

THE PROVOST OF ORIEL AND OTHER PUZZLES OF THE HOLLOWAYS OF SOUTHSEA

By MIKE KIPPLING

[Mike Kipling, Treasurer of the Kipling Society, has researched the history of Rudyard Kipling and his connections. His 'Naulakia after Kipling' appeared in *Kipling Journal* 353 (September 2013) and 'John Kipling's Pais' in *Kipling Journal* 360 (September 2015). EdJ]

Much has been written about Sarah Holloway, the woman who fostered the young Kipling and his sister Trix in England whilst their parents remained in India. This information has mainly been based on the reminiscences of Kipling, autobiographically in *Something of Myself* and fictionally in *Baa Baa Black Sheep*. Trix provided corroboration via a number of biographical notes and in *Through Judy's Eyes*. Some Kipling biographers, particularly Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lycett and Harry Ricketts, have successfully raided primary sources for additional information about Sarah, her husband Pryse Agar Holloway and their son Harry.

Shortly after Kipling's death in 1936, an article appeared in the *Melbourne Argus* by Ada Annie Wheeler, recollecting a visit to her home by Kipling when he was in that city in 1891.¹ She mentions that her cousin was Stephen Wheeler, Kipling's first editor at the Civil and Military Gazette in Lahore, and that the visit to the Wheeler house had been arranged by Stephen's younger brother, a junior reporter for the Argus. What particularly caught my eye, though, was Ada's statement "I remember distinctly when Kipling first came to our house in East Melbourne and we discussed the family connections that he told us that Mrs Jennett, the tyrannical character in the beginning of 'The Light that Failed', was the elderly Sarah, whom my father knew well and heartily disliked".

Kipling does not seem to have mentioned (or Ada Wheeler did not recall him doing so) that Sarah Holloway was also the model for Aunt Rosa in *Baa Baa Black Sheep*. She may not have known that story and was in any case probably far more interested in *The Light that Failed*, as it had recently been published and she reports that Kipling had personally inscribed her copy.

Ada added that Sarah was actually a relative of her father's. As a genealogist, I found this latter statement to be quite a remarkable coincidence and worthy of further investigation. The resulting study, which I hope readers will enjoy, wanders far and wide, always keeping

Lorne Lodge, Southsea, at its centre but visiting such diverse topics as Burne-Jones's Oxford circle, the Battle of Navarino and Pepper's ghost.

Some simplified family trees can be found at the end of this paper to assist the reader in understanding the various relationships described.

THE WHEELERS OF OXFORD

As Kennedy and Pinney discovered, Ada Annie Wheeler, the author of the *Melbourne Argus* article, was the daughter of David Dickinson Wheeler, himself once a reporter for the *Argus*. Further research shows David Wheeler was the son of Oxford bookseller and publisher, James Luff Wheeler. One of David Wheeler's brothers was James Talboys Wheeler, Indian Civil Servant and historian, Stephen Wheeler's father.²

The eagle-eyed student of Kipling's family background will have recognised that Talboys was also the surname of Alice Kipling's brother Harry Macdonald's Oxford fiancée, Peggy.³ Mary ('Peggy') Talboys was a daughter of David Alphonso Talboys, another Oxford bookseller and publisher. James Luff Wheeler had begun his career in partnership with David Talboys and had later, in 1824, married Talboys's sister, Anne Ophelia. The previous year, David Talboys, then a widower, had married Wheeler's sister, Mary.⁴ A search of the *Kipling Journal* online revealed an extract of a letter to the Society from Stephen Wheeler in 1930, mentioning that he first encountered Kipling as a child in 1871 as "Mrs. Lockwood Kipling, his mother, had been a friend of an aunt of mine and went to see her at Clifton when I happened to be visiting the same aunt".⁵

The aunt was Annie Wheeler, who at that time ran a small school for girls, Westfield Park, at Clifton.⁶ How did Alice know Annie? Quite possibly, they met when Alice and her sister Georgie visited Oxford in 1857 and 1858 to meet their brother's fiancée.⁷ The sisters stayed with Archibald and Gertrude Maclaren. Maclaren ran a gymnasium in Oxford frequented by Harry Macdonald, Burne-Jones, William Morris and other of that circle. Gertrude Maclaren was Peggy Talboys's sister. (Incidentally, she was the second Talboys daughter. Maclaren had married. He had first married Charlotte Wheeler Talboys in 1844, who died of a fever just three months later. In 1851 he married her younger sister.⁸)

Annie Wheeler was born in 1828, and her cousins Gertrude Maclaren in 1833 and Peggy Talboys in 1835, so Annie might well have been an older peripheral figure around the Burne-Jones Oxford circle of that time. That she was known to the Macdonald sisters is confirmed by the report of a visit by Louie Macdonald to Clifton in 1861, where she spent some of the time with "a school-mistress called Miss Wheeler".⁹

Incidentally, Stephen Wheeler's early life had many similarities with that of Kipling. He was born in Cambridge in 1854 and was looked after by an aunt in London when his parents went to India when he was four. Later he boarded at Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School in Kent.¹⁰ A younger brother, John, had meanwhile died in India at less than two weeks old. Stephen later worked as a journalist in Allahabad and Lahore. By 1891, Wheeler, like Kipling, was back in England. Unlike Kipling though, he married in India (to Therese Claude at Allahabad in 1878) and had three daughters there, the first two in Allahabad and the third in Lahore in May 1882, when Wheeler was editor of the *Civil & Military Gazette*.¹¹ The younger brother who worked for the *Argus* was Fordyce Wheeler, born in Rangoon in 1870 and later a director of Sun Newspapers Limited in Sydney. He was living in Melbourne in 1891.¹²

HOW DID ALICE FIND THE HOLLOWAYS?

It is commonly assumed that the Holloways were unknown to the Kiplings and that, following Pryse Agar Holloway's retirement as Chief Officer of Customs at Sizewell, Suffolk in 1869, he and Sarah had moved to Southsea and advertised their services as foster-parents, Alice and Lockwood responding to one of these. However, let us examine the parties' movements in more detail.

Firstly, the Holloways did not immediately move from Sizewell to Southsea. The 1871 census, taken in April, shows them, and son Harry, living in Ifley Road, Oxford. Pryse Agar was also involved in a court case answering a minor accusation of assault in Ifley in 1870 (the case was dismissed). Southsea records also show him only paying rates for the first time in 1872.¹³

It can therefore reasonably be concluded that the Holloways were still living in Oxford when Alice and Lockwood left Bombay for England in April 1871, and so the Kiplings having already made arrangements with the Holloways before leaving seems unlikely. Also, to my knowledge, no advertisement placed by the Holloways has ever been found, either in English or Indian newspapers. That belief that they did respond to a newspaper advertisement probably comes from Trix's uncertain note "*Mrs Holloway at Southsea was no relation. Mother, I think answered her advertisement*".¹⁴

However, when Alice visited Annie Wheeler in mid-1871, might it be the case that Annie had heard that Sarah Holloway, newly-moved to Southsea, was looking for a source of income and told Alice of this? Might Alice even have visited Clifton in the hope that Annie Wheeler might take on Ruddy and Trix, as Annie was at that time looking after her own Indian-born niece Edith, the daughter of James Talbours Wheeler?¹⁵ – and that not proving possible, the Holloways were the

only remaining option, the time left before the Kiplings' return to India rapidly running out? I wonder if Annie Wheeler shared her brother David's poor opinion of Sarah Holloway? And what she told Alice?

Further evidence is provided by Kipling himself, writing to Trix in 1931, when he refers to "... *the Hope of the Kazikopfs. A woman called Annie Wheeler gave it to us in the year 1*". In *Something of Myself*, he says that a visitor to Southsea gave him the book. If Kipling's recollections sixty years on are correct, then this means that Annie Wheeler visited him and Trix at Southsea, possibly on behalf of Alice to see how they were settling in. Of course, he may simply have been given the book during the visit to Clifton.¹⁶

It hardly needs to be said that Sarah Holloway was not of the Burne-Jones Oxford circle. Indeed, Edith Plowden recalls Alice Kipling telling her that as she was taking Trix away from Southsea, Sarah Holloway objected on the grounds that "*Mrs Burne-Jones is not religious and never went to church*". "*The best woman in the world*" was Alice's reply.¹⁷

THE SLATTERS OF OXFORD

Was Sarah Holloway related to Annie Wheeler? As Ricketts records, she was born in 1822, daughter of Oxford tailor Thomas Slatter. The 1841 census shows the Slatter family, including wife Ann (generally known as 'Nance') and Sarah, living in the High Street next door to James Luff Wheeler's house and bookshop. Thomas Slatter died in 1849 but the 1851 census shows that Nance and son John continued the business, most probably assisted by Sarah and her sisters, Jane and Harriet.¹⁸ An 1854 directory of Oxford confirms James Luff Wheeler, bookbinder and bookseller, at 106 High Street and both N. Slatter and Co, tailors and robe-makers and Henry Slatter, jeweller and watchmaker, located at number 107 (Henry was another of Sarah's brothers). 106–107 can still be found today on the south side of the High Street, just to the east of King Edward Street.

Thomas Slatter was the son of John Slatter, a saddler. I have investigated the Slatter and Wheeler families in some depth and cannot find a relationship between them, so maybe Ada Wheeler's recollection of that part of her father's story was mistaken. However, there is no doubt that Sarah Slatter and Annie Wheeler were next-door neighbours for many years.

By 1861, the Slatters had given up tailoring. Sarah had married Pryse Holloway (in 1859), Nance was living with her married daughter Harriet in Holywell Street and John had taken up occupation as a wine-merchant's clerk.¹⁹ Harriet had married Henry Kilbee, who in 1861 was the Butler of Oriel College. It will be recalled that Kipling wrote in



106-107 High Street, Oxford (Google Earth May 2016).

Something of *Myself* of being taken to “a town called Oxford and a street called Holywell, where I was showed an Ancient of Days who, I was told, was the Provost of Oriel”. He had earlier used the name in ‘The Brushwood Boy’, “I am *not* afraid, truly’, said the boy, *wringing in despair*; ‘but why don’t you go to sleep in the afternoons, same as Provostforriel?’ *Georgie had been introduced to a grown-up of that name, who slept in his presence without apology. Georgie understood that he was the most important grown-up in Oxford?*”²⁰ This comment was made when Georgie was attending a performance of Pepper’s ghost, having previously visited a college buttery where he was given bread and cheese.

This section of the story is thought to be autobiographical, so it seems likely that Kipling accompanied Sarah Holloway on a visit to her sister, who remained at Holywell Street until she died in 1880, and was taken into Oriel by or to meet Henry Kilbee. There was a week of performances of a touring Pepper’s ghost show in Oxford Town Hall in mid July 1875, so this could possibly have been the date of the visit, although at that time Oriel was under the charge of the Vice-Provost,

the elderly Provost Edward Hawkins having retired to Rochester at the end of 1874.²¹

TOWN HALL, OXFORD,
For positively 12 Nights only,
Commencing MONDAY NEXT, July the 12th.
By kind Permission of the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor and the
Worshipful the Mayor.
 THE

ORIGINAL PEPPER’S GHOST And SPECTRAL OPERA COMPANY

If the visit had been earlier, it seems somewhat unlikely that Kilbee would have taken young Ruddy to meet Hawkins in person. But it is just credible that the boy might have been allowed to peer at him whilst he dozed.

And did Kipling also recall the Loggerheads, Mesopotamia and Charley Symonds’ stables in Holywell Street, in ‘To be Filed for Reference’ from ‘Oxford-on-a-Visit’? Or might these have been embellishments suggested by Alice from her rather longer and more adult experience of Oxford in the 1850s – or even, as Willson suggests, directly from Janey Morris who was born and brought up in Holywell Street and whose father, Robert Burdon, was a groom at the stables?²²

Sarah’s brother John had died in September 1871, leaving the unusual but generous amount of nineteen guineas to his nephew Harry Holloway. He wrote “*I hope that the rest of my relations will not feel aggrieved at my leaving the residue of my property to my said sister Harriet as I consider it only a duty to her and her husband for their many acts of kindness to me and to many dear relations*”. Perhaps this explained some Sarah’s downness; and also I wonder how much of his legacy Harry got to keep?

Sarah Slater married Pryse Agar Holloway at Dunwich in Suffolk in August 1859, when Holloway was Chief Officer of Coastguards at nearby Sizewell.²³ Sarah’s eldest sister Anne had married George Wellington Andrews in Oxford in 1851.²⁴ Andrews, a former mariner also born in Oxford, had joined the Coastguard in 1853 and was later

posted to Suffolk. In 1855, his and Anne's first child was born in Dunwich.²⁵ George and Ann must have been instrumental in bringing Sarah and Pryse together.

PRYSE AGAR HOLLOWAY

As Lycett and Ricketts both note, Pryse Agar Holloway was one of the many children of Benjamin Holloway, Esq. of Lee Place, Charlbury, a member of the Oxfordshire gentry. Pryse Agar seems to have received his first name from Pryse Pryse, MP for Cardigan Boroughs 1818–1849, second cousin to Benjamin Holloway; the two had been fellow officers in the Berkshire militia in their youth. Pryse Pryse was also, for a time, a nominated executor in Benjamin Holloway's will, although in a codicil, he was replaced by Benjamin Whippy, son-in-law to Benjamin Holloway (who, as Lycett identified, was Pryse Agar's brother-in-law). Pryse Pryse's first wife was the Hon Harriet Agar.²⁶

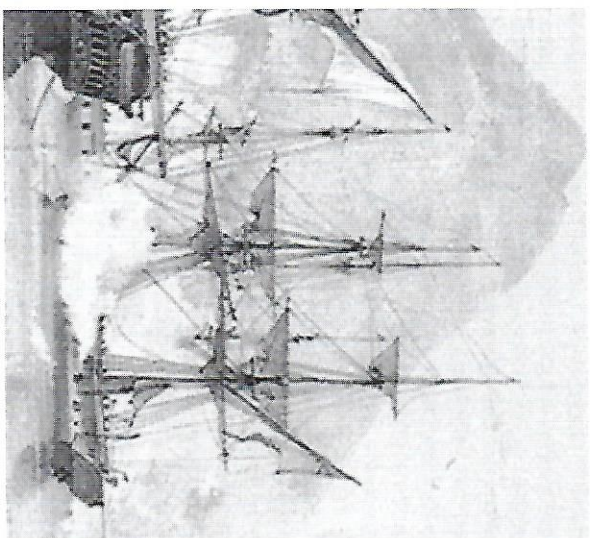
As a number of Kipling biographers have recorded, Pryse Agar Holloway joined the Navy as a youth and served as a midshipman on *HMS Brisk*, a 10-gun brig-sloop, at the Battle of Navarino, and left the Navy when the *Brisk* returned to England in 1829. The *Brisk*, like other brig-sloops, had two masts and a single gun-deck, unlike the ship which Kipling drew in the margin of a copy of Edmonia Hill's manuscript of *Baa Baa Black Sheep*.²⁷ The only illustration I have been able to find of the real *Brisk* is *Scipio, Dartmouth and Brisk at the Battle of Navarino* held by the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, in which she is shown partially obscured by gunsmoke and against the background of a larger ship.²⁸

Kipling, in *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, describes 'Uncle Harry' (Pryse Agar) singing the song of the battle of Navarino:

Our vanship was the *Asia* –
The *Albion* and the *Genoa*
And next came on the lovely *Rose*,
The *Philomel*, her fireship, closed
And the little *Brisk* was sore exposed
That day at Navarino!

This song has never been identified. However, as Roger Lancelyn Green notes, there were a number of songs written in the aftermath of Navarino. Two, not mentioned by Green, deserve further scrutiny.²⁹ One, sung to the tune of the 'British Grenadiers', contains the lines:

The vanship was the *Asia*, her men of courage true
Commanded by brave CODDRINGTON, Vice Admiral of the Blue.



Scipio, Dartmouth and Brisk (centre) at the Battle of Navarino
(by permission of the National Maritime Museum).

Another, 'The Battle of Navarin' (sic) contained the lines:

The *Albion*, *Genoa* and *Glasgow* sent destruction on their foes.
The *Philomel* and the little *Brisk*, *Mosquito*, lovely *Rose*.

Could Kipling's song be a composite of partially recalled fragments? I doubt he would have had the time or ability to do any research when he dashed the story off at the Hills' bungalow in Allahabad in time for Christmas 1888. None of the songs I have found include the phrase "That day at Navarino", although there was an article in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1909 with that exact title.³⁰ It was a largely narrative account of the battle which could of course have taken its title from Kipling. But it does leave open the door to the possibility that Uncle Harry's song is still out there somewhere to be discovered.

Pryse Agar, incidentally, was later awarded the Naval General Service medal with the Navarino clasp, which was given in 1847 to the survivors of those present at the battle. Pryse Agar was not wounded at Navarino, and in fact, the *Brisk* suffered only one death (the purser) and three wounded (two sailors and the surgeon).³¹ If it was "sore exposed" then it certainly got off lightly.

Benjamin Holloway died in 1832 and Lee Place was sold under the terms of his will. Pryse Agar is not specifically mentioned in the will, but the major part of his father's estate was to be monetised and shared equally between his children when they reached 21 (which age Pryse Agar reached that very year). He seems to have returned to Oxfordshire and taken up the life of a country gentleman. In an account of a run of the Heythrop hunt in April 1837, it is reported that "*Only two persons that I saw attempted the large brook (which was barely practicable): one of these, Mr Pryse Holloway, on his gallant grey, charged it in a most sportsmanlike and fearless manner. The opposite bank being rotten, his horse fell backwards into the stream, but he himself alighted without injury on terra firma – his nag was soon liberated from his chilling situation and pursued the tenor of his way.*" Heythrop is an Oxfordshire village near Charlbury and the hunt was in 1845 the subject of *Tarwood* by R.E. Egerton Warburton which contains the lines:

*"And Holloway, with best intent,
Still shivering timber as he went;"*³²

These lines were quoted by Kipling in a 1933 letter to Guy Paget, who managed to obtain a copy of the poem for him. Kipling mentions having learnt the poem from Pryse Agar.³³ *Tarwood* also refers to Benjamin Whippy, Pryse Agar's brother-in-law, and purchaser of Lee Place from Benjamin Holloway's estate:

*"When younger men of lighter weight
Some tale of future sport relate,
Let Whippy show the brush he won,
And tell them of the Tarwood run".*

At the time of the 1841 census, Pryse Agar was living with his brother Thomas and his sisters Georgiana, Margaret and Constantia at Ivy House, Charlbury. Later that year, he entered his grey gelding, Grimace, in the Shipston Steeple Race; he did not win.³⁴

As Ricketts noted, he was elected Inspector of Weights and Measures for Oxfordshire in 1844. However, he resigned the position after less than six months, claiming that the remuneration of £3 per week, from which he had to meet all his expenses, was insufficient.³⁵ In 1846, he was appointed a Captain in the Oxfordshire militia, at the same time as Benjamin Whippy was appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for the county. So his rank was a genuine military one and not an informal one of the merchant marine as has hitherto been thought. He does not appear to have held the rank for too long though, as he is absent from a list of

officers published in October 1852 and his resignation was noted in the London Gazette in January 1853.³⁶ This may be because, at the time of the 1851 census, he was lodging in London, listing no occupation but describing himself as a gentleman.³⁷

As Ricketts notes, Pryse Holloway joined the Coastguard service in 1855 from London. The Coastguard around this time was manned largely by former naval officers and men but the Crimean war saw many of these rejoin the navy. The Coastguard looked to replace them with qualified older men. Whether he joined out of patriotism or simply needed the income may never be known. However, his register entry states that he was "former midshipman, RN", so his time on the *Brisk* stood him in good stead.³⁸ I have found only one reference to his Coastguard work, and that is to a rescue in 1862, when it was reported that "*The schooner Port Glasgow... drove on shore at Sizewell, and, being opposite the Coastguard station, the mortar apparatus was at once put in requisition, under the direction of Lieutenant Holloway, and the first discharge a line was cleverly thrown over the vessel and the crew rescued.*"³⁹ It is interesting that he is referred to as Lieutenant, this being considered the Naval rank equivalent to Chief Coastguard Officer, the Royal Navy having taken over the running of the Coastguard in 1856.

Whether he really did go whaling after leaving the *Brisk* will probably never be known but I wonder if his rope-scarred ankle really did result from being dragged down by a harpoon line. Or might it have had a more mundane origin – perhaps from operating the mortar apparatus at Sizewell or even riding to hounds – and later been fictionally embellished as a tale to entertain Ruddy?

Pryse Agar had been appointed an executor and trustee of the will of Francis Grace, a Charlbury farmer and innkeeper who died in 1848. Pryse almost certainly visited Oxford in late July 1859, as he was granted administration there of the will (as the sole surviving executor) by the probate court on July 30th, an earlier application in 1848 having only been partially effective.⁴⁰ This was less than two weeks before his marriage to Sarah Slater, so he may have been there to bring Sarah and some of her family to Sizewell for the wedding, at which Sarah's sister Jane was a witness. In 1866, as the remaining trustee of Francis Grace's will, he was granted copyhold of the Rose and Crown in Charlbury, formerly owned by Grace, in trust for certain of the beneficiaries under the will. Lyceot and Ricketts appear to have been mistaken in suggesting that he had acquired this in a personal capacity.⁴¹

Kipling speculates on a "sordid intrigue" concerning Sarah and Harry Holloway and one of Pryse Agar's brothers who lived near Havant. Previous biographers have identified the brother as General Sir

Thomas Holloway and the intrigue did indeed involve a legacy, which Angus Wilson outlines.⁴² In General Holloway's original will, written in 1872, £1,500 was bequeathed to Pryse Agar or, should Pryse Agar die before his brother, £1,000 to Harry (who was christened Henry Thomas Pryse). However, following Pryse Agar's death and only a few months before his own death in 1875, the General revoked the legacy to Harry in a codicil.⁴³ Clearly he had formed his own opinion of Harry and Sarah!

One Harry was given to give for the legacy of Henry Thomas Pryse Agar

THE HOLLOWAYS AFTER RUDDY AND TRIX

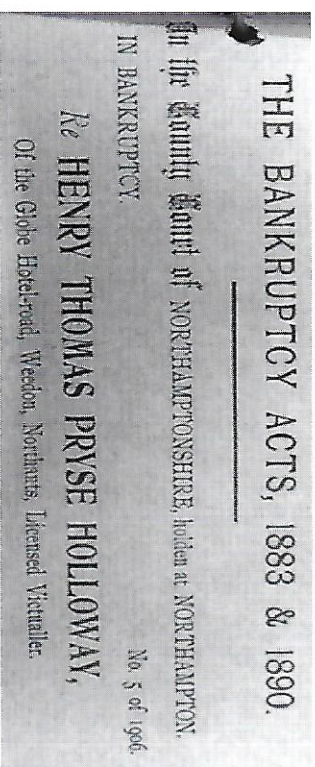
The only other children known to have been looked after by Sarah Holloway were Flo Garrard and, for a while, her elder sister Maud. The 1881 census shows only Sarah, Harry and Flo in residence at Lorne Lodge (Trix being recorded at Warwick Gardens and Kipling, along with Dunsterville and Beresford, at Westward Ho!).⁴⁴ As Andrew Lycett identified, the Garrards were related to Pryse Holloway (Flo's paternal grandmother being the sister of Benjamin Whippy), so it also seems likely that Sarah had kept in touch with her husband's family after his death for more than just the possibility of being in the will of General Sir Thomas Holloway.⁴⁵

Harry Holloway continued to live with his mother at Lorne Lodge for some time, still being there at the time of the 1891 census, when he described himself as an accountant. 1888 and 1893 newspaper articles report him as working at the Landport, Portsmouth branch of the Capital and Counties Bank.⁴⁶ The maidservants at Lorne Lodge evidently continued to need replacing, as advertisements appeared in local newspapers in both 1892 and 1894.⁴⁷ Harry was subsequently promoted to be manager of the bank's branch at Lynton in the New Forest. Sarah Holloway moved with him and she died at the Bank House, Lynton in September 1900.⁴⁸

Harry was admitted to the masonic lodge of Lynton in 1896 and to the Capital and Counties lodge in 1900. In 1899, he was co-executor of the will of William Wykeham Holloway, one of his father's younger brothers, who had joined the Oxfordshire militia in the same year as Pryse and was for many years its Paymaster and Quartermaster.⁴⁹ Perhaps finally freed of the need for maternal approval, or possibly deprived of maternal control, Harry married an American, Dora Berkeley, in October 1901 at Millbrook, Southampton. He left the bank and took up the lease of the Globe Hotel in Road Weedon near Northampton.

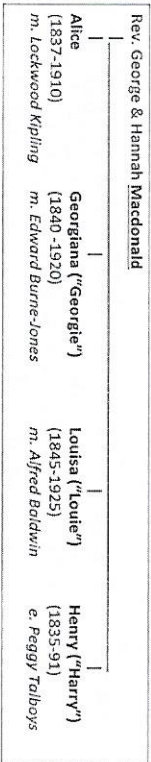
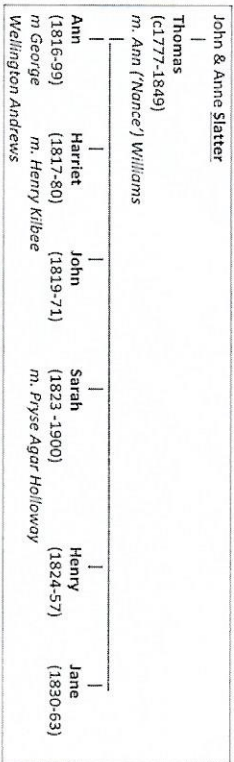
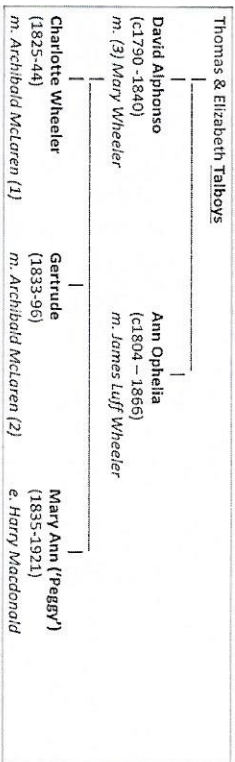
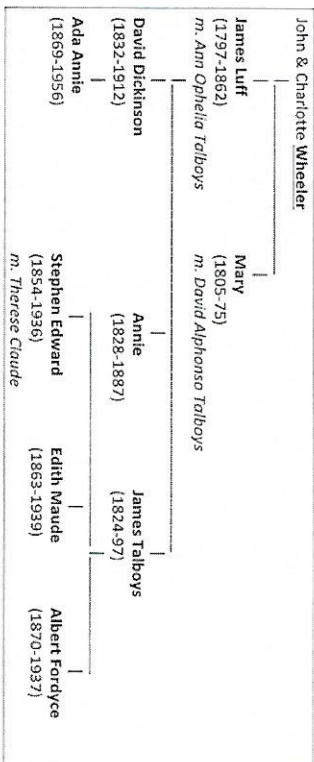
In 1902, there occurred an episode which is pure motoring Kipling. Whilst being driven back to the hotel in a trap, Dora Holloway was passed by a Panhard travelling at excessive speed, the occupants waving and shouting, disturbing the horse.⁵⁰ The car was being driven by the owner's chauffeur, accompanied by Lord Annaly's cover lad and another gentleman's groom on their way to Weedon to meet their employers who were out hunting. To her surprise, the car was in the yard at the Globe when she arrived home. She allegedly gave them a piece of her mind "Get out of my yard you rotten swine; next time you pass a lady perhaps you will know one". Evidence for the prosecution came from a police sergeant whose house the Panhard had sped past, a variety of other solid locals and one Captain Clarke who explained how the 12mph speed limiter could be bypassed. The Bench was convinced and fined the driver 20s with 18s costs.

Harry had invested £300 of capital into the business, probably from a small legacy he had received in 1899 from his uncle William, but was declared bankrupt after five years, able to pay out only four shillings and elevenpence-farthing in the pound to his creditors.⁵¹ Readers may now enjoy a tingle of *schadenfreude!*

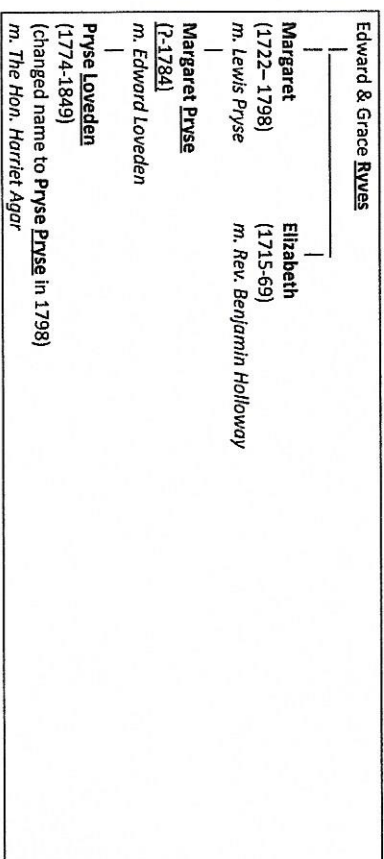
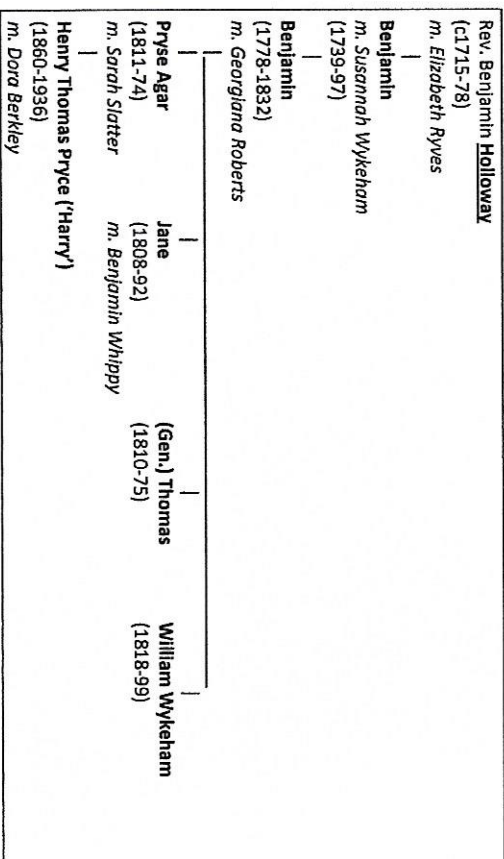
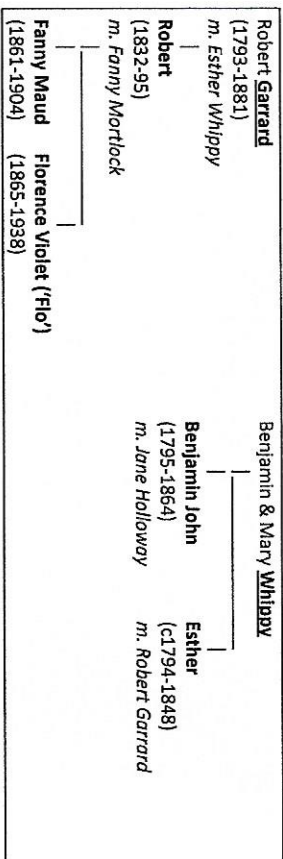


Dora died the following year and Harry returned south, where the 1911 census found him in lodgings at Brockenhurst, described as a retired bank manager. He died of a stroke in March 1936, barely two months after the child he had once tormented, who was now mourned by an Empire.⁵²

APPENDIX: FAMILY TREES



Note: These family trees refer only to people mentioned in the essay.



WORKS CONSULTED

- Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, *The Macdonald Sisters* (London: Peter Davies, 1960).
 Rudyard Kipling (edited by Thomas Pinney), *Something of Myself and other Autobiographical Writings* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).
 Roger Lancelyn Green, *Kipling and the children* (London: Elek Books Ltd, 1965).
 Lorna Lee (editor), *Trix: Kipling's Forgotten Sister* (Peterborough: Forward Press Ltd, 2004).
 Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Wiedenfield & Nicholson, 1999 reprinted 2015).
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 Harry Rickatts, *The Unforgiving Minute: A Life of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1999).
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NOTES

- 1 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 25 January 1936, p. 6, col. 1. The article is quoted, unsourceed, in Rosalind Kennedy and Thomas Pinney, *Kipling Down Under* (XLIBRIS, 2000). Ada Wheeler, known as 'Bunchie', was a journalist on *The Argus* (obituary *The Argus*, 4 August 1956, p. 6, col. 6).
- 2 D. D. Wheeler, *Register of Births and Baptisms at George Lane Independent Chapel in the parish of Oxford, Oxfordshire from 1831 to 1836*, 30 August 1835 (thegenalogist.co.uk). J. T. Wheeler, *Dictionary of National Biography* (ed. Sir Leslie Stephen, Oxford University Press, 1922) vol. 20, pp. 1351-2. This entry attributed to "S. W." (probably Stephen Wheeler).
- 3 Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, *The Macdonald Sisters* (London: Peter Davies, 1960).
- 4 David Vaisey, 'Talboys, David Alphonso (1789/90-1840)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press), online edition, May 2015.
- 5 *National Biography* (Oxford transcriptions, Oxford Family History Marriage registers of St Clements, Oxford (transcriptions, Oxford Family History Society).
- 6 *The Kipling Journal*, No. 15, October 1930, p. 86.
- 7 *The Kipling Journal*, No. 15, October 1930, p. 86.
- 8 *England and Wales census 1871*, Piece: 2568; Folio: 38; Page: 22; She also advertised the School in the Bristol newspapers (e.g. *Bristol Mercury*, 11 June 1870, p. 5, col. 2).
- 9 Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, *ibid.*, pp. 68-72.
- 10 *England and Wales census 1841*, Piece: 891; Book: 16; Civil Parish: *St Peter in The East*; County: *Oxfordshire*; Enumeration District: 2; Page: 1; Line: 23.
- 11 *East: County: Oxfordshire*, *City Herald*, 06 July 1844, p. 3, col. 3.
- 12 *Oxford University and City Herald*, 06 July 1844, p. 3, col. 5.
- 13 *ibid.*, 12 October 1844, p. 3, col. 5.
- 14 Marriage registers of Christ Church, London, 27 August 1851 (ancestry.co.uk).
- 15 Marriage registers of St Peters in the East, Oxford (transcriptions, Oxford Family History Society).
- 16 Ina Taylor, *Victorian Sisters* (Bethesda, Maryland: Adler & Adler Inc., 1987), pp. 46-50.
- 17 *England & Wales registrations of birth*, Chesteron, Cambs., Jan-Mar 1854, vol. 3b, p. 429, *England & Wales census 1861*, St Botolph without Aldgate, Middlesex,

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- 22 These are all places in Oxford mentioned in 'To be Filed for Reference' in *Plain Tales from the Hills* (London: Penguin Classics, 2011, p. 243). Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Margaret Fleming, *Journal of the William Morris Society*, Winter 1981, 'Where Janey used to live' (www.williammorrisociety.org). Oriel College, however, is not located in Holywell Street.
- 23 *England & Wales registrations of marriages*, Blything, 10 August 1859, vol. 4a, p. 975.
- 24 Marriage registers of Holywell (St Cross), Oxford (transcriptions, Oxford Family History Society).
- 25 The National Archives, ADM 175/98, p. 2. *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1338-1975*. Gertrude Jessie Andrews, Dunwich, August 1858 (Ancestry.co.uk).
- 26 D. R. Fisher (editor), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) (historyofparliamentonline.org). Benjamin

- Holloway's grandfather, the Rev. Benjamin Holloway, had married Elizabeth Ryves, whose sister Margaret was the grandmother of Pryse Pryse. *The London Gazette*, 8 Mar 1794, issue 13630, p. 215 and 1 Aug 1795, issue 13801, p. 803. Pryse Pryse's commission was gazetted under his former surname of Loveden (which he changed in 1799). The National Archives, *Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers*, Class: PROB 11; Piece: 1808.
- 27 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cherokee-class_brig-sloop. Darwin's *Beagle* was also of this class, although a third mast had been added some years after construction. Kipling's sketch is reproduced in Thomas Pinney's edition of Kipling, 'Something of Myself', p. 145.
- 28 *Scipion, Dartmouth and Brisk* at the Battle of Navarino, 20 Oct 1827. NMM Greenwich, PAF4810.
- 29 *The Kipling Journal*, No. 139, *News and Notes (by Roger Lancelyn Green)*, p. 3. <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/?query=navarino>.
- 30 John Barrett, *Cornhill Magazine*, May 1909.
- 31 *The National Archives*, Class: ADM 171; Piece: 8 (ancestry.co.uk). *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 17 November 1827, p. 4, col. 2.
- 32 *The New Sporting Magazine*, Vol. 12, 1837, pp. 335-6.
- R. E. Egerton Warburton, *Hunting Songs* (Chiswick Press edition c.1870, reprinted by Amazon 2016), p. 74.
- 33 Pinney, *Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, vol. 6, pp. 153-4.
- 34 *England and Wales census 1841*, Charlbury, *Oxfordshire*, Piece: 873; Book: 3; Folio: 37; p. 23. *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette*, 17 April 1841, p. 4, col. 7.
- 35 Ricketts, *op. cit.*, p. 17. *Banbury Guardian*, 27 June 1844, p. 3, col. 1.
- 36 *Berkshire Chronicle*, 31 January 1846, p. 3, col. 4.
- Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette*, 23 October 1852, p. 4, col. 5.
- 37 *England and Wales census 1851*, St George Hanover Square, Piece: 1478; Folio: 354; p. 27.
- 38 *The National Archives*, ADM 175/9, p. 243.
- 39 *Windsor and Eton Express*, 25 October 1862, p. 2, col. 3.
- 40 HM Courts and Tribunal Service, Will of Francis Grace proven at Oxford, 30 Jul 1859.
- 41 Oxford Record Office, B5/9/D/3-4. On Pryse Agar's death, the trusteeship passed to Harry. He only finally passed on the copyhold of the inn in 1884 (Oxford Record Office, B5/9/D/8-9).
- 42 Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- 43 Kipling (ed. Pinney), *op. cit.*, p. 8. HM Courts and Tribunal Service, Will of Sir Thomas Holloway, KCB, proven at Southampton, 23 Aug 1875.
- 44 *England and Wales census 1881*, Portsea Island, Piece: 1161; Folio: 90; p. 13.
- England and Wales census 1881*, Kensington, Piece: 24; Folio: 53; p. 20.
- England and Wales census 1881*, Bideford, Piece: 2260; Folio: 46; p. 15.
- 45 Lyceul, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
- 46 *England and Wales census 1891*, Portsea, Piece: 874; Folio: 118; p. 1.
- Hampshire Telegraph*, 4 February 1888, p. 3, col. 6.
- Hampshire Telegraph*, 21 January 1893, p. 3, col. 3.
- 47 *Portsmouth Evening News*, 12 October 1892, p. 4, col. 2.
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Hampshire Advertiser, 12 September 1900, p. 4, col. 2.
- 49 *The London Gazette*, 24 February 1846, issue 20577, p. 732. *Oxford Journal*, 19 January 1856, p. 5, col. 4. HM Courts and Tribunal Service, Will of William Wykeham Holloway, proven at London, 23 Mar 1899.
Northampton Mercury, 5 December 1902, p. 3, col. 5.
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- 51 England & Wales registrations of deaths, Northampton, 18 Dec 1907, vol. 3b, p. 54. *England and Wales census 1911*, Lymington, RD94 SD1 ED12 SN75, Piece: 5794.
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