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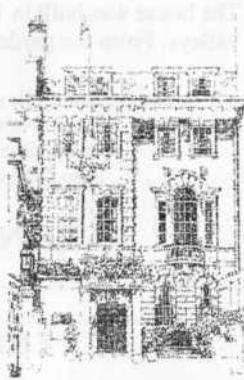
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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Wednesday 18 April 2012, 5.30 for 6 p.m. in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Fiona MacCarthy**, biographer of **Sir Edward Burne-Jones**, on "Kipling and Burne-Jones".

Wednesday 2 May 2012, 12.30 for 1 p.m. in the Hall of India and Pakistan, Royal Over-Seas League, **The Society's Annual Luncheon**. **Mr David Marler** Chairman of the British Council Association: "Getting under the Skin of the Other – if you can". For details please see December flyer or contact Jane Keskar.

Wednesday 11 July 2012, 4.30 p.m. **Annual General Meeting** in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League. A complimentary tea will be served at 4.00 p.m. in the Wrench Room for members who inform the Secretary in advance. Afterwards (5.30 for 6.00 p.m.) **Jonathon Green**, Britain's leading historian of slang, will talk on "Cursing like a Bargee and Slinging the Bat: Kipling's Use of Slang".

Wednesday 12 September 2012, 5.30 for 6 p.m. in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Dr Finn Fordham**, Royal Holloway College, University of London: '“If I knew Ireland as well as R.K. seems to know India ...” Joyce's debts to Kipling'.

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EDITORIAL

HONORARY SECRETARY REQUIRED

At the Council Meeting in November 2011, our Hon. Secretary Jane Keskar told us that she would like to step down from this role as soon as she can, and certainly before December 2013. Jane has now been doing this work for over 10 years, both graciously and with exemplary skill and would now like time to follow her other commitments more actively. Please would any member, willing to take over, contact Jane to find out what is involved.

COURIER – THE PARISH MAGAZINE OF MAKER WITH RAME

The October 2011 issue of the *Courier* carries an article, "Churchyard Tales" by Margaret Parker, on the subject of Barclay Harper Walton, his grave in the churchyard, and his relationship with the Kiplings. Much of this was described by Prof Tom Pinney in an article in the *Kipling Journal* No.312 (December 2004, pp.33-42) "On the track of an Epitaph: Kipling and B.H. Walton". It is very pleasant to see it drawn so clearly to the attention of local residents, and in particular that Walton's epitaph was written by Kipling.

THE ABBOTTABAD OLD CHRISTIAN CEMETERY (OCC)

In the December 2010 *Journal*, No.339, I reprinted an article from *Durbar* by Omer Tarin and Sarkees Najmuddin on military graves in the Abbottabad OCC, updated in part in the March 2011 issue (No.340), dealing with the names and inscription on an obelisk in the OCC.

At the end of last year, I received an email from Susan M. Farrington who had come across the original article and told me that in September 1982 she recorded the inscription as being:

In memory of Private Carrol, Private J Bird, Private W Bodycot, Private M Jamerson, Private W Barrett, Private J Bodycot, Private W Davie of the 1st Battalion 5th Fusiliers who died in 1879 and were buried near this spot.

In the last 30 years the inscriptions have obviously deteriorated quite significantly.

I understand that Susan Farrington is the author or co-author of several books relating to the Cemeteries and Churches or Monuments and Inscriptions to be found in various places including Quetta, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Bangladesh.

Continued on page 21

ARTHUR RANSOME'S
THE PICTS AND THE MARTYRS
TRANSLATING KIPLING'S "REGULUS"

By JANICE M. LINGLEY

[Janice Lingley has degrees in English and Medieval English, and has worked as a children's journalist and freelance writer. Besides being a member of The Kipling Society, she is also a member of The Arthur Ransome Society and The John Masefield Society. – Ed]

FOREWORD

The children featured in the twelve Swallows and Amazons stories by Arthur Ransome, published in the years 1930 to 1947, are not only lively and intelligent characters who enjoy the outdoor world of landscape and water, wind and sail, they are also implicitly and explicitly, children who are aware of, and in some sense exemplify, the 'life' of literature. Allusions and references to works by well known authors are, to a greater or lesser extent, a feature of all the stories in the Swallows and Amazons Series.

In *The Picts and the Martyrs* (1943), Ransome's inspiration was evidently Kipling's short story "Regulus". In this Swallows and Amazons story, the two Blackett girls, Ruth and Margaret, or 'Captain Nancy' and 'Mate Peggy', as they prefer to be known, are dismayed to learn that, in the absence of their mother and Uncle Jim, alias 'Captain Flint', their formidable Great Aunt Maria has decided to visit, unaware that her nieces have guests, their friends Dick and Dorothea Callum. The Callums have just arrived at Beckfoot and are about to collect their new sailing dinghy; Dick will also be assisting mining expert and prospector Timothy Stedding with some chemical assays. With their customary genius for imaginative play, Ransome's resourceful children metamorphose, on the arrival of 'the GA', into Picts and Martyrs. The harum-scarum Blackett sisters, playing host to their great aunt, turn into very prim and proper 'angels', while Dick and Dorothea, take secret refuge as 'fairy Picts' and 'badgers' in an old stone hut in the woods above Beckfoot, called 'the Dogs' Home'. The surreptitious extrication at night by the 'scientific Dick' of chemicals and apparatus from Captain Flint's study is not without hilarious mishap, and Timothy Stedding is subsequently surprised to learn that he is implicated in the 'burglary'. Ransome's comedy culminates in the mysterious disappearance of Great Aunt Maria, and Captain Nancy summoning Colonel Jolys' fire-fighters to search for her missing person.

As a boy, we are told in the *Autobiography*, Ransome knew the second book of *The Aeneid* well, especially the passage describing the treacherous arrival of the wooden horse within Troy's city walls, and he quotes the Latin of that 'breathless moment' when Laocoön hurls his spear at the horse. Ransome goes on to recount an amusing incident in which his spontaneous recall of lines from *The Aeneid* fortuitously averted a caning.

Another line from that passage was to serve me in good stead at Rugby when a master, enraged by some enormity of forgetfulness or absent-mindedness, said, 'You will come round to my house at two o'clock when I will give you something to remember.'

'Quicquid id est timeo,' I muttered to myself, 'Danaos et dona ferentes.'

'What?' he exclaimed. 'Say that again.'

I repeated it and he burst into a roar of laughter.

'All right,' he said. 'I see the classics are not wholly wasted on you. I'll let you off for that.' Thenceforth he looked on me with an indulgent eye.'

Both this anecdote, and "Regulus" the short story by Kipling published in 1917 in the collection entitled *A Diversity of Creatures*, imply the relevance of the Classics to the modern-day world.

INTRODUCING 'BEETLE'-KIPLING

Before returning to his family in India to begin work as a journalist, Kipling was educated at the United Services College at Westward Ho! in Devon. "Regulus", which describes, with Kipling's characteristic verve and humour, a lesson in Latin translation, may be regarded as something of a tribute to the scholar W.C.Crofts, Kipling's irascible and inspired English and Classics Master, on whom Mr King, in the story, is calqued. 'I tried to give a pale rendering of his style when heated in a 'Stalky' tale, "Regulus"', Kipling recalls in his autobiographical *Something of Myself* published posthumously in 1937. 'One learns more from a good scholar in a rage than from a score of lucid and laborious drudges' he observes. Kipling wishes that he could have presented Crofts on the occasion when as a schoolboy he had thoroughly provoked him with 'a vile construe' of another Horace passage: 'Having slain me, he charged over my corpse and delivered an interpretation of the rest of the Ode unequalled for power and insight.' This Classics Master, says Kipling, 'taught me to loathe Horace for two years; to forget him for twenty and then to love him for the rest of my days . . .'.²

Stalky & Co., published earlier in 1899, is also based in part on Kipling's experiences at Westward Ho!. The book features the lively anarchical confederacy of three senior boys sharing a study, and comprises a series of hilarious episodes in which, with strategy and wit, the boys assert themselves in defiance of the restrictions of school life. The boy nicknamed 'Beetle' is based on Kipling himself. As the only boy at Westward Ho! wearing spectacles, and these notable for their 'pebble' lenses, the young Kipling was generally referred to as 'Gig-lamps', or 'Gigger'³.

INTRODUCING "REGULUS"

Anyone entertaining the notion that the principal purpose of education is examination success will be challenged by the opening gambit of the short story Kipling began in 1908, and completed in 1911:

The Fifth Form had been dragged several times in its collective life, from one end of the school Horace to the other. Those were the years when Army examiners gave thousands of marks for Latin, and it was Mr King's hated business to defeat them. (*R*, 239)⁴

'THE MODERN SIDE'

There are whose study is of smells
And to attentive schools rehearse
How something mixed with something else
Makes something worse. (*R*, 271)

In Mr King's Latin class, the Fifth Form is called upon to translate Horace's account of the circumstances informing the death of the Roman general (Mr King refers to him as 'a gentleman') who gives the story its title. Beetle initiates the proceedings with his feigned hesitant and tortuous rendering (from a crib thoughtfully provided by his study-mate) of the Ode's beginning. The lesson is pervaded by 'a distinct flavour of chlorine gas' from the science class, the so-called 'Modern Side', next door, and the story resolves itself into something of a debate between the two masters. Should 'the modern system of inculcating unrelated facts about chlorine . . . all of which may be proved fallacies by the time the boys have grown up . . . have any real bearing on education?' – is the view of Mr King. His scientific colleague argues, however, that an education in the Classics is nothing more, as he expresses it, than the 'Chinese reiteration of uncomprehended syllables in a dead tongue.' (*R*, 261).⁵ Mr King's riposte is axiomatic: 'Balance, proportion, perspective – life. Your scientific man is the unrelated

animal – the beast without background. Haven't you ever realised *that* in your atmosphere of stinks?'

The metaphor Kipling employs to express the hazards of Latin translation is linked with the notion of sailing. At the end of his translating task, Beetle sits down with relief, 'well knowing that a reef of uncharted genitives stretched ahead of him, on which in spite of McTurk's sailing directions he would infallibly have been wrecked.' (R, 246).

In the second opening chapter of the penultimate story in the Swallows and Amazons Series, Ransome's comedic variation on Kipling's dialectal theme is summarily given in Captain Nancy's forthright tones. When she learns that 'scientific' Dick Callum is going to assist mining expert Timothy Stedding with some chemical assays, she says, 'Look here, you aren't going to make him do stinks when they've got a new boat.'

'TENDENS'

Mr King subsequently singles Beetle out to translate the word *tendens*, and the boy's glibly literal response, 'Stretching away in the direction of, sir', provokes the Classics Master to retort: 'Idiot! Regulus was not a feature of the landscape . . .'. When Mr King concedes the impossibility of rendering the exact sense in English, we are told that 'the gross injustice' of having been reprimanded 'converted Beetle into a young Christian martyr.' (R. 249).

In Ransome's 'translation', the two Blckett girls, attendant on the imperious GA's strict notions of propriety, are literally denied the outdoor world of hill and water, wind and sail when, as Martyrs, they are confined indoors in party frocks and shoes, playing the piano, reading aloud and reciting poetry. Their unwanted guests, the two little town children Dick and Dorothea Callum, forced to take refuge in the old stone hut in the forest above Beckfoot, are indeed 'unrelated animals' and 'beasts without background, for about being badgers and fairy Picts they have everything to learn.

Mr King prefaces his lesson with a quotation from Horace, Book I, the Seventh *Ode* – *Cras ingens iterabimus aequor*, 'Tomorrow we shall voyage over the vast sea.' (R, 239). Ransome's two young Picts have already learned something about sailing and to them, it appears, their author concedes Beetle's definition of the word *tendens*, when they set out for the first time in their new boat named *Scarab* on what Dick refers to as 'a real voyage.' A fair wind takes the children right down the lake as far as the river whose estuary lies to the west of the North Pole, previously reached in a winter snowstorm: 'It was very different,' Ransome tells us, 'on this warm August afternoon, with the hills purple with heather and the woods green, blue water before them instead of ice and a blue sky over all.' The word order of the phrases 'hills purple' and

'woods green' is Latinate, and there is just a hint of a pun perhaps on the 'beetle' flag flying 'bravely from the masthead' as the sail pulls and 'the little ship, their own at last' slips along (p. 156).

'THUNDERING JOVE', PUNIC 'DELUGES' AND 'SIGNA AFFIXA'

The opening lines of Horace's Fifth *Ode* (Book III)-in which Thundering Jove is believed to reign in Heaven, and the Emperor Augustus is considered divine for having brought the British and the Persians into the Roman Empire – are successfully negotiated by Beetle. But he has misled a fellow pupil into thinking that Horace's Punic temples, *Punicis delubris*, are to be translated as Punic 'deluges', and the class erupts in hilarious uproar. When himself asked for the correct translation by Mr King, Beetle, hazarding another guess on the presumed analogy of 'dilapidations', nonsensically ventures, 'Ruins, sir.' Furthermore, the '*signa**' hung upon the Punic 'deluges' are opaquely rendered 'signs' by Beetle's form-mate. The translation would more sensibly have been 'standards', for *signa* in Horace's poem refers to the 'Eagles' borne aloft in the van of the Roman legions (*R*, 242-4).

The ramifications of this comical episode were evidently, for Ransome, food for further creative thought. On the night of the burglary, Jove – not only king of the gods but also the god of law and social order –

makes his presence felt above Beckfoot in the form of thunder, lightning and rain, while Mate Peggy cowers under her bedclothes as Margaret, suitably awestruck. The Roman standards, it appears, have been translated contrariwise into Captain Nancy's piratical death's heads, pinned to the walls of the guest bedrooms at Beckfoot and hastily removed before the GA's arrival, one poster being destined for the Dogs' Home.

The hapless Beetle's 'ruins' can be considered to be obliquely represented in Ransome's dispensation too. Roman ruins are initially featured in the Swallows and Amazons Series in *Coot Club*. In the landscape the two Callum children encounter there are the remains of an ancient arch, and visible from Breydon Water is the Roman fort of Burgh, once part of a string of forts on the east and south coasts, forming an important sea defence. Dick and Dorothea's father, an archaeologist, is stated to be attending a conference on 'the Roman Wall'. The Lakeland stone wall that divides the respective worlds of the Picts and the Martyrs has a not dissimilar function to that built by the Roman emperor Hadrian. It is interesting to note that, as an adjunct to the frontier established by the Wall, the Romans built a further array of forts on the Cumberland coast, to deter invasion from the sea, as well as incursion via the land. Milefortlet 15, excavated in 1879, came to be known as Beckfoot Fort. There were a long series of investigations of Hadrian's Wall from the late 1920s, probably generally known about at that time. The discovery of Beckfoot Fort is

unlikely to have attracted much public attention⁶. However, Ransome, not only resident in Cumbria, had also the advantage of the Collingwoods' archaeological expertise, that of RG. senior and Robin, his son, who wrote two books on Roman Britain⁷, and was Ransome's close friend.

A WHOLE ROW OF CARS

Of such a fox chase there niver was known,
The huntsmen and followers were instantly thrown.

Swallowdale (Ch IX)

As the master in charge of 'collectively dragging' (to paraphrase) the young Beetle's Fifth Form class 'from one end of the school Horace to the other' (R, 239), Mr King presents a formidable presence. His mastery of the Latin language informs, and sets the tone of, his delivery of English. As the Classical scholar J. W. Mackail expresses the matter: '. . . the language we use daily as the instrument of thought and the vehicle of expression has been moulded by Latin influence. . . . Latin is not, in the strict sense, a foreign language to us; it is a vital constructive element of the first importance in our own.'⁸

Mr King's succinctly imposing (and very amusing) analysis of Beetle's haphazard attempt at translation illustrates very well the way Mr King asserts both discipline and a moral superiority. Here he is, in excellent form, wittily compared with Homer's Odysseus, on the subject of the afore-mentioned 'deluges'.

Then to Beetle the much-enduring man addressed winged words:

'Guessing,' said he. 'Guessing, Beetle, as usual, from the look of *delubris* that it bore some relation to *diluvium* or deluge, you imparted the result of your half-baked lucubrations to Winton who seems to have been lost enough to have accepted it. Observing next, your companion's fall, from the presumed security of your undistinguished position in the rear-guard, you took another pot-shot. The turbid chaos of your mind threw up some memory of the word "dilapidations" which you have pitifully attempted to disguise under the synonym of "ruins."'

(R, 244)

Much of the diction of this passage is of a Latinate register, and there is also to be noted, with regard to the military nature of the Ode being studied, the analogy implied by the metaphorical use of the words 'rear-guard' and 'pot-shot', applied to King's young charges, for many of the pupils of the United Services College that 'Beetle'-Kipling attended were destined for military careers.

It was customary for Kipling to supplement his short stories with a preface and/or afterword in the form of a poem. Horace's Odes comprise four books. At the end of "Regulus", Kipling provides 'A Translation' of Horace, Book V, *Ode 3*'. The first verse is quoted at the beginning of the section on 'The Modern Side'; the third is quoted here:

Others the heated wheel extol,
And all its offspring, whose concern
Is how to make it farthest roll
And fastest turn.

The 'wildnesses' Captain Nancy sets in progress are compounded by the motorised vehicle. Her Great Aunt arrives in a car; her mysterious disappearance is occasioned by the breakdown of another and complicated by a van; the hunt for her missing person is noisily preceded by the arrival at Beckfoot of a fleet of motor vehicles. The comedy of *The Picts and the Martyrs* is sequel to a story that dramatically concludes in narrowly averted disaster, when the careless occupants of a touring car ignite a fire that devastates a large area of hillside, threatening the lives of humans and animals alike.

When the 'quarry' (magically transformed, it seems, after the sojourn on the houseboat, into a lithe and elegant figure) steps ashore from *Scarab*, to discountenance and in turn dismiss the 'huntmen' gathered on Beckfoot's lawn, it is the Great Aunt's command of language that restores 'balance, proportion' and 'perspective' to the Lakeland community. Her crisply dignified, mannered, and articulate rhetoric, punctuated in just the right periodic places with words of Latinate derivation – *chastise, obligation, incompetent, untenanted, imbecile, congratulate, infectious* – culminates in the proprietorial concession of the chemical scales to Timothy Stedding, a suitably symbolic gesture. 'I hope you will in future remember that burglary is not usually held to be among the *accomplishments* of a *gentleman*.' – the word that is also used, as previously noted, to describe "Regulus". Civilisation, together with its highly developed culture, the reader may reflect, originated in an ancient pre-industrialised era without the aid, in the modern sense, of 'Science'. Cicero, or Jane Austen, could hardly have done better than Captain Nancy's Great Aunt.

PAYING' FOR GAMES'

Though the reader's attention inevitably, perhaps, focuses on 'Beetle' because of his partly non-fictional identity, the ostensible subject of Kipling's "Regulus" is Winton, 'a long, heavy, tow-headed Second Fifteen forward, overdue for his First Fifteen Colours, and in aspect

like an earnest, elderly horse' (R, 242-3). This rather stolid adolescent is nicknamed 'Pater' (Latin for 'father') by his school companions. It therefore causes Winton's fellow pupils, and his house-master Mr King, considerable surprise when 'Pater' causes havoc in the next lesson by letting loose a mouse, apparently in contempt of the 'mechanical drawing' then in progress. For this unaccountable frivolity, Winton is sentenced to a caning, takes his punishment stoically, and duly collects his First Fifteen Colours. The inference is that Winton is not unlike Regulus, who, as a Carthaginian captive on parole, nobly tells Rome the truth about the barbarity of Carthage and advises them not to accept terms, making his own death inevitable (R, 245). In his Latin class, Mr King declares emphatically that Regulus was 'playing for his side'.

There is just a hint of an analogy along these lines in Ransome's Swallows and Amazons story. The Lakeland Doctor chuckles with some satisfaction at the 'young pirate' Nancy having to tamely wind wool for the GA (p. 168). 'One thing about it,' he observes. 'Nancy's having to pay for her games.' At the resolution of the comedy, it is thanks to the GA's authoritative stance and her niece tactfully admitting responsibility for summoning Colonel Jolys' fire-fighters that the children's comical and elaborate subterfuge retains the status of 'unexploded theory', thus ensuring that the 'Martyrs' are in a position to resume their 'piracy' and the 'Picts' to continue being Picts. Timothy Stedding's comment – 'If you ask me, I think your Great Aunt is remarkably like her Great Niece' – is Ransome's way of telling us that these two characters are 'playing', as it were, for the same side.

Finally, the word *regulus* in Latin was not only used as a Roman cognomen; it was also a substantive with the meaning 'a petty king, prince or chieftain'. 'Regulus' is also to be found in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, retaining the sense of its Latin derivation, but also glossed with other significations, including the chemistry of metallurgy. The *OED* gives three definitions for this register of meaning, all of which have a bearing upon the activities of Ransome's young gold prospectors in *Pigeon Post*. The alchemists of old, in their quest for the magic formula that would turn base metals into gold, understood 'regulus' to refer to the metallic form of a substance that readily combined with gold – antimony. Timothy Stedding would presumably have been more familiar with the second two definitions of metallurgic *regulus*: 'the purer of metallic part of a mineral which sinks to the bottom of a crucible or furnace; and the unrefined 'product of the smelting of various metals' such as 'copper, lead and silver'. However, after all their hard work to produce an ingot of gold in order to impress Captain Flint, Ransome's young charcoal-burners are very disappointed to find that their crucible

has shattered in the heat leaving only slag, ash, and pieces of broken pottery. 'Scientific' Dick errs in thinking that *aqua regia* ' will tell whether or not the glittering ore the prospectors of the Golden Gulch Mine have crushed and panned really is gold; and it is not gold the children have found, but that traditional product of the Lakeland hills - copper: 'Copper for the craftsman cunning at his trade'.¹⁰

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Rupert Hart-Davis, editor, *The Autobiography of Arthur Ransome* (London: Cape, 1976), p.42.
2. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself For My Friends Known and Unknown* (London: Macmillan, 1951; first published 1937), pp.31-33.
3. Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling, His Life and Works* (London: Macmillan, 1955; revised 1978), p.59.
4. The page references given for "Regulus" are from Rudyard Kipling, *A Diversity of Creatures* (London: Macmillan, 1951; first published 1917), pp.239-72. For notes on the text and a translation of Horace's *Ode*, see the Readers' Guide on the Kipling website.
5. The science master's "Chinese" view of the Classics may be of relevance to Ransome's *Missee Lee*.
6. For comment and insight concerning the investigations into Hadrian's Wall and Milefortlet 15, the expert advice of Mr Ian Caruana, Honorary Librarian of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society is here acknowledged.
7. R.G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936).
8. J.W. Mackail, *Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today* (London: George G. Harrap, 1923), pp.5-6.
9. 'Aqua Regia (literally Royal Water) was so named by alchemists because of its ability to dissolve gold and other so-called noble metals . . .': see the comments on Dick Callum's experiment in *Jibbooms and Bobstays*, written and compiled by Amazon Publications (Kendal, 2003), p.89.
10. From the verse by Rudyard Kipling entitled "Cold Iron" accompanying the story of that name in *Rewards and Fairies* (1910).

The above article was first published in *Mixed Moss*, the journal of The Arthur Ransome Society, under the title, "*The Picts and the Martyrs*: Translating Kipling's *Regulus*, et Altera". The permission given by Arthur Ransome's Literary Executors to use copyright material is gratefully acknowledged.

KIPLING'S UNEXPECTED REJECTION

By THOMAS PINNEY

[Once again we must thank Prof Pinney for finding an unknown Kipling story, and this time one that is also unpublished until now. Its history is explained in the text of the article, but it is worth noting that it was written in 1889/1890, immediately after Kipling's return to England. The *St. James's Gazette* published several of his stories and poems in this period, including two that we reprinted in *Journal* No.334 (December 2009).

I am most grateful for the permission of A P Watt on behalf of The National Trust For Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty to publish this story. – Ed]

In the catalogue of Sotheby's sale for 25-27 July 1927 lot no. 744 is described thus:

KIPLING (R.) AUTOGRAPH MS. 1 1/2 pp. folio, "That Lady who Recited (by the Sufferer)," being a most amusing and characteristic skit on an intellectual after-dinner party with music and recitations, UNPUBLISHED; it was originally written for inclusion in the *St. James's Gazette*, but was refused by Low on the grounds that it might give offence to a lady at whose house he himself had just attended a party of a similar nature. The autograph letter of rejection by Low, Feb. 19, 1890, is included in the lot

The sketch includes fourteen lines of nonsense verse as a sample of the blank verse recited. The "Low" in this description is Sir Sidney Low (1857-1932), who edited the *St. James's Gazette* from 1888 to 1897.

This lot – minus the letter from Low – was duly sold at auction on 27 July to the firm of Spencer for £150. It was displayed at the great Kipling exhibition at the Grolier Club in 1929 (catalogue item 579), and is now in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. "That Lady Who Recited" is here published for the first time.

A brief correspondence provoked by the sale illustrates very clearly the annoyance that such transactions gave to Kipling. When notice of the intended sale appeared, Low wrote to Kipling in a letter whose current location is unknown. Kipling replied thus, in a letter dated 7 July 1927:

When the lady to whom I had given the M.S. asked my leave to sell the thing, after thirty seven years, she said nothing about any letter from you. If she had, I should have written to her as strongly as I have done since seeing the announcement of its offer in the papers. I am specially annoyed and disgusted because I have always been scrupulously careful to safeguard other people's correspondence.

It seems to me a legal outrage that this sort of marketing should be possible, but I am advised that it is, and I can only send my sincerest apologies that the affair should have happened (*Letters*, V, 379-80).

That he was expressing to Low no merely polite regret appears from the following undated draft, probably written about the same time as the letter of 7 July to Low:

When you wrote me that you intended to sell at auction the M.S. of a story which I had once given you, I regret that you did not tell me that you were also offering a private letter from the then Editor of the *St James's Gazette*, addressed to me. Had you done so, I should have protested as strongly as I do now against the disposal in open market of a business letter written to me.

But I hope that it may be still possible for you to withdraw this particular item from your sale as I am anxious not to lie under the imputation that I have countenanced any breach of confidence towards Mr. Low (unsigned draft, *Kipling Papers*, Sussex).

On 13 July Kipling wrote again to Low, who had evidently inquired as to the price that the M.S. might fetch at auction:

From the prices of previous stuff of mine I should not think that fifty quid would be looked at in the present market because the Americans are careless how much they give. And this thing is unpublished M.S. No! the lady will make a lot out of it! (TLS, Dalhousie University).

In a final letter to Low, dated 23 July 1927, Kipling wrote:

I see by this morn's paper that your letter came too late to be sent on to the lady, and that she has already sold the stuff. They don't allow grass to grow under their feet, do they?

So I am sending you back your note; but I begin to hope that, after all these years, there really can't be any more odds and ends drifting about the markets. I've never kept a scrap of my old M.S. (TLS, Dalhousie University).

I have not found the newspaper reference that Kipling mentions, but he evidently writes under a misapprehension. The M.S. of "That Lady Who Recited" was not sold until 27 July, and the remonstrance that he sent evidently had its desired effect. A typed note accompanying the M.S. in the Berg Collection reads thus:

Lot 744 – KIPLING AUTOGRAPH MS. The autograph letter from Sir Sidney Low has been withdrawn from this lot.

It would be interesting to know what names were mentioned in Low's letter. Kipling's sketch, despite its absurdity, seems so particular as to derive from an actual event. It is uncharacteristically bad-tempered, perhaps evidence that after so many years in India, and after his recent exposure to American life, he was finding the style of things in London strange and unattractive. One may also note the outburst of hysterical, near-pathological laughter with which the sketch ends. Though such scenes of comic catharsis recur in Kipling's work, the only attempt to account for them that I know is in *Aspects of Kipling's Art* (1964) by the Danish critic C.A. Bodelsen.

That Lady who recited.

(By the Sufferer)

I am in no sense angry. I am calm with a desperate calmness. All I require is a small corner of your esteemed journal wherein to ventilate my woes. But continually understand that I am not at all angry.

Recitation resembles a breach of any one of the Ten Commandments. All the world can commit it but all the world cannot commit it gracefully. It has been my pleasure to meet persons who would have rendered murder a graceful "five o'clock" interlude, so tactful and tasteful were their movements. I have been informed that persons peculiarly endowed by providence can so recite recitations that their recitatives actually produce pleasure in the mind of the listener. For that reciter or recitrix I wait. In the meantime I tell my own lamentable story.

There was a house, not yet razed to the earth, wherein people dined and suffered intellectual amusements afterwards. These things do not assort themselves with soup and fish and fowls and entrees and roasts and devilments and cream-things and an ice and some coffee afterwards and presently cigars. No one is intellectual, no one desires to be intellectual when he or she has enjoyed a good dinner; and the worst of it was that at that particular house it was a good dinner—an excellent dinner—an [word illegible: orgie?] to be dreamed over with a strong brown cigar between the teeth and a man with a glucose voice droning interminable tales to the right-hand side of you.

Instead of which, as the judge said to the gentleman who stole ducks, they dragged us upstairs into the drawingroom and they turned the big, booming, black, Broadwood piano upon us. With all the stops

out. There were ladies there of unbridled contraltoes and they whooped grievously, and there was another lady of a pernicious soprano and she whooped worse than all the others and the contraltoes and the sopranoes together said that their hearts were broken and they evidently desired to be under six feet of blue-mould and renounce all their loves which was eminently natural and exactly what every human being on the other side of the House of Life would do if she got the chance. But that was not the entirety of the affliction. Behind the Broadwood sat a person *which* for the sake of the verity shall be called female. I am perfectly certain that she wasn't: but these be details. She was by the beneficence of chance married to a man: and I am more than perfectly certain that he could not have been a man. And they twain were one flesh. She looked at him as one who said:—"Charley, my own, when my opportunity arrives you will see how I will sweep these obstreperous pretenders from the hearthrug," and he, regarding her, said with his eyes:—"Lucinda my angel, I believe you. In the meantime let us supplicate our hostess!" So they looked at the hostess—she with prancings and curvettings and caracolings as of a horse hard held; and he with the wide mouthed simper of a Ceylonese pearl-diver who, rising from deep water, holds a pearl of worth in two hands. And presently, or else she had been previously instructed, our hostess saw the trouble and unchained that Terror on the plea that it could "recite so beautifully." This was at 10.27 p.m., its husband smiling fatuously across the settees.

Before anybody quite realized what had happened, and quite before the Broadwood had closed it was loose upon the carpet, clad in a very tight light blue satin dress with various appendages. There was no warning no explanation and not a word of preface. The husband's happy grin covered all that and more—much more. I am not competent to decide in what school his wife had been trained. She thrust her blue satin arms to the chandelier and lowered them to the carpet and as soon as we had all recovered from our astonishment, the result in an absolutely expressionless drone was something like this:—

Ho! Angelo the measure of my love
Is not so great as anything at all,
Yet somewhat greater. Let the North winds blow
And bring confusion to our jostling barques
Against the quay. I spoke no word of Rome.
Then travel hence as fast as horse can fly
And grip the intolerant Northmen by the beard
While I. If this be so I go to rest,
Yet there are rumours in the city—wars
And tumults. Let them pass. My skin is soft

And very tender since that swooning path
Amalfi gave me under Tripoli
Gently oh gently pull the hairpins forth
And softer take the braid than needed cream!

And this as I hope never to hear a like recitation again went on for twenty seven minutes which one man looked as though he were in church and very much wished to be elsewhere and another glanced furtively at his watch, and a third went openly to sleep, and the husband glowered adoringly and I bent my massive intellect till it nearly broke in a hopeless attempt to discover what it was all about. But all the lady folk looked interested and quite happy—which is their happy knack under distressful circumstances. About the seventeenth minute of the performance the true Inwardness dawned on me and I could only suppress a chuckle by looking my hostess fixedly in the eye. And a little later, the woman said, still in the voice of ordering afternoon tea:—

"If this be so, and if I die, I die
O help me Angelo—the dagger hurts"

and flopped at complete full length on the floor. The effect was beyond words—so much beyond that no one said aught till the hostess murmured:—"What a wonderful memory!" and another lady having waked up her sleeping spouse said:—"How beautiful." The husband was disappointed, but I made it my job to have speech with the recitrix and inquired tenderly after the nature of her speech. Said she in all simplicity:—"It's the last act of a tragedy that my music-master wrote when I was at St Mary Grote's in Britlington-super-Mar. *Isn't* it lovely?" "It is" said I "but forgive my asking—there was dialogue in between some of your lines was there not?" "Of course" said she. "Heaps! But I cut that out. I knew the varying expression would explain. I was the heroine you know and after those words 'against the quay' a man comes in to say that we have declared war with Rome so I answer:—"I spoke no word of Rome!" and so forth. Didn't you see?" "Perfectly" said I "perfectly. I could see in your voice every word of all those unspoken remarks. It was wonderful." And peace was restored.

They left early but I found occasion to murmur to the husband:—"Sir, you have there an unsophisticated treasure. Preserve it. Such gifts do not come to man every day" and then I explained to a listening drawing-room the nature of that recitation.

It was the greatest success of the evening for when the man came in to announce the next cab he discovered five ladies weeping with hysterical laughter in the arms of a prostrate hostess and four men wallowing

on the hearthrug with sofa cushions in their mouths because we were not quite sure that They had left the hallway below.

And in that manner I heard my very last recitation. It grows on you as you consider it: and the worst of it is that [it] is no fiction of the fevered brain but a cold crystallized afterdinner Fact.

Continued from page 6.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY NEWSPAPER ARCHIVE – ON-LINE

John Walker, our Hon. Librarian, has drawn my attention to the new resource made available by the British Library. It is a database of local and regional newspapers from the British Isles (but not the nationals such as *The Times*, at least not yet) which offers the opportunity to search for relevant articles at no cost. Unfortunately you have to pay to read a complete article, but the short extracts produced by a search are sufficient to show items of potential interest. It is admitted that the Optical Character Recognition process does not produce error-free results, but having scanned just over 14,000 pages of the *Journal*, not the 40 million pages processed by BL, I realise that they cannot be expected to proofread it all.

Amongst other results, a simple search for "Kipling" turned up the following snippet from the *Manchester Evening News* of 8 March 1899:

"MR. KIPLING'S RECOVERY. MISS KIPLING'S BODY CREMATED. (Central News Telegrams.) New Yoke, Wednesday. Mr. Kipling is making rapid progress towards recovery. The body of Josephine Kipling has been cremated at Sresh Pond Crematory, near here, f The Poet... ?

[should read New York; Fresh Pond Crematory; here. The Poet].

The website is at <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> and we are assured that the database will continue to grow.

KIPLING AND THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

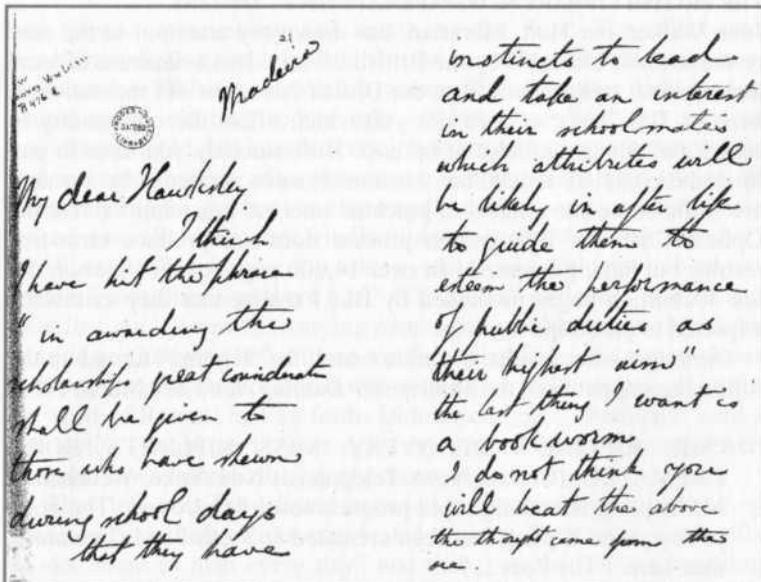
By DAVID ALAN RICHARDS

[This article by Dave Richards, who is one of our Vice-Presidents, is based on a presentation that he made at the October 2011 London Conference "Rudyard Kipling: An International Writer". As a graduate of Yale University followed by Cambridge University (as a Keasbey Fellow), ardent collector and author of the recent Kipling *Bibliography*, he has assembled a detailed history of the early days of the Rhodes Scholarships. – Ed.]

*We were dreamers, dreaming greatly, in the man-stifled town;
We yearned beyond the sky-line where the strange roads go down.
Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the Need,
Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent to us to lead.*

A Song of the English (1893)

On 25 May 1898, less than three years before Cecil Rhodes's death and the publication of his eighth and final Will founding his famous scholarships, he wrote his solicitor Bouchier Hawksley from Madeira in triumph:



I think I have hit the phrase [:] "in awarding the scholarships great consideration shall be given to those who have shewn during school days that they have instincts to lead and take an interest in their

schoolmates which attributes will be likely in after life to guide them to esteem the performance of public duties as their highest aim" the last thing I want is a bookworm. I do not think you will beat the above. [T]he thought came from the sea.¹

Perhaps the thought came from the sea, but the wording was quite possibly Rudyard Kipling's. The first of the author's family visits to Cape Town, during which he met more than once with Rhodes, spanned the months of January through April, 1898,² the period just before Rhodes's letter to Hawksley. Many years later, in his posthumously published autobiography of 1937, *Something of Myself* in concluding the only paragraph in the book where he discusses the Rhodes Scholarships, Kipling wrote:

My use to him was mainly as a purveyor of words; for he was largely inarticulate. After the idea had been presented—and one had to know his code for it—he would say: "What I am trying to express? Say it, *say* it." So I would say it, and if the phrase suited not, he would work it over, chin a little down, till it satisfied him.³

Neither here nor elsewhere did the writer explicitly claim to have formulated the language to be found in Rhodes's letter, which was incorporated verbatim by his solicitor in Article 23 of the final Will, and administered decades later by Kipling as a Trustee of the Rhodes Trust, but the inference seems a fair one.⁴

Rhodes died of heart disease at age 48 on the coast of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa on 26 March 1902, and the substance of his last Will was published on 5 April.⁵ The bulk of his estate, valued at £3,345,000 when settled in 1907,⁶ was left for administration by his executors – "my Trustees" – to establish fifty-two scholarships, denominated the "Colonial Scholarships" and the "American Scholarships" in the Will. These were for attendance at the magnate's own university, Oxford, in its renowned residential college system, itself a key component of Rhodes's plan.

The Will's Article 16 embodied and elaborated the testator's aims:

Whereas I consider that the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage for them in giving breadth to their view for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire_And whereas I desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will

result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world and to encourage in the students from United States of North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth . . . [I direct my Trustees] to establish for male students the Scholarships hereinafter directed to be established each of which shall be of the yearly value of £300 and be tenable at any College in the University of Oxford for three consecutive academical years.⁷

The very stipend named was the forward suggestion of Rudyard Kipling's wife Caroline. Writing in *Something of Myself* of their meetings in 1901 at the Woolsack, the Kipling family's winter home refurbished by Rhodes for the author and his family at Rhodes's Cape Town estate Grootte Schuur,⁸ Kipling makes clear that he and his American wife, Caroline Balestier Kipling, were present at the creation of the most prestigious and influential international scholarships ever to be established:

When Rhodes was hatching his scheme of the Scholarships, he would come over and, as it were, think aloud or discuss, mainly with my wife, the expense side of the idea. It was she who suggested that £250 a year was not enough for scholars who would have to carry themselves through the long intervals of an Oxford 'year'. So he made it three hundred.⁹

Of all the biographers of Rhodes and Kipling, only one has commented on the mismatch between the personalities of these two men, and their vision of the ideal candidates for this selection:

It does not seem to have entered [Rhodes's] mind that he himself could never have won a Rhodes Scholarship: he was nothing of a scholar, he was nothing of a sportsman, he lacked most of those qualities he lumped under "unctuous rectitude," and there is no evidence that he ever led or took an interest in his schoolmates. Even Kipling, who dreamt as Rhodes dreamt, and came to do that dreaming in the cottage Rhodes built, and wrote *The Light That Failed* as Rhodes was taking up his North and the White Man's Burden – even Kipling, a man more sentimental than Rhodes, knew better than to make his heroes fit subjects of a Rhodes Scholarship.¹⁰

Still, together they dreamed and planned, and Kipling's involvement with the Rhodes Trust and Scholarships was to last, with varying degrees of involvement and intensity, for virtually the rest of his life. The two had not met in 1891 during Kipling's first visit to Cape Town, but were introduced at the London home of Moberly Bell, editor of *The Times*, and then dined together with Alfred Milner (later the High Commissioner of South Africa after Rhodes's death, and one of the original Rhodes Trust trustees) on the occasion of Kipling's election to the Athenaeum as its youngest member at age thirty-two in 1897. They became reacquainted in the winter of 1898 with the Kipling family's first of a string of annual visits to the Cape to escape the harsh English winter (summer in South Africa). The two men had come to admire one another strongly. Kipling, Rhodes was to say, "has done more than any other since Disraeli to show the world that the British race is sound at core and that rust or dry rot are strangers to it."¹¹

For Kipling, mesmerized by the sense of power emanating from the older man (although already the world's most famous living writer,¹² he was thirteen years younger than Rhodes), the friendship bordered on hero-worship. "What's your dream?" asked Rhodes, earning the writer's response that the questioner himself "was part of it."¹³ On the death of the "Colossus" (so characterized in a cartoon in *Punch* showing Rhodes astride Africa as early as 1892¹⁴), Kipling wrote his old friend Edmonia Hill that no words could give her an idea of "that great spirit's power or the extent to which the country worshipped him."¹⁵ In a letter written more than thirty years later to Rhodes's architect Herbert Baker (who had re-designed the Woolsack), he capitalized the subjective case for Rhodes in a way normally reserved only for the Deity: "I don't think anyone who did not actually come across Him with some intimacy of detail can ever realize what He was. It was His Presence that had Power."¹⁶

If their respect for one another was unequal, their visions of what England must do to maintain its global preeminence were remarkably congruent. As early as Kipling's collection *The Seven Seas* (1896),¹⁷ an American reviewer characterized the book's dominant theme as demonstrating "a new patriotism, that of imperial England," binding the British Empire's scattered outposts through "the indissoluble bond of common motherhood and the ties of common convictions, principles and aims, derived from the teachings and traditions of the motherland."¹⁸ That tone is apparent in this collection's "The Native-Born" (written in 1894), with the narrator's declaiming: "I ask you charge your glasses - / I charge you drink with me / To the men of the Four New Nations, / And the Islands of the Sea - / . . . To the last and the largest Empire, / To the map that is half unrolled!". The "Four New Nations" were Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and

these were added to the mother country in making up the number for the title of his next collection of poems, *The Five Nations* (1903).¹⁹

Kipling fantasized adding a sixth, the United States, to "the last and largest Empire." In *From Sea to Sea* (1899),²⁰ his edited collection of letters of travel written for the *Pioneer* newspaper in Allahabad, India while travelling across the United States to England in 1889 (and initially published without his authorization in 1891 as *American Notes*²¹), he suggested tongue-in-cheek the combination of "The British Grenadiers", "Marching through Georgia", and other songs to create "the greatest song of all – The Saga of the Anglo-Saxon all round the earth."²² Nor could the mother country alone be counted on for the necessary breadth of vision: "England is a stuffy little place," he wrote Rhodes near the end of the Boer War, "mentally, morally and physically."²³ Worse, the attractions of the United States were gutting the Empire, as during the last decades of the Victorian era, well over half the people leaving Britain settled there, and the writer said he was "inclined to look to the U.S. not as an extinct issue but as a running one which through our own mismanagement had drained out of the Empire many million good, competent and law-fearing men and has changed them to mere 'citoyens.'"²⁴

Rhodes had come to similar conclusions before the two men became friends. At Oxford during his discontinuous nine terms over eight years there as an undergraduate at Oriel College, he had absorbed the lesson of John Ruskin's inaugural lecture, that it was the duty of England "to found colonies as fast and as far as she is able. . . seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea."²⁵ . . . "Believing the English to be divinely selected as the master race, Rhodes felt, with his drive and wealth, uniquely qualified "to paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible, and *to do what I can elsewhere to promote the unity and extend the influence of the English-speaking race.*"²⁶ The "English-speaking race" for him included the United States,²⁷ and the foundation and distribution of his scholarships, by including the Americans, was what he could do "elsewhere."

The apportionment of the original fifty-two scholarships mandated by the final Will has been called by their most recent historian "erratic, even bizarre."²⁸ Twenty were allotted to the "Colonies": three to Rhodesia, five to South Africa (Natal and the Cape), three between them to Canada and Newfoundland (then separate colonies), six to Australia, one to New Zealand, one to Jamaica, and one to Bermuda. Remarkably, thirty-two "American Scholarships" were to be awarded – two every three years for each of the then forty-five states and three territories, for ninety-six men in residence – or more than half again as many as to

the "Four Nations" and their smaller brethren.²⁹ (Rhodes seem to have recognized that the fundamental political subdivision of the United States is the state or territory, and is thus analogous to a province or colony. He did not, as has been claimed, believe that there were still only the original thirteen states in the United States.³⁰)

This fact alone demonstrates how much weight Rhodes attached to the concept of an Anglo-American political condominium, never wholly abandoning hope that one day the wayward United States might rejoin the old Empire from which they sprang. Rhodes was "even prepared to accept the possibility that the balance of power might one day shift so far that Washington rather than London would become the seat of government . . . [b]ut he realized that so extreme a measure of self-abnegation was unlikely ever to be acceptable to the British."³¹

So, second-best, but a start, was to bring the elite college students of the cities and plains of the United States to absorb the ethos and wisdom of Oxford, the oldest and largest of the universities of the English-speaking world, so they might return home as Anglophiles with a new appreciation of the wider international scene within which to seek to preserve and defend the common interest as standard-bearers of Christian civilization.³² (Evelyn Waugh, hailing the imitative influence of the Rhodes Scholarships, expressed this core concept more mordantly: "The scholarships he founded at Oxford set a model which has been followed in other countries, whose confidence in their 'way of life' is so strong that they believe they must only be known to be loved."³³)

Even before their discussions on the scholarship scheme, Kipling fully shared Rhodes' twin concerns about the longevity of Empire, and the need for American help in ensuring such. It has not been sufficiently remarked how "The Bard of Empires" (in the plural, as cleverly re-denominated by Christopher Hitchens³⁴) framed these very themes in his two most famous poems (other than "If—", which may have been inspired in part by Rhodes³⁵). In "Recessional", published in July 1897 shortly after the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and three months after his dinner with Rhodes at the Athenaeum, he warned of hubris and overthrow (in his covering letter to *The Times* sending the verses and refusing payment, Kipling cautioned: "We've been blowing up the Trumpets of the New Moon a little too much for the White Men, and it's about time we sobered down"³⁶).

Less than two years later, in "The White Man's Burden", the poet used phrases of which Rhodes surely approved, in prescribing both the personal excellence of the American youth being summoned to the Anglo-Saxon world's fight, and the political welcome to their country as peer in the joint struggle. Subtitled "The United States and the Philippine Islands", these verses appeared in *The Times* and in American

newspapers in February 1899, urging the United States in the very first lines to "Take up the White man's burden— / Send forth the best ye breed—", and in its last stanza to "Have done with childish days—" to face, in the responsible execution of its new imperial mission, "The judgment of your peers!"³⁷ Kipling collected both these poems in 1903 in *The Five Nations*, making the linkage patent. Indeed, the poet had earlier involved himself personally in matchmaking, having taken John Hay, then United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James but soon to be Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of State, and Kipling's personal friend from his years of residence in the United States in Vermont, to dinner at the Savoy in order to be introduced to Rhodes: "Kipling was, in this sense, the John the Baptist of the age of American Empire."³⁸

In hindsight, the notion of an Anglo-American hegemony, shared by many besides Rhodes and Kipling, seems chimerical, after the United States president in the First World War championed self-determination at Versailles, and the United States president in the Second World War made clear that his country's wartime decisions would be taken without regard to the future preservation of the British Empire. American politics and personalities joined to smash the construct of an Anglo-American condominium over half the globe.

Yet at the time, the start of the new twentieth century, and seen from the bottom of the continent of Africa, the strategy had substantial coherence. Rhodes and Kipling had come to regard Cape Town (nothing special in 1893 in the poet's "The Song of the Cities", itself subsumed into "A Song of the English" in *The Seven Seas*) as a crucial point of connection between the eastern Indian Empire and the white dominions in both the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. South Africa would be connected, through commercial and territorial ventures such as Rhodes's British South Africa Company and Sir William Mackinnon's British East Africa Company, with control of the entire eastern half of Africa, from the Cape to the Mediterranean, and also have connection with "British" Sudan and Egypt, so the two major sea routes to India, via the Suez Canal and the Cape, would be firmly secured.³⁹ A stable South Africa, sharing British ideals and aspirations and becoming eventually, like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, a self-governing white dominion, allied to Great Britain by family ties and a common political purpose, comprised the "Five Nations" of Kipling's poetry collection title, each explicitly beneficiaries of Rhodes's "Colonial Scholarships" and together the foundation of the future of the British Empire and, therefore, of the greater part of the civilized world.

When Rhodes wrote his Will, it must be remembered, expansionism was popular, and as the subtitle of "The White Man's Burden" proves, the disintegration of what was left of the Spanish Empire in

the New World was impelling the Americans into enterprises in Guam, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines which paralleled the thrusts of the Europeans in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, with President Theodore Roosevelt as their standard-bearer (Kipling's poem, President Roosevelt admitted, made "good sense from the expansionist standpoint"⁴⁰). Arrogant and vainglorious it may have been to imagine that a handful of young men would be indoctrinated at Oxford with imperial values, and then be able to influence the policies of their homelands upon return, but Rhodes and Kipling had some reason to believe that the American Scholars could be trained to look sympathetically on the activities of the British Empire and preach their merits back at home, based on common "Anglo-Saxon" purposes and values.

The final elaboration of the Scholarships was followed all too quickly by Rhodes's death. The testator's regard for his "purveyor of words" was not enough, however, to compel him to name Kipling an original Trustee. Three of the men to whom Rhodes entrusted his dream by name in the Will were titans (Lord Rosebery, a former prime minister; Lord Grey, formerly on the board of the British South Africa Company and Administrator of Rhodesia, later Governor-General of Canada; and Lord Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa at Rhodes's death, and with his wife great friends and later neighbors in Sussex of the Kiplings), while four "were cronies or hangers-on"⁴¹ (Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, Rhodes' personal physician and leader of the infamous eponymous Raid, but said by Kipling to have been the inspiration for "If—"; Alfred Beit, a fellow South African financier; Lewis Michell, Rhodes's biographer, banker in Cape Town, and successor as chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines; and Bouchier Hawksley, the testator's solicitor).⁴² Whatever Kipling's influence on Rhodes's Will's contents or its language, he is nowhere mentioned in it, and may have been over-ridden by the testator in the addition of German scholarships.⁴³

Still, his tremendous admiration for Rhodes and the Will's detailed directions for the scholarship program impelled him to become involved in such ways as he might, and his history with Rhodes and personal and political friendship with several of the Trustees made that possible. In 1905, Kipling was the chief guest of honor at Oxford's Randolph Hotel at the very first of the great Rhodes Scholar banquets.⁴⁴ One of the student guests was the American Scholar, Lawrence Henry Gipson, Idaho and Lincoln College '04, later to write the Pulitzer Prize winning fifteen-volume series *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. Gipson had joined the Lincoln College Sunday Evening Debating Society, and been pressed by its upper classmen officers to open a scheduled debate there by proposing "Resolved, That it would be to the best interests of Great Britain were the other members of the

British Empire to become independent states." The obliging American reluctantly agreed, and his audience howled him down: "Never before or since have I experienced such verbal chastisement and laceration." His misery at having taken the unpopular side of his college's debate topic did not end there. The Rhodes banquet toastmaster, one of the Trustees, mentioned "the rumor that a Rhodes Scholar has recently advocated the breaking up of the British Empire," and, Gipson recalled, "there was just a bit of cold steel in his voice as he proceeded to emphasize that the Trust was certainly not bringing young men from the various parts of the English-speaking world to Oxford so that they could advocate the wrecking of the British Empire."⁴⁵ This banquet's guest of honor was surely as privately upset as the toastmaster Gipson quotes.

Although not then a Trustee, Kipling also injected himself into the more mundane aspects of the Trust's administration. The Trust's Organising Secretary was George Parkin, and Kipling cross-examined him on the formulation of plans to ensure that the "Rhodesian spirit" was kindled in the incoming Scholars. In a 1906 memorandum in the Archives of Rhodes House, Parkin reported that he had "told him of plans I am already working out: first, a complete Register of the career of each individual man . . . second, an annual report to be given out to the press . . . third, a statement to be published every year and sent to every Scholar who has left, giving information about every Rhodes Scholar."⁴⁶ Kipling, both schoolboy and professional journalist, thought that there should be a magazine with contributions from the Rhodes Scholars of every constituency, an idea which first found limited form with the publication, beginning in 1907, of the *Alumni Magazine of the Alumni Association of American Rhodes Scholars* (supplanted in 1914 by the *American Oxonian*), a combination of alumni magazine and journal of arts, letters, and politics for the American Scholars past and present.⁴⁷

Fifteen years after Rhodes's death, new and younger Trustees were urgently needed (by 1918, Milner was the only survivor of the seven original Trustees), but they had to be individuals who could be relied upon to manage affairs along the lines Rhodes had laid down. Rosebery (who had been collecting Kipling first editions since 1890⁴⁸), Milner, and Michell settled on three final candidates: Alfred Beit's nephew Otto; Lord Lovat, one of the founders of the Round Table (a movement begun by members of Lord Milner's "kindergarten" administration in South Africa, devoted to encouraging debate about the affairs of Empire in a magazine named after the group which supported ideas of commonwealth federation) and an ardent imperialist; and Rudyard Kipling. The author accepted with alacrity, when invited to become a Trustee: his wife Carrie wrote in her diary, it was "a bit of work he would like more than any else."⁴⁹

One element of non-quotidian administration early in his term as Trustee would have especially engaged him. Wartime inflation meant that the scholarship stipend of £300 a year, which had seemed generous before the war and which amount Carrie had long ago advocated with Rhodes himself, was now clearly insufficient, and in 1919 was raised to £350.⁵⁰

That same year, Kipling injected himself forcefully into the election of Peter Matthew Dixon, elected a Rhodes Scholar from Grey University College, Bloemfontein for 1918. In a strongly worded letter to Parkin, Kipling noted that "the very pre-eminence of the boy . . . is due to his having stood out of the war. This, in itself, would seem to be against Rhodes's requirement that a Rhodes Scholar be a sportsman." His coming up to Oxford among young veterans, the indignant new Trustee continued, "is not likely to be well-received," such that the "chances are he might find himself more or less isolated; and therefore, might be drawn to associate with the undesirable elements at Oxford of whom, as you know, there are an appreciable number."⁵¹

In addition to Kipling's understandable sensitivity (as the father of a son lost at the battle of Loos, whose body has never been found) to honoring a boy who never served in the armed forces, the veterans returning to become scholars at Oxbridge were much on his mind, as shown by his poem "The Scholars", about young naval officers then at Cambridge (first appearing in the *Daily Telegraph* on 29 January 1919, ten months before his letter to Parkin about Dixon).⁵² There he wrote: "Tenderly, Proctor, let them down, if they do not walk as they should: / For, by God, if they owe you half a crown, you owe 'em your four years' food!"

Also in 1919, the Trustees commissioned a biography of Leander Starr Jameson; Kipling read it in manuscript, and spent days in July and August 1921 "trying to tidy up" the disappointing effort by biographer Ian Colvin before Kipling and Lord Milner decided it needed rewriting altogether. The two-volume revised version, *The Life of Jameson*, appeared in 1923.⁵³

Kipling was the featured speaker at the Rhodes Dinner at the Oxford Town Hall on 6 June 1924, and felt four years later, although he was no longer a Trustee, that the speech was important enough to include in *A Book of Words*,⁵⁴ a collection of thirty-one addresses he delivered between 1906 and 1927 "to the peoples of the five nations" (as advertised on the American edition's dustjacket); this speech, entitled "Work in the Future," was one of eighteen such speeches receiving their first book printing. The text was published in the American magazine *The Living Age* on 5 July 1924, under the title "Rhodes Scholars."⁵⁵

In Kipling's remarks, we hear the authentic voice of Rhodes, unfiltered through his estate lawyer's pen, in recalling the sessions at the Woolsack a quarter century before:

When Mr. Rhodes was brooding over his scheme of the scholarships, he used to say: 'The game is to get them to knock up against each other *qua* students. After they've done that for three years at Oxford they never forget it *qua* individuals. Accordingly he so arranged what he called his 'game' that each man, bringing with him that side of his head which belonged to the important land of his birth, was put in the way of getting another side to his head by men belonging to other not unimportant countries.'⁵⁶

He gives evidence, too, that he witnessed the give-and-take among the Scholars facilitated by their propinquity within the Oxford residential college system which had been among Rhodes's (and Kipling's) aims:⁵⁷

There is a certain night, among several, that I remember, not long after the close of the War, when a man from Melbourne and a man from Montreal set themselves to show a couple of men from the South and Middle West that the Constitution of the United States was not more than 150 years out of date. At the same time, and in the same diggings, a man from California was explaining to a man from the Cape, with the help of some small hard apples, that no South African fruit was fit to be sold in the same market with the Californian product. The ring was kept by an ex-private of Balliol who, having eaten plum-and-apple jam in the trenches for some years, was a bigoted anti-fruitarian. He assured me that none of the disputants would be allowed to kill one another, because they were all wanted on the River the next day; but even with murder barred, there was no trace of toleration till exhaustion set in. Then somebody made a remark which (I have to edit it a little) ran substantially as follows: 'Talking of natural resources, doesn't it strike you that what we've all got most of is howling provincialism?' That would have delighted Rhodes.⁵⁸

Kipling ended his address more soberly, warning these future leaders that, in the later contests of life when the stakes were higher, it would be useful to remember the friendly disputations of their youth, and to take judicious measure of their future adversaries as they now did their present classmates: "Any one of these issues may sweep to you across earth in the future. It will be yours to meet it with sanity, humour, and the sound heart that goes with a sense of proportion and the memory of good

days shared together." He concluded, "I saw the man in whose dream you move, pay the price which the Gods demanded of him, for his heart's desire. And now I see some portion of his reward. It is your prosperity."⁵⁹

The thoughtfulness and wit of Kipling's speech was immediately spoiled by after-dinner remarks by American Scholar William Chase Greene, asked to reply to Kipling, and creating a *cause célèbre*. "Whatever may have been the unexpressed desires of Cecil Rhodes in laying the foundations of these scholarships, if he meant us to love another nation, if he meant us to become apostles of that great creed for which the proposer of this toast [Kipling] has laboured so long and so finely, we must deny his hopes. Oxford and England and Europe have only made us love America more."⁶⁰ The audience was stunned,⁶¹ and the "dark brooding face of Rudyard Kipling was a study."⁶²

Following this social contretemps, and more seriously, within the year his tenure at the Trust was to end badly. On 15 June 1925, Philip Kerr was appointed Secretary to the Rhodes Trust, with Kipling the only objector among the Trustees. To him, the appointment was intolerable. In resigning from the Trust in consequence, he advanced several reasons in a letter to fellow Trustee Otto Beit: Kerr (later Lord Lothian) was "brilliantly clever, but he did not fight in the War"; he was closely associated with the obnoxious (to Kipling) Lloyd George; he was editor of *The Round Table* and thus a leading propagandist "committed to policies [of federalism] which are not parallel to those of the Trust [of Rhodes, for Kipling]" – but it seems that Kerr's internationalist leanings and lukewarm imperial fervor were the decisive factors. Kipling concluded the same letter:

My friendship with Rhodes covered the time when he was making the Trust, and I believe that, to some extent, he showed me what was in his mind. At any rate I have always looked at things from what I imagined would be his point of view. My regret at my resignation is all the deeper because you and I are the only two left among the Trustees who had any intimate knowledge of the man and his work.⁶³

Kerr's appointment may have been a useful excuse for resignation (he admitted to Beit that he would have resigned even if Milner had approved of Kerr). Disheartened by increasing friction with the other Trustees, distressed by the recent death of his neighbor Milner (one day following his election as Chancellor of Oxford), and ill with the ulcers that were to kill him nine years later, Kipling had in any case become rather negative as a Trustee, opposing candidates who were married (and so could not benefit from the Oxford college all-male

atmosphere),⁶⁴ as well as those like Dixon (and incoming Secretary Kerr) who had not fought in the war.⁶⁵

Relationships with his former fellow Trustees did not improve. His connection with Rhodes and his memory was still strongly felt, and even though he had stopped using it for two decades, he refused to cede rights to the Woolsack, the house on the Groote Schuur estate. He complained querulously to his daughter that they had tried to evict him, so that "some tired artist, writer or musician could go down there and add to the uplift of South Africa by giving lectures on uplifting subjects or composing sonatasTranslated, this means some sort of soft billet for some pet of the Trustees—possibly a pink BolshieI declined with a certain amount of directness."⁶⁶ He told Herbert Baker tartly that "It seems to me that—as I am in my 68th year—any matter of reversions might be left over for the little time that remains, without inconvenience."⁶⁷

In Rhodes House, a "squared rubble" mansion in Oxford built to provide a central headquarters for the Rhodes Trust and a residence for the Warden of Rhodes House on land purchased from Wadham College, begun in July 1926 and completed in 1928,⁶⁸ there is no portrait of the poet, nor any vestibule, hall, meeting room, or other feature named for Kipling (as is the case for the seven original Trustees, but only for them), although Kipling is listed as the tenth name on the oak panel in the Entrance Gallery with the names of all the Trustees. There is no quotation incised in the walls from Kipling's verses about Rhodes, such as the lines carved over the mantelpiece of the house on one of Rhodes' fruit farms,⁶⁹ or those taken from the poet's letter to Baker, inscribed on the Rhodes Memorial, built to that architect's designs (on which he consulted with Kipling) on the slopes of Table Mountain in what is now Zimbabwe and dedicated in 1912.⁷⁰ Kipling's only mention in the essays published in 1955 by Rhodes Trustees and officials in the Trust-generated *The First Fifty Years of The Rhodes Trust and The Rhodes Scholarships 1903-1953* is a note of his resignation in protest against the appointment of Kerr.⁷¹

Still, Kipling would have approved of the Baker designs for the masonry carved in the sixth bay of the south front of Rhodes House, ranged along bays designed for Great Britain, South Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand – the Five Nations – which last bay features the national arms of the United States – the long desired "Sixth Nation" – and those of George Washington, and symbols created by the architect to represent the "responsibilities" of the United States: the island dependencies of Hawaii and the Philippines, the American Indians, the Panama Canal, and the sphere covered by the Monroe Doctrine.

He would have been gratified, too, to know that, despite there being no special memorial for his varied services as Trustee, the best evidence of Kipling's admiration for and loyalty to Rhodes *is* in Rhodes House: one of only four manuscript copies of "C.J. Rhodes"⁷² (published in *The Times* and the *Boston Globe* on 9 April 1902, and retitled "The Burial" when collected in *The Five Nations* the next year), and the original of his February 1905 letter to Baker, containing his poem "Vision of Cecil Rhodes," as inscribed in part on the Rhodes Memorial.

As well, and for which Kipling might be awarded some derivative credit, there are the Rhodes Scholarships themselves, both in their key qualification for Scholars "of the performance of public duties as their highest aim", and in their inspirational example. No other scholarship program can boast the litany of later leaders, in a wide range of fields, that were produced by the sieve of the Rhodes Trust administration.⁷³

Equally important as the splendid results of the particularized search for what Kipling had called "the best ye breed" as scholars was the Rhodes Trust program as an example of and model for international higher education exchange programs generally. The Commonwealth Fund, funded in 1924 by Edward Harkness, was the first result of plans for reciprocating the Rhodes funding by bringing English students to the United States, facilitated by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, president of Swarthmore College and American Secretary of the Rhodes Trust. Following in imitation over the next century were, among others, the fellowships of the Guggenheim Foundation; the Marshall Scholarships, sending its first scholars to England in 1954; the Fulbright Scholarships, shepherded through the United States Congress by Rhodes Scholar and Senator J. William Fulbright (Arkansas and Pembroke, 1925); the Henry Fellowships awarded by Harvard and Yale Universities; the Keasbey Fellowships; and in our own time and with Rhodes-like munificence, the Gates Scholarships for students of all nations but Great Britain, to be taken up at Cambridge University.⁷⁴

Rhodes's great idea, aided and abetted by Kipling, was to bring together the outstanding sons of the far-flung Five Nations, and their contemporaries in the United States, into a phalanx for preservation and expansion of the British Empire. That empire is now gone and but palely shadowed in the Commonwealth of Nations, established by the Statute of Westminster in 1931, only six years after Kipling's resignation from the Trust, and in fulfilment of the Round Table philosophy which he deplored. The fantasy of Rhodes and Kipling was still being deliberated at Fulton, Missouri in 1946, with Churchill's famous Westminster College speech desecrating the descent of the "iron curtain" and seeking a "special relationship between the United States and British commonwealth," which would mean combined military

staffs, shared bases, resources and weapons, and eventually, common citizenship.⁷⁵

That particular vision was undone by events,⁷⁶ but conversing over the years at Groote Schuur with Mrs. Kipling (the only actual American with whom Rhodes is known to have discussed his scholarship scheme), the two friends builded better than they knew, in forwarding the social and intellectual interaction of youth which was and is the heart of the Rhodes Scholarship program, and all its international progeny.

In June 1935, seven months before he died, Kipling received a visit in Sussex at his home, Bateman's, from an American Rhodes Scholar, Arthur Gordon, who had come up to the university in 1934, "He spoke of his friendship with Cecil Rhodes, through whose generosity I had gone to Oxford," Gordon recollected. "They say we were both imperialists,' Kipling said a little grimly. 'Well, maybe we were. The word is out of fashion now, and some Englishmen are weak enough to be ashamed of it. I'm not.'"⁷⁷

NOTES

1. Mss. Afr. T. 1 (21), Rhodes House, reproduced in facsimile in Frank Aydelotte, *The Vision of Cecil Rhodes A Review of the First Forty Years of the American Scholarships* (London: 1946, published in the United States the same year at Princeton as *American Rhodes Scholars: A Review of the First Forty Years*), insert between pp.18-19. The original letter was preserved in the Hoover War Library at Stanford University until 1919, when it was presented to the Association of American Rhodes Scholars to be placed by them in the Library of Rhodes House on the occasion of the dedication of that building on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Rhodes Scholarships. Aydelotte, p. 18.
2. Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: 1999), pp.303-305.
3. Rudyard Kipling, *Souvenirs of France and Something of Myself* Sussex Edition, Vol. XXXI (London: 1938) p.194.
4. Lycett (at p.335) seems to read this Kipling passage in *Something of Myself* the same way, as suggesting that the author "would tailor an appropriate phrase" in his discussions with Rhodes on the Scholarships. Throughout his life, Kipling maintained his discretion about writing words which other men spoke as their own. His career as a ghost-writer is not widely known: he actively obscured that he had written King George V's speech delivered at Terlincthun Military Cemetery in 1922, printed in *The Kings Pilgrimage* (1922), and also the King's 1932 and 1933 Christmas Broadcasts to the Empire. David Alan Richards, *Rudyard Kipling A Bibliography* (New Castle, DE and London: 2010), *The King's Pilgrimage*, A337, pp.225-226, and *B.B.C. Year-Book 1934*, B92, p.424. For a list of nine speeches ghost-written for members of the royal family, see Thomas Pinney, ed., *Rudyard Kipling's Uncollected Speeches: A Second Book of Words* (Greensboro, NC: 2008), pp. 141-144 (it would then have been a breach of royal protocol to reveal those facts). See also the text accompanying note 53, about Kipling's efforts to improve at the Rhodes Trustees' direction the draft of another's biography of Starr Jameson.

Beyond the complex, compound sentence in the letter to Hawksley which begins this article, the Rhodes Will cannot be said to exhibit any particularly literary flourishes (as befits a legal document, and one of a type more bound in form by precedent than most), and the major elements and phraseology of the initial sentence of the final Will's Article 16 were formulated long before any meetings with the Kiplings, being first set forth in a letter of 1893 from Rhodes to Hawksley (n.d. February 1893, Mss. Afr. T. 1, Rhodes House). These phrases were incorporated into the predecessor Will of 8 September 1893, as was the directive incorporated by Hawksley into Article 23 that the "conditions for election should not only be for literary attainments but also . . . [for] character and social qualities . . . especially being moderately fond of field sports say cricket and football. I do not simply want 'bookworms'." (The word "moderately" was not included in the final Will, but an explicit prohibition against "merely bookworms" was.) As Kipling is not known to have ghost-written any speeches for Rhodes – those made between 1881 and 1899 were collected and published by Rhodes in 1900, and none can have benefited from Kipling's tutelage – it is hard to know what else, other than some phrases in the Will, Kipling seems to be hinting that he helped Rhodes to articulate.

Unlike Rhodes, Kipling never attended a university (his parents could not afford Oxford, the University of his uncle Edward Burne-Jones, and his highest formal education was at United Services College, a school catering to the sons of serving army and navy officers, which he left at age 16), but the nexus between the inculcation of values at school and the maintenance of empire was much on his mind for years before speaking with Rhodes in Cape Town. Kipling's speech on the retirement of U.S.C. headmaster Cormell Price on 25 July 1894 characterized Price's aim as "mak[ing] men able to make and keep empires" (*United Services College Chronicle*, 17 October 1894 (Richards C599, p.542), reprinted in *Rudyard Kiplings Uncollected Speeches*, p.6). In the second published of the "Stalky" schoolboy stories, "Slaves of the Lamp, Part II", first appearing in *Cosmopolis* magazine in May 1897 (Richards C637, p.544) and collected in *Stalky & Co.* (1899, Richards A144, p.133), Beetle (in life, the author) says of the cunning and resourceful Stalky (in life, Kipling's U.S.C. roommate Lionel Dunsterville, ultimately a Major General), "India's full of Stalkies – Cheltenham and Haileybury and Marlborough chaps – that we don't know anything about, and the surprise will begin when there is a really big one on." "Who will be surprised?" said Dick Four. "The other side." *Stalky & Co.*, Sussex Edition, Vol. XVII (London: 1938), p.427.

5. Sir Francis Wylie, "The Scholarships Are Born," in Lord Elton, ed., *The First Fifty Years of The Rhodes Trust and The Rhodes Scholarships 1903-1953* (Oxford: 1955), p.59.
6. *The Rhodes Scholarships, The Rhodes Trust and Rhodes House* (Oxford: n.d.), p.3. According to the website MeasuringWorth.com, £1 in 1901 had the purchasing power of £81 pounds in 2009. Thus, the purchasing power of the Rhodes estate then, in today's pounds, is £270,945,000. In 1901 American dollars (when £1 was equivalent to nearly \$5), the value of the estate then was \$16,725,000, and the purchasing power of that sum today (at \$26 to the dollar) is \$434,850,000. Rhodes' first will, in 1872, left all his then modest wealth to the Colonial Secretary to be used at his discretion for the expansion of the British Empire. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords* (New York, 1986, p. 140).
7. Philip Ziegler, *Legacy Cecil Rhodes, The Rhodes Trust and Rhodes Scholarships* (New Haven and London: 2008), pp.339-340.

8. Herbert Baker at Rhodes's direction had re-designed an existing house on the Groot Schuur grounds around an open atrium, and when it was nearing completion, Rhodes said to Baker "that he had told Kipling that he could 'hang up his hat there' whenever he liked to come to the Cape." Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London: 1944), p.34. In this book, published after Kipling's death in 1936 and Baker's second volume of reminiscences about Rhodes after *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect* (London: 1934), Baker claimed Rhodes had told him that the Woolsack was to be "a 'cottage in the woods for poets and artists' whom [Rhodes] wanted to attract to the Cape," an assertion Baker did not make in his first book, and perhaps was creating a historical background for Baker's own campaign to use the house in that way, which Kipling resisted (see footnote 67). However, in a letter to Kipling of 18 December 1928, Baker wrote: "When I was designing it he always at first talked to me of it as a home for 'poets and artists' who might visit South Africa. Then later when it was building, he said he was giving it to you." Kipling Papers, Sussex University, 21/29 (E.12)
9. Kipling, *ibid.*, p.194. Rhodes and Kipling saw more of one another during the 1901 winter visit than at any other time (Tanya Barben, "By Rock and Heath and Pine: Rudyard Kipling and the University of Cape Town, Part II: The death of Rhodes and beyond (1901-1936)," *Quarterly Bulletin National Library of South Africa* 57 (2) 2003, p. 112), and their discussion of the Rhodes Scholarships is mentioned in Caroline Kipling's diary for 1 February 1901: "We discuss in conclave the interesting conditions of Mr. Rhodes' 'Oxford Scholarships'." (The original forty-five diary volumes were destroyed, but Kipling biographer Charles Carrington made typescript extracts and summaries, copy at University of Sussex). In an undated (c. 1893) note from "Near Aden" to his will-drafting solicitor Bouchier Hawksley, quoted in Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (New York: 1921), p.322, Rhodes wrote: "I have made the amount £250 per annum, as I think a young fellow should live for that sum at Oxford and not require to pinch himself, but my opinion is he cannot do it for less." This £300 stipend – not the original, Rhodes-proposed £250 – is the figure in the original Will dated as "made this 1st day of July 1899" (Ziegler, p.339) and signed by the testator and his witnesses as of "Jan/1900" (which Ziegler amends to "Really January 1901", p.345). Further evidence of Rhodes's attention to Carrie Kipling's point that more money was needed because of the inability to return home is shown by the fact that he awarded the German scholars, made beneficiaries of the Will after this conversation with Carrie (see note 43 below), £50 less than the other scholars on the grounds that they would return home during the vacations. Richard Sheppard in Anthony Kenny, ed., *The History of the Rhodes Trust 1902-1999* (Oxford: 2001), p.361.

So the Kiplings must have had the discussion with Rhodes about the adequacy of the stipend well before February 1901, either during the Kiplings' annual winter visit to the Cape beginning in December 1900, or during the prior visit beginning in January 1900. As suggested in the text accompanying footnotes 1-4, other discussions about the scholarship scheme may have occurred during their first visit during January through April in 1898: Rhodes's primary biographer Robert Rotberg, in *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (New York and Oxford: 1988), p.667, describes Rhodes as having discussions on the appropriate qualities for his chosen scholars in 1899 and earlier with Hawksley and journalist W.T. Stead. Rhodes was also at the Cape while the Kiplings stayed there from late-December 1901 through mid-April 1902 (Rhodes died in March), but the terms of the Will excepting the final codicil were drafted and signed by the time of that trip, and the Will's final codicil, repeating (but not rewriting) the character qualifications for scholarship candidates, was signed on

- 11 October 1901 (Ziegler, p.347), before the Kiplings arrived on 21 December 1901. It may also be significant as to Kipling's influence that in the interval between the last two (seventh and eighth) Wills, in the elaborate provisions of Article 23 detailing the weight to be given, in choosing scholars, to their literary and scholastic attainments (their "smug" as Rhodes called it with some cynicism, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes, with Elucidatory Notes*, ed. W.T. Stead (London: 1902), p.39, note (f)), the testator decided that literary abilities should count as three-tenths instead of two-tenths. Rotberg, p.667. But given the history of Rhodes's correspondence with his solicitor and evidence of much discussion with others (see note 32 below) about the scholarship scheme predating his close acquaintance with Rudyard and Caroline, Lord Birkenhead, in his biography *Rudyard Kipling* (New York: 1978), at p.232, overstates the case in writing that "the conception of the Rhodes Scholarships was born at these dinners" with the Kiplings. Still, as summarized by David Alexander, "Mr. and Mrs. Kipling had ample opportunities to advise and encourage Rhodes in his idea of widening the influence of his international scholarships by incorporating the burgeoning American nation in a hitherto imperial programme." Anthony Kenny, ed., *The History of the Rhodes Trust* (Oxford: 2001), p.104. Although Rhodes visited England many times before his death in 1902, there is no mention of Rhodes visiting Kipling in England after May 1898. Barben, p.125.
10. Sarah Gertrude Millin, *Rhodes* (London: 1933), p.334.
 11. J.G. McDonald, *Rhodes A Life* (London: 1927), p.337.
 12. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1970) Vol. 13, p.382. He had achieved fame as a writer in his twenties, when the nineteenth century had over a decade to run. Furthermore, Rhodes surely recognized, as noted by Richard Faber, "No writer of equal imaginative power has preached more consistently in support of a political ideal." Faber, *The Vision and The Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims* (London: 1966), p.100.
 13. *Something of Myself* p.174. This concept of being part of Rhodes's dream was also articulated by Kipling in his 1924 speech to the Rhodes Scholars (see text accompanying note 58 below).
 14. *Punch*, 19 December 1892, p.366.
 15. 8 April 1902, Thomas Pinney, ed., *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. 3 (London: 1996), p.87. Rhodes's architect Herbert Baker wrote of Kipling: "[H]is admiration and reverence for Rhodes and his ideals were immense; and his and Ms. Kipling's gratitude to Rhodes for giving them that cottage was apparent to me as an undertone in all they said and did there." Baker, *Architecture...*, p.35. After his resignation as a trustee of the Rhodes Trust, in his remarks to the Canada Club at the Savoy Hotel on 21 November 1927, Kipling remarked that Rhodes and Sir William van Horne, the American-borne builder of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were "the two biggest men he had ever met in his life", *The Times*, 22 November 1927.
 16. Kipling to Baker, 17 March 1934, Sussex University, Kipling Papers 14/7, and quoted in Baker, *Architecture* . . . , p.28. In "The Burial," his poem about Rhodes (see text accompanying note 72), the final two words of the lines which now read "And unimagined Empires draw / To council 'neath the skies" (*The Seven Seas; The Five Nations; The Years Between*, Sussex Edition, Vol. XXXIII, p.228), originally read "his skies." No capitalization, but the sentiment – that Africa's skies were Rhodes's – is striking. "Kipling's capitals carry an aura of magic or superstition, but they also register a nervous amusement at the credulity in submitting to that aura Many of the cases in which Kipling capitalizes a Thing' or an 'It' bear witness to the need for economy, an economy of thought and feeling in situations

- where the pressures to break new bounds of thought and feeling are dangerously threatening." Adrian Poole, "Kipling's Upper Case," in Phillip Mallett, *Kipling Considered* (New York: 1989), pp.150-151.
17. Richards A92, p.91.
 18. Charles Eliot Norton, "The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXX, pp.111-115, January 1897, as reprinted in R.L. Green, *Kipling: The Critical Heritage*, p.187.
 19. Richards A190, p.165. Kipling also employed the phrase several times in the poem "The Young Queen" of 1900, subtitled "The Commonwealth of Australia, Inaugurated New Year's Day, 1901," first published in *The Times* on 4 October 1900, and collected in *The Five Nations*. Richards C708, p.598.
 20. Richards A131, p.124.
 21. Richards A53, p.58.
 22. *From Sea to Sea II* (No.XXXVI), Sussex Edition, Vol. XXII (London: 1938), p.161, written in 1889, when he was twenty-four.
 23. 24 October 1901, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 3, p.73. He expressed this view more trenchantly in his poem "The Islanders," published in early January 1902 (Richards C724), assailing "flannelled fools" and "muddied oafs."
 24. Kipling to Andrew Macphail, 13-28 December 1908, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 3, p.351.
 25. John Ruskin, *Lectures in Art* (Oxford: 1870), pp.41-44. Ruskin, the greatest English moralist and philosopher of his age, became Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford in 1869 and delivered his inaugural lecture before the University in the Hilary Term of 1870. Rhodes read Ruskin's lecture and "became his disciple." Wheatcroft, p.140. Roughly contemporary quotations in the same vein as Ruskin's about the marvelous qualities of the "English race", from Carlyle, Tennyson, Dilke, Froude, Rosebery, Chamberlain, and Cromer, are gathered in Faber, pp.63-65.
 26. Stead, p.98, emphasis supplied.
 27. In words which jar the modern reader, Stead makes clear how the testator used the term "race", writing that Rhodes was "the first distinguished British statesman whose Imperialism was that of Race and not that of Empire. The one specific object defined in the Will as that to which his wealth is to be applied proclaims with the simple eloquence of a deed that Mr. Rhodes was colour-blind as between the British Empire and the American Republic." Stead, p.52. Rhodes expressed to Stead "his unhesitating readiness to accept the reunion of the race under the Stars and Stripes if it could not be obtained in any other way." Faber, p.72. When in Article 24 of the Will (Zeigler, p.342) Rhodes specified that no student should be "qualified or disqualified" for a scholarship on account of "his race", Rhodes was thinking of the English-Dutch division in South Africa, not of overcoming color bars. (Kipling spoke the same way: in a letter to Herbert Baker about the latter's design for the Rhodes Memorial, he wrote: "The two races Dutch and English rise side by side from a common foundation." [Baker, *Architecture* . . . , p.38].)
 28. Ziegler, p.16. Rhodes's Will of 1893 (the sixth) included only twelve scholarships, allocated to South Africa, Australia and Tasmania, and New Zealand, with no mention of American scholars. Rotberg, p.665. That the numbers and national disposition of the scholarships, the source of their funding, and even the universities at which they were to be taken up, all remained fluid as late as 1898 is shown by the notes of Lord Rosebery, later a Rhodes Trustee: "May 9, 1898. Long walk with C. Rhodes . . . Has brought [fellow South African financier and future Trustee Alfred] Beit into the [scholarship] scheme. Beit childless. C.R. has pointed out that his

- remote heirs will probably dissipate his fortune in follies. He thinks the income may be 500,000£ a year. Scheme of offering to colleges of each colony & of U.S.—this is more doubtful—to pass 3 men through Oxford or Cambridge..." Quoted in Robert Rhodes James, *Rosebery* (New York: 1964), p.497. Beit and another associate, after Rhodes's death, left £500,000 for the creation of a new university for the whole of South Africa, on condition that it would be residential in character and open to English- and Afrikaans-speakers alike, which became the University of Cape Town, erected on the grounds of Groote Schuur. Barben, p.123.
29. Demographically, the balance tipped the other way: in his footnote commentary to the Will's allocation of the Colonial and American Scholarships, Stead calculated the respective aggregate populations of the two categories, and noted that "the population of [the Rhodes-named Colonies's] 13,460,000 is allotted 60 scholarships. A population of 76,000,000 in the United States is only allotted 100 scholarships." Stead, p.33, note (p).
 30. As supposed in Millin, p.330. This is refuted in Sir Francis Wylie, "Did Rhodes Know How Many "States and Territories" There Were?," *American Oxonian* 31 (1944), pp.68-69.
 31. Ziegler, p.17. Rhodes had earlier sought to join the House of Commons to the Congress of the United States; once accomplished, he thought, "the peace of the world would be secured for all eternity," in an Anglo-American scheme to "take the government of the whole world." Rhodes to W.T. Stead, 19 August 1891, Mss. Afr. Micr. 413, Rhodes House, reprinted in Stead, pp.64-76 and reproduced in part in facsimile. In the same letter, he suggested that the federal parliament could be held in Washington for five years and in London for five years.
 32. Rhodes almost certainly derived his idea for these scholarships from J. Astley Cooper, editor of the London weekly *Greater Britain*, who introduced his plan for a "Pan-Britannic contest of our social pursuits" in the 15 July 1891 issue of his weekly, elaborated upon in a letter to *The Times* on 30 October 1891, meant to increase "the good will and good understanding of the Empire . . ." and to strengthen the "family bonds between the United States and the Empire," with sixteen annual scholarships; however, he resisted the suggestion of W.T. Stead that Americans might be included. Rotberg, p.664. Stead after Rhodes's death claimed that he persuaded him to extend the scholarships to Americans. Stead, p.108. A telling indicator of the boldness of Rhodes's planning to include Americans in the sweep of his bequest may be derived from the condescension inherent in the language of a private memorandum of Nathan M. Rothschild, one of the eminent persons whom Rhodes had originally considered for appointment as a trustee: "I have not seen his last will, but I know the contents of it", and Oxford, Rothschild wrote, would henceforth be able to offer "inducements to Colonials and even Americans to study on the banks of the Isis and to learn...to love [England]...and to make it big and prosperous." N.M. Rothschild, 27 March 1902, RAL B17/RH, quoted in Rotberg, p.678.
 33. Evelyn Waugh, *A Tourist In Africa* (London: 1960), pp. 157-158.
 34. Christopher Hitchens, *Blood, Class and Empire: The Enduring Anglo-American Relationship* (New York: 2004), title of Chapter 3, pp.63-87.
 35. In *Something of Myself* Kipling said the poem was inspired by Dr. Jameson (p.209), but Herbert Baker, who understood the depths of the poet's feeling for Rhodes, wrote: "Are we sure, too, that the character of Rhodes as well as that of Jameson was not the inspiration?" Baker, *Architecture* . . . , p.28.
 36. Richards A108, p.105, and C643, p.544.

37. Richards A122, p.116, and C666, p.545. The poem was finished in late November 1898, and was sent first to Theodore Roosevelt, so Kipling seems to have thought it was important to confirm political conviction at the highest level before making his public declaration. Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work* (London: 1986), p.337. It appeared in newspapers on the day the Filipino revolt broke out, and a day before the American Senate voted as Kipling had urged. The interest and excitement which "The White Man's Burden" aroused in America is indicated in the title of the pamphlet *Explanation, Parody and Criticism of Rudyard Kipling's Celebrated Poem*, published in Chicago in 1899 (Richards B25, p.374). The Stewart Kipling Collection at Dalhousie University holds a scrapbook with more than eighty parodies appearing in the American press.
38. Hitchens, p.76.
39. Peter Keating, *Kipling the Poet* (London: 1994), pp.123-124.
40. Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, 2 January 1899, forwarding Senator Lodge a copy of "The White Man's Burden," cited in Hitchens, p.66.
41. So characterized by Ziegler, p.23.
42. The seven original Executors and Trustees are named in Article 2 of the Will, Ziegler, p.338.
43. It is not known whether Rhodes and Kipling ever discussed Rhodes's addition of German scholars to his international scholarship proposal, with its stated goal of preventing world war. By codicil in January 1901 (and with a marginal note "America has already been provided for"), Rhodes added five annual scholarships for award to Germans to be chosen by the Kaiser: "The object is that an understanding between the three great powers [unnamed in this Will provision, but presumably Great Britain, the United States, and Wilhelmine Germany] will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie." Ziegler, p.345. (Historians have observed that another, perhaps stronger reason may be that the Kaiser had recently granted Rhodes permission to extend his telegraph line designed to link British possessions in northern and southern Africa through the German colony of Tanganyika. Richard Sheppard in Kenny, p.357; Ziegler, p.17.)

Such scholars were appointed, but the Great War still came, and those German Rhodes Scholars who perished in it are named with the dead of the other scholarship nations on the high walls of the rotunda of Rhodes House. The German scholarships were abolished in, and because of, the First World War, and not revived until 1930, and so there were no German Rhodes Scholars during the period of Kipling's term as Trustee. Ziegler, pp.17-18, 88-89, 161-165, and 345. (They were suspended again in 1939 because of the Second World War, and not restored until 1970). It is doubtful if Kipling would have become a trustee if the Germans were then being awarded scholarships: even before the world war, he had tagged that country with the epithet "shameless Hun" in his poem "The Rowers" of 1902 (Richards A187, p.164), appropriating the phrase from the Kaiser himself (see Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 4, p.534, note 13). At Kipling's first meeting as a trustee on 10 September 1917, the reallocation of the cancelled German scholarships was considered, with some to go to India (Rhodes Trust Minutes for that meeting date), but no scholarships were to be funded for India until 1940, and no Indian scholar admitted until 1947. Kenny, pp.447, 449. As for the peace insurance aspect of Rhodes's vision, this was not forgotten by one of his Scholars: in 1944, in replying to congratulations from the Warden of Rhodes House on his election to the United States Senate, Senator William J. Fulbright (Arkansas & Pembroke 1925), later to be legislator of the eponymous Fulbright Scholarships,

- wrote: "I only hope [as Senator] that I may be able to make some contribution towards the peace and stability which Cecil Rhodes would like to see in the world." <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/oxford-remembers-senator-j-william-fulbright-1> (retrieved 20 June 2011). While the double suspension of the German Scholarships would seem a repudiation of Rhodes's belief in this regard, it must be noted that a German Rhodes Scholar admitted to Balliol in 1931, Adam von Trott du Solz, was a leading member of the von Stauffenberg plot of 20 July 1944 to assassinate Hitler, for which he was hanged; his name is among those of the five interwar German Scholar dead of World War II, commemorated in the Rhodes House Rotunda, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_von_Trott-zu_Solz (retrieved 1 July 2011).
44. Rhodes envisioned these dinners: "They [the Scholars]," he wrote Hawksley in 1893, "might have a yearly dinner to compare and celebrate their successes in the School and in the field sports." Williams, p.323. His final Will's Article 34 charged the Trustees to "annually give a dinner for the past and present scholars...and to which they will from time to time invite as guests persons who have shown sympathy with the view expressed in my Will." Ziegler, p.575. The 1905 dinner was the first such (with "Pouding a la Rhodes" for dessert), and Kipling certainly met the test for guests. Caroline Kipling reported the event in her diary: "24 November. Rud leaves at noon for Oxford. 25 November. Rud returns from Oxford where he has dined with the Rhodes Trustees and Scholars—150 in number to him immense satisfaction and theirs evidently for they cheer and applaud him." Caroline Kipling diary, Rees extracts, 24-25 November 1905. To Herbert Baker she wrote on 25 November: "Rudyard went to Oxford on Friday to dine with the Rhodes Scholarship students: he was the only outsider . . . it being the annual dinner as arranged by Mr. Rhodes will. Rudyard returned an enthusiastic convert—he was lukewarm before—and now he has seen and heard realizes it is the greatest of his [Rhodes's] works. It is not so much what they get as what they give each other and the British of the island—and they are picked men." RTF 2536. A menu of the dinner signed by Kipling is on file at Harvard (Autograph file, R [Rhodes Scholarship Trust], Houghton Library, Harvard University), and its cover is reproduced in Renee Durbach, *Kipling's South Africa* (Diep River: 1988), p.100. Only twelve scholars (all from Germany and South Africa) were able to come into residence in 1903, so it was not until 1904 that a full complement of seventy-two, including the first American Scholars, arrived. Kenny, p.5.
 45. Lawrence Heny Gipson, "Reflections," the *American Oxonian*, October 1969, Vol. LVI, No. 4, pp.225-227.
 46. 30 October 1906, Rhodes Trust File 2285. Parkin, Canadian by birth but an Oxford graduate (who coincidentally graduated the same day as Cecil Rhodes, but the men had not met then), has been described by the astronomer Edwin Hubble, who sat next to him at a Rhodes dinner in Oxford, as "a man of one idea, an idea which permeates his entire life, his actions, his speech. That idea is the British Empire; how it shall be extended, centralized, and made to control the whole world." Gale Christianson, *Edwin Hubble* (New York: 1995), p.76. Parkin devoted virtually the rest of his life, until 1920 (he died in 1922), to organizing, directing, and publicizing the work of the Trust.
 47. Ziegler, pp.69, 75. The *Alumni Magazine* was begun by the Alumni Association in the United States newly formed by the American Scholars who had entered Oxford in 1904. The *American Oxonian*, as it became known, was started not by Parkin but by the American Secretary, Frank Aydelotte (who was in the first cohort of American Rhodes Scholars), with himself as editor. There has never been a journal, as Kipling wished, with contributions from Rhodes Scholars worldwide.

48. On Rosebery's book-collecting, see Rhodes James, pp.209-212. From his rare book dealer Joseph Bain, Rosebery purchased a copy of the first edition of Kipling's *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses* in 1890, only four years after its publication (sold at Sotheby's in London on 29 October 2009, this copy now in the Richards Kipling Collection at Yale University).
49. Caroline Kipling diary, entry for 27 August 1917. Gilmour on 12 September 1917 sent Kipling a copy of the Rhodes will, and a list of Scholars killed in the Great War. RTF 2356. In the next month, Kipling became a Commissioner of the Imperial War Graves Commission, his other great public service of the post-war years, an act of duty rather than joy. Kipling's appointment as Trustee of the Rhodes Trust was effected on 10 September 1917 (RTM for that meeting date). Jameson's letter of invitation to Kipling, dated 21 August 1917, is in the Kipling Papers, Sussex University, Sussex 21/29 (E.1). Dr. Jameson after Rhodes's passing had moved into Groote Schuur, where the Kiplings were frequent guests, and often called at the Woolsack, his visits greatly enjoyed by the children. Barben, p.117. He died in November 1917, and his body was taken from London to Rhodesia to be buried close to Rhodes in the Matoppos near Bulawayo in 1920.
50. Frank Wylie, Oxford Secretary to Rhodes Trust, to Thomas Gilmour, 26 February 1919, RTF 1296. Kipling wrote Parkin on 1 January 1920: "I expect you've heard already how the dear boys celebrated the extra £50 to the scholarships. The story, as I heard it, was they began with one accord to give each other sumptuous dinners." National Archives of Canada, Rhodes Scholarship Trust Funds MG28-158 (Microfilm A-620). Today, the Rhodes Trust pays for college and university fees, fares in both directions, and baggage costs, as well as an annual stipend of £11,500. *The Rhodes Scholarships*, p.6.
51. Kipling to Parkin, 16 November 1919, Pinney, *Letters*, Vol. 4, p.595. Dixon was at University College, Oxford, 1920-22, so he may have been refused election in 1918, but he did receive a Rhodes Scholarship. Dixon, despite his Anglo-Saxon name, had an Afrikaner mother, was interned in one of the infamous British concentration camps during the Boer War, and had refused to fight in the war against Germany. Kipling apparently actually resigned his Trusteeship in protest at the election, and then recanted. Kenny, p.263; Zeigler, p.137.
52. Richards A318, p.250. The next year, he published "The Clerks and the Bells," subtitled "Oxford in 1920," in *Nash's Magazine* and *Metropolitan Magazine* for February 1920 and *Hearst's International Magazine* for April 1920 (Richards C942, p.559); in *Nash's*, the poem is a double-page spread, surrounded by ornate drawings making the contrast between life in the trenches and life at Oxford. Since his theme is that contrast, he makes no mention in the second poem of the Rhodes Scholars being among "the merry clerks of Oxenford." By the date of Kipling's third and last poem about the college student experience, "A Rector's Memory" of 1923, written for a book published to raise money for a student welfare scheme at the University of St. Andrew (Richards A361, p.282), the Scottish students he met had no personal experience of the war.
53. Kipling Papers, Sussex, 14/42, and see Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 5, p.83; Richards B/25, p.470. Kipling invited Colvin to his house to review the biographer's "sheaves." Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 5, p.94. In the end the Trustees were still "somewhat disconcerted by the quality of the final product, and "showed no enthusiasm for a proposal that Kipling should write a life of Cecil Rhodes." Ziegler, p.121; on the proposed Rhodes biography, RTM 18 July 1933, Kenny p.37. In 1918 (2 October), Kipling had written

- Basil Williams that he would be willing to review the manuscript of Williams's life of Rhodes, which appeared in 1921, but if he did so, Williams gives him no credit in the book's preface. Kipling also conferred with Baker over that biographer's notes for Baker's *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect*. Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 3, p.205.
54. Richards A372, p.290, American edition, A373, p.291.
55. Richards C976,p.561.
56. *A Book of Words*, Sussex Edition, Vol. XXV (London: 1938), p.243.
57. Rhodes wrote to Hawksley, "I think it most disastrous that young fellows [with no residential system] should at the most critical period of their lives be left without supervision, it leads to the ruin of young men, especially of young Colonials from abroad who have no family circles at hand to act as a check if they have a tendency to waste their time and energies in free living and dissipation." Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (London: 1938), p.323. American universities of the time undervalued social intercourse as an educational experience, even considering it a waste of time. Alex Duke, *Importing Oxbridge: English Residential Colleges and American Universities* (New Haven and London, 1996), p.61. Rhodes believed that the residential college system was fundamental to his scheme, and passed over Edinburgh University as a university for his scholars because it lacked such a system (Will, Article 16, Ziegler, p.329). Whatever one thinks of Rhodes's intentions to keep America aligned with England through education of future political leaders of the United States, the question proved moot, as only 7 percent of the American Rhodes Scholars entered government service between 1903 and 1946, but during the same period, more than 39 percent of the American Rhodes Scholars became educators, mostly at universities. Aydelotte, pp.93-100 and Appendix V. "[I]nstead of becoming advocates of the English [political] system, many Rhodes Scholars urged that English patterns be adapted to American universities...promoting] tutorial education, comprehensive exams, and an increased emphasis on the residential experience," leading in due course to the creation of the Harvard and Yale residential colleges systems of the 1920s, the development of the Claremont Colleges beginning in 1926, and the planning and evolution of the University of California, Santa Cruz. Duke, pp.59-60 and *passim*.
58. *A Book of Words*, p.245. Caroline Kipling's extracted diaries have several references to her husband's dinners and meetings with the Scholars over the years, e.g., 21 May 1919, 22-26 May 1920, and 6 June 1924. Some of these meetings occurred well before his election as Trustee, as indicated by his letter to Parkin of 14 July 1912: "I follow the Rhodes Scholars doings by sidelights thrown on 'em by undergraduates of my acquaintance—and all I hear is good." National Archives of Canada, Rhodes Scholarship Trust Funds MG28-158 (Microfilm A-620). On 29 July 1913, he notes his hope to Parkin to get to Oxford to see the Scholars. *Ibid.* To his cousin Stanley Baldwin he wrote in a letter dated 30 May 1920: "I and my first-class brain were doing thoroughly good work on the roof of the Balliol bar barge among the Rhodes Scholars in the intervals of the races . . ." Stewart Kipling Collection, Dalhousie University Libraries, Mss. Letters, Kipling to Stanley Baldwin, Letter #31.
59. *Ibid.*, pp.246-247. At the speech's beginning, Kipling notes to his student audience that the award of the scholarships had "smoothed your way." Over two decades earlier, in his 1902 commentary on Rhodes's Will, Stead wrote: "Thirty years hereafter there will be between two and three thousand men in the prime of life scattered all over the world, each of whom will have had impressed upon his mind in the most susceptible period of his life the dream of the Founder." Stead, p.52.

60. RTF 666.
61. Two issues of the *American Oxonian* later referred to the event, and the London press featured Greene's remarks "as a typically American affront to England." Kenny, p.181.
62. Francis H. Herrick, "The American Club in the '20's: Some Oxford Memories, 1923-1926", *American Oxonian* 65 (1978), p.124
63. Kipling to Beit, 22 June 1925, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 5, pp.238-239, Kipling Papers, Sussex 21/29 (E.5). To Sir Lewis Michell in a letter dated 25 July 1925, he was both more circumspect and more succinct: "The cause of my action was that I could not approve of the appointment. . . and it seemed better to me therefore that I should not continue on the Board under which he would have to serve. As you may imagine, the step was not taken without due thought and the severance of my relationships with the Trust after 8 years has been a good deal of a wrench and a grief to me. But I did not see how I could have acted otherwise." Archives, New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, Johannesburg, copy RTF 2356. The Trustees hoped that they might name some "innocuous reason" (Caroline Kipling diary, 25 June 1925, copy on RTF 3709(1)) for the grounds to be given publicly for his resignation, but Kipling was adamantly opposed (see Kipling to Lord Lovat, 3 July 1925, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 5, p.241), and "Mr. Kipling has resigned his trusteeship" is the form in which *The Times* announced the news on 9 July 1925. After Milner's funeral, Leo Amery and E.W.M. Grigg drove to Bateman's, Kipling's home near Milner's in Sussex, to discuss possible future trustees. To take his place, Kipling proposed his cousin Stanley Baldwin, who since the previous November was prime minister for a second time, and the offer was accepted with alacrity. Kenny, pp.25-26. Kipling was not wrong about Kerr's lack of enthusiasm for Empire, which he once said "is a noble thing, but not fit to be God" (Zeigler, p.99), and he favored a sympathetic and responsive attitude toward dominion aspirations, a far cry from the kind of imperialism in which power and authority was reserved to a government in London—although Kerr did favor a grand reconciliation between the United States and the other English-speaking nations, including (shades of Rhodes!) a "federal union" between the United States and that countries of the British Empire. John Darwin in Kenny, pp.479-482.
64. No elections for Rhodes Scholarships were held for 1918 or 1919, and for those to come into residence in for the October 1919 election for those class cohorts, it was determined that Scholars who had married during the war might if they so wished resume their fellowships, but no Scholar who was not already married would be permitted to marry. RTM 9 January 1919; Kenny, p.18. Kipling agreed with the exemption for the wartime returners, but insisted that no one else should be allowed to wed while a Scholar. "Scholars," he wrote, "should benefit above all by actual contact with the Oxford college atmosphere, precisely as Oxford was to benefit by their intimate associations with her life. If scholars are allowed to marry they will inevitably lose this advantage and they will also direct more or less of their allowances towards domestic housekeeping." Kipling to Beit, 6 December 1918, RTF 1432. To Gilmour he wrote: "They [if married] will be handicapped in all matters of sport and fellowship and will make a species apart from all institutional life." Kipling to Gilmour, 8 December 1918, RTF 3676.
65. Kipling to Parkin, 18 November 1919, Milner Papers, cited in David Gilmour, *The Long Recessional* (New York: 2001), p.327. Leo Amery, a Trustee since election in 1919 and later chair of the Rhodes Trust from 1933 to 1955, wrote in his diary entry for 30 June 1925: "If we had any idea that [Kipling's] doubts about

- Philip's appointment went to that length we might possibly have reconsidered, but he certainly never gave that impression and his action in resigning is tiresome...I cannot say that it has worried me much because Kipling has not really contributed anything really material." John Barnes and David Nicholson, eds., *The Leo Amery Diaries, Volume 1: 1896-1929* (London: 1980), p.415. Carrie Kipling in her diary, on the other hand, wrote at the time that Rudyard was "sad to have it so as he felt he was doing useful work on the Trust," but he did feel the appointment "open[ed] the Trust to grave misrepresentation" because of the mismatch between what he felt were Rhodes' concerns for Empire and Kerr's and the Round Table's larger emphasis on international interests (Caroline Kipling diary, 18 June 1925). From Amery's diaries for 20 June 1925, it seems Kipling originally acquiesced in the appointment, but was got at by Milner's widow who disapproved of Kerr's "internationalism," and who alleged that he had been a conscientious objector. Kenny, p.26.
66. Kipling to daughter Elsie Bambridge and her husband George Bambridge, 23 December 1932, Sussex University, Kipling Papers 12/1-12, copy on RTF 3709J(1).
67. Kipling to Herbert Baker, 12 January 1933, RTF 2179, draft in Kipling Papers, Sussex 21/29, E.13. The idea to use the Woolsack as a visitors' home in South Africa for poets and artists had not been the Trustees's notion, but Baker's, laid out in a memorandum for ultimate submission to the Rhodes Trust, the University of Cape Town, and the government's Department of Education. Baker, "Memorandum; The Woolsack,' 13 November 1930", 'Woolsack File,' Benfield Cabinet, Administrative Archives, University of Cape Town, quoted in Barben, p. 124. Baker reported in an earlier letter of 23 December 1932 to Lord Lothian that Kipling "at once took a die-hard attitude [to the proposal], saying the house would only be a hotbed of anti-British intrigue and propaganda." RTF 2179. Shortly thereafter Baker was advised by a former associate of Rhodes, Sir James Macdonald, that "Kipling has always been very sticky about the Woolsack. Between ourselves Rhodes latterly found him rather trying." RTF 2179. As noted by Lycett, p.571, this sour appraisal may be the truth (accounting for Rhodes's omitting to name Kipling as an original Trustee) or "simply historical revisionism." Barben, at pp.125-126, suggests other areas of difference between Rhodes and Kipling that might account for the alleged friction at the end of Rhodes's life. Kipling's tenancy for life at the Woolsack was first confirmed by Rhodes's executors (Michell to Kipling, 18 May 1902, Kipling Papers, Sussex 21/29(D.1), and then secured by a parole grant free of rent, established by legislation known as Rhodes' Will (Groote Schuur Devolution) Act, 1910 (Act No. 9), Union of South Africa Gazette, Nos. 65, 67. (Groote Schuur itself had been bequeathed to the nation for the prime minister of a future federal government of the states of South Africa, Will Article 13(iii), Ziegler, p.338). The Trustees were relieved when in 1936 they could inform the South African government that Kipling's life interest to occupy the Woolsack had expired. RTM 18 February 1936. Baker's hopes for the ultimate fulfilment of Rhodes's vision for the Woolsack as a residence for "poets and artists" were dashed, and its first occupant after reversion of title to the South African Government was a former Rhodes Scholar, Jan Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance, and right-hand man to Deputy Premier Jan Christiaan Smuts, a supporter of Rhodes until the Jameson Raid. Barben, p.127.
68. *The Rhodes Scholarships*, p.8. Kipling's earliest meetings as a Trustee coincided with the initial negotiations to purchase the land from Wadhams. Kenny, p.21. See

- www.chem.ox.ac.uk/oxfordtour/rhodeshouse/ for a virtual, interactive view tour of Rhodes House.
69. Dorothy Menpes, *War Impressions* (London: 1901), p.115, a five-line poem untitled but later known as "This is the blossom of the fruit" (see Richards B28, p.376).
 70. See Baker's *Cecil Rhodes by his Architect*, the first book edition of Kipling's "Vision of Cecil Rhodes," also known as "Rhodes Memorial, Table Mountain" (Richards B95, p.425), taken from Kipling's letter to Baker of 9 February 1905, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 3, pp.177-179. Kipling came across these lines in Baker's book almost three decades later, having "clean forgotten" them. Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 6, p.240. They are also on the plinth of a statue of Rhodes at the bottom of the steps of Jameson Hall, the centerpiece of the University of Cape Town. Barben, p.124. In quoting Kipling's poem in his 1934 book (at p.131), Baker noted that Kipling also composed the inscription cut in great letters on the granite wall of the great hall of the Rhodes Memorial: "To the Spirit and life work of Cecil John Rhodes who loved and served South Africa."
 71. Elton, p.17.
 72. Bodleian Library of Commonwealth & African Studies at Rhodes House, MSS. Afr. S. 1772; Richards C726. The first book printing of the poem was in the United States, in James and Mary Ford, ed., *Every Day In the Year* (New York: 1902), Richards B35. Kipling was one of the few persons permitted to see the body in its teak coffin in at Rhodes's cottage at Muizenberg where he died, and joined the procession which accompanied the coffin from the Cape Town Houses of Parliament to St. George's Cathedral (Barben, pp.115-116), but "could not be persuaded to attend the burial" in the Matopos near Bulawayo (Durbach, p.81). On 2 April 1902 Kipling read the verses at a private service at Groote Schuur, where the body lay in state; they were read again by the Bishop of Mashonaland in his remarks at Rhodes's burial on 10 April (Rhodes's brother Frank Rhodes and Jameson and Michel l together sent telegrams to Kipling, now in the Kipling Papers at Sussex, 21/29 (C.1 and C.2), telling him that his verses were read over Rhodes's grave, and the poem is reprinted at p.58 in *Cecil John Rhodes A Chronicle of the Funeral Ceremonies from Muizenberg to the Matapos, March-April, 1902* [Cape Town: 1905]). The Rhodes House manuscript (MSS Afr. S. 1772) is accompanied by a letter to Rhodes's elder brother Colonel Francis William Rhodes, printed in Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 3, p.86. The other three copies of "C. J. Rhodes" are, respectively, in the National Library of Australia (MS 94) in the Kipling-presented copy of the manuscript of *The Five Nations*; in the Zimbabwe National Archives (with a letter to Leander Starr Jameson); and in the Richards Kipling Collection at Yale's Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, written out for Dr. Thomas William Smartt, who attended Rhodes in his final illness; this manuscript is reproduced in facsimile in Richards, *Rudyard Kipling: The Books I Leave Behind* (New Haven: 2007), pp.52-53. Words from the poem's last line — "The immense and brooding Spirit" — were once to be found on the £1 and £5 currency notes in Rhodesia. In his memoir *Sketches in Mafeking and East Africa* (London: 1907), at p.79, Major-General (later Lord) R.S.S. Baden-Powell, future founder of the Boy Scouts, republished an eight-line extract from "The Burial" above a water-color sketch of Rhodes's grave by Baden-Powell. Richards B3, p.384.
 73. See Elton, pp.222-266, and, on American Scholars, Thomas J. and Kathleen Schaeper, *Cowboys Into Gentlemen: Rhodes Scholars, Oxford, and the Creation of an American Elite* (New York and Oxford: 1998), reprinted in 2004 and retitled with its subtitle, *Rhodes Scholars, Oxford, and the Creation of an American Elite*,

- at pp.277-317. The Schaepers' book's Appendix lists all U.S. Rhodes Scholars from 1904 through 1988 (with famous non-winners such as Robert S. McNamara and Jimmy Carter described at p. 153), and Alexander discusses the careers of American Rhodes Scholars in Kenny, pp.192-201.
74. The earlier examples of the other fellowship programs, through the Henry Fellowships, are claimed as arising from the exemplary program of Cecil Rhodes in "The American Scholarships" by Frank Aydelotte in Elton, pp.207-217. See also the discussion by Alexander in Kenny, pp.190-192. In a discussion of fellowships in *The Official Preppy Handbook* (New York, 1980, p.115), it was noted that three "specifically attract Preppies," namely the Rhodes, the Fulbright, and the Keasbey, and that the latter was founded by an heiress who in her youth dated Rhodes Scholars but, as she aged, finding them "less willing to dance attendance", started her own grant program, providing "£100 more than the Rhodes."
75. David Dimpleby and David Reynolds, *An Ocean Apart: The Relationship Between Britain and America in the Twentieth Century* (New York: 1988), pp.183-185.
76. In the *American Oxonian* 74 (1987), pp.149-155, Robert Reich (New Hampshire and University College 1968, and later to be President William Clinton's Secretary of Labor as one of several Rhodes Scholars in the only administration of a Rhodes Scholar elected President of the United States), averred that the relationship had been killed by both partners, with the Americans, having seen British power waning, finding Britain increasingly "just a pestering voice", while the anti-Americanism of the British and Britain's "shift towards Europe" destroyed the relationship from that side.
77. Arthur Gordon, "Six Hours with Rudyard Kipling", *Kipling Journal*, No.162 (June 1967), p.6, reprinted in Harold Orel, *Kipling: Interviews and Recollections*, Vol. 2 (Totowa, NJ: 1983), pp.384-385. The two men were not imperialists of the same stripe: "Rhodes energized his campaigns, companies, and colonies with megalomaniacal dreams of a global political and economic empire controlled by Britain as the road to salvation. Kipling, less idealistic than Rhodes, more aware of the fragility of individuals and the societies they construct, wished to deny the economic basis of imperial dreams by constructing synthetic world orders, the day's work of bridge building and self-sacrifice as justification for colonization." Zorah T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: 1993), pp.178-179. Over a year before composing "The White Man's Burden," Kipling wrote to a 25-year-old American literature professor, then a volunteer soldier in the Spanish-American War who had written the poet from Camp Cuba Libre in Jacksonville, Florida: "[Y]ou are on the threshold of your work which, thank God, is the White Man's work, the business of introducing a sane and orderly administration into the dark places of the earth that lie to your hand." Kipling to Corporal George Cram Cook, 19 August 1898, Pinney, *Letters* Vol. 2, p.346. Following Kipling's death, the Rhodes Trustees wrote Carrie Kipling on 21 February 1936 that they had passed a resolution at their meeting that week [18 February 1936] expressing profound regret at his passing, and noted that "they have always felt deep appreciation of the work which he did for so many years to help establish the Rhodes Scholarship System according to the terms of Mr. Cecil Rhodes's Will." RTF 2356.

WILLIAM & CO.
JUST WILLIAM & THE OUTLAWS AND STALKY & CO.

By BRYN PURDY

[Bryn Purdy has had many varied and interesting experiences, starting as a youngster wandering around Western Europe. He paid his way by working as a farm labourer and dish-washer in France, youth hostel warden in Switzerland, fairground hand in Germany and as a teacher of English in Spain. Returning to England he became headteacher of communities for emotionally disturbed children, then founding with his wife, an independent boarding school for disturbed girls in Derbyshire.

As he explains, this article was originally written for the *The Just William Society Magazine*, edited by Mr Terry Taylor, to whom I am most grateful. – Ed.]

PERSONAL NOTES

As a child, I was a 'reluctant reader', but my boy-membership of 'The Outlaws' seemed to convey instant literacy; thanks to my life within the pages of the little red Richmal Crompton (1890-1969) books, the first of which (*Just William*) was published in 1922. Years later, I copied page-after-page of amusing – perhaps even meaningful – passages from the books which, as a student, I could not afford to buy, but had to borrow from the local public library.

As a youth I came across *Stalky & Co.*, a book of school stories published in 1899. It is categorized as 'fiction', but strongly based on Rudyard Kipling's life with two chosen schoolfellows, known as 'Stalky' and 'M'Turk', at a minor, but unusual, public school in the 1870s. *Stalky & Co.* is a curiously formal, commercial, title, and might have been more appropriately named 'Stalky & Coterie', for the three boys had formed themselves into a highly exclusive association within the school; or even, at crucial times, 'Stalky & Confederates', for, as one shrewd commentator, Jeffrey Richards observes:

The three of them are natural rebels, and set themselves against Authority in a permanent war with the masters, and Kipling uses them as a vehicle to attack the previous school story orthodoxies.

Happiest Days: the public schools in English Fiction, J.Richards, p.146, 1988.

CORRESPONDENCES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN *THE OUTLAWS* AND *STALKY & CO.*

I had continued to read these books randomly and separately throughout my adulthood, and had idly wondered from time to time about the unlikely correspondences which I perceived between the two authors.

As a member of The Just William Society, I attended the 1988 Conference at St.Elphins. I was a friend of Margaret Disher, and her sister Richmal Ashbee had invited me to sit next to her and her husband Paul for lunch. We talked about Paul's new responsibilities as archivist of 'our' (as distinct from 'his') Richmal's library. On my way home, I wished I had asked Paul if he had noticed *Stalky & Co.* amongst The Archive's books.

With the passing years the correspondences seemed more intriguing, and I regretted not having put my question to Paul. So, eventually, early in 2009, I telephoned him. We had another interesting conversation about 'William', but he could not recall whether or not *Stalky & Co.* was in Richmal Crompton's library.

I wrote to Terry Taylor, Editor of *The Just William Society Magazine*, asking whether anyone else had researched the subject. Our opportunistic editor treated the enquiry as an offer, and invited me to set down my wonderings for his consideration for publication.

Of course, there are significant differences as well as correspondences between 'Just William' and 'Stalky': the 'Outlaws' are eleven years old in the 1930s, and the 'Coterie' are fifteen going on twenty-eight in the 1870s; the 'Outlaws' live at home, and the 'Coterie' are at a boarding school preparing its pupils for a military career.

The main correspondences which I perceive between 'Stalky & Co' and 'William and the Outlaws' are:

- 1) The Hut (The Old Barn, of course,);
- 2) their disaffiliation from The Adult Code;
- 3) 'the Right-minded Boy' (the Hubert Laneites);
- 4) A Strategy: "Ensnaring the Alien" Adult; and
- 5) The Benign Adult (which Mary Cadogan categorises in her *The William Companion* as 'Grown-Up Friends').

A key character in *Stalky & Co.* is 'The Head', which I cannot see corresponds to anyone in *Just William*, and a Jumble-character, which cannot be observed in *Stalky & Co.*, so neither 'The Head' nor 'Jumble' figure in this essay – regrettable on both counts. Nor, perhaps less regrettably, does a 'Violet-Elizabeth'-character appear in *Stalky & Co.* 'Colonel Dabney' plays a dramatic, choleric joyeux quart heure on the stage of " 'In Ambush'", and I have sought to find a meaningful correspondence with the several military characters in 'William', like General Moulton, (who has no less than 33 recorded appearances in Mary Cadogan's *Companion*), but I could not do so convincingly.

1) 'THE HUT', OR 'THE PLEASANT ISLE OF AVES'
THE FIRST WORDS IN THE 1899 EDITION OF *STALKY & CO.* ARE:

In summer all right-minded boys built huts in the furze-hill behind the College – little lairs whittled out of the heart of the prickly bushes, full of stumps, odd root-ends, and spikes, but, since they were strictly forbidden, palaces of delight. And for the fifth summer in succession, Stalky, M'Turk, and Beetle . . . had built... a place of retreat and meditation . . .

"In Ambush"

Hardly a built 'Hut' then; but a 'lair' hacked out of the gorse. But how can 'prickly bushes', 'odd root-ends', and 'spikes' be described as even a habitation, much less a 'palace'? Can it be "a place of retreat and meditation", in either the scholastic or monastic sense of the phrase? Why is it described as not only 'forbidden', but 'strictly' so? If the boys like reading so much, why do they not spend their time in the presumably more comfortable school library? The clue to the whole passage lies in the word "retreat", and one may ask: what or whom are they retreating from? By whom strictly forbidden'? We may find the answers not only in the fictional 'Stalky' but in autobiography.

The original of 'Stalky', who became a Major-General, wrote his own mostly military autobiography in his old age, and records that in his first few years at 'The Coll.':

the life of perpetual suspense that I led during those harrowing years, probably taught me a great deal of cunning . . . Like a hunted animal I had to keep all my senses perpetually on the alert to escape the toils of the hunter— . . .

Stalky's Reminiscences, L.C.Dunsterville, pp.30-31

To escape the 'hunters':

We did a good deal of reading, hidden away in our hut in the middle of the densest patch of furze-bushes . . . [We had] the feeling of security and escape from tyranny. . . . Looking back on my own school days... I regarded the masters as a tyrannical lot of old men... who hated boys and wanted to make them miserable. So I, in my turn, tried to make them miserable.

Stalky's Reminiscences, L.C.Dunsterville, pp.43-50

The original of 'M'Turk', G.C. Beresford, who speaks rather after the manner of J.D. Salinger's 'Holden Caulfield' about the 'phoney' adults

in his life, writes in his *Schooldays with Kipling* that: 'We were at school to fight the masters'.

So, in the mature recollection of these two adults, we learn that it is the 'tyranny' of the parent-figures in their lives that has driven the 'Coterie' to the 'security' of the 'furze-bushes'. They were, according to 'Stalky' and 'M'Turk' themselves, 'retreating' from 'tyrants'. These were the factual memories of two elderly gentlemen fifty years after leaving 'The Coll', which are instinct in every page of *Stalky & Co.*

2) DISAFFILIATION FROM ADULT CODES

Throughout the history of mankind, there have been innumerable 'codes' whereby adults have sought, according to their lights, to raise their children: from the severe excesses of the 'authoritarian' to the wild excesses of the 'libertarian'. Victorian England produced its own code, and one informed commentator, observes:

the public school was selective in taking boys out of their natural surroundings and subjecting them to one of the most artificial disciplines and rule-ridden systems ever devised as a training of the young... School was like that in Rudyard Kipling's day, and *Stalky & Co.* reflected the reality.

The Heirs of Tom Brown, Isabel Quigley

Or, as the poet W.H. Auden puts it more trenchantly 30 years later, 'At school I lived in a fascist state'. And a third, a hundred years after Rudyard Kipling left 'The Coll', Max Davidson in his book *Winning isn't Everything*, 2009, described his schooling as 'incarceration without trial . . . '.

Did not Rudyard Kipling create as revolutionary a cell of rebels, at the heart of an authoritarian regime, as any in literature? No wonder it was greeted with such a howl of protest on its publication, and down the years, by 'right-minded' critics. The adult, in Rudyard Kipling's England, presumes to invade the mental and emotional territory of the boys under his charge. Thus their Housemaster:

Boys that he understood attended house matches and could be accounted for at any moment. But he had heard M'Turk openly deride cricket—even house matches; Beetle's views on the honour of the house he knew were incendiary; and he could never tell when the soft and smiling Stalky was laughing at him.

" 'In Ambush'"

And, on one specific occasion:

'I'm sorry to see any boys of my house taking so little interest in their [cricket] matches.'

Mr. Prout could move very silently if he pleased . . . He had flung open the study-door without knocking . . . and looked at them suspiciously.

"An Unsavoury Interlude"

The 'Adult Code' is, of course, dependent upon the vast majority of children who can be made compliant to it.

3) THE RIGHT-MINDED BOY', OR 'THE OTHER BRUTES'

So where are the 'right-minded boys' of the conventional school story? Where are the sporting heroes, adulated by the crowds of cheering boys on the touch-line? Rudyard Kipling famously categorises the first as 'flannelled fools' and 'muddied oafs', and castigates their admirers as hangers-on, as toadies.

We have established that Stalky & Coterie are, from the first page, 'outlaws' to the current Code. They are "natural rebels and set themselves against authority, at permanent war with the masters". Are they, according to Kipling, the only right-minded boys in the school? Throughout the fourteen stories, they treat the others with, at best, friendly contempt. Moreover, after recounting the finely-wrought and highly comedic story, "In Ambush" in which Stalky & Confederates humiliate several masters at the College, their opinion of the other boys – the unthinking satellites of the masters – is left in no doubt:

. . . this is much too good to tell all the other brutes in the Coll. They'd *never* understand. They play cricket, and say, "Yes, sir" and "Oh, sir," and "No, sir".

"In Ambush"

4) A STRATEGY: 'ENSNARING THE ALIEN' ADULT

I have argued that The Adult Code is dependent upon the compliant majority. 'Stalky', 'Beetle' and 'M'Turk', however, are always 'respectful' and cheerful, but dumbly insolent to the staff (rather after the manner of 'Fletch' in the B.B.C. TV prison sitcom *Porridge*), and distantly friendly, but aloof from, their schoolfellows. Even the plot-lines go deeper in *Stalky & Co*. It is when Rudyard Kipling uses the word 'alien' that we may conjecture at the hurt inflicted during his early childhood. Just as he was severely bullied – 'brutalized' – by the 'brutes of the Coll.', so his hurt goes even deeper with the adults who have controlled, restricted, and routinely beaten him.

. . . King's temper [was] brought to boiling point. They could hear his foot on the floor while Prout prepared his lumbering enquiries. They had settled into their stride now. Their eyes ceased to sparkle; their faces were blank; their hands hung beside them without a twitch. They were learning . . . the lesson . . . which is to put away all emotion and entrap the alien at the proper time.

"'In Ambush'"

The masters are comprehensively 'stalkied' (i.e. reciprocally outplayed and humiliated in the very manner of their original adult behaviour). Our three rebels discuss this episode as they descend a staircase, perilously followed by their victim, Mr King, of whose presence they pretend to be unaware:

'You see', said [M'Turk], hanging on the banister, 'he begins by bullying little chaps; then he bullies the big chaps; then he bullies someone who isn't connected with the College, and then he catches it. Serves him jolly well right.... I beg your pardon, sir. I didn't see you were coming down the staircase.'

The black gown tore past like a thunder-storm . . .

"Slaves of the Lamp. Part I"

Of course, the masters King and Prout are not 'aliens' in the conventional sense of the word; but the two masters belong to an adults' world alien to the boys standing before them with such dumb insolence, biding their time until Stalky can strike in a series of devastating reciprocal strikes. The adult has trodden into the noose of the wire. The alien is ensnared.

With masterly concision, Quigley summarises several of the plots, which are as brilliant as a series of Mozartian scherzi, well-turned and sparkling:

No one discovers what ruses they [Stalky & Co] use or even that they have used any at all, except their friend the chaplain, who sees round them all too well, and the headmaster, a great man who knows everything. The others ['brutes in the Coll.'] merely know that, if Stalky is thwarted, something happens, someone else suffers for it. Stalky & Co always have alibis, unshakeable excuses, a look of injured innocence if accused. King's study is wrecked by a drunken villager, and no one can know that Stalky enraged him into wrecking it. When the three are turned out of their study, Prout's House is mysteriously disrupted . . . Accused by King of being unwashed and

smelly, they make his House stink to high heaven by sliding a dead cat in between attic floor boards and the ceiling below.

5) THE BENIGN ADULT

Thus far, we have a series of humorous, highly original, exuberant stories based upon the clash between the boy and adult worlds. It may have served as Rudyard Kipling's revenge for the injustices perpetrated upon him during his schooldays, indeed, his childhood.

But Rudyard Kipling makes us stop to think once again. He throws a different 'spin' into the stories, worthy of the most skilled of his 'flanneled fools'. He highlights and contrasts his usual target of the impercipient, arrogant adult by bringing on stage another set of adult characters, quite unlike 'Prout' and 'King'.

The 'Head' is wise, humane, understanding and obviously deeply loved; 'Foxy', a 'lower class' college servant, is sensible and pragmatic, and, contrarily to 'Prout' already featured, always treats the boys with courtesy and fellow-feeling; and, thirdly, 'The Padre':

Number Five [Study] had spent some cautious years in testing the Reverend John.. He was emphatically a gentleman. He knocked at a study door before entering; he comported himself as a visitor and not a strayed lictor; he never prosed, and he never carried over into official life the confidences of idle hours. Prout [their Housemaster] was ever an unmitigated nuisance; King [the Classics Master] came solely as an avenger of blood; . . . but the Reverend John was a guest desired and beloved by Number Five.

Behold him, then, in their only arm-chair, a bent briar between his teeth, chin down in three folds on his clerical collar, and blowing like an amiable whale, while Number Five discoursed of life as it appeared to them . . .

"The Moral Reformers"

We do have to draw the inference that *Stalky & Co* do know a 'good' adult when they see one. Contrarily to what I argued above, the publication of *Stalky & Co*. might be regarded as a tribute – a loving tribute – to the adults who helped nurture him; indeed, the book is dedicated to Cornell Price, 'The Head', the original of the character represented in the book and lifelong friend of the Victorian utopianist, William Morris.

'STALKY'AND 'WILLIAM'

Loyal members of the 'Outlaws', among whom I count myself, may, if they care, address themselves to the questions prompted by the headings of this essay.

Does 'William' resemble 'Stalky'? Does each in his own way set himself against 'The Adult Code', as a 'rebel', as an 'outlaw'? Does our 'William' 'ensnare the alien' with a deceptive woodenness, an inscrutability, of facial expression? Are the Hubert Laneites 'right-minded'? Does 'William' know a 'good adult' when he sees one?

Answers to all these questions may be confirmed – or rebutted – by study of the 'William' *oeuvre*.

Paul Ashbee's work on Richmal Crompton's library was only recently transferred to Roehampton, but I haven't even asked the curators whether there exist a copy in their Archive. So I do not know, at the time of writing, whether or not a copy of *Stalky & Co.* be contained therein. So we may look forward to learning whether there is a well-thumbed copy, a pristine one or no copy at all.

SELECT BOOKLIST

Editions of *Stalky & Co.* since 1899, and *The Complete Stalky & Co.* (Macmillan 1929)

and Oxford World's Classics 1987, "Introduction" by Isabel Quigley.

Happiest Days, Jeffrey Richards, Manchester University Press 1988.

Stalky's Reminiscences, Maj-Gen L.C. Dunsterville, Jonathon Cape, 1928.

Schooldays with Kipling, G.C. Beresford, Gollanz, 1936.

The Heirs of Tom Brown, Isabel Quigley, Chatto & Windus, 1982.

Something of Myself, Rudyard Kipling, Cambridge University Press 1990.

A Kipling Companion, Norman Page, PaperMac 1989.

Rudyard Kipling and the Fiction of Adolescence, Robert F. Moss, Macmillan 1982.

The William Companion, Mary Cadogan *et al.*, 1990.

BOOK REVIEWS

By THE EDITOR

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO RUDYARD KIPLING, edited by Howard J. Booth, September 2011, Cambridge University Press, (ISBN 9780521136631, paperback, £17.99, US\$29.99; ISBN 9780521199728, hardback, £50.00, US\$90.00; xiv+209 pages).

This *Companion*, one of the ongoing series from Cambridge University Press, consists of thirteen essays by different contributors, most if not all of whom will be known to members. They were chosen by the Editor, Howard J. Booth, who has written a short introduction and also one of the essays. The volume includes a "Kipling Chronology" and also lists suggestions for "Further Reading" from all of Kipling's major works of prose and poetry, together with reference sources, biographical studies, and critical reviews. Although the *Companion* is theoretically aimed at students, there are some very illuminating comments or suggestions in most of the essays, which I feel certain will be of interest to members.

The essayists are: Robert Hampson (fin-de-siècle), John McBratney (India and Empire), Judith Plotz (America), Laurence Davies (science and technology), Kaori Nagai (gender), David Bradshaw (war), Jan Montefiore (writing for children), Harry Ricketts (poetry), Patrick Brantlinger (*Kim*), Howard J. Booth (the later fiction), Bart Moore-Gilbert (postcolonial literature), Monica Turci (illustrations and visual adaptations), and Harish Trivedi (reading Kipling in India).

Howard Booth opens his Introduction with the statements: 'There is no other literary career like Rudyard Kipling's From early on it became clear that one-voiced attempts to describe and 'fix' Kipling were not going to work' . . . 'The best modern criticism is willing to engage with the complexity and ambivalence found in Kipling'. This is a book in which the balance has demonstrably swung back from the rigidly postcolonial stance of some earlier critiques where, as Bart Moore-Gilbert writes at the beginning of his essay, 'postcolonialism is so often used as a synonym for anti-colonialism'.

Although dealing with different subjects within the very diverse Kipling canon, almost all of the essayists present and discuss the views that have been expressed by earlier critics on their topic(s), refuting those points with which they disagree, and presenting their own ideas in amplification. Their arguments are so closely and cogently reasoned that I have finally concluded that it would be a gross injustice to the essayists to try to compress my thoughts on each essay into a few lines. Further, they are all too good to choose the odd ones to highlight. *The Companion* is one of those works that continually encourages you to

re-read your Kipling in order to appreciate in full the essayists' arguments. It gives a very good overview of recent thinking about Kipling and his works, and I thoroughly recommend it.

ROBERTS AND KITCHENER IN SOUTH AFRICA 1900-1902, by Rodney Atwood, November 2011, Pen & Sword Books Ltd, (ISBN 978-1-84884-483-4, hardback, £25.00), xiv+322 pages including 10 Maps, Career Outline, Notes, Select Bibliography, and Index.

This excellent history is not quite so restricted in time and geography as the title suggests and, whilst covering some of the battles in detail, is generally more concerned with presenting the interactions of U.K. and S. African politicians, the military, and the burghers.

The first three chapters describe Kitchener's activities in Egypt and the Sudan, including his battles with the Mahdists at Atbara and Omdurman. This proves very helpful in understanding the initial shortcomings of the British army in the South African war.

Roberts, after leaving India in 1893, had been kicking his heels in Ireland for much of this time. Dr Atwood describes events in South Africa during 1898-9, until Roberts was appointed to be Commander-in-Chief of the army there in December 1899. Kitchener, with his own agreement, was appointed to be Roberts's Chief of Staff since there was some concern that Roberts might be too old to carry the load alone. Chapters 6 to 11 are now devoted to the events of 1900 during which time Roberts holds centre stage. By the end of that year it looked as though the war was almost over, and Roberts returned home leaving Kitchener as the C-in-C to finish the task.

The last section of the book deals with Kitchener's difficulties in overcoming the *bittereinders* during 1901-02 using various methods including the infamous 'concentration camps', and keeping the politicians back in the UK satisfied. Dr Atwood also explains how the role of the 'blockhouses' was for more than just guarding the line. The final winding up of the war with the reasons why the Boers agreed to submit is very clearly set out. The wisdom of Kitchener in not pressing for unconditional surrender (in opposition to the wishes of Milner and the *Uitlanders*) is shown very clearly, as are the resulting benefits received by Britain 12 years later during WWI and in WWII when South Africa fought alongside us.

Once again the maps drawn by Dr Atwood's daughter are very helpful in explaining what is happening, whilst the Notes and Bibliography are a resource that anyone writing about S. Africa in the future should consult. I have learnt a great deal from this book and am delighted to have it on my bookshelves.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"AN ACTIVE ACTING SUB-LIEUTENANT"

From: Cdr A.J.W. Wilson RN, Jolyon, Salthill Road, Fishbourne, Chichester P019 3PY

Dear Sir,

I much enjoyed Chris Bilham's article on "An Active Acting Sub-Lieutenant" [*Journal* No.343, September 2011] and would like to add two or three other points which might interest members.

The first point is that the artist who produced the sketch of Moore, reproduced on p.36 of the *Journal*, has committed an egregious error which, had it been real, would have cost Moore the traditional round of port at the next Mess Dinner. The single sub-lieutenant's gold-lace stripe on the epaulette of Moore's greatcoat is 'going astern', that is, the 'executive curl' atop the stripe should have that part of the stripe coming from the back on top of the lace which, having completed the curl, then goes to the front of the epaulette. To have one's stripes going astern was a definite sartorial solecism.

The coat he is wearing has to be a greatcoat, because that was the only cloth garment on which epaulettes were worn: and the artist has, to my mind, caught very well the sheer bulk of the greatcoat which was usually made of 24-oz. superfine cloth. About the only time it is worn today is at ceremonies such as wreath-laying at the Cenotaph on Remembrance Sunday.

On p.35, Mr. Bilham says that Moore was educated at Dartmouth: that is less than the complete story. The Dartmouth course was then four years long, but the first two years were spent at the Royal Naval College, Osborne, on the Isle of Wight, in the grounds of Queen Victoria's former home. Until 1903, Naval Officers were trained in the old line-of-battleship *Britannia*, moored in the harbour at Dartmouth, and the course lasted two years. At the end of the 1890s it was decided that the old ship was less than salubrious, and that a splendid new College should be built ashore in a style that befitted the 'Britannia Rule the Waves' era. The foundation stone was laid in 1902 for a college to hold two-years-worth of cadets. Unfortunately, Admiral Sir Jackie Fisher (with whom Kipling was later on friendly terms – he would have provided the nomination for John to go to Dartmouth had his eyesight permitted) introduced a new scheme of training which lasted four years, and so there was not enough room in the shiny new college for that many cadets. Luckily for the Admiralty, King Edward had no wish to retain Osborne as a Royal residence, and he made over a portion of the grounds, based on the stables (not the main house) where the Admiralty hastily erected what a later generation would have described as pre-fabs,

to house the two junior years. So that is where Moore spent from 1908 to 1910. Osborne lasted until 1921 – there had not been enough money in the pre-war Naval estimates to increase the size of Dartmouth: it was all going on super-dreadnoughts and submarines for the war which was seen as well-nigh inevitable.

Moore was only an *acting* sub-lieutenant, because the normal progression for a junior Naval officer was to spend some two years as a Midshipman in a 'big ship' (cruiser or larger), and then to be examined in Seamanship. That exam was one of five which the young man had to pass to qualify for Lieutenant: the others, at that date, were in Navigation, Gunnery, Torpedo and Pilotage.

On passing in Seamanship, he was promoted to Acting Sub-Lieutenant, and in peace-time would have gone to the Royal Naval College at Greenwich to qualify in Navigation, and then to Portsmouth, where he would have been based in the Gunnery School, H.M.S. *Excellent* on Whale Island while he did the three other courses. On passing those courses, he would have been made a confirmed Sub-Lieutenant with his original seniority, and sent back to sea to gain his Bridge Watchkeeping Certificate, which usually took a minimum of six months, to give a total of about twenty-two months since he had been promoted to Acting Sub.

He would then have been fully qualified for Lieutenant's rank, and his promotion to that rank would have depended on the class of passes he had got in the five exams he had completed as a Midshipman and Acting Sub. The rule was that you could be promoted to Lieutenant as soon as you were fully qualified, but you served for three years, adjusted by the amount of back-dated seniority you accrued from those exams. Moore's seniority as a Lieutenant was 15 May 1916. Had he gained no seniority, he would have expected (in peacetime) to have been promoted to Lieutenant on 15 January 1918: but if he had had 20 months seniority from his final results at Dartmouth and on courses, his seniority would have been backdated to May 1916 (your seniority might have been backdated, but you did not get back-dated pay).

But in war-time, the normal progression did not apply. Every young officer was needed at sea, and so the eight months at Greenwich and the professional courses in Gunnery etc., were postponed until after the war, and young officers were given the rank of Acting Lieutenant on the recommendation of their Commanding Officer.

Moore was in fact promoted to Acting Lieutenant to date 30 June 1916 "in recognition of the services mentioned in the foregoing dispatch" (Admiral Jellicoe's Jutland dispatch, dated 24 June 1916): this promotion appeared in the *London Gazette* dated 15 September, and was published in *The Times*, Saturday 16 September 1916.

Some of Moore's near-contemporaries had their Osborne/Dartmouth education curtailed, and to make up for it were sent up to Cambridge in 1919-22 for one or two terms. They were the subject of Kipling's poem 'The Scholars'.

Finally, Mr. Bilham has cited examples from Moore's service record, now held in the National Archives, The quotations are absolutely typical of officers' reports – in particular the reference to 'zeal'. The Navy sets great store by 'zeal' – as witness the phrase Stalky uses, quoting from Captain Marryat (who was writing about Nelson's navy, in which he had served), in 'In Ambush', 'Zeal, all zeal, Mr. Easy'. And some 200 years later there was (there still may be) a section in an officer's report which listed the characteristics expected of an officer, against which a mark, 0-9, was placed: 'zeal' was there, as was 'tact', 'professional ability', leadership', etc.

I would also add that virtually the same system for promotion applied when I was a sub-lieutenant in 1954-56. Having done my Midshipman's time (only 16 months by this date), I was promoted to Acting Sub. 01 May 1954: I did my two terms at Greenwich, followed by nine months courses; went to sea in February 1956, was awarded my 'ticket' in August 1956, and was immediately promoted, with seniority backdated to 01 January 1956.

Yours faithfully,
ALASTAIR WILSON

KIPLING AND JANE AUSTEN: A CURIOUS MATCH?

From: Professor T.J. Connell, City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB.

Dear Sir,

I read with interest the notes to the late Brian Southam's excellent piece on Kipling and Jane Austen in the June edition of the Journal. His comments on what was considered to be suitable reading for men in the trenches or those in hospital reminded me of a curious book called *The Knapsack*. It was published in October 1939 by Routledge, edited by Herbert Read and described as "A pocket-book of prose and verse", although it is not generally listed amongst his many publications. Herbert Read (later Sir Herbert) was well-known as an anarchist philosopher and art critic. Although a vociferous pacifist in World War Two he had served with the Green Howards with distinction in World War One, having won both the M.C. and the D.S.O.

In the introduction Read explains that as a soldier on active service in the First World War he wanted something to read that he could carry about easily but which would suit "the various moods and circumstances of my unsettled existence". He found some solace in *The Spirit of Man* by Robert Bridges (the then poet laureate) but found its high

moral tone out of keeping with his then circumstances. So he produced an anthology of prose and verse in 1939 for the troops, ranging from Homer to historic episodes and even accounts of campaigns in the Great War.

It clearly achieved its aims, as a new edition appeared in almost every year of the War. There are poems, including ballads and nonsense rhymes and higher level pieces including Plato and even Hegel, which seems to suggest that it was targeted at the more educated reader. However, the copy now on my shelf was originally given by my Uncle Charles (R.A.M.C, Middle East and Burma) to my Father (R.A.F., Middle East, Iraq and Italy), and they were both hostilities-only N.C.O.s.

Yours faithfully,

PROFESSOR TIM CONNELL

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John Lambert, Hon. Membership Secretary

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