also incorrect in its dating, as it suggests that the luncheon took place in 1933 (p.52).

Of course, it may be that Buchan simply misremembered the date and details of a luncheon some eight or nine years earlier (Buchan died in February 1940), and it is perhaps most useful simply to note that Buchan wished to tell the story and to connect himself with Shakespeare, if through Kipling, at this late stage in his life, aged 75 and Governor General of Canada. What it is also worth noticing, however, is that, contrary to the impression given by Buchan's reported anecdote, Kipling sought out academic support for his story. Kipling was, in fact, a constant reader and recommender of Elizabethan dramatists, and of critical writing on that, and other, periods (Kemp p.65).

Whatever the history of the genesis of the idea, it was Kipling's story that turned it into a myth. In part this success is owed to the myth's convenience: it offers a single creative origin for what have come to be seen as the two founding texts of English literary culture. Saintsbury, for example, in his History of Elizabethan Literature (1887) had announced: "The plays of Shakespeare and the English Bible are, and ever will be, the twin monuments not merely of their own period, but of the perfection of English, the complete expression of the literary capacities of the language" (p.218). In a rather different setting, Richard Burton, the explorer, had the Bible bound together with the works of Shakespeare to take with him on his travels – alongside the works of Euclid as the third in his triumvirate. Just as important as its convenience, however, is the desire that Kipling's story satisfies; there is a great desire to be able to see Shakespeare at work – a desire that has motivated much of the debate over Shakespeare's revisions, as well as contributing to the success of films such as Shakespeare in Love. " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' " offers, in effect, a writing master-class, at the story's centre Shakespeare is seen going to work on the passages that Miles Smith, one of the official translators of the Authorised Version, has sent him from Oxford. Working from a set of parallel texts the Latin of the Vulgate, four previous English translations, and on occasion the suggestions of Smith – Shakespeare is seen producing the Authorised Version before our eyes, identifying infelicities and always, and remarkably, finding the mot juste. This is particularly convincing, of course, because to a large degree it happened; the Authorised Version was mainly produced from a judicious combination of previous English translations of the Bible. Kipling is essentially conducting a class in practical criticism aimed at explaining why the prose of the *Authorised Version* satisfies, and how it improves on previous versions of the Bible in English. Yet what he has here is more than a fictionalized, enlarged, and enlivened version of Saintsbury's academic treatment of the same topic; for Kipling's Shakespeare makes suggestions which were not incorporated by the official translators. In that lies the wit, daring and honesty of the story – for the credibility of the depiction of Shakespeare rests on those suggested improvements being felt to be better than the actual Authorised Version. The gamble, I think, pays off; the suggested "changes" are no worse, and sometimes read better than the Authorised Version as is. 1

Kipling, however, is willing to do more than animate Shakespeare and suggest improvements to the *Authorised Version* on Shakespeare's behalf. For in " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' " Kipling is also identifying himself with Shakespeare. As Paul Franssen, building on the work of David Stewart, has noted, the Shakespeare of "Proofs of Holy Writ'" shares common compositional habits with Kipling; Shakespeare is strongly Kiplingesque. Both Kipling and Shakespeare like sounding words out loud to get the weight of them; both believe they write under the influence of a daemon whose promptings must be followed; and both have a clear sense of their own popularity. To these can be added their similar tendency to work under the influence of drink (a parallel properly drawn between Kipling's Shakespeare and Kipling's narrators); their refusal to criticize the work of their contemporaries; and their relatively poor grasp of Latin and Greek - necessitating the aid of Jonson, in Shakespeare's case, and Saintsbury in Kipling's.

Such identification might seem to border on arrogance. As early as the 1890s, however, people such as William James had been talking of Kipling as the new Shakespeare; and by the 1900s reviewers such as Walter Besant were noting that no literary writer, while alive, had ever had the cultural impact of Kipling he was a new kind of author, created by the technologies of mass communication (p.255). To a degree it was natural for Kipling to compare himself to Shakespeare, in order to make sense of what he was becoming or had become as a cultural presence. Yet the keynote of" 'Proofs of Holy Writ' ", I think, is less its arrogance and more its retrospective air. Kipling was a writer who guarded his privacy closely; " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' " offers its picture of Shakespeare as Kipling as a recognition or confession that Kipling's conception of Shakespeare had provided the model of art and the artist by which Kipling has tried to pursue his art and life – it is, in effect, the first step on the road to Something of Myself, the interestingly impersonal autobiography that Kipling finally began writing in 1935, only months before his death. " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' ", in fact, forms a kind of Shakespearean coda to Kipling's writing career.

Shakespeare was, for Kipling, overwhelmingly a writer who understood the power of language by understanding the weight of particular words. 'That so much should lie on a word!' Shakespeare exclaims to Jonson in "'Proofs of Holy Writ' " after finishing the third verse of *Isaiah*, and it is that recognition which the story is dedicated to proving, returning again and again to observe how individual words hold the key

to the overall power and music of the prose. For Kipling, the creative ability that allows Shakespeare to unlock that power is almost miraculous; which miraculous power gradually makes fuller sense of the story's title. For " 'Proofs of Holy Writ' " is another of Kipling's stories that redefines the meaning of its title as it proceeds. To begin with, it is clear that the proofs are not what we might have expected: they are not the miracles that prove the revealed truths of the Christian religion. but are rather the proof-sheets of the Authorised Version. However, the proof-sheets which Shakespeare goes on to produce are, it is subsequently recognized, themselves near-miracles Shakespeare's ability to find the right word, and our recognition of the rightness and power of that formulation over the previous versions, we are given proofs of the near-holy power of writing. The proof of God's word, then, is made synonymous with the miracle of creativity, and particularly Shakespeare's creativity a conclusion which the title also anticipates if it is recognized as a quotation from Othello (Act III, sc.III, ln.328). Indeed, if it is recognized that these are Iago's words, spoken with reference to the handkerchief that he has just been given by Emilia, the "trifle" which Othello's jealousy will turn into a confirmation as strong as "proofs of holy writ", then the title would also seem to contain a warning to the reader not to believe in the literal truth of the story (as well as casting further doubt on the account of the lunch with Buchan). Such an oblique expression of scepticism may show Kipling at his mischievous best . . .

These two stories of Shakespeare at work, then, show Shakespeare, and so Kipling, to be fascinated by the way in which words and phrases circulate in their culture, until they are found and is it transformed? or empowered? - by the gifted artist. Kipling's Shakespeare is the setter of phrases, who understands the music of individual words. This Shakespeare, in fact, looks very much like the Elizabethan and rhetorical Shakespeare identified by Emrys Jones and, very recently, by Neil Rhodes in his Shakespeare and the Origins of English. Rhodes is fascinated by Shakespeare's creative and iconoclastic (his phrase is "barbarous") engagement with the commonplace tradition, seeing this engagement less in terms of an example of influence study or imitation of author-precursors and more as "a matter of circulation, or of verbal change-ringing" (p. 157). This describes well the process in which Shakespeare listens to Jonson reading out six versions of verses from *Isaiah*, before producing his own. However, it is now time to turn to the third of my examples, and to turn towards Kipling's engagement with Shakespeare's works.

HOW SHAKESPEARE WROTE "MRS BATHURST"

"Mrs Bathurst", one of Kipling's most famous stories, was collected in the 1904 volume, Traffics and Discoveries. The volume's title is, at first glance, rather perplexing, for there is neither any obvious traffic nor any obvious discovery in the story. Indeed, "Mrs Bathurst" is in part famous for its refusal to allow its readers to make any discoveries. The story is set in South Africa, near Cape Town. The opening quickly gathers together first the narrator and Inspector Hooper of the railways, and then Sergeant Pritchard and Mr Pyecroft of the Navy, into the brake-van of a train, parked in a railway siding, beside the sea, in the early afternoon. Here Pyecroft tells the story of another sailor, Vickery, and how Vickery came to desert or leave his ship because of the Mrs Bathurst of the title. Finally we learn, from Hooper, that Vickery has been found dead up-country, having been struck by lightning – and vet we never know the nature of the relationship between Vickery and Mrs Bathurst, why he is so concerned about her, what it is that he has done, or why he deserts, or who is the second figure found dead with him. As P. G. Wodehouse put it in a letter:

Listen, Bill, something really must be done about Kip's "Mrs Bathurst." I read it years ago and didn't understand a word of it. I thought to myself, "Ah, youthful ignorance!" A week ago I re-read it. Result, precisely the same (Karlin p.611).

Wodehouse is not being obtuse here; the reader never understands Vickery, no more than Vickery understands himself. To Pyecroft at times he seems 'mad ... a dumb lunatic' (p.358). Our knowledge of the story's events remains second-hand and provisional, and it is easy to see why the story has been taken as a proto-Modernist text.

There is, then, no revelation in this story, no explanation. Instead, at the heart of the story is a repeated scene of what can be best described as a haunting. Mrs Bathurst happens to have been filmed getting off a train in Paddington Station, and this "biograph", as it is called, is then shown in Cape Town. Vickery sees it, and returns to see it night after night; it drives his increasingly strange behaviour, and finally leads him to jump ship and set off up-country. What I want to suggest is that the "biograph" itself is the discovery in this story – a cultural discovery; for film, as we would recognize it, had only been in existence for under a decade. "Mrs Bathurst", then, is a story much interested in the cultural impact of film; if this is accepted, the story becomes an obvious partner for two others in the collection – " 'Wireless' ", which deals with "Marconi experiments" or in

other words radio, and "Steam Tactics", which deals with cars. That the impact of film is characterized as a haunting may not seem particularly radical now; how many other stories, however, were written by 1904, built upon the viewing of a film, and fascinated by film's ontological status? That fascination is partly explained by Pyecroft, who explains that his knowledge of the relationship between Vickery and Mrs Bathurst is "second-hand [. . .], or rather 1 should say more than second-'and", thus drawing attention to film as a new kind of seeing, a visual narrative that seems to capture presence (p.353).

So much for the discovery; what then of the traffic? Vickery is an odd, mysterious, at times almost mad figure, driven into action by the haunting return of a figure from his past. There is, perhaps, something Hamlettian about Vickery. He is haunted not by his father but by a woman who may have been his lover; but for Kipling, Hamlet was always haunted by his relationship with and responsibility for Ophelia's death. This view of the Prince is seen at its clearest and most playful in "The Marred Drives of Windsor", a three-act Shakespearean pastiche written as part of a series of parodies entitled *The Muse Among* the Motors (Karlin p.xxxviii). In this collection, Kipling introduces the motorcar into literary history, providing examples of automotive poetry from Ancient Greek anthologies onwards. The parodies are intended as light comedy, although - as I hope will become clear - they represent a serious interest of Kipling's in how the present interacts with the past, and how the past absorbs the present. "The Marred Drives of Windsor" is on a far more ambitious scale than the rest, and descends from the nineteenth-century tradition of Shakespearean burlesque. Act Three of the drama sees Hamlet arrive at the Boar's Head Tavern, where Falstaff and Prince Hal have been celebrating their recent escape from prosecution for an automobile accident. Hamlet goes almost immediately to speak with the man whom he describes as his "double". Falstaff, with whom he shares a fear of driving (and so of action). He confesses his inner torment and Falstaff suggests a drink, but for Hamlet that is no help since he is unable to get drunk because, as he says, "there's a mad woman whom I drowned floats in my every cup, like borage" (p. 162). Kipling is perhaps sentimentalising or correcting the Prince here; Shakespeare's Hamlet seems to show distressingly little sense of his responsibility for Ophelia. What is noticeable, though, to return to "Mrs Bathurst", is that Vickery, once again like Kipling's Hamlet, is both haunted by a woman and unable to get drunk, no matter how much he drinks. More directly Hamlettian are Vickery's last words to Pyecroft: ' "The rest [. . .] is silence." ' (p.362) And it is Pyecroft, of course, who remains, Horatio-like, to tell his story.

There is also something *Hamlettian* about "Mrs Bathurst" itself. In the framing-narrative, before the story proper begins, the narrator refers to the "prophetic soul" which has led him to bring extra beer, and so "Mrs Bathurst" can be seen to be begun and ended with quotations from *Hamlet* (p.341). Then there is also the epigraph, apparently an extract from an Elizabethan play, Lyden's '*Irenius*', though in fact Kipling's work. In this extract, a Prince reflects on the way that literature only remembers the falls of great, not common men – apart from Elizabethan literature such as Lyden's '*Irenius*', that is, and, the reader might note, the works of Kipling. For it was Kipling who had famously brought the voices of Indians and common soldiers into the literary mainstream, shocking his contemporaries, and initially making him look rather like an 1890s aesthete. Certainly, such inclusivity of voice, if not very *Hamlettian*, was another way in which Kipling saw himself as following Shakespeare's example.

Through a variety of means, then, Kipling suggests a literary historical context for "Mrs Bathurst" – a literary historical context that is Elizabethan and Shakespearean. Indeed, while "Mrs Bathurst" 's indeterminacies and receding narrations (as John Bayley has called them) may be proto-modernist, one might also note the extent to which, looking backwards not forwards, Hamlet might be seen to stand behind those techniques, being a play much concerned with problems of epistemology. The audience are never sure why the Prince assumes madness; Hamlet himself is constantly denied certain knowledge of the manner of his father's death, and so of the nature of his mother's and uncle's actions; and Hamlet is tormented by not knowing the ontological status of the vision that haunts him whether it is "a spirit of health or goblin damn'd" (Act I, sc.IV, ln.40. See also Act II, sc.II, lns.594-5). In other words, the traffic going on in this story is literary and cultural; and that literary and cultural traffic is set in motion by a new discovery, film.

In 1919, Eliot would famously describe *Hamlet* as an artistic failure, as the play's emotions remained in excess of their objects – a rather curious criticism, given his own practice in *The Waste Land* a few years later. In the same year, 1919, Eliot would praise Kipling in a review in the *Athenaeum*, arguing that critics did not have minds "sufficiently curious, sufficiently brave" to face him (Keating p.240). Eliot was probably thinking of the challenge posed by Kipling's values. What is also noticeable, I think, is how closely Kipling's notion of tradition parallels that of Eliot's in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" – an essay also from 1919. Eliot declares that the new work of art alters the whole existing order of tradition, as each work reorientates itself and so makes space for the new work:

Whoever has approved this idea of order, of the form of European, of English literature will not find it preposterous that the past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past (p.15).

Where Eliot declares, Kipling had already shown. In "Mrs Bathurst" that cultural traffic Eliot describes is seen as literary tradition moves to make room and accommodate the new medium of film through a reworking of *Hamlet*, based upon Shakespearean situations, characters, and techniques. As a demonstration of the way in which the "past should be altered by the present as much as the present is directed by the past" it has few rivals. Kipling's "Mrs Bathurst" shows a Shakespearean cultural traffic; Kipling's Shakespeare, or Shakespeare's Kipling, responding to, and conditioning the response to, film.

Kipling, then, is self-consciously considering the nature of the circulation of cultural traffic, and is particularly interested in the way in which new media of art change our responses to the established canon; that, I would argue, is the freight of the volume's title, Traffics and Discoveries. The story is, in fact, full of circulating cultural objects, from the Bass beer from England, to the quotations from Shakespeare, and on to the portentously named ships, such as the H.M.S. Palladium, that move through the narrative. Do the ships come to stand as images of the cultural circulation the story is fascinated by? Words or phrases, like ships, become freighted with meanings as they circulate through human culture. And words can also generate meaning by their very circulation, by their movement through contexts. "Mrs Bathurst" is full of the semi-magical sounds of words, which fly over the waters in a Tempest-like way. When Vickery is found, burnt by the lightning, all that can be salvaged of his body are his false teeth, whose looseness, when allied to his real name, gave him "Click" for his nickname. That clicking is what Pyecroft still hears when "navigatin' about Cape Town with a South-Easter blowin' these days" (pp.362 63). Particularly as, after watching the film of "Mrs Bathurst", Vickery would be "clickin' 'is four false teeth like a Marconi ticker" (p.359). That "ticker" might recall the "tickey" beer with which the story begins, which then reappears with Mrs Bathurst, who famously lent out her "ticker" to sailors who had forgotten theirs, before it becomes caught up with the film, the "new turn of a scientific nature" which is advertised as ' "Home and Friends for a Tickey" ' (p.353). Underlying the story there is, in fact, a kind of drunken metronomic series of ticks and clicks, and it might be relevant that film projectors "tick" or "click" also; indeed, it is their tick that characterizes the kind of moving picture they display, for the tick is made by the action of the pawl – Thomas Armat's crucial innovation that made its debut in 1896 – which allows the frame to stay at rest in front of the projector for its 1/16th of a second before being replaced by the next frame.

In "Mrs Bathurst", words seem to summon one another up, in some kind of magical transformation; the ticks and clicks summon Vickery into life, rather like the clicking frames of a film. The story, that is, is also full of a *Tempest-like* mixture of fact and drunken fantasy which, to return to Kipling's account of the play in his letter to *The Spectator*, provides "the peculiar note of [the play's] supernatural mechanism" (*Kipling Journal*, No.233, p.59). The brake-van shunted beside the seashore is like nothing as much as a magic island, where the narrator finds

the song of the [bland wind] playing under the car roof, and high up among the rocks; the drift of fine grains chasing each other musically ashore; the tramp of the surf [. . .] and the presence of the assured sun, joined with the beer to cast [him] into a magical slumber (p.340).

The setting, and the faint sounds of music on the water, are *Tempest-like*, and the story, as Karlin points out, is a sea-story, in the sense that the company meet as the result of the unpredictabilities of sea and ships (p.611). One might also note that the story's telling also happens over an afternoon; it has its own, rather Ariel-like, music-hall lyric; and it is set under the hills of (the real) False Bay, which are just "dissolving into those of fairyland" when Pyecroft and Pritchard arrive – with a "clink" (to set in motion the ticks and clicks?).

"Mrs Bathurst" is a complicated, over-determined, and variously Shakespearean work – at the levels of imagination, intellect and technique. Or at least it is so as Kipling understood those terms. Indeed, if we remember Kipling's letter to *The Spectator* about the origins of *The Tempest* lying in one overheard "pungent phrase", one can say that "Mrs Bathurst" was even composed in a Shakespearean manner. In *Something of Myself*, Kipling recalls how the story came to him after he overheard a chance remark by a Petty Officer in Cape Town "and a tale called 'Mrs. Bathurst' slid into my mind, smoothly and orderly as floating timber on a bank high river" (p.61).

NOTES

Below are given first the *Authorised Version* (as given in the headpiece to " 'Proofs of Holy Writ" ") and then the Shakespearean version of the relevant verses from *Isaiah*, Chap.60. Omissions are noted with '[]". changes are given in bold, and where the AV goes against specific Shakespearean advice a '*' is used.

- 1. ARISE, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee.
- 2. For. behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.
- 3. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.

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- 19. The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.
- 20. Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.
- 1. []*Rise—shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen on thee.
- 2. For, behold, [] darkness shall **cloke*** the earth, and gross darkness the people. But the Lord shall arise **on** thee, and **His** glory shall be seen upon thee.
- 3. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.

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- 19. The Sun shall no more be thy light by day, neither for brightness **the moon by night. But** the Lord **Himself** shall be unto thee **thy** everlasting light, and thy God thy glory!
- 20. Thy sun shall no more go down; neither shall thy moon withdraw **herself**, for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.

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KIPLING'S "JUNGLE MUSIC"

By BRIAN J.H. MATTINSON

[In January this year Brian Mattinson offered to write a review for us of "The Watermill" production of *The Jungle Book*. Knowing of Brian's musical interest and expertise, I suggested that he might like to write an article on the theme of music from the Jungle, and I am delighted to say that he accepted, with the result presented here. I hope that you will also find that Brian has brought an aural dimension to the written word that I have never experienced before. – *Ed.*]

'LETTING IN THE JUNGLE'

The 2005 Christmas show at "The Watermill", the West Berkshire Playhouse, was not billed as a pantomime; it was just called *The Jungle Book*. A packed and happy house was marvellously entertained, three or four generations engaged with emotions ranging from hilarity to fear. Neil Duffield's colourful adaptation was enhanced throughout by Janie Armour's exciting music, instruments appearing in the hands of the performers as they swung and gyrated round the simple set and auditorium. Kipling's own words were unmistakable in the much-abbreviated "The Law of the Jungle"; the dictum 'For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack' resonated with wood blocks, conga and bass. Accordion and xylophone were added in "The Song of the Little Hunter" as 'Through the Jungle softly flits a shadow and a sigh ... It is Fear, Little Hunter'; fear was suddenly in the air. In a lighter vein, we even heard how the elephant got his trunk.

In the 1982 jazz musical show Mowgli's Jungle at the Contact Theatre, Manchester these two titles were joined by five others, the whole more faithful to Kipling's words; in Mike Westbrook's similarly colourful settings an almost complete "Law of the Jungle" maintains its ragtime momentum to the final 'OBEY!' and a relentless bass pervades his "Song of Fear", but more of the others later. For children especially, these shows can widen or even open a door, the music helping to transport us into other worlds and, as is usually the case with Kipling, into a better understanding of this one. Also at Christmas, but nearly seventy years ago, a door was opened for me when my parents gave me a copy of perhaps the first Jungle Book story, Toomai of the Elephants; it is illustrated with photographs from the film Elephant Boy, to which they had taken me earlier that year (music by Miklós Rozsa). Little Toomai became one of my early heroes, but it was Mowgli who was invited to the Children's Party at Buckingham Palace on the 25 June 2006 to celebrate the Queen's eightieth birthday, acknowledging the universal and lasting appeal of Kipling's jungle stories and verse.

These two shows offered a taste of the huge variety of music now listed in our catalogue¹ (over 870 entries), inspired by the great range of Kipling's works; since 1994 I have sought sheet music and recordings to explore this world. Over 350 composers have, in a variety of styles to match the variety of their subject, brought Kipling's words to life to a degree not previously experienced by me. Our recital² to the Society in 2004 provided a structured taste of this cornucopia, limited by the music available to us at the time. Armour and Westbrook have made their contribution to that part which might be called Kipling's "jungle music". drawn from The Jungle Books, Plain Tales from the Hills. Many Inventions, Just So Stories, and Wee Willie Winkie. In this area of our catalogue alone, since 1898 over forty different composers have responded with at least fifty songs, fifteen instrumental items and incidental music for six films and seventeen theatre productions. I have seen three of the theatre productions and all six films, including the two animated Disney cartoons with their catchy, but not Kipling, songs; incidentally, Kipling's provisory recognition of the "genius" who created Tarzan³ would surely have extended to Disney. My main focus has been on the "genuine" Kipling songs. At least two of the theatre productions and eleven of the songs are in French, but more of that later.

MUSICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Several composers have been profoundly influenced by Kipling⁴; over the first half of the last century two of these, one Australian and one French, each painstakingly distilled from The Jungle Books their own unique musical interpretations, possibly unaware of each other's contemporaneous but very different responses. The Australian Percy Aldridge Grainger (1882-1961) discovered Kipling through a collection of writings sent to him, at the age of thirteen, by his father. Over his lifetime he planned a series of twenty-two Kipling settings, numbered in order of intended publication; eleven of these formed his song cycle The Jungle Book which, subject to much reworking, 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'⁵. Fortunately there is an excellent recording of this wonderful cycle by Stephen Layton and Polyphony⁶. A prolific composer of over six hundred works, Grainger also wrote another sixteen "un-numbered" Kipling song settings, instrumental items and arrangements, many unpublished. Cyril Scott (1879-1970), a pianist like Grainger and who studied with him, composed a suite of five pieces for piano "Impressions from the Jungle Book"; he said 'whenever Grainger elects to produce one of his Kipling settings ... he becomes Kipling'.

The Jungle Books also inspired the unjustly neglected French composer Charles Koechlin (1867-1950) to create his The Jungle Book. Composition and lavish orchestration of the four symphonic poems and three contrasting songs occupied him, with revision, from 1899 to 1940⁷. His imaginative responses to both natural and literary stimulation are combined in this condensation of his life's work into a surprisingly homogeneous ninety-minute cycle. Its RCA recording⁸, made in Berlin in 1993, won the 1994 *Gramophone* Award for the Best Orchestral Recording, 'a unique, highly atmospheric work, dazzlingly well played and vividly recorded⁹. Coincidentally the corresponding Artist of the Year was John Eliot Gardiner, who in October 1982 conducted the Centenary Concert of Grainger's Jungle Book Cycle and other songs in the Queen Elizabeth Hall. An earlier Koechlin recording 10 made, also in Germany, in 1985 but issued at about the same time presented the sections in the logical order ultimately adopted by the composer, but omitted the three songs.

There are other collections or groupings of Kipling songs; prominent among these are Barrack-Room Ballads by Gerard Francis Cobb (1838-1904) and Peter Bellamy (1944-1991), Oak, Ash and Thorn and Merlin's Isle of Gramarye both by Bellamy, the Just So Song Book by Sir Edward German (1862-1936) and the Fringes of the Fleet by Sir Edward Elgar (1857-1934). If these are better known than the "jungle music", it may be because straight songs with piano or guitar accompaniment are more accessible. Grainger and Koechlin mix voices and instrumentation, helping to insinuate the sounds and tensions of the jungle; this makes complete performances somewhat impractical, but excitingly evocative and distinctive when achieved¹¹ as in the recordings. These considerations form part of the fascination of comparing different renderings of the same Kipling words, musical insights into individual composer's priorities. No "jungle poem" has matched the extraordinary stimulus of "Mandalay" with its twenty two different listed settings¹²; however at least seven composers, including Grainger and Koechlin, have each set "Night-Song in the Jungle", the short chapter-heading which sets the scene in the first Jungle Book and introduces the Jungle Law. The shortness of many chapter-headings perhaps makes them an unsatisfactory read, but better spoken and even better sung; music can electrify a line, a word even.

THE FRENCH CONNECTION

"Night-Song in the Jungle" is one of many titles which appear in other languages, in this case French. Professor Pinney has recorded in detail¹⁵ Kipling's interview in 1905 with Jules Huret, a Paris newspaper correspondent. According to the Huret's original proofs, Kipling

acknowledged his intellectual debt to France and said that he preferred the French translation of *The Jungle Book* to the original. Kipling then deleted The Jungle Book and substituted The Light that Failed, perhaps translated by Mme Charles Laurent, and so it was published in Le Figaro. His preference for the French is plausible with prose but more problematical with verse and the associated rhythms and rhymes which are so important in Kipling's work, much of it written with a familiar tune in mind¹⁴. For example in *The Jungle Book*, though not strictly the jungle, the "Parade-Song of the Camp-Animals" owes an obvious debt to "The British Grenadiers" ("Elephants of the Gun-Teams") and the "Lincolnshire Poacher" ("Screw-Gun Mules"). In their French song settings Koechlin, d'Udine, Delage and Alain all use the same popular French translation by Louis Fabulet and Robert d'Humieres, with both of whom Kipling corresponded co-operatively¹⁵; it has even been suggested that Kipling wrote "an English that in its structure sounds distinctly French to a French ear" 16. It seems likely therefore that he would welcome settings in French.

A lovely example which might have appealed to Kipling came to my attention soon after I read Professor Pinney's article. I had difficulty identifying "Chanson" by Jehan Ariste Alain (1911-1940), as that was all I knew about it and I assumed it would be verse. It is in fact "Chanson du Chat" (Song of the Cat)¹⁷, composed appropriately at the time of the birth of the composer's first child, a setting of four short consecutive prose paragraphs from "The Cat that Walked by Himself. The 'Wet Wild Woods' with their wild inhabitants are not so different from the jungle and the Cat was 'the wildest of all the wild animals'; anyway in West Berkshire they included the African 'satiable Elephant's Child in their jungle and I am including the Cat in mine. In "Chanson du Chat" the French is a literal translation, but with one subtle change. When the Bat told the Cat about the Baby, "'Ah,' dit le chat" (literal Kipling), but when he discovers what the Baby likes, " 'Ah,' rit le chat" (my italics); we all know the look of a cat that has got its way. But there is more, the music smiles too; at 'Ah' the unsettled harmonies, which have mirrored the exchanges, resolve into a relaxed major key and a serene "mon temps est venu". Barely is the singer silent when the piano wriggles back into the minor, leaving one suspended on an uneasy high note; what is the cat up to now? A lot is packed into one word and five bars of music.

"AND THE TUNES THAT MEAN SO MUCH TO YOU ALONE - "18

For Grainger, only sixteen years old, "Night-Song in the Jungle" was his first Kipling setting. Unaccompanied male voices in four parts, the Pack, match the rhythmic simplicity of the poem, ending with a solo

male call (is it Akela?) to good hunting. The beautiful restrained harmony throughout seems to achieve a symbolic perfection with 'the Jungle Law'. Koechlin's setting is in the midst of his huge orchestral canvas, which begins with the arresting monodic statement of "The Law of the Jungle". The French translation of "Chanson de Nuit dans la Jungle" retains the form of the poem and contrives to match much of the rhyming; the male and female solo voices swell and fade against a sinister orchestral and choral background, yet maintaining the compound rhythm. An emphatic "Night-Song" opens Dora Bright's (1863-1951) Six Songs from the Jungle Book, clearly expressing rhythm and rhyme, but the version in Jean d'Udine's six Chants de la Jungle¹⁹ is a more expressive and menacing "Nocturne"; here the original rhythmic drive is abandoned in favour of variation to emphasise in turn the fierce pack, the creeping threat of darkness and the savage hunt. Westbrook's waltz setting with howls and effects is dramatically repeated to sandwich the third verse of "Morning Song in the Jungle", eliminating the ambiguity in the original discussed below.

The brief calm following Koechlin's orchestral "Law of the Jungle" is shattered by the uproarious entry of the monkeys, as if to emphasise their lawlessness. The polyphony, the chromatics, the instrumentation all combine to mimic their "bounding and crashing and whooping and yelling", the fugue faltering drunkenly before being swamped. Dora Bright's setting of the "Road-Song of the Bandar-Log" is altogether more graceful and humorous, its compound time matching the verse. After a hesitant start, the growing confidence in the third verse is well supported but after 'Let's pretend we are [men]' the "bubble bursts" and the music has its tail between its legs! A temporary resurgence is soon stilled, but right at the end a string of arpeggios seems to restore the inevitable chaos. The French translation allows, perhaps encourages, d'Udine to change and break the rhythm but his zest is more frivolous than threatening. The 'brothers' examination of their tails is accompanied by glissandos over two octaves on the piano and the final self-justification is an arrogant shout. There is much jabbering and shouting in Westbrook's medium jazz waltz version. In Koechlin's powerful "Song of Kala Nag", which follows his "Chanson de Nuit", 'the ground rocked and shivered' and a massive sound as of 'stamping' elephants is pierced by the tenor ecstatically trumpeting his determination to escape and 'revisit my lost loves'. Both Koechlin songs are still available with a piano reduction of the orchestral accompaniment²⁰.

Still only seventeen, Grainger gave the "Hunting-Song of the Seeonee Pack" also to male voices, this time a fierce Pack with dramatic accompaniment and dynamics varying from almost noiseless 'feet' and 'eyes' to an explosive 'tongue', an echoing 'Hark!' and

repeated shouts of 'Once, twice and again!' leaving a vivid imprint of the relentless refrain. Again the French translation contrives to match much of the rhyming; d'Udine's rhythmic version "Les Loups Qui Trottent" is at times breathless, cunning, mysterious, the refrain always powerful, timing and dynamics erupting to match the excitement of the lone scout stealing back to the waiting pack with news of prey. Eric Fogg (1903-1939) makes good use of the bottom end of the piano with a threatening tremolo to build up tension to the climax on 'Tongue – give tongue to it!' I do not know the setting by the American Clayton Johns, but no doubt he also was attracted by the tension-building rhythm in each verse. I have discussed elsewhere²¹ the prolific American filk-singer Leslie Fish, who acknowledges Kipling's great influence on her writing; I have asked her to consider adding this to her jungle settings.

Five composers have been attracted by "Tiger! Tiger!", a short chapter-heading like the "Night-Song" and more moving than the actual account of Shere Khan's death. The two settings I know paint quite different interpretations of the poem which has some of the harrowing character of the interrogation "My Boy Jack", set so wonderfully by Sir Edward German²². Grainger's solo tenor almost taunts with 'What of the hunting, hunter bold?' and the answering tiger is another immaculate unaccompanied male voice quartet calmly preparing for the end, which will be as dignified as his life has been; the response to the final more hesitant question is a beautiful deep requiem. Dora Bright's aggressive questions²³, supported by furious alternating octaves in the pianist's left hand, elicit melancholic answers until the desperate cry 'Brother, it ebbs from my flank and side!'; after that, the last question is almost a whisper and the feeble response is finally overwhelmed by the powerful coda from the piano. This simple but very effective question/answer song requires contrasting sounds from the singer(s), as does "My Boy Jack" and the heart-rending "Is My Team Still Ploughing?' from A Shropshire Lad by A.E. Housman/George Butterworth. Grainger's music is again compelling and he arranged versions for keyboard, cellos and recorders; Bright has perhaps read Kipling's scene more faithfully, particularly in view of Shere Khan's ignominious death in the story.

"Mowgli's Song" bemoans his rejection by man- and wolf-pack alike in spite of his killing of Shere Khan; Westbrook uses sustained chords above a continuous drone in the bass as an unsettling backing for dialogue between congas and a largely chromatic voice part, which eventually slides down to a consonant finality 'Ahae! My heart is heavy with the things that I do not understand'. Westbrook also sets "Man goes to Man!" to an attractively simple melody, 'Oh. we loved him in the Jungle!'; but rolling chords, percussion and finally syncopated bass

guitar beneath the repeated title refrain impose the sense of unease in the jungle. The identity crisis returns in "The Only Son"; Grainger brings the slightly abbreviated chapter heading from *Many Inventions* to life with his final numbered setting. The woman's actions are high soprano, the boy a tenor searching for the truth among the images coloured by the orchestra, until he can wait no more – 'Unbar the door'. An orchestral interlude fills the gap before the final lines that are not in the original verse, the emotional reunion with the wolf backed by a chorus representing the Pack. The American folk-singer Michael Longcor²⁴ uses strings and drums to create an Indian sound to accompany his very different rhythmic strophic setting, where the clear words speak for themselves. He seems to emphasise the human, Grainger the animal.

In Grainger's "Red Dog" chapter-heading a solo tenor again alternates with an unaccompanied male chorus and the strange drifting harmonies suggest animals jostling with each other in the chase, the voices finally baying like wolves. d'Udine calls his setting "La Loi de la Jungle" and creates a similar restlessness in his accompaniment. Chil, at the end of "Red Dog", 'is a coldblooded kind of creature' and d'Udine portrays him with passion. He bursts onto the scene in "Chil's **Song'',** with changes of dynamics and tempo and rising scale passages heightening the sense of foreboding. Quiet falling chromatic scales hint at sadness at 'the end of every trail' but the consequences are increasingly triumphant with the final dynamic marking very loud Maurice Delage (1879-1961)²⁵ sees a more withdrawn creature. Against a delicate accompaniment, perhaps suggesting the birds wheeling in the sky above, the introduction and much of the first two verses are spoken; the "end" in each verse is understated and the final dynamic marking is the other extreme (ppp). Fish's brisk folky setting presents the sinister words clearly, an almost matter-of-fact "Pity 'twas they died!", the inevitable tidy outcome evoked by neat echoes of the refrains on her twelve-string guitar. Like Longcor, her idiom is particularly suited to people, as in her outstanding settings of "The Prodigal Son"26, "The Roman Centurion's Song" and "The Disciple", the latter two on the recording²⁷ sold out at our 2004 recital.

Fear which Armour rightly emphasises in "The Song of the Little Hunter" appears as the title "La Soif" of d'Udine's setting of the chapter-heading "How Fear Came", but this time it is fear of a common enemy, drought. Again it is a fairly literal translation adjusting words and word order to preserve rhyming. The animals are cowed by the common dread into a temporary truce, an almost wistful 'Vous et moi ce soir nous sommes amis'. A triplet in the vocal part sounds an early warning 'Flanc-con-tre flanc' of which the accompaniment then repeatedly reminds us right up to the penultimate bar, where it is very

soft ippp). Having just previewed, with high arpeggios and tremolo below, the downpour which will break 'la Treve de l'Eau', the quiet ending is charged with menace. Another chapter-heading which I had barely noticed before is "The Peora Hunt", included in Grainger's jungle, a curious combination of voices and instruments capturing the thrill of the hunt, the jolting on horseback, the rising panic as the hazards ahead are spotted and the final shriek of warning 'Go wide!'. Grainger really gave these poems meaning for me. Even more dramatic is the related "Ride with an Idle Whip" 28, his shortest song, which gallops to its breathless climax. Grainger is however at his most bewitching in "The Fall of the Stone", a chapter-heading from Plain Tales; the contrast between the scuffling as the stone is dislodged, the long fall to the dark tarn, the majestic appeal to 'Thou' and finally the ripples in the water dying away to nothing ' even now!', are vintage Kipling/Grainger; in Stephen Layton's words 'What a combination these two were!'.

My childhood hero returns in the last of Dora Bright's six songs, "Shiv and the Grasshopper". Its soft rocking rhythm in a secure major key slips briefly into a majestic minor to proclaim Shiva, the great provider, before returning to the soothing "lullaby" for its tender close with Little Toomai and his baby brother asleep for the night. However it is during the day that 'all that keep the Jungle Law' rest and Grainger's unaccompanied mixed choir interpret the 'magnificent' "Morning Song in the Jungle" faithfully even if 'no translation can give the effect of it'; bodies obediently and rhythmically creep away, 'Get to lair!', leaving an exquisite peace, 'The Day - The Day to Man!'. In the story 'you must imagine what it sounds like when it breaks the afternoon hush of the Jungle' but for me, and Grainger, it rather ushers in 'the morning-hush'. There is no ambiguity in his muchrevised setting of the savage threat in "Mowgli's Song Against People"; his "room music" accompaniment of the mixed voices intensifies the vicious aggression, the almost gleeful triumph in the last verse and the contrasting wistful beauty of the overwhelming 'bitter Karela' With simpler guitar accompaniment, my reading of Fish rather seemed to lament the sad and perhaps inevitable outcome of the enmity between man and jungle, but she tells me she sings it as a fast war-dance; even the composer's intentions may not always be clear from the sheet music, Grainger excepted!

Could this bitter-sweet *Karela*, or the less eloquent "Jungle" in Westbrook's rock setting, expunge the thirst for revenge raised in "The House of Desolation"? The three-act opera *Baa-Baa*, *Black Sheep: A Jungle Tale* is very different from *The Jungle Book* at "The Watermill". Here music, or more specifically the opera genre, has enabled a con-

vincing merger of the young Kipling's trauma, as fictionalised in "Baa Baa, Black Sheep"²⁹, with Mowgli as a means of escape. Introducing the first broadcast performance in December 1994, the composer Michael Berkeley explained that he had set out to present *The Jungle Book* as an opera that is 'different from all the other *Jungle Books* that are so well known, like Walt Disney'. How well he and his librettist David Malouf succeeded with this disturbing music was discussed authoritatively by George Webb in his Editorial in this *Journal*³⁰ after he saw the first production in July 1993. Kipling does not admit to the linkage³¹, whose success surely requires the unique make-believe possible in opera, but Mowgli had been associated with Punch before³².

POEMS SUNG ANEW

As a music-lover and relative newcomer to Kipling, enthused by George Webb only in 1980, perhaps I appreciate this musical feast more than might be expected of the Society membership generally. I have discussed 38 Kipling songs (20 titles), perhaps three quarters of the 'jungle songs' but only a tiny selection from nearly 800 songs in our catalogue. I certainly take every opportunity to experience Kipling sung, to find something new even in well-known verse; however my limited grasp of the language restricts my appreciation of the songs in French. Just as the Queen encouraged the children to read the wonderful stories brought to life at her 80th birthday celebration, the Society might promote the exciting musical routes into Kipling, not just the music of the jungle but also of the barrack-room, the sea, the nursery, our history and folklore, religion, relationships, in fact of most things. This should appeal not only to the converted but, particularly, to those less familiar with Kipling's verse; he would surely have approved. Carrie's diary repeatedly recorded 'Ruddy was singing a new poem today'33; we can always sing the poem anew.

NOTES

- 1. "Musical Settings of Kipling Verse", www.kipling.org.uk/settingsl.htm
- "Music, Kipling and Musicians A Kipling Concert", Kipling Journal, No.310, June 2004, p.51.
- 3. Something of Myself by Rudyard Kipling, (Macmillan 1937), p.219.
- General Article "Kipling and Music" in the New Readers' Guide on the Society website, www.kipling.org.uk, November 2003.
- A Complete Catalogue of the Works of Percy Grainger (Nedlands: University of Western Australia 1975).
- Jungle Book by Percy Grainger. Polyphony, Stephen Layton (conductor), Libby Crabtree (soprano). John Mark Ainsley (tenor), David Wilson-Johnson (baritone), Hyperion CDA66863. 1996.

- "Music Review: Charles Koechlin's The Jungle Book", Kipling Journal, No.272, December 1994, p.35.
- The Jungle Book by Charles Koechlin, Radio-Symphonie-Orchester, Berlin, David Zinman (conductor), Irs Vermillion (mezzo-soprano), Johan Botha (tenor), Ralf Lukas (baritone), R1AS Kammerchor, RCA Victor 09026 61955 2, 1994.
- 9. Gramophone, November 1994.
- The Jungle Book by Charles Koechlin, Rheinland-Pfalz Philharmonic, Leif Segerstam (conductor), Marco Polo 8.223484, 1993.
- 11. *The Percy Grainger Companion*, Edited by Lewis Foreman, (Thames Publishing 1981), pp.152 154.
- 12. A composite setting "Mandalay Medley", combining for the occasion the work of four different composers, was performed at the Kipling Concert in February 2004 (see note 2). 1 subsequently discovered that Peter Dawson recorded a similar composite "Mandalay Scena" in 1955 using the same four composers Charles Willeby, Walter Hedgcock, Gerard Francis Cobb and Oley Speaks but in a different order, HMV 7EG 8157. This was reissued in 1981 in "Peter Dawson Ambassador of Song" (disc 7/10), EMI (Australia), OXLP-7667B.
- 13. "Interviews with Rudyard Kipling (II)" edited Professor Thomas Pinney, *Kipling Journal*, No.317, March 2006, pp.40-41.
- 14. see notes 2, 4.
- 15. The Letters of Rudyard Kipling Vol.3, ed. Professor Thomas Pinney.
- 16. "Kipling and France" by Max Rives. Kipling Journal, No.313, March 2005, p.26.
- 17. "Chanson du Chat", *Vocal Works* by Jehan Alain, Editions Musicales de la Schola Cantorum, 1936, available through United Music Publishers Limited.
- 18. "The Song of the Banjo", 1894.
- 19. Les Chants de la Jungle by Jean d'Udine, Alphonse Leduc, archive copy available through United Music Publishers Limited.
- Melodies 3rd Collection, Editions Combre, 1899 1900, available through United Music Publishers Limited.
- 21. see notes 2, 4,
- 22. Performed at the Kipling Concert in February 2004 (see note 2).
- 23. see note 22.
- 24. Norman and Saxon by Michael Longcor, Firebird Music, FAM-10032 2, 1996.
- Trois Chants de la Jungle by Maurice Delage, Editions Salabert, 1935, available through United Music Publishers Limited.
- 26. see note 22.
- Our Fathers of Old, Rudyard Kipling and Leslie Fish with Joe Bethancourt and Kristoph Klover, Random Factors, RF-1001D 1993. 1999, 2002.
- 28. see note 22.
- An early story (1888) collected in Wee Willie Winkie and Other Stories, (Macmillan 1895).
- 30. Kipling Journal, No.267. September 1993, p.9.
- 31. Something of Myself by Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan 1937) page 8.
- 32. Introduction by Wallace W Robson to *The Jungle Books*, (Oxford University Press 1992), p.xviii.
- 33. Rudyard Kipling His Life and Work by Charles Carrington, (Macmillan/Pelican Books 1955/1970), p.421.

THE SCHOOLBOY EDITOR

By DAVID ALAN RICHARDS

[This talk was given to members in London on \ 9 April 2006. shortly after Dave Richards had agreed to become a Vice-President of our Society. His interests and accomplishments were described in the Editorial of the June 2006 *Journal*, (No.318, p.7), but 1 did not know when I wrote it (some three months before publication) that he would bring us a two-volume pre-print of his *Kipling Bibliography* which he handed over to our Librarian, John Walker. He also brought a few items of Kiplingiana relevant to the U.S.C. to show to us, including a list of recommended clothing to be brought by the boys – many of us will remember similar lists from our own schooldays, and parents even more! – *Ed.*]

The story of Rudyard Kipling and his school newspaper, the *United Services College Chronicle*, has been told often, most recently and brilliantly by Richard Maidment in the *Kipling Journal* for March 2005, but it is worth reviewing once more before we turn attention to the main subject of my remarks today, Kipling's authenticated writings in the *Chronicle*.

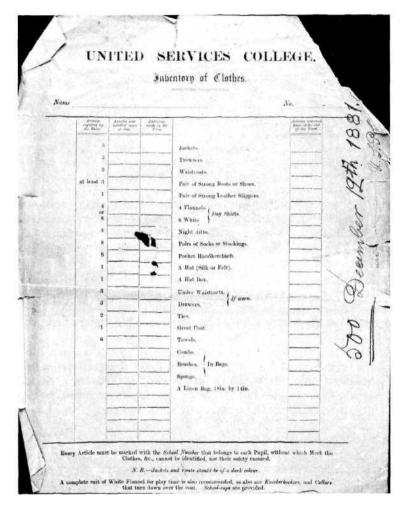
The United Services College was, in Kipling's later characterization, a "caste school". As noted by Headmaster Cormell Price in 1879, the year after the twelve-year-old Kipling began his sojourn there, the institution

was set on foot in 1874, by Officers of the Army and Navy. Their design was to obtain for their sons a Public School education of the highest class, at as low a cost as might be compatible with efficiency, and of the kind especially needed by them.

Price later noted elsewhere:

The modicum of knowledge demanded (for entrance into the Army) as yet is considerably below what is needed for the University degree. However, there certainly seems no immediate danger of the Army being officered by mere bookworms.

The boys, few of them bookworms like the young Kipling, came from all over. By way of example, in 1880, there were 190 boys, of whom 72 were born in England, 8 in Scotland, 11 in Ireland, and 4 in Wales. The other half of the student body, like Rudyard Kipling himself, came from all the corners of the Empire and scattered foreign locales: 76 from India (more than from England itself), 2 from Jamaica, 2 from the Cape Colony, 4 from New Zealand, 2 from Aden, 2 from Italy, and 1 each from Ceylon, Gibraltar, St. Helena, Italy, Switzerland, and "off China".



The environment would have been difficult for an obstreperous and myopic 12-year-old with literary interests, and it seems initially he floundered, seeking a new equilibrium. His College roommate Beresford later called Kipling "a podgy, spectacled highbrow," and another classmate wrote years later: "Precociousness and eccentricity marked him out from the first as a butt for boyish wit, yet although short-sighted, and by no means a strong boy, he had a dogged determination not to be 'sat on' that carried him through many a successful encounter with master and schoolmate." His parents, meanwhile, were worried by his mood swings, his "tendency to shirk the collar" and his

"interest in out of the way things," fretting about what the future might

Cormell Price had worked on a magazine together with Kipling's uncle, Harry Macdonald, at King Edward's School in Birmingham, over thirty years before. Although a school newspaper was founded at United Services College in February of 1879, after three issues the paper was discontinued for more than two years. In the summer of 1881, Price elected to revive the *United Services College Chronicle* and have Kipling run it. As Kipling observed in the *Stalky & Co.* story "The Last Term": 'As a trainer of colts, the Head seldom erred in an estimate of form.'

Officially, Kipling was *co-editor* with the Headmaster, but it seems that Price's supervision, if he exercised any, must have been nominal. In "The Last Term", Kipling wrote: "Then the Head, drifting in under the *pretence* of playing censor to the paper . . .' (emphasis supplied). Indeed, in memory, Kipling effectively arrogated the journal's revival to himself and his roommates: he wrote a dozen years later, in an article appearing in the Boston, Massachusetts journal *The Youth's Companion* for 19 October 1893, entitled "An English School" (later collected in 1923 in *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides*):

The institution that caused some more excitement was the school paper. Three of the boys, who had moved up the school side by side for four years and were allies in all things, started the notion as soon as they came to the dignity of a study of their own with a door that would lock. The other two [his roommates Dunsterville and Beresford] told the third boy what to write. . . It was a real printed paper of eight pages, and at first the printer was more thoroughly ignorant of type-setting, and the Editor more completely ignorant of proof-reading, than any printer and any Editor that ever was.

At the time, his letters to relatives and friends were filled with news of his doings on the *Chronicle*, urging them to subscribe (at three shillings per annum), asking about pictures and advertisements, and, from his administrative perch, complaining of the technical nature of his work. By way of example, he wrote to Mrs John Tavenor Perry on 9 March 1882:

. . . the men about here are most abominably slow. I have to trot into Bideford [where the paper was printed by E. H. Ridley and later by Wilson Brothers] nearly every day and explain how the thing is to be done. Sometimes I have to set the type myself and tell them how I want it spaced. They are very dull.

In "The Last Term", he also described himself in the Wilson Brothers print shop: 'With a mallet and a pair of tweezers, he knocked out the mysterious wedges of wood that released the forme, picked a letter here and inserted a letter there, reading as he went along and stopping much to chuckle over his own contributions.'

What of his own contributions? It is perhaps not surprising, despite the brilliance of Kipling's later work, that his juvenile pieces for the *Chronicle* were undistinguished: indeed, it was his own opinion, as evidenced by the fact he later collected so very little of it (by my count, only six poems, out of twenty-nine known examples of his writing in the seven issues he edited, and only one of those six made the Definitive Edition of his collected verse). But he seems to have been leading a literary double life. At the same time as the schoolboy editor was writing or rounding up contributions and running to the printer for his paper, he was privately composing the verses which later made up *Schoolboy Lyrics* and the 1882 scrapbook "Sundry Phansies" presented to his love Flo Garrard, romantic or melancholy verses which were conscious imitations of the verses of the poets in the grander London literary world, which poems he kept well-hidden from the hearties at United Services College.

For his immediate reading public in Westward Ho!, however, he adapted his tone and topics to the distinctly non-literary and non-precious atmosphere of "the Coll." The muscular Christianity of Thomas Arnold, alternating with jejune humour, left no room for the fashionable pessimism of prevailing literary fashion. But the schoolboy editor made his personal mark. As noted by Andrew Lycett, "he injected an element of social realism into the magazine, turning a sceptical, journalistic eye on aspects of school life, such as the bestial habits of Lower School members who grilled half-plucked blackbirds on rusty pen-nibs in front of their gas fires." And as he later noted, he learned 'how sweet and good and profitable it is—and how nice it looks on the page—to make fun of people in actual print.'

We also have evidence that Kipling did not seize this chance to print everything he wrote. In his memoir of 1936, *Schooldays With Kipling*, George Charles Beresford (the original of "M'Turk" in *Stalky & Co.*), gives us two other examples of Kipling's schoolboy verse. The first, a limerick about one of their teachers, reads as follows:

There was once a master called Osborne, I cannot think why he was born,
The head of a cad
And a body as bad
Were the gifts God granted to Osborne.

Beresford also quotes what he styles the only surviving line from a blank verse poem called "The Siege of Plevna", about a vulture bearing aloft part of the corpse of a Turkish victim of this battle in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878: 'Yards upon yards of the poor boy's entrails'. If Tom Pinney and 1 do indeed attempt, as we have recently discussed with Cambridge University Press, to complete a multi-volume collection of all Kipling's verse, the limerick must be included, but 1 am not sure that we can find room for this fragment on entrails.

Whatever their literary quality, the issues of the *United Services College Chronicle* have long been sought by Kipling collectors on both sides of the Atlantic. Kipling works first began to appear at auction at Sotheby's in 1893. The first set of this school newspaper to appear at auction appears to be a run consigned to Sotheby's for sale on 22 November 1899, comprised of issue Nos. 2 to 44, but missing six numbers, including two edited by Kipling; it sold for 11 pounds 5 shillings. The catalogue entry attributed twenty-eight 'original contributions' to Kipling, without any cited authority or list of contents. A set of nineteen numbers, beginning in 1881 and not consecutive, sold at Sotheby's in July 1899 for the astonishing sum of 101 pounds. In March 1900, also at Sotheby's, a set of six consecutive issues (all of the Kipling-edited issues but one), sold for twenty-nine pounds.

At the New York auction house of Bangs & Co., in April 1900, a Riviere-bound, crushed levant morocco set of forty-six numbers with a special title page and list of Kipling-attributed items was offered, the catalogue citing "contributions in prose and verse number[ing] upwards of 40, of which less than a dozen have been reprinted." The following July, again at Sotheby's, a run of Nos. 1 to 58 appeared, with a catalogue note saying that "probably not more than four" complete sets of the newspaper were in existence. A set of twenty-nine numbers appeared in the Williamson sale at the Anderson Auction Company in New York in March 1915, and its issue No. 8 was said to be the proof copy, with corrections by Kipling. The last set to appear at auction, at Sotheby's in London in December 2002, including forty-seven numbers (lacking the first and last of the Kipling-edited issues, but including eleven later issues with his contributions), and ephemera such as contemporaneous school lists and programmes and handbooks, fetched almost twenty-five hundred pounds.

But which pieces are indeed Kipling's? Seven issues of the *Chronicle*, numbers 4 to 10, published between 30 June 1881 and 24 July 1882, appeared under his editorship, and each issue contained entries authored by him. However, since none were signed, the precise number and identity of his contributions has been much debated. Harbord in the *Readers' Guide* [II, pp.648-50] cites forty-three. New

York bookseller Edwin A. Denham, selling the Crofts set of the *United Services College Chronicle* at Sotheby's in April 1900, wrote in his cover letter of 10 April 1899 to a collector: "The set contains all of Kipling's contributions. I enclose a list of these, on the joint authority of the headmaster [Mr Price], one of the sub-masters [Mr Pugh], the chaplain of the College [the 'Padre', Rev Willes], and of Kipling himself, so you can rely on it as absolutely correct" (that list is reprinted in Admiral Chandler's *Summary of the Work of Rudyard Kipling* [p.332]). Later bibliographers have both added to and subtracted from the Denham list.

I base my attributions today and in my forthcoming bibliography on a bound volume of the *Chronicle* in which Kipling has signed his contributions. That volume was presented by his widow Carrie and is now in the archives at Haileybury, the school in Hertfordshire into which United Services College's successor, the Imperial Services College of Windsor, was merged. On its flyleaf is the following inscription:

This volume of "THE UNITED SERVICES COLLEGE CHRONI-CLE", as published during Rudyard Kipling's Editorship, is given to the Right Honourable the Earl of Athlone and his co-trustees, for the Library of the Imperial Services College, to be held in trust so long as the College continues. Should the Imperial Services College cease to exist this volume is to be given to the British Museum. It was the wish of the Author that his manuscripts should not be used for purposes of collation; and the giver of this volume depends upon the receivers of it to see that the author's wishes are fulfilled. Caroline Kipling.

A digression: what was meant here by this text "not be[ing] used for purposes of collation"? Kipling, before his death, put that provision in the terms of gift for everything he gave to libraries; he evidently felt that what he published was the only text that his public needed to know about, so all the manuscript variants were to be suppressed, at least for scholarly purposes. Many authors feel this way, but if you really mean it, you don't preserve the manuscripts, you destroy them. Professor Tom Pinney has advised me that, so far as he knows, all the libraries that possess Kipling manuscripts have honoured that proviso. Here, with the printed texts of the *United Services College Chronicle*, the stricture dutifully repeated by Kipling's widow Carrie makes no sense: these texts were never revised or collected, so there are no variant versions to be compared and recorded. But the *form* of presentation was not varied here, in the Haileybury volume, which seems to be the last Kipling "manuscript" given to an institution.

Carrie Kipling's letter to Harvard bibliographer Flora Livingston of 31 August 1936 [Harvard bMS Eng 873], commenting on her husband's contributions to the *Chronicle*, seems to be based on this volume's annotations, in omitting the poem "The Pillow Fight" because unauthenticated there by Kipling's signature. (We know, however, that Kipling *did* write "The Pillow Fight", which was first printed in the Morris family home magazine *The Scribbler* for 5 January 1880—an anecdote which gives you some idea of the difficulties of a Kipling bibliographer, when his very subject sometimes fails to tell the truth.) Thus guided, Mrs Livingston's description of the *U.S.C.C.* items in the first volume of her bibliography, published in 1927, was thus corrected in the second volume, published in 1938, with the deletion of four former attributions.

All the items I will now describe have been authenticated by Kipling's signature in this Haileybury volume, unless otherwise noted—and items attributed to him by previous bibliographers E. W. Martindell, Flora Livingston, and James Macgregor Stewart, if not so signed, are here omitted. It is of course possible that, so many years after the fact, he forgot, or (as with "The Pillow Fight") he suppressed his authorship of some items. Some time before his death in early 1936, Kipling reviewed the list of attributions made by Livingston in his copy of her 1927 Bibliography, and deleted four items there present (deletions consistent with his Haileybury volume authentications, and with his widow's letter to Livingston of August 1936): the prose "O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint" (issue no.6); the verse "A Rabid Effusion, in the Style of The Hunting of the Snark' ", which was written by Dunsterville (no. 8); the verse "Modus Vivendi" (no.13); and the verse "The city of Delhi is hushed and still" (no.27). Headmaster Cormell Price's own set of the Chronicle, franked with an "R.K." on an issue's first page to indicate a Kipling contribution and bequeathed to his son C.E.W. Price, attributes some other prose items to Kipling, mostly editorial replies to correspondence and unsigned minutes of the Literary and Debating Society (of which Kipling was Secretary) and of the Debating and Reading Society, but no other poems, essays or editorials (these are listed in Harbord [III, pp. 1277-12901).

Here, then, is the new canon of Kipling's unsigned contributions to the seven issues of the *United Services College Chronicle* which he edited.

The first of these issues, No.4, dated 30 June 1881, contains five such items. It is perhaps emblematic of the perils of this process – identifying the schoolboy editor's work – that the very first of these, an editorial [Harbord Uncollected No.33], is *not* on the Denham list. The

opening paragraphs are reproduced in facsimile in both Martindell's bibliography and the first volume of Flora Livingston's *Bibliography* [p.7], and an extract is included in her husband Luther Livingston's twenty-copy private printing of 1899, *Rudyard Kipling's First Book*. The new editor begins his term with what today would be styled a mission statement, wrapped around an appeal for contributions from his fellows:

We propose, therefore, in penning the Chronicle to keep account of the incidents that go to make up our terms, to open our columns to everyone—for a paper really to represent school opinion must embody the ideas of the whole community, to suggest improvements, and growl at whatever may strike us as growlable at. Our parents have the privilege of writing to the Times—let us write to the Chronicle. . All things must have a beginning; deign to submit to the Editor your effusions, and to copy the words of a handbill, "All shall receive prompt attention." . . It is our intention to make the Chronicle as readable and concise an epitome of these [episodes of school life] as we can, looking to every boy in the school to help us.

For this first issue, of course, he necessarily generated much of the contents himself. "Life in the Corridor" (also not listed by Denham) is a prose picture of the life of the boys at the College before they become sufficiently advanced to be given private studies. "Concernynge Swaggers", composed in mock Elizabethan English and a parody or imitation of John Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie* of 1628, the most famous of the English "character books," describes the varieties of 'swaggering' of certain types of schoolboys: the 'Boy-manne', the fool, the football player, the 'one who knoweth much', the 'swagger scientifique', and 'the swagger of money or Home-pride'.

Kipling also prints three of his poems in this issue No.4. "A Legend of Devonshire," which was later to be included in *Schoolboy Lyrics*, privately published by his parents in Lahore without Kipling's knowledge in 1881, appearing there in six stanzas, here appears in eleven stanzas; it is the first of his *U.S.C.C.* contributions to be later collected by Kipling, in the American Outward Bound edition's *Early Verse* of 1900. The second poem is "The Excursion", a mix of four and eightline stanzas which may have resulted from the boy editor's inexperience in preparing copy for the printer, gives a first person account of the 'desultory stroll' of a 'Lower-Third-form sinner' on an afternoon holiday; it was extracted in *Rudyard Kipling's First Book*, and reprinted in full in Captain Martindell's *Fragmenta Condita* in 1922, but was never collected by Kipling. The third poem, "A

Disappointment", is notable for being the first co-authored writing of Kipling's to appear in print. It was composed with his roommate Lionel Dunsterville ("Stalky"), as acknowledged in the Haileybury volume by the phrase beneath Kipling's signature '(with outside help)'.

In the succeeding issue, No.5 of 23 July 1881, Kipling contributes only three items, in an issue otherwise filled with athletic results in several sports. In the first-page, first-column position of the editorial is the prose piece "Life in the Studies" (in effect a continuation of issue No.4's "Life in the Corridor"), which is a picture of the social life of the boys after they have been advanced to the dignity of assignment to private studies, and probably closely describes the existence of the three-boy 'dusky crew' consolidated in Number Five study. Following sixteen newspaper columns on sport results is a new division of the newspaper, "Poetry", containing two poems, both unsigned and both Kipling's. "De Profundis: A Ballade of Bitterness", not later collected by the author (and not to be confused with another poem entitled "A Ballad of Bitterness"), is the lament of the issuance of a school order forbidding cooking in the boys' studies. "The Pillow-Fight", signed "I.N.O." (perhaps to make it appear to be from a different author than its unsigned predecessor), had previously appeared in The Scribbler of 5 January 1880 (where it was signed "Nickson").

The third Kipling-edited issue, No.6 of 1 November 1881, also contains one prose piece and two poems. "Birds of Passage", seemingly influenced by the author's having recently read Carlyle's Sartor Resartus in the Headmaster's library, is a sketch of the tourists frequenting Bideford in the summertime, and of the native eager to point out places of interest and tell the tourists strange stories about them. The poem "Index Malorum", in the stanza form of Tennyson's "In Memoriam", is a recital of the indignities and discomforts of schoolboys sent 'to Devonian strands'; the poem "A Mistake" is in the manner of Robert Browning (whose name, only partly disguised with x's in place of most all other letters, appears beneath the title), and tells of the injudicious selection by the writer of a new boy at school on whom to impose, and what transpired thereafter. Neither was later collected by Kipling. This issue contains a prose piece, "Notes", which Livingston attributed to Kipling, but which he did not claim in the annotated Haileybury volume. And as previously noted, he denied authorship of the prose piece "O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint", although it is signed "Editor."

The fourth of the issues appearing under Kipling's editorship, No.7 of 5 December 1881, sees the first appearance in the newspaper's Poetry section of poems in addition to those known to be his. "A rabid effusion in the style of 'The Hunting of the Snark' ", titled "Concerning

the Beast" in the Denham list, is now known to have been written by Dunsterville. Kipling's poem "Told in the Dormitory", purportedly by Alfred Tennyson and in the style of that poet's "The Princess", is about a deceit practiced upon a new boy by two of his seniors. (In *Echoes*, the collection by Rudyard and his sister Trix which was privately printed by the Kipling family in Lahore some three years later in 1884, Kipling included imitations or parodies of two poems by Browning and one by Tennyson, but none of them were the parodies of those poets appearing in the *Chronicle*.) The second poem known to be Kipling's, "Waytinge", written in the Elizabethan English of "Concernynge Swaggers", is the wail of a schoolboy waiting vainly for the return of a junior sent to town to buy buns and biscuits for tea. Livingston attributes to Kipling in this issue answers to correspondence signed by "Ed." and Literary and Debating Society notes (unsigned), but Kipling authenticated neither in the Haileybury volume.

Editor Kipling's fifth issue was No.8 of 20 March 1882. The untitled and unsigned editorial, appearing at the commencement of a new school year, is another appeal for contributions: "We would wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not evolved from the unseen—like dinner, nor—like Topsy, do we grow. If there is nothing to print, Wilson doesn't print it.'

This issue has more Kipling contributions than any other appearing during his tenure as Editor: in addition to the editorial just quoted, there are four poems and two prose items. Of the latter, "Fables for the Young" is a series of five Aesopian imitations with moral appended, modelled after the American humorist Eugene Field's *Primer*. (The title is a precursor of the much more sophisticated "Fables for the Staff, which Kipling wrote and published in six issues of the Army newspaper *The Friend* in Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, in March 1900 during the Boer War.) The second prose piece is "Ibbetson Dun", described as a 'portion of an unrolled MS. in a deserted study', and is an unfinished story of the adventures of the crew of a fishing schooner off the English coast. Neither of these contributions were later collected by the author.

Of the poems, all unsigned and only one later collected by Kipling, the first is "Told in the Dormitory", a continuation of the verses of that title which had appeared in the issue of 5 December. The second, "Romance and Reality", is the romantic interpretation of apparent country sounds, followed by the discovery of their true source, a chanting fellow student. The third, "The Knight Errant", relates the tale of a student 'knight' disregarding the claims of chivalry in order to get his hired steed back to the livery stable in time to avoid the charge for an additional hour.

In a grander vein is the more ambitious "Ave Imperatrix", written on the occasion of an attempt on Queen Victoria's life in March 1882. Kipling reprinted six stanzas of this seven-stanza poem in his article "An English School", and collected it in its entirety in the Outward Bound Edition volume *Early Verse* in 1900. Although Livingston lists as Kipling contributions to issue No.8 both a note to a letter to the Editor and the Debating Society notes, neither is authenticated in the Haileybury volume. As an aside, the article about the Debating Society observes that, at the 31 January meeting, 'After a considerable amount of voting, Kipling was re-elected Secretary.' Issue No.8 also contains an article about the Christmas play at the College, in which it is recorded that Kipling's performance of Sir Anthony Absolute in Sheridan's *The Rivals* was 'a capital performance, somewhat marred by an obvious catarrh and a voice too slender.'

The penultimate issue of the Kipling editorial regime, No.9 of 3 June 1882, includes three prose items and two poems. "Ibbetson Dun" is continued from the prior number, but not, as promised at its conclusion, further continued in the succeeding issue. "Fables for the Young" are two more short tales with morals, in the vein of the similarly-titled entry in issue No.8 of March. Of all the titles discussed here, this next piece seems the least likely to be from the pen of Kipling, who is well-known to have taken no interest in athletics, perhaps because of his eyesight. "Hints on Football", two columns of burlesque suggestions for soccer players, is formally signed by the "Games Editor", but authenticated by Kipling in the Haileybury volume with the notation 'R. Kipling (with outside help)', which seems to have been his parenthetical formulation for a contribution co-authored with Dunsterville.

The verses are titled, respectively, "Told in the Dormitory", a continuation of those so titled in issue Nos.7 and 8, and "The Worst of It", another Browning parody. This poem was later collected in the Outward Bound Edition *Early Verse* under the new title "The Jam Pot", which better describes its subject, relating the trouser-smearing results of a squabble between two boys struggling to control the fruit spread.

Kipling's final issue as editor was No. 10, appearing 24 July 1882. It contains only one authenticated contribution, the poem "Donec Gratus Eram (Devonshire Dialect)", a translation into that dialect of lines from Horace's Book II, Ode 9, done by the author to avert punishment for the sacrilege of having told his classics master that Latin verse ought to rhyme, "as decent verse should." When collected by Kipling in the 1900 *Early Verse*, the spelling was altered considerably. Writing of the genesis of this poem in his article "An English School", Kipling noted that for creating this poem, '[h]e was let off, and his master gave him the run of a big library, where he found as much verse

and prose as he wanted; but that ruined his Latin verses and made him write verses of his own.' (Of course, Crofts deserves no little credit for seeing how good and clever these verses truly were.)

And as we know, to our never-ending pleasure, that is precisely what our schoolboy editor proceeded to do, for the rest of a long and productive life. Thanks to the preservation of the annotated Haileybury volume, now we know better how he began.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give you our traditional toast, "To the Unfading Genius of Rudyard Kipling."

THE KIPLING LIBRARY SALE OF SURPLUS BOOKS

By JOHN WALKER

The Kipling Library, now housed in eleven bookcases on the top floor of the City University Library in London, has been growing steadily for nearly eighty years. With some generous recent gifts from members of the Society, it has become essential to make room, by clearing some of the commoner duplicated volumes.

Council have decided that the fairest way to offer these to members is as follows:

- A list will be published in January 2007, giving a full description of each item with a suggested price, and postage costs.
- Members may request the list, to be sent out by post on 28th January. This should give ample time for this Journal to reach all members. The list will also be offered to members of the Kipling Mailbase: RUDYARD-KIPLING@jiscmail.ac.uk,
- Orders for all books, whether by post or email, will be reserved until 14th February, and lots drawn where necessary.

All requests should go to the Honorary Librarian, John Walker, at 72, Millbank, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9RG, or by email to jwawalker@gmail.com. All correspondence received before 21st January will be acknowledged, to ensure that no requests are missed. It is hoped that the extended time scale will ensure that all members have an equal opportunity to purchase these volumes.

NEITHER CIVIL NOR MILITARY

By DR RIAZ HASSAN

[Dr Hassan has been teaching English in Pakistan since 1961. He is currently working in the National University of Modern Languages in Islamabad as Coordinator of the Research and Publications Cell and as Editor-in-Chief of the research journal. He has authored two novels about the sub-continent, and academic works on Aristotle. Russell, psycholinguistics and the English language in Pakistan.

He tells me that as a child, like most Lahore urchins, and indeed like Kim, he played on the *Zamzama* (or *bhangiaon ka top* sweeper's cannon), and in the fifties knew the Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* which was then still being published. He also tells me that as the ideas contained in this article are his alone, he has not cited sources because there are none. – *Ed.1*

The Jungle Book is more of the same. Colonialism was a funny old game.

In stories about the American West, one villainous stock character is the half-breed (often known simply as the breed, part 'Injun', part 'Paleface'), an emotionally unstable product of miscegenation. Belonging to neither of his parent's nations, he is likely to turn in anger on both. I am a breed, a half-English Pakistani whose childhood came into the period just before independence. There was a lot of racial comparison going on then, just as it was in Kipling's time. The social mantra was (repeat after me), 'English *good* Indian *bad*⁷. This became more strident as the local British realized that they might have to go before long. One can understand at least two colonial compulsions behind it. First, the British had to convince the Indians that they were by definition a bunch of incompetents. Second, they had to convince themselves that they were something special. No occasion, no matter how trivial or untimely, was passed up to reinforce this double message.

It was double rubbish. However, repeated exposure to rubbish can affect people. This is where the breed has a small advantage. He stands outside things. He is the onlooker who sees at least some of the game. A number of British boys studied with me at an Irish mission school in Lahore. (Lahore was one of Kipling's stomping grounds—he worked for several years in the now defunct but once well-known newspaper, the *Civil and Military Gazette*). Hardly anyone remembers that that huge gun known onomatopoeically among locals as 'zamzama' that stands outside the Lahore Museum, was used in a sweeper uprising, most people remember it as *Kim 's* gun from Kipling's story. The lesson here is that a piece of *Ferenghi* fiction can have more impact than real history. This is one effect of the ceaseless propaganda

mentioned earlier. Actually, it was nonsense on a *zamzama* scale, but people tended to lap it up. People loved those sweeping assertions about races and tribes. But the real surprise is that nothing much has changed since then.

The ethnic point is, if those British boys had fallen straight from heaven, why weren't they clearly and automatically better than the rest of us at studies or sports? They weren't. Why weren't the Indians habitual liars, as they were said to be? They weren't. Why wasn't a breed like me somewhere between the two? I wasn't. Why weren't the British boys naturally more honest or more civilized than the Indian boys? They weren't - the distribution of cheats and ruffians was about equal for both sides. Skin colour? The Indian boys ranged from dark brown to (mostly) pale brown to (occasionally) white, the British ones from white to (mostly) pink to (occasionally) pale brown. There was no discernible link between pigmentation and intelligence, or pigmentation and performance, or pigmentation and morality, or pigmentation and aptitude. Looking for reasons is a waste of time. Kipling tries, but he must have seen what this writer saw a thousand times at school, that, good or bad, what was true for one side was true in about equal measure for the other.

Raw individual talent was obviously not the issue. Generalities and large perceptions about whole nations mattered more. This I learnt as time went on. One Pakistani classmate, an enormously talented lad who easily exceeded the rest of us in everything, ended up as an impecunious clerk in a government office. Years later I discovered another one working twelve hours a day as a brick-layer, licking his foreman's boots for ridiculous daily wages because a hundred more like him were waiting in the wings. Yet another was proofreading for a daily newspaper, humbly grateful for the insulting pittance he received. On the other side I happened to be in England and looked up a British classmate, amiable but average, now working in a bank, eating and living well. I also got in touch with another one, a hugely talented English boy who should have gone tearing ahead, to discover that he had settled for a non-intellectual but well-paid bus-driver's job. The British boys had moved into reasonable prosperity, the Pakistanis were struggling under crippling circumstances. Macro images were more important than individual realities, innate ability or racial characteristics. If you were British you could hold your head up, if you were Pakistani you sang small. Such are the imbalances, then and now.

It had everything to do with the politics of master-racism. Hitler's propagandists had also been at it at full volume for a number of years. The Aryan was the world's natural *capo*, they averred, but there were also degrees of Aryanism. Among the Aryans said to inhabit the stretch

of land that included Europe, much of Central Asia and Northern India, the Nordic Aryan was the purest of the lot, the rightful *capo* of all *capos*. This shifted the centre from Celts to Franks, but was in the same tradition as Greek propaganda over two millennia ago, namely, that Europe was the sovereign queen and Asia the willing handmaiden. The word 'willing' should be noted here. Hitler's name was a bad word in the sub-continent at that time. However, the British were propagating similar racial and national myths in India. But they should have set up exclusive schools for their children. They made a colonial mistake when they put them in with Indian children.

Of course, these were not the only prejudices in evidence. Stereotypes are intensified by colonialism. Under the psychological distortions of the inter-racial power game, people tend to behave more stupidly than they might do under more normal conditions. Or perhaps people are stupid anyhow, breeds about as much as others. Between unwashed berserkers hurling rocks at one another for the possession of some insignificant hillock among my Western ancestors, and wild Arabs hurling spears at one another for a sip of water at some oasis among my Eastern ones, genetically there is little to choose from. The double whammy, the East-West twain supposedly never able to meet, yoked together by biological force.

The breed has no say in these matters because one half of him neutralizes the other. Slaves are fools and rogues; masters are rogues and fools. The big disadvantage for the slave is that he gets kicked around. But he has some advantages. He doesn't have to think. Being responsible for nothing, he can snipe away at everything. He doesn't have to prove his superiority or establish leadership credentials or murder others to maintain the status quo. Being a master also has some advantages. He can manipulate events, steal and grab things with impunity, murder others legally (he makes the laws), push others around and preen himself on imagined virtues. He can talk lofty nonsense about history or destiny or God's purpose. The big disadvantage is that he has to half kill himself to claim and sustain his leadership role, that much maligned 'white man's burden.' The masters whined about the heavy responsibility they carried, the implication being that they were doing the ungrateful savages a favour by kicking them around. Considering how they killed, cheated and schemed endlessly to first give themselves this onerous burden, and then maintain and defend it, one can't be very sympathetic or grateful.

There are other kinds of half-breeds, culturally conditioned ones. You find them all over the subcontinent, Indic-looking people who know more about London than they do about Bangalore, who can talk a lot in English about Shakespeare but not much in Hindustani about

Bullay Shah. Kipling was a culturally conditioned half-breed in the opposite direction. He started off Indian, a Hindustani-speaking British boy who happened to have ethnic links with the current tribe of grand, imperial despots in the region. His early exposure was more to the Indian side of things than the British one. Little children trustingly immerse themselves in their surroundings, unaware of future outcomes.

Half-breedism of any kind is uncomfortable. One hops around wondering where to put one's feet. There is a strong psychological need to be positively identified with some group or the other. This never quite happens for the ethnic breed, but it can happen for the cultural one. It was decided for Kipling as he grew older. He was British. One assumes that his early Indic conditioning intruded once in a while, but its effects must have grown weaker as time passed. *That* was where he belonged. The realization that he was all British by birth made him more British than the British. Coming as he did at the height of empire, it was clearly better to be on the ruling side of things and to do his bit to perpetuate it. Let the good times roll.

However, it is not always a matter of personal selection. One's antecedents cannot be erased, though they might be repressed. In Kipling one senses a repeated psychological journey back to his Indian base, a desire to champion the underdog in a guarded, oblique manner. The sub-continent was probably even more ridiculous in the nineteenth century than it is now, but it has always been attractive. A mournful refrain, a sad bid for wider racial membership in The Jungle Book is, 'we be of one blood, ye and I'. But alas, no not ye and I at least, not in a colonial set-up with its exclusive clubs, political arrogance, sustained vilification and racial propaganda. Morality has nothing to do with it. Those American 'How to be a Leader' books have got it wrong. There is no secret dodge or trick about it. You don't have to change your nature or remodel your habits. Leadership has nothing to do with morality. It has nothing to do with hard work, efficiency, devotion to duty, native ability or anything. It has to do with loyalty, with being in with the in crowd. British Europeans, it is suggested, be they never so lazy and irresponsible, are *natural* rulers, while Indians, be they never so committed and efficient, are *natural* slaves. Gunga Din might be the better man, but he is the one who is kicked and cursed by British soldiers. And (this is important) he accepts their abuse cheerfully, as in the due order of things. Kipling highlights the anomaly. Don't ask for reasons, he seems to tell us; and he is right because there are no reasons. This is how it is in Nature's (with a capital 'n') mysterious ways, he also seems to tell us; and this needs to be looked at more

If there is the slightest truth in this assertion, the breed is both a

natural master and a natural slave at one and the same time. Where does he fit in this so-called natural scheme of things? The answer is he doesn't. He is an embarrassment. Comfortable racial claims and generalities will not do for him. In the politics of natural racial leadership he has to be suppressed and ignored.

There were two kinds of unhappy half-breeds in India sixty plus years ago, both likely to turn on their parents' nations. The unhappier of the two were what are now termed the Anglo-Indians, children of British fathers and Indian mothers. Those who looked more European than Indian sometimes tried to suppress the fact of their Indian genes, but in this they were wasting their time. European racism at that time (perhaps even today) decreed that a person with coloured ancestry anywhere, even far down the line, be called coloured rather than white. Half-breed, quadroon, octoroon, touch o' the tar brush—but *never* white, no matter how pale his skin or Nordic his features. The reverse argument, every bit as logical (or illogical), that a man with some white blood in his ancestry be called white no matter how dark his skin, was not even considered—self-evident, old boy—look at his muddy face. Whiteness was all. The Anglo-Indian who hoped to benefit from his father's line was firmly excluded by the administration.

The situation for Eurasians (to which category this writer belongs) whose fathers were sub-continental and mothers British was perhaps slightly better. Taking their national identity from their fathers, they did not pose legal embarrassments for the British administrators in the same way as the Anglo-Indians, and could therefore be ignored in good conscience. Their primary difficulty lay on the other side, social acceptance by the Indians. One hears of an Indian telling an Englishman that God had made the Anglo-Saxon and God had made the Indian, but that they together had made the breed. In other words, that this creature existed without God's blessing, a sterile, kicking, neurotic, bad-tempered mule, fit only for pulling gun carriages around. Such is the welcoming the breed encounters among his fellow men on both sides of the picture.

The biological half-breed is not usually a racist. Which of his parents, which of his parents' people, can he deny without condemning himself? Even the cultural half-breed would normally find it difficult to indulge in racial generalities. But if the cultural half-breed plumps for his ethnic base, he might do so, sometimes with the convert's enthusiasm. One needs a worthwhile cause for the release of energy.

There was an amazing spectacle to explain, of three hundred million sullen, grumbling, dark people paying reluctant homage to a few thousand greedy, self-regarding palefaces who, ironically, were recruiting some of them as soldiers against the rest of them. One could understand other colonies, piddling little islands or disorganized, backward nations here or there, but how did one explain this huge, populous landmass? Unless one is willing to talk about God's mysterious purposes, which is a cop-out because it explains nothing, Kipling's suggestions and hints are unsatisfactory. However, one comes across even sillier explanations in writings of that time, so we can pass on.

Forster is aware of the nearly unbridgeable chasm. Kipling sometimes tries to throw a rope across—Spartacus must be appeased every now and then, or he might turn nasty. It is nice for the racial ego, but it is not enough just to be known as Number One Boss-man. Some spontaneous agreement on the part of Number Ten Bottom-man is also required. Gunga Din knows his place in the natural order, which makes it easier for everyone concerned. But not all slaves acquiesce so readily. The possibility of violent disagreement is always knocking at the ruler's door in this kind of equation. One comes across several examples of 'victor' history, which suppresses facts for the greater glory of the ruling tribe. British military invincibility was among the many assiduously cultivated myths of that period. In truth, the 1857 uprising eight years before Kipling's birth was a frantically close run series of engagements, with appalling demonstrations of military incompetence on both sides—greater on the Indian side, which frittered away advantages at several points. The memory of how close to disaster they had come could not have disappeared entirely from British consciousness by the time Kipling grew to man's estate.

His duality lies in the forest undergrowth of *The Jungle Book*. The infant Mowgli (he indirectly represents the British in India—authors regularly switch their symbols around) is lost in the Indian jungle (Nature with a capital 'n' provides the backdrop of this story). He is saved, defended and nurtured by good animals (Indians who know their place), is menaced by a tiger (lurking Indian nationalism—by the way, the tiger's name is Sher Khan—those pesky 'Muzzlims' disturbing the Anglo-Saxon's comfortable vision of life even then!), but manages to crush it with superior British technology (fire). As he grows older he is made aware of his *natural* dominance (British leadership) by his animal friends (docile Indians). This is important. He steps into his leadership role partly because others expect him to do so. They recognize the truth that he is born to that role, even he doesn't, at least, not in the beginning. The natural truth is revealed to him in the state of Nature. Eventually Mowgli returns to civilization, back to his own kind, drawn by a pretty girl (duty, familial/tribal responsibility). At the same time, he cannot forget the devotion of those jungle folk who had spontaneously done so much for him.

This is the core of Kipling's message. The British have the right to rule other nations partly because this is as Nature intends it to be, and partly because other nations expect to be ruled by them. But if Nature intends them to be Number One Boss-Men, why aren't they so today? Does Nature keep on changing its mind?

Of interest is the Disney cartoon, which gives the story another twist, with echoes of the American War of Independence. The villainous tiger speaks with a ruling-class British accent—Cornwallis. maybe, scouring the jungle for rebellious American colonials to kill. But he is vanquished by Mowgli, who sounds and behaves like an American brat. The good bear also sounds like a half-wit American teenager. Two centuries after the event the Americans seem not to have entirely forgiven the British for their colonial past. They haven't forgiven them because they nurture the same aspirations, only this time they want it to be American WASP rather than British WASP. It hasn't changed. It has merely crossed the pond. One senses a touch of envy. The illusions are going full blast—super this, super that—Americans are quite the greatest ever, aren't they? They live in God's own country, don't they? They should be lording it over others as the Brits once did. How on earth did their dyspeptic, self-satisfied cousins who spoke the language with funny accents and lived under dripping umbrellas on that soggy little island, manage to get a grip on so much of the world?

Partly it was a question of timing. Partly it was managed through a combination of things, a goodly display of virtual reality, extensive spin doctoring, carefully groomed reputation building, bombast and a fair sprinkling of luck. There wasn't much substance to be found anywhere. Kipling is a sometimes open, sometimes sneaky, but always eloquent advocate of imperialism, not only in India where it was bumping along fairly well in his time, but also in other parts of the world. There were plenty of personal axes to grind. The British had a good thing going in India, quite good for the pocket and not at all bad for the ego. However, few of them believed it would roll on forever. The thing to do was to push it along as far as it could go, to chip in with whatever one could do in questionable political and economic theory, racial mumbo-jumbo, twisted Darwinism, loaded philosophy, iterated propaganda, assertive theology, non-evidential psychology, pseudoscience, fiction, poetry, racist anthropology, falsified history, dirty politics, oppressive civil administration and (the bottom line) military force mostly taken from the slaves themselves, all in the service of the great cause. Six decades on, the puzzling question is why haven't the illusions generated long ago by those distorting mirrors disappeared from these societies?

KIPLING EXHIBITION AT YALE, 2007

By THE EDITOR

David Alan Richards [see p.35] has sent me advance information about the Kipling Exhibition that is being mounted in the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT from 30 May 2007 to a currently undecided date in August or September. The plan is to use a number of display cases spread over two floors and containing around 350 items, so it promises to be the most complete and interesting exhibition of Kipling material ever shown, mostly of items that he has personally collected and donated to Yale. Extracts from his own description of the Exhibition Principles, which give an excellent overview of the project, follow:

The last great Kipling exhibition in the United States, the Grolier Club Exhibition of February / March 1929, mounted while the author lived, contained virtually every then known first edition published to that date, in strict chronological order, and was drawn from several private collections. It largely avoided non-literary biographical summary, references to family members, portraits and photographs, unauthorized editions that were not first editions, advertising, and ephemera; it completely avoided scandalous material, or critical asides. It was literary history as "one damn thing after another", and no exhibition case was devoted to a single theme running throughout the author's career.

This exhibition, in a different era with a much different audience, and at a considerable removal in time, sets its face in a different direction. It is necessarily drawn almost solely from my personal acquisitions, supplemented by previously undisplayed treasures of the Mathilda Tyler and Chauncey Depew holdings (in a deep bow to the Kipling collectors of Yale who preceded me with their gifts).

The aim is to educate (or remind) the viewer who Kipling was, to describe his literary and political significance in his long lifetime, and to celebrate his "Greatest Hits." The first group of cases, straddling upstairs and down, are a mixtures of chronological periods and, within those periods, single title gatherings of his best known verse and story collections, novels, and even three of his individual poems. In several instances, entire poems should be readable in print, typescript, or manuscript. Within the "title" cases, not only first editions, but national variant, publisher variant, subsequent, illustrated, and even stage and motion picture versions are included, to illustrate both the contemporary publishing enter-

prise and commercial variety and afterlife (Kipling was nothing if not a keen market segmenter of his wares).

The remaining display cases (all on the first floor) are devoted to single (albeit sometimes double space) themes: modern (since 1980) first editions, charity fundraising books, speeches, pirated editions, copyright editions, authorized private press and miniature printings, collected works editions, Kiplingiana, music, and stage and screen adaptations. Finally, there is a four-section 'hanging wall' of framed items, one section devoted to "The Absent-Minded Beggar", and the remaining three dedicated to book and magazine advertising, and portraits and caricatures. An attempt has been made to provide in most of the exhibition cases one or more non-book items: an original period photograph, or drawing, or holographic material, or some piece of ephemera (including a scale model brass cannon [Zamzama], decorated pottery, medallions, and DVDs).

Just to get a flavour of what will be on offer to visitors, the first introductory text is given below:

For the last decade of the nineteenth century and at least the first two decades of the twentieth, Rudyard Kipling (1865 1936) was the most popular writer in the English language, in both prose and verse. He was the last British poet to command a mass audience, appealing to readers of all social classes and ages. Although his few novels, except Kim, were only a mixed success, in the medium of the short story Kipling extended the range of English fiction in both subject matter and technique, and did perhaps more than any other author in our tongue to obliterate the division between popular and high art. This exhibition tracks the development of his work, from journalistic beginnings in India, through sudden and sustained success in England and the United States, and follows his transformation from the exuberant bard and binder of Empire, to the public poet of the battles and cemeteries of the Great War which claimed his only son, to the dismayed observer of the post-war years who resisted the independence of India and foretold the growing threat of Hitler.

CALL FOR ESSAYS FORD MADOX FORD'S LITERARY CONTACTS

By PROF MAX SAUNDERS

Vol. 6 of International Ford Madox Ford Studies, to be edited by Paul Skinner, will be a varied volume, making room both for biographical contacts and literary 'influences' (understood as including figures influencing Ford, and those influenced by him). It is based on the premise that 'major' writers don't just build on the work of other 'major' writers, that 'influence' (positive or negative) sometimes comes from the peripheral characters and that, for instance, the major modernists often took off from less well-known or less-successful artists, either reaching beyond or over them, even frankly stealing things that hadn't been made the most of. Ford's relations with writers such as James, Conrad, Crane, Violet Hunt, Pound, and Rhys have been well-studied. Rather than sustained revaluations of such contacts, this volume aims to cover the less obvious but nonetheless revealing figures; but it is also open to briefer contributions shedding new light on even these familiar friendships. Contributions need not all be on prose, nor all on the twentieth century. Work on Ford's influence on later writers is also welcome. Papers given at the 2006 Birmingham conference may be submitted for inclusion. Briefer pieces (say 1 or 2 pages) are also welcome, from writers who prefer other forms than academic papers, or who have salient observations that might not warrant full-dress treatment.

A long list of possible figures for inclusion is posted on the Society's website: http://www.rialto.com/fordmadoxford_society/

The editor would particularly welcome a contribution on Kipling.

If you would like to contribute to Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts please contact Paul Skinner: paul@pgskinner.wanadoo.co.uk as soon as possible.

Prof Max Saunders, Professor of English, King's College London, The Strand, London WC2R 2LS

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BOOK REVIEW

MODERN ENGLISH WAR POETRY by Tim Kendall, published by Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon St., Oxford 0X2 6DP 2006, (ISBN 0-19-927676-5, Hardback, £50.00) iv+276 pages including Bibliography and Index.

Review by THE EDITOR

This is not a collection of poems but a study of the war poetry created by a selected group of poets. Prof Kendall has limited himself to the period from the Boer War (1899) to the Iraq War (2003), and between these conflicts, has concentrated on the Great War, the Spanish Civil War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Second World War, and the Vietnamese War. The poets whose works have been covered in the greatest depth include Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Wilfred Owen, Edward Thomas, Charlotte Mew, Ivor Gurney, W.H. Auden, Keith Douglas, Sidney Keyes, Ted Hughes, and Geoffrey Hill, ending with a *melange* of modern self-described "anti-war poets". In support, or rebuttal, of his analysis, at different stages he draws on the works of other poets such as T.S. Eliot, Robert Frost, and Andrew Motion. Thus, to appreciate it fully, one ideally requires a knowledge of all the various works discussed which, in all honesty, I do not have.

Prof Kendall is clearly a man of firm views, and happily, he sticks to his guns throughout this study. My conclusion is that he agrees whole-heartedly with Siegfried Sassoon in that a War poet should write from experience. Hardy, Mew, Hughes and most of those who wrote after WWII fail this test, writing at second-hand from hearsay evidence, or worse, more recently from the TV news bulletins.

The nineteen-page chapter allotted to Kipling is titled "Rudyard Kipling's Dress Parade" and is principally concerned with his work on the Boer War, specifically the poems collected in *The Five Nations*, with occasional references to the prose of that period. His poetry acts as a Dress Parade for 'the salient themes of the Great War'. He 'fosters the earliest significant generation of soldier-poets, which will emerge during the Great War over a decade later'. 'So often caricatured as a jingoist and apologist for empire, Kipling writes a poetry which can be tentative, self-doubting, and compassionate'. However, Prof Kendall's final comment after consideration of "Chant-Pagan" where 'soldiers fight and die for an England of their dreams', is that Kipling's Boer War poetry 'fails to include in its legacy a satisfactory answer' as to why this should be so.

There are no references to Kipling's later War Poetry such as those included in *The Years Between*, or "Epitaphs of the War", or even "My Boy Jack". I feel that this is a missed opportunity, but perhaps Prof Kendall might tackle all of Kipling's War Poetry sometime in the future?

A MAGISTRA'S THESIS

ON THE JUNGLE BOOKS IN CLASS

By THE EDITOR

Early this year I was asked by Ms Silvia Baumgartner, one of our members in Austria, for permission to quote from several *Journal* articles. They were for use in her Diploma presentation towards a Magister degree at the University of Vienna with the title "Bagheera and Baloo in Class – A Didactic Approach to Kipling's *Jungle Books"*. Naturally, permission was given, and once her degree had been awarded, Mag Baumgartner sent me a copy of the thesis to read.

First it must be said that her thesis is written in English, and it is not just an academic dissertation, but has some very practical objectives as well. These are to develop and outline a set of projects based on the *Jungle Books* which could be used in a transdisciplinary approach to the teaching of English, and also some history, to pupils of 14-16 years in Austria.

In developing her thesis, she works through various topics which include "Definitions of Children's Literature"; Rudyard Kipling and his Literature for Children"; The *Jungle Books* — Literature for Children?"; "Animal Characters in the *Jungle Books"*; "Mowgli a Creature between the Worlds"; "The *Jungle Books* in Class"; and "The *Jungle Books* among Scouts". The three projects are "Rewriting 'Mowgli's Brothers' "; "I am Two Mowglis"; and "Imperialism and the *Jungle Books*".

Once it has been decided by the teacher that literary texts should be used in a second language class, the *Jungle Books* meet several of her criteria. Specifically, many teenagers can easily identify with Mowgli because elements of his identity crisis can be interpreted as typical teenage problems; because they are written for children, their language is fairly simple although younger pupils will certainly need some help; and they help students to understand cultures and ideologies different from their own.

It seems to me that Mag Baumgartner's ideas are not only appropriate to the Austrian educational system but could also be used to great benefit in the U.K. They are not limited to the simple reading of texts or stories, but to listening, speaking, reading and writing whilst the treatment of intercultural topics and the development of social skills are emphasised. I am therefore very happy to say that the copy of her thesis has been placed in the Society's library in London. We should also thank her father for reading these stories to her at bedtime as a child.

THE NEW READERS' GUIDE

'SUNOL' AND 'SAHI'

By F.A. UNDERWOOD

Having been asked to revise the notes on the *Jungle Book* stories in the original Readers' Guide for the new one, I have returned to a couple of small problems which have irritated me for years.

The first is a reference to a mare in "Her Majesty's Servants" (*The Jungle Book*) where Billy, the screw-gun mule, insults the troop-horse imported from Australia by calling him a Brumby, a wild horse without any breeding. In the first English edition and its blue-bound reprints Kipling continues: "Imagine the feelings of Ormonde if a 'bus-horse called him a cocktail . . .", cocktail meaning a cross-bred horse. That would have been understood easily by an adult English reader in 1894 or thereabouts, if not by a child, because Ormonde was a very famous thoroughbred that won the Triple Crown (2000 Guineas, Derby and St Leger) in 1886 and indeed all of his sixteen races. Omnibuses were drawn by very cheap horses in those days.

In the first American edition the wording was replaced by: "Imagine the feelings of Sunol if a car-horse called her a 'skate' . . .", presumably to make it more intelligible to American readers. The trouble was that in the later English editions, such as the Uniform, Pocket and Sussex, the text was altered, usually, although not always, to the American one and Sunol, the car-horse, and "skate" replaced Ormonde, the 'bus-horse and the cocktail. The English reader can understand "car-horse" and "skate" and get the general meaning – there is an excar-horse in "A Walking Delegate" (*The Day's Work*) and the Deacon calls the yellow horse a skate in the same story.

But who was Sunol? The ORG has "clearly the winner of some classic race (Melbourne Cup?)", the Penguin Classics edition has "Ormonde and Sunol were famous racehorses" and the OUP World's Classics has "a winner of an Australian classic race." I had always thought that it was an American racehorse but could find no details until I asked a friend with a computer to "Google" her and he found within minutes that she was not a thoroughbred but in her day a famous American harness-racing horse: a trotter pulling a driver in a light two-wheeled cart called a sulky. Thoroughbred racing was then confined to small regions in America and Canada, but there were numerous tracks for harness racing, as there are now. The sport has never been so wide-spread or organised in Britain. A measure of the ability of a trotter, or the alternative pacer which moves the legs on the same side of its body together, is the time taken to cover a mile, in racing or against the

clock: this was being pushed down towards two minutes in the last years of the 19th century — a record in recent years was 1:46.1. Sunol was the fastest trotter for her age as a two-, three-, four-, and five-year-old, peaking at 2:08½ in 1891. Her feats were therefore fairly recent when Kipling wrote "Her Majesty's Servants".

The other horse mentioned in that section of the story is Carbine, claimed by the troop-horse as a relation on his mother's side, somewhat implausibly although he did come from Australia. Carbine was a very successful racehorse in Australia, actually by a stallion, Musket, exported to New Zealand from England. He won 33 races, including the Melbourne Cup in record time carrying 10 stone 5 pounds and was unplaced in only one of his total of 43 races. In 1895 he was bought for £13,000 by the Duke of Portland and imported into England to stand at his Welbeck stud.

The second sentence in *The Jungle Book* which has puzzled me, and evidently others, is in the amusing Preface which parodies those in serious tomes at the time:

Sahi, a savant of infinite research and industry, a member of the recently disbanded Seeonee Pack, and an artist well known at most of the local fairs of Southern India, where his muzzled dance with his master attracts the youth, beauty, and culture of many villages, have contributed most valuable data on people, manners, and customs.

This can be read to describe one, two or three animals giving (a) a dancing wolf (e.g. World's Classics edition); (b) a wolf named Sahi and a dancing bear (the ORG); or (c) Sahi a porcupine, an anonymous wolf and a dancing bear (The Penguin Classics). When I saw Professor Karlin's interpretation in the last-named I was quite convinced by it because I could never believe that Kipling would have used the name Sahi for a wolf as it was used for a porcupine in the early English editions and only changed later (almost entirely) to the American "Ikki". The Preface is one of the few places where "Sahi" was retained, and the interpretation (c) is strengthened by the fact that "Ikki" was used there in the first American edition. An examination of that edition shows that there are semi-colons after "industry" and "Pack", breaking the sentence into three parts and so separating the three animals.

In conclusion it is pleasing to have Sahi, the porcupine, as a savant, a word the Victorians were fond of using for their scientists, whilst "infinite research and industry" conveys an image of his rootling about for food as well.

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Members who have problems signing on to the members pages or have other problems with the Society website should contact the On Line Editor on:

johnradcliffe@blueyonder.co.uk

Roger Ayers, Hon. Membership Secretary

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PILED RIFLES

From: Dr F.A. Underwood, The Coplow, 44 Station Road, Winterbourne Down, Bristol BS36 1EN

Dear Sir.

A passage in the account of the elephant Kala Nag's career early in "Toomai of the Elephants" (*The Jungle Book*) must puzzle the younger generation of readers, including adults, and has raised doubts in the minds of some of their elders. Omitting a reference to infantile tusks, where Kipling was apparently wrong, the sentence reads:

His mother, Radha Pyari,—Radha the darling,—who had been caught in the same drive with Kala Nag, told him . . . that elephants who were afraid always got hurt; and Kala Nag knew that that advice was good, for the first time that he saw a shell burst he backed, screaming, into a stand of piled rifles, and the bayonets pricked him in all his softest places.

An explanation should certainly be included in any notes on the story if only because the term "piled" would probably suggest an image of a horizontal stack of rifles. Dim memories of my time in the school O.T.C. (Officers' Training Corps) in the late 1930s told me that rifles could be "piled" with "butts on the ground, muzzles pointing upwards, in threes" as it says in the original *Readers' Guide*, thus forming a wigwam-shaped "stand". The short Lee-Enfields with which we were issued had attachments which hooked together to make the process possible. Incidentally, boys who were rather short for rifles had old cavalry carbines, which I think could not be piled, although I could be wrong.

I could not remember seeing rifles piled with fixed bayonets as in the story and neither could one or two contemporaries I asked, and we wondered whether it was possible and permissible to do this. Could Kala Nag have been pricked in this manner?

A friend, Mr E.J.W. Saunders, who, apart from war service, shot at Bisley for many years, recently borrowed two books to show me which had reproductions of photographs from the middle and end of the nineteenth century which solved the problem. In fact a particular photograph showed two stands of rifles, one with and one without bayonets, proving that poor Kala Nag could indeed have backed into the former. One photograph also shows five or six rifles piled together by placing loose ones between those hooked together.

I omitted to take full details of the books mentioned but noted *Weapons and Equipment of the Victorian Soldier* by Donald Featherstone, Fig.16, "93rd Highlanders outside Barracks at Scutari in Turkey soon after their arrival, 1854" and *The Victorian and Edwardian Army* by John Fabb and Y.W. Carman, Plate 40, "Camp Guard of the Seaforth Highlanders, 1896." Some of the other photographs had an interest in connection with Kipling, for example one of an elephant battery.

The question was also raised as to why the rifles would be piled while shelling was taking place, but I suppose that they could have belonged to artillerymen with the guns which Kala Nag and other elephants had towed into place, or to infantry near them.

Yours faithfully F.A. UNDERWOOD

ERRATA

"PROPHECY" NOT "PROPHESY"

Kipling Hedley of Victoria, British Columbia, has drawn my attention to something that I failed to notice in the June 2006 issue of the *Journal*. The title of Dr Mark Nicholls' article on p.47 should have been "Cormell Price's Prophecy", and should also have been listed as such in the Contents page. Please accept my apologies for this grammatical error. – *Ed*.

"VICTORIA" NOT "VICTOIA"

I owe Prof Bard Cosman an apology for mis-typing this name from his letter which appeared on p.63 of the September issue. I also doubt that Queen Victoria would have been amused.

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-profitmaking 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 online to members or in our Library. Apply to: The Librarian, Kipling Society, 72 Millbank, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9RG, England or email to jwawalker@gmail.com

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