

THE
KIPLING JOURNAL



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE KIPLING SOCIETY, LONDON

VOLUME 83

JUNE 2009

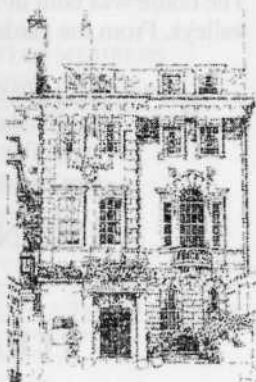
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THE KIPLING JOURNAL
published quarterly since 1927 by the Kipling Society
(6 Clifton Road, London W9 1SS)
and sent free to all members worldwide

Volume 83

June 2009

Number 332

CONTENTS

THE KIPLING SOCIETY: OFFICERS, ETC.	3
EDITORIAL	5 & 55
MEMBERSHIP NOTES by John Lambert	6
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	6, 7, 22 & 37
SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS	7
VANCOUVER ISLAND AND THE KIPLINGS by John F. Boshier	8-22
RUDDY'S SEARCH FOR GOD: THE YOUNG KIPLING AND RELIGION by Charles Allen	23-37
OBITUARY: GORDON PHILO, C.M.G., M.C., K.N.M.(Hon) by Barbara Luke	38-39
FOOD AND COOKERY IN KIPLING: FROM THE CAVE-WOMEN'S MAGIC TO THE SCOUT'S BACON AND EGGS by Jan Montefiore	40-55
REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 2008	56-58
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2008	58-64
THE SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT 2008	65-67
ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY	68

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EDITORIAL

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN CONFERENCE – POSTPONED

We were sorry to hear earlier in the year that this Conference at the University of Cape Town, scheduled for September 2009, has had to be postponed. It is hoped that it will still take place, but at present no alternative dates have been suggested.

MAIWAND, BERMUDA AND "THAT DAY"

Our President, Field Marshal Sir John Chappie, recently sent me a copy of Appendix VII of *Maiwand*, the 2008 book by Richard J. Stacpoole-Riding in association with The Rifles (Berkshire and Wiltshire) Museum. It sets out the story of how Kipling used the history of the Berkshire Regiment (the old 66th Foot which was destroyed at Maiwand in 1880) noting that "The Drums of the Fore and Aft" is thought to be based upon an amalgamation of the British defeat at Maiwand in July 1880 and the victory at Ahmed Khel on 19 April of the same year during the second Afghan War.

The Kiplings went to Bermuda in 1894 to enable Mrs Kipling to convalesce, at which time the Berkshire Regiment was also there. Kipling was shown round the barracks by a Sergeant Richards, and as a result of a visit to the Sergeants' Mess, Kipling wrote "That Day" – not about Bermuda, but about Maiwand.

There have been several references in the *Journal* over the years to these events, the most comprehensive being that by Mrs Eileen Stammers-Smith on "Kipling and Bermuda" in No.277 for March 1996. The Regimental Museum is located in Salisbury and information can be found on its website www.thewardrobe.org.uk.

THE COMPETITION WALLAH

Earlier this year I was given a copy of *The Competition Wallah* by G.O. Trevelyan (Macmillan, 1864). It looked interesting, but when I realised that this was the book that Kipling records as having received as a prize at the end of his last year at U.S.C, it became much more so. He received his copy for his poem "The Battle of Assaye" and his Headmaster 'Crom Price said that if I went on I might be heard of again.' [*Something of Myself* (p.37)]

The book is a collected, and edited, series of articles that had first appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* during Trevelyan's tour in India in 1863, some five years after the Mutiny. He went to India for about a year as Private Secretary to his father (brother-in-law of Lord Macaulay) who had gone back to India as Finance Minister from 1862-65.

Continued on page 55.

MEMBERSHIP NOTES

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Members are reminded of the due date of their subscription on their address label when they receive the *Journal*. The date given as such 08/09 refers to August 2009.

All rates can be viewed on the back cover of the *Journal*. If you are in doubt please contact me by the methods given.

John Lambert, Hon. Membership Secretary

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN'

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

Dear Sir,

In answer to Josephine Leeper's letter in the March 2009 *Journal* (No.330) I would point out that it would be a bit difficult for Kipling to write sympathetically about black Africans (especially black African soldiers) when his holiday home was provided by Cecil Rhodes.

Yours sincerely,
 SHAMUS O.D. WADE

Continued on page 7.

SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Saturday 20 June 2008, the National Trust will hold its "Kipling Day" at Bateman's.

Wednesday 8 July 2009, 4.30 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, the Society's **A.G.M.** after which (5.30 for 6 p.m.), **Professor Bart Moore-Gilbert**, of Goldsmith's College on "Kipling's Afterlives: Responses to Kipling's Work in Indian Literature".

Wednesday 9 September 2009, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Amanda-Jane Eddleston**, University of Mainz, on "Übermut and Underdogs: Kipling and the Northern Theory of Courage".

Wednesday 11 November 2009, 5.30 for 6 p.m., in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, Speaker to be announced.

June 2009

JANE KESKAR & ANDREW LYCETT

LETTERS — *continued from page 6.*

SCUMFISH'

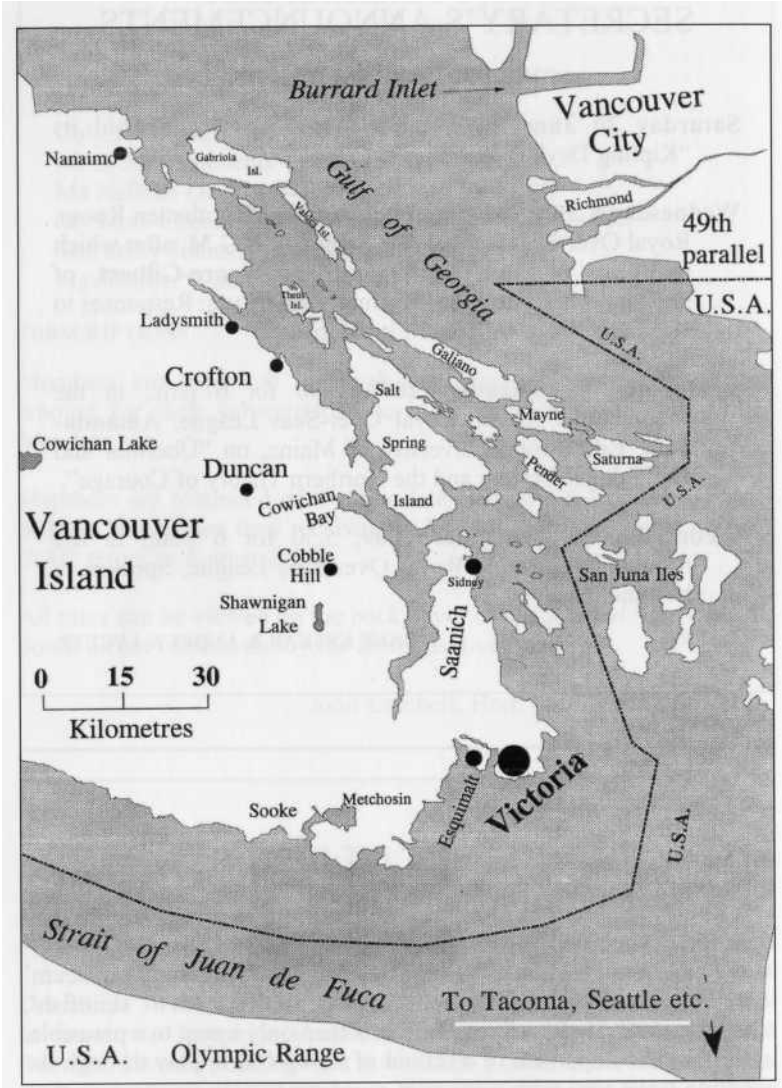
From: Mrs Jo Webb, Bembridge, Shaftesbury Avenue, Woking, Surrey, GU22 7DU

Dear Sir,

May I offer a suggestion as to the origin of this word? Suppose 'scum' to be a variant of 'skim' (to which it is related); that leads to 'skimfish', which must surely be a flying fish. It is then only a step to a plausible, indeed vivid comparison of a school of flying fish at play through the breaking wave tops with a troop of monkeys tossing the trees as they leap through the forest canopy.

Yours sincerely,
JO WEBB

Continued on page 22.



A PARTIAL MAP OF VANCOUVER ISLAND AND CITY
Prepared by John F. Boshier

VANCOUVER ISLAND AND THE KIPLINGS

By JOHN F. BOSHER

[J.F. Boshier was born on Vancouver Island, where his father migrated from rural Berkshire and his mother from Manchester. After forty years and seven books in the fields of French history, he has turned to aspects of the British Imperial past and is investigating veterans of the Indian Army and the I.C.S. who retired to the Island. – *Ed.*]

Kipling's first visit to the Pacific coast of British Columbia was in 1889 in the course of his journey from India via Japan and the U.S.A. to London with every intention of making a literary name for himself. He describes his visit in Chapter XXVIII of *From Sea to Sea*, first published in the Allahabad *Pioneer* of 7 January 1890, writing specifically of Victoria:

When I left [Vancouver city] by steamer and struck across the Sound to our naval station at Victoria, Vancouver Island, I found in that quiet English town of beautiful streets quite a colony of old men doing nothing but talking, fishing, and loafing at the Club. That means that the retired go to Victoria. On a thousand a year pension a man would be a millionaire in these parts, and for four hundred he could live well. . . . The sight afar off of three British men-of-war and a torpedo-boat consoled me as I returned from Victoria to Tacoma [U.S.A.] and discovered en route that I was surfeited with scenery.

Like many British travellers before and after him, he had found an island refuge that was attracting officers, civil servants, and other pensioners from all over the Empire because of its Devon-like climate, abundant cheap land, good fishing and hunting, pretty coastal landscape with snowy mountains beyond, and a society of British gentlemen with their families, the whole well protected by the Royal Navy patrolling out of its station at Esquimalt. A sea voyage of eighty miles separated Victoria from Vancouver city but history as well as geography had made them quite different. In 1889 Vancouver was only three years old, built as a terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway when and where it reached the coast overland from Canada; whereas Victoria had been established forty years earlier by sea from the British Isles and as a separate colony. Attaching it to British Columbia in 1866 and adding the whole to Canada in 1871 had not changed it much. The Union Club mentioned in the above passage was ten years old in 1889 and resembled a London club. Before the Second World War cricket and tennis rivalled

baseball in local newspapers, which also reported much Imperial shipping and news from "home." With Esquimalt three miles to the west and small settlements a few miles north up the island, Victoria was comparable with outposts such as Bermuda, Hong Kong, Malta, Cape Town, or Sydney, Australia, whereas Vancouver was more like Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, and other Canadian towns linked by rail.

Kipling visited the island three times in less than twenty years – in June 1889, April 1892, and October 1907. Was he looking to see whether it might suit him as a place of retirement? His "colony of old men" included veterans of the Indian Army, the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Medical Service, the tea plantations of Darjeeling, and other careers in the Raj. For instance, Major James F. Lennox MacFarlane (1845-1940) of the Royal Artillery read about the Cowichan River and the east coast of Vancouver Island in *The Field* magazine before Christmas 1867 "sitting on the veranda of our mess bungalow at Ahmedzezzare [Ahmadnagar?], Bombay District, with some of my brother officers ... I exclaimed, 'By Jove, that's the place for me. I'll get there before I die' " and indeed he did so. After some years in retirement as a J.P., hunting, fishing, and breeding horses in County Dublin, Ireland, he lost money by the dishonesty of a lawyer and sold out. He ranched in Alberta for some years but in 1903 bought a hundred acres a few miles south of Cowichan at Mill Bay, where he lived for the rest of his life.¹

Similar gentlemen were continually visiting with a view to settling permanently. More and more Imperials in India found their way to the Island by going home to Britain across the Pacific Ocean via the "Empress" line of passenger ships, which plied regularly between Yokohama and Vancouver from 1891, stopping at Victoria on the way. On 26 June 1907, for example, shortly before Kipling's third visit, the M.S. *Empress of Japan* brought Colonel Henry Appleton (1855-1929) who had served the Military Works Department in India with the Royal Engineers since 1877. He had hunted big game and rare plants in Tibet, and was a notable collector of Hiroshige and other Oriental prints which he later exhibited at the Alexandra Ballroom in Victoria before disposing of them to "some of the famous Japanese print collectors of Chicago, Boston, New York, and London."² Like such officers Kipling had left India and although he had nostalgic memories and wrote continually about the land of his birth he never returned, refusing official posts and even an invitation to join the Prince of Wales on a journey there in 1903.³ His parents likewise retired to England once his father's work in India no longer kept them there. So alert an observer as Kipling would have known Vancouver Island's reputation, which had spread throughout the Empire long before. The Cariboo goldrush of 1858, which almost coincided with the Indian Mutiny, seems to have induced a number of sea

captains and others to transfer from the East India Company to the shipping service of the Hudson's Bay Company, commanding ships that carried passengers and cargoes around South America and up to Victoria.

Even before Kipling's first visit the Island had become one of those places in the Empire noted for its population of retired officers from the British and [British] Indian Armies as well as the Royal Navy and it was promoted as such both locally and Imperially. As early as 1901 a former British consul at Kerch, on the strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, remarked in a pamphlet printed in Victoria and evidently directed at prospective immigrant gentlemen, "In the Duncan's [*sic*] District there is a very large element of English settlers, including naval and military men, pensioned Indian civil servants, and gentlemen's younger sons. The amusements are very much those of an English country life, only that THEY COST YOU NOTHING."⁴ The author, Captain [later Sir] Clive Phillipps-Wolley (1853-1918), had come out in 1891 to hunt big game and taken to writing verse even more eagerly patriotic than Kipling's. He was often described as "the Kipling of the West."⁵ In his "The Kootenay Prospector" he used a rough local speech equivalent to that of Kipling's "The Sergeant's Weddin'."⁶ Another minor poet, Robert Service (1874-1958), not yet known for his jolly doggerel about life in the Klondike goldrush of 1898, was entertaining audiences at Duncan in the 1890s with public recitations of Kipling's verse (and Henry Newbolt's) while working on British farms in the Cowichan Valley.⁷ This was not long after Kipling and his American wife had visited the Island in April 1892 during their honeymoon journey. Yet another British writer, Harold Begbie (1871-1929), had visited the Island and celebrated the British loyalty he found there in a poem he called "Esau's Dream of Home," published in the *London Standard*.⁸

Another of the writers who retired to Vancouver Island shortly before Kipling's third visit was Lieut.-Colonel A.C.P. Haggard, D.S.O. (1854-1923), an older brother of his friend the novelist Sir Henry Rider Haggard. He settled about forty miles north of Victoria in the Cowichan Valley, where Rider visited him in 1916. The island attracted others who knew Kipling or his parents. Among the family's friends at one time was Major W.F.C. Tayler [*sic*] (1868-1962) who was born at Bangalore, served for more than eighteen years in India with the 21st Cavalry, as Acting Cantonment Magistrate (Peshawar) in the years 1889-1905, and retired to Victoria in 1910 with his wife, also born in India.⁹ A younger man who resided on the Island with his family for many years, Major R.G.R. Murray (1888-1973), was born in Quetta, served in the 9th Gurkha Rifles before transferring to the Royal Flying Corps, and never forgot that Kipling once told his mother, "he still

couldn't stop himself from ducking automatically if anyone passed behind his chair, he was so used to having his ears cuffed for no discernible reason when he was studying or reading."¹⁰ This lady was born in Madras *circa* 1857 as Mary MacInnis MacKay, daughter of George MacKay (*circa* 1820-1900), a Surgeon-General and Professor at Calcutta. She had lived in India for most of her life with her father and then her husband, who also had a career in the Indian Medical Service.¹¹

The Kiplings had, of course, known the ubiquitous Rivett-Carnac family, so active in the Raj, and two officers in that family lived the last years of their lives on Vancouver Island.¹² These were Colonel Percy Temple Rivett-Carnac (1852-1932), born at Rawal-Pindi of India-born British parents, his father in the I.C.S., and Charles Edward Rivett-Carnac (1901-1980), son of a Deputy Inspector-General of Police in India.¹³ The Colonel had served for 32 years in the Indian Army all over the Empire but especially in India, and the younger man, his great-nephew, had run elephant camps on the Borelli River in the Himalayan foothills, gathered cottonwood timber to be milled and turned into tea boxes on the Brahmaputra River, managed a lime factory at Bisra in Central India, and then moved to Calcutta to work for Bird & Co. in everything from jute to timber, all this before joining the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in western Canada.¹⁴

More interesting is the closer acquaintance of the Palmer and Sime families. They arrived on the Island from India in stages beginning in 1910 and an interested descendant, John Palmer who was heir to their papers, wrote to me,

Forgive some more notes about Rudyard Kipling but he is of special interest to me for three reasons in addition to his writings. The first is that Kipling's father was on my other grandfather John Sime's staff when Sime was Director of Public Instruction for the Punjab. Kipling senior ran a print shop in Lahore. I don't know if it was a private shop or one set up by the governing authorities, but John Sime used to get his text-books printed there. I have a nice old photo of the assembled staff of the Education Dep't, and I'm pretty sure that the senior Kipling is quite evident there. My mother often used to quote her father respecting what the senior Kipling said about his son, viz. 'I don't know what to make of Rudyard; he doesn't seem to be interested in anything.'¹⁵

The mother here quoted was Susan Emily Palmer (ca. 1887-1974), *nee* Sime, third and youngest daughter of Dr John Sime, CLE. (1843-1911). He was born at Inchtute, Perthshire, attended St. Andrews University and in 1864 went out to India, where he became professor at

the Government College in Agra five years later. He took a post thereafter as principal at Delhi College, where he spent seven years, and was then appointed principal and professor at the Lahore College until 1885, when he became tutor to the Maharaja of Patiala. In 1887 the government appointed him Inspector of Schools and, three years later, Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, a post he held for eleven years, and Under-Secretary to the Government in the Education Department.¹⁶

It was in Lahore that Rudyard Kipling's "artistic genius first flowered" during the five years 1882-87 spent near his parents.¹⁷ The Kiplings and the Simes must have met there in the Punjab during those years, if not earlier, but the field of education in India then was so broad and complex, the personnel so numerous, that it can hardly be a matter of surprise that the Simes and Palmers are not named in biographies of Rudyard Kipling.¹⁸ The Palmer family's recollection about their collaboration in printing textbooks seems plausible, however, in that one of Dr. Sime's books, *Man and his Duties: a moral reader, containing a simple account of man's moral nature and of his duties both to God and man* (Lahore, 1896, 254 pp., and 1899, 287 pp.) was "prepared at the request of the Punjab Text-Book Committee" and printed at Lahore by Mufid-i-am Press.¹⁹ Whatever relations Dr. Sime had with the Kipling family, he married Ann Metcalfe Palmer (1848-1925), daughter of General Henry Palmer (1807-1892), at Mussoorie [Mussourie] in 1871 and it is their descendants on Vancouver Island who have memories of the Kipling family. The one closest to Rudyard Kipling was Dr. Sime's oldest daughter, Catherine Mary Sime (1874-1945), of whom her nephew writes, "my Aunt Kate (Miss C.M. Sime) was a friend of Rudyard's, and in fact received a letter from him just about the time of his death. I always regretted that I never asked about its contents, and I'm afraid the letter has not survived."²⁰

By the time Catherine Sime joined her family on the island in 1926, they were living near thousands of British families, of which more than a hundred had retired from careers in India. Why did they not choose to live near the greater numbers of other such families in Cheltenham, Bedford, Eastbourne, the Kensington or Marylebone districts of London, or in Sussex where Rudyard Kipling eventually settled?²¹ Even a partial or hypothetical answer to this difficult question may throw some light on Kipling's movements. Motives are, of course, mixed and discretion often keeps them hidden but in his journal C.G. Palmer left a rare private glimpse of his reasons for retiring to England and then out to Cowichan Valley on the Island. Born in India at Jullunder to a General in the Indian Army, he spoke Urdu and local dialects from childhood, had life-long Indian friends, and spent most of his life as an engineer managing irrigation schemes and famine relief

in various parts of India. "I knew many very good and pleasant and reliable Indians; yet I could not fancy ending my days among them. The whole of their social structure is pervaded with chicane, with petty lying and deceit and cheating in some form or another. It forms an unwholesome atmosphere very nauseous to my taste; in the language of the West it makes my moral sense kick like Hell."²² Here, incidentally, was a person who could appreciate Kipling's patriotic message about civilization as expressed in poems like "If—" (1895), "The White Man's Burden" (1899), and some of his stories.

More to the point, Palmer went on to explain why he did not settle in England. Having taken his family in 1908 to live in London near the Crystal Palace and not far from a son then at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, Palmer "hated it worse day by day . . . The smoke and stuffiness, grime and suburbaness of it all . . . the execrable climate, and an enforced scale of expenditure which just exceeded my income."²³ In addition, he was one of the many who could see that the ambitions of the newly-unified Germany, the second *Reich*, were threatening Britain and the Empire, so he took an active part in an association that was promoting Lord Roberts' scheme for organizing and training a reserve army of 640,000 young men.²⁴ Working people seemed to favour the scheme but the business and professional men he spoke to argued that a war with Germany was "unthinkable." When Parliament rejected the scheme, Palmer was alarmed. It was then that he cast about for somewhere else to go and chose Vancouver Island on the advice of Colonel Walter Way Baker (1859-?) of the Royal Engineers, whom he happened to meet in London.²⁵ Baker was born in Bombay to Colonel William Adolphus Baker, R.E. (1834-1901), had a long career in India, but spent a year on the Island at Crofton, a few miles north of Cowichan Bay, and took his family out to a farm in the Cowichan Valley in 1910, when and where the Palmers first migrated.²⁶

If Vancouver Island's "pull" factors (land, climate, hunting, informality, Britishness etc.) are added to Palmer's "push" factors (poverty, political anxieties, grey damp climate, etc.) an explanatory equation begins to emerge. The Palmers, Simes, and many others could not afford to live a pleasant country life in southern England but the Kiplings could once Rudyard's fame as a writer was assured. Much more successful than Phillipps-Wolley and Andrew Haggard, both of whom remained minor authors, he did not need to take refuge in a remote Imperial outpost, however agreeable it might be. Nor did he suffer from personal problems like those which seem to have made "refugees" of Sir Charles Delme-Radcliffe (1864-1937), apparently escaping from a difficult marriage, and Major John C. Bowen-Colthurst (c. 1881-1965), a veteran of the British expedition to Lhasa in 1903-04, apparently banished for shooting some Irish journalists in

Dublin in April 1916 and escaping execution for murder by a successful plea of insanity.²⁷ Others who rose in the Indian Army or the I.C.S. may have been avoiding life at home in England with families they had outgrown culturally or socially: Colonel Appleton, for example, was one of the two sons of a Manchester drysalter who both migrated to Victoria.²⁸ Younger sons of landed families commonly emigrated. Some officers, such as the three sons of Major-General H.C.P. Rice (1837-1922), who served all his life in a Sikh regiment, felt uncomfortable in England, their family being rooted in India for generations. They used to gather each summer at a tiny hill station called Thandiani in the Himalayas north of Murree and there, as a ten-year-old granddaughter recalled later, "the family decided to emigrate to British Columbia. 'Life in India,' they said 'is not what it was in our young days, and there is no future in soldiering.'" (This must have been in about 1910). There must, they thought, be some place in the world where they could own their own land and farm it, live a gentleman's existence on their retired pay and enjoy their shooting and fishing without too many restrictions.²⁹ Major-General Rice soon settled in a remote part of Maple Bay in a house he called "Kelston" and the sons found places in the Cowichan Valley nearby.

If Kipling had thoughts of his own future retirement during his first two visits – and there is no direct evidence of this – he went to Victoria in 1907 in the course of a speaking tour across Canada. He arrived on 8 October as a distinguished visitor famous for writing about the India that was probably familiar to more people on the Island than in any other part of North America. He made an impression not only by his artistic celebration of life in British India but also by his Imperial vision and a passionate concern for the future of what some now term "the Anglosphere." While he was crossing Canada in the previous weeks, thousands of central European peasants and American farmers were pouring into the western prairies as a result of the Canadian immigration policy of Clifford Sifton (1861-1929), adding to the alienation caused by older French-Canadian, Irish republican, and American influences.³⁰ Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been resisting all efforts to unify the Empire and Ottawa had been contributing little to Imperial defence, apart from a small expeditionary force in the South African War (1898-1902). The Royal Navy had withdrawn from Esquimalt a few months before Kipling's visit and, neglected by Ottawa, the base already looked to him like "a marine junk-store which had once been ... a station of the British Navy."³¹ The property he had bought on the B.C. mainland in 1889 had been sold to him by a typically sharp estate agent, like the Jacob Snape in one of Phillipps-Wolley's novels, who cheated trusting English gentlemen of their money and then despised them as broken-down "remittance

men."³² Like other educated travellers Kipling would certainly have felt the strong current of anti-English sentiment common in Ontario and western Canada.³³ Bob Edwards' popular journal in Edmonton, the *Eye-Opener*, made a habit during the 1890s of mocking educated Englishmen who were numerous on the Island and indignantly defended there by *The Daily Colonist* and its readers.³⁴ It was to an enthusiastic audience, the biggest yet assembled in Victoria by the Canadian Club, that Kipling said on 9 October 1907,

Much of the present stream of immigration that strikes the east side of this continent is recruited from countries where people have always regarded the law as an oppressor. . . Our stock in Great Britain does not suffer from the drawback of those races. It is not necessary to evolve an elaborate and extensive scheme of education to instruct the immigrant from Great Britain how to talk the English language in order that his children shall later teach him the rudiments of citizenship . . . the time is coming when you will have to choose between the desired reinforcement of your own stock, and the undesired rush of races to whom you are strangers, whose speech you do not understand, and from whose instincts you are separated by thousands of years. That is your choice. Myself, I think that the time for making that choice is on you NOW.³⁵

Not yet influenced by the ideologies of "multiculturalism" and Canadian nationalism, which lay in the future, that audience worried as Kipling did about anti-Imperial tendencies in North America.

Yet he was impressed as before by the town and its picturesque site. In a letter home he wrote,

To realise Victoria you must take all that the eye admires most in Bournemouth, Torquay, the Isle of Wight, the Happy Valley at Hong-Kong, the Doon, Sorrento, and Camps Bay; add reminiscences of the Thousand Islands, and arrange the whole round the Bay of Naples, with some Himalayas for the background . . . There is a view, when the morning mists peel off the harbour where the steamers tie up, of the Houses of Parliament on one hand, and a huge hotel on the other, which as an example of cunningly fitted-in water-fronts and facades is worth a very long journey. The [Empress] hotel was just being finished. . . I tried honestly to render something of the colour, the gaiety, and the graciousness of the town and the island, but only found myself piling up unbelievable adjectives, and so let it go with a hundred other wonders.³⁶

Inspecting the new Empress Hotel, he was delighted at the ladies' drawing room, 100 ft. by 40, with its decorated plaster ceiling copied (the contractor told him) from a photo in *Country Life*, and he reflected that "about the time the noble original was put up in England Drake might have been sailing somewhere off this very coast."³⁷ On a visit to the naval station at Esquimalt, some three miles to the west, he revelled in "winding roads, lovelier than English lanes, along watersides and parkways any one of which would have made the fortune of a town." With its Imperial origins, mild climate, and relative freedom from the mosquitoes, black flies, and deer flies that plague continental Canada, the Island lent itself to country living and bore no resemblance to the rest of the Dominion. It was more like home than anywhere else in North America, certainly more than the state of Vermont near the Canadian border, where Kipling lived for several years near the home of his American wife.

His admiration was enthusiastically returned by the public. The hired chauffeur who took a later British traveller up the island proudly claimed to have driven Kipling on the same road a few years earlier.³⁸ Kipling's stories were keenly appreciated in the Cowichan Valley and after his death in 1936 a librarian in Duncan, herself an enthusiastic admirer, reported a siege at the public library by the borrowing public.³⁹ In 1939 a Kipling Society was formed in Victoria which was unique in Canada and the first of only three such societies outside England.⁴⁰ The founder was Alfred Edward Garbett Cornwell (1874-1956), a baker from Epping, Essex, who constructed his own ovens at 1842 Oak Bay Avenue but was determined not to live by bread alone.⁴¹ At first the parent society hesitated to sanction Cornwell's organization, perhaps anxious about the uncertain dignity of a literary society founded by a tradesman, but he attracted a keen membership in Victoria. Reflecting that Kipling himself was certain to be delighted by such humble patronage and had professed admiration for Victoria – did they perhaps consult him? – the London society changed its mind. Cornwell was able to preside over the Victoria Kipling Society until 1952. They were naturally interested in the Palmer family's relationship with Kipling. "In the 1950s, early 1960s," John Palmer wrote, "the local Kipling Society, through their spokesman Humphrey Davey, a local newspaperman told my Dad that they had concluded that Rudyard Kipling had modelled his male leading character in one of his short stories on my grandfather, C.G. Palmer. The story concerned a very aloof woman who would have no truck with men until this one particular engineer came along."⁴²

The members shared a passionate devotion to the Empire with other societies in Victoria, such as the China-Japan Society, supported by retired captains from the China coast and officers from Sir Robert

Hart's Chinese Maritime Customs Service; and the India-Burma Society founded in 1932 by Lieut.-General Sir Percy H.N. Lake (1855-1940), who had served as Chief of the General Staff in India (1911-16) and who remained active in Victoria's public life until his death there on 17 November 1940.⁴³ Members of the Victoria Kipling Society gathered at regular meetings, including an annual banquet, for toasts, recitations, readings, and singing.⁴⁴ Upon their hero's death the *Victoria Daily Colonist* printed "Rudyard Kipling: An Appreciation," by a friend of the Kipling family, Colonel H.T. Goodland (1874-1956), whom the Society then invited to address their meeting of 29 January 1936.⁴⁵ In his will, probated on 6 April 1936, Kipling left a generous sum to the Prince of Wales Fairbridge Farm School for British orphans that had opened in 1935 on a thousand acres near Duncan.⁴⁶ In August 1937 Goodland arranged for the Society to picnic at that school. They presented it with a set of Kipling's works and held their annual picnic there again in August 1938.⁴⁷ At their meeting in January 1939 they spent the evening reading aloud four of Kipling's Indian stories. They were expressing the Imperial feeling of Victoria in those times when they celebrated Kipling's birthday on December 28, 1943 by singing "Gunga Din" and other such songs.

The Second World War gave the Victoria Kipling Society a new purpose. In February 1940 its monthly meeting received an appeal from the Society in London for clothing and comforts for the crew of H.M.S. *Kipling*, recently launched in Glasgow by the late poet's daughter, Mrs Elsie Bambridge, at shipyards of Sir Alfred Yarrow (1842-1932), whose son Norman (1891-1955) had been building ships in Victoria since 1914. The Kipling Society sent seaboot stockings and an assortment of luxuries for the ship until she was sunk in the Mediterranean in 1942.⁴⁸ At their annual dinner in 1941 a Major Charles Wilson, retired in Victoria after thirty years as Chief Forester at Madras, spoke about his life in the Indian Forest Service, showing slides of elephants, the cutting of teakwood, and as a climax to the evening, a colour film of the fight to the death between a mongoose and the deadly hooded cobra.⁴⁹ Who in that audience did not know Kipling's story of " 'Rikki-Tikki-Tavi' " (1893), the mongoose, who made a habit of killing cobras?

Who did not also know *Kim*, "Toomai of the Elephants", and "The Jungle Book" on which the Boy Scout movement was based? Kipling approved of scouting as he showed by writing *Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides* (1923).⁵⁰ His blend of romantic adventure and vigorous commonsense appealed to the general public of that generation all over the English-speaking world but particularly on the Island, where the Boy Scout movement relied on the leadership of

Indian-Army veterans. At its A.G.M. in January 1936 the Scouts Association in Victoria elected Sir Percy Lake as its first vice-president and five more veterans from India to its Executive Council.³¹ In the Cowichan Valley an officer retired from the 1st Gurkha Rifles, Colonel M.E. Dopping-Hepenstal (1872-1965), was Scoutmaster of the Quamichan Scout Troop at Duncan from 1926 until 1934, when he took charge as District Commissioner. One of the boys in his troop was John Palmer, whose family had come from India with memories of Rudyard Kipling in earlier times.

NOTES

1. MacFarlane, "Our Island Past and Present," *Colonist*, Sunday Supplement, 20 December 1936, p.20.
2. *Indian Army List*, July 1891, pp.12, 194; *Colonist*, 26 June 1907, p.7; 6 March 1914, p.7.
3. Khushwant Singh, *Kipling's India* (New Delhi, Roli Books, 1994), p.21.
4. Phillipps-Wolley, *Cowichan, Vancouver Island as a Home: Fishing, Shooting, Mining, Farming, lumbering*. (Victoria, British Columbia, Colonist Printing and Publishing Company Ltd, 1901), p.7.
5. Peter Murray, *Home from the Hill: Three Gentlemen Adventurers* (Victoria, Horsdal and Shubart, 1994), p.90. Phillipps-Wolley was knighted in 1915 for promoting the Navy League in British Columbia.
6. Phillipps-Wolley, *Songs from a Young Man's Land* (1902; Toronto, Thomas Allen, 1917), pp.22-24. This was the second edition of verse he had first published as *Songs of an English Esau*.
7. James Mackay, *Robert Service: A Biography* (Edinburgh & London, Mainstream Publishing, 1995), pp.115ff. Born at Preston, Lancashire, and schooled in Glasgow, he worked for many months on British farms in the Cowichan Valley, where he befriended several retired officers and their families before moving north to the Yukon and beyond.
8. *The Victoria Daily Colonist*, 29 September 1907, p. 17, citing *The London Chronicle*.
9. *The Monthly Army List for May 1891*, pp.394, 740e; *Whitaker's Naval and Military Directory and Indian Army List, 1900* (London, J. Whitaker & Sons, 1900), p.507; *Indian Army List*, January 1905, pp.6, 13, 109, 701; National Archives of Canada, CEF files, RG150, box 9511-29; British Columbia Archives, MS- 2015; *Colonist*, 21 January 1962, p.22, obit.
10. Rona Murray, *Journey Back to Peshawar* (Victoria, B.C., Sono Nis Press, 1993), p.112.
11. The husband, R.G.R. Murray's father, was Robert Davidson Murray.
12. John Henry Rivett-Carnac, *Many Memories of Life in India, at Home, and Abroad* (Edinburgh, Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1910), pp.225-26; Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson Phoenix, 1999), pp.34-36, 39, 40-41, 44, 146, 208.
13. *Burke's Peerage*, 106th edition (2 vols., Switzerland, 1999), vol. II, pp.2417-2419; *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 16 December 1951, Sunday, p.6. G.E. Mortimore, "Charles E. Rivett-Carnac: Guardian of Law and Order"; *Cowichan Leader* (Duncan), 10 and 17 November 1932, obit.

14. C.E. Rivett-Carnac, *Pursuit in the Wilderness* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1965; London, Jarrolds, 1967), 341 pages of personal memoirs without index; Major Harwood Steele, *Policing the Arctic: The Story of the Conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (formerly North-West) Mounted Police* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1935?), 390 pp., pp.306-307, 344, 351, 355.
15. Letter to the author dated at Victoria, 19 August 2001, and supported by family papers, notably "The Book of the Palmers", a manuscript in several different hands, and "Memoirs of an Old-Fashioned Grandmother," typed by Mrs. Susan Emily Palmer, *nee* Sime (1886-1974). These families, quiet and unassuming, did not make much of their relations with the Kiplings and the details have to be coaxed out of various sources. Many thanks to John Palmer for his friendly assistance.
16. *The Times* (London), 7 March 1911 (obituary), p.11.
17. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Works* (1977; St. Albans, Herts., Pantheon Books, 1979), p.35.
18. S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India (Modern Period)* (1951; 6th ed., Vadodora, Acharya Printing Press Near Panigate, 1974), ch.6, "From Hunter Commission to Lord Curzon (1882-1904)", and Appendix I, "Biographical Notes;" and for an intelligent foreign tourist's view of education, Katherine Mayo (1867-1940), *Mother India* (40th printing, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1927), index entries p.429.
19. British Library, Oriental Collection, T 8374 and T 39479.
20. *Cowichan Leader* (Duncan), 26 April 1945, obit. John Palmer's letter to the author dated at Victoria, 19 August 2001.
21. Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (OUP, 2004), pp.209-251; David Gilmour, *The Ruling Cast: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London, John Murray, 2005), pp.312-314; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (1990; New York, Random House Vintage, 1999), pp.429-443.
22. C.G. Palmer, "The Book of the Palmers," p.79. Much the same view of Indian life is explained at length by F.W. Galloway (1881-1974) in his unpublished memoirs, "Life in the Indian Police." He had spent more than twenty years as a police official in various parts of India before arriving (with a tiger skin!) in the Cowichan Valley, where he practised law for twenty years. (Courtesy of Margaret Horsfield, a granddaughter, Nanaimo, letter to the author, 18 December 2001, with a typescript, 112 fols.)
23. *op.cit.*, p.67.
24. Frederick Sleigh Roberts (1832-1914) was by then Field Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar, who had served in 1895-1905 as Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. Earlier, he had been C-in-C of the Indian Army and then of the British forces in the South African War wherein he was eminently successful (and where his only son was killed). In 1905, he resigned and devoted himself to trying to rouse the nation to see the need for a policy of military training, rifle-shooting, and national service. The German menace was already clear to him, as to other military men. As head of the National Service League he worked for compulsory military service to defend the British Isles and published *Facts and Fallacies: An Answer to "Compulsory Service,"* (London, John Murray, 1911).
25. "The Book of the Palmers," pp.67-69.

26. National Archives of Canada (Ottawa), Canadian Census, 1911, RG 21, Statistics Canada, district # 13, Nanaimo, B.C., sub-district 15, Comiakien; British National Archives, census records, 1901, England, RG 13 / 870, p.33; *Whitaker's Naval and Military Directory and Indian Army List, 1900* (London, J. Whitaker & Sons, 1900), p.32; *The Quarterly Army List, October 1916*, p.1963a (Indian Army).
27. For Delme-Radcliffe, *Colonist*, 25 October 1931, p.13; 14 December 1937, pp.1 & 3; 19 December 1937, p.5, obit.; *The Times*, London, 1 November 1924, p.4; 3 November 1924, p.4; 4 November 1924, p.5; 5 November 1924, p.5; *Who was Who*, vol. III (1929-40), pp.350-351]; for Bowen-Colthurst see Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London, Allen Lane, 2005), pp. 193-5, 290, 292; F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine* (1971; London, Fontana, 1973), pp.373, 802 n. 11; O. Dudley Edwards and F. Pyle, 1916: *The East Rising*, (1968), pp.135-148; *Hart's Annual Army List*, 1913, p.797.
28. British National Archives (Kew), census records 1871, RG 10 / 4063, p.23.
29. Memoirs of Mrs. G.L. Waymouth *nee* Rice (many thanks to David C.R. Waymouth, R.N. [retired], for extracts from his mother's memoirs); *Who's Who in British Columbia*, 1933-4, p.146; Major D. G. J. Ryan, Major G. C. Strahan and Capt. J. K. Jones, *Historical Record of the 6th Gurkha Rifles*, vol. I, 1817-1919, pp.156-182, 212-213,222-231.
30. Pierre Berton, *The Promised Land: Settling the West 1896-1914* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1984), pp.13-19, 138-39, 205, and in general parts One, Two, and Six. Sifton (1861-1929, Minister of the Interior in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government used his great political influence to fill the prairies with central Europeans and Americans, which was still going on in 1907.
31. Kipling, "Letters to the Family (1908)", in *Letters of Travel, 1892-1913* (New York, Doubleday, 1927), pp.143-45; 154; 178.
32. Clive Phillipps-Wolley, *One of the Broken Brigade* (London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1897), pp.24, 28, 107, 136-7. Snape's office in Victoria had "almost as much plate-glass about it as a London gin-shop, and [was] very nearly as dangerous to its *habitués*".
33. John Foster Fraser, *Canada as It Is* (London, Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1905), p.111; Basil Stuart, *Canada as It Is* (1908; London, Routledge, 3rd ed., n.d.), ch.13, "The Truth About Canada", and ch. 14, "Why the Englishman is despised in Canada."
34. Grant MacEwen, *Eye Opener Bob: The Story of Bob Edwards* (Saskatoon, Western Producer Book Service, 1974), ch.4, "The Adventures of Bertie;" Pierre Berton, *The Promised Land: Settling the West 1896-1914* (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1984), pp.13-19, 138-39, 205, and in general parts One, Two, and Six. Sifton (1861-1929); *Colonist*, 29 May 1907, p.4, Editorial, "The Remittance Man."
35. *Colonist*, 10 October 1907, pp.1 and 3.
36. Rudyard Kipling, "Letters to the Family (1908)", in *Letters of Travel, 1892-1913* (New York, Doubleday, 1927), pp. 178-180.
37. *op.cit.* pp. 179-189.
38. E. Way Elkington, F.R.G.S., *Canada, A Land of Hope* (London, Adam & Charles Black, 1910), p.225.
39. *Colonist*, 10 May 1936, 28; 15 August 1937, p.7.
40. Notes from the *Kipling Journal* (London), courtesy of David Page, editor. The Society kept in touch with the Victoria Kipling Society until the 1990s.

41. *Colonist*, January 14, 1956, p.21, obit.
42. John Palmer to the author, 19 August 2001. This was the second of Palmer's three special interests in Kipling.
43. J.F. Cummins, "Lieutenant-General Sir Percy Lake and Some Chapters of Canadian and Indian History," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, vol. HI, no 3 (April 1926), pp.244-256.
44. *Colonist*, September 28, 1933, p.6; December 31, 1936, 2; January 20, 1939, p.3. January 14, 1956, p.21, Cornwell's obit.
45. *Colonist*, January 28, 1936, p.5; June 19, 1936, p.2.
46. *Colonist*, April 7, 1936, p.2.
47. *Colonist*, August 27, 1937, p.3; September 29, 1937, p.9; August 21, 1938, p.6.
48. *Colonist*, February 28, 1940, p.6; November 24, 1940, p.5; May 28, 1941, 6; November 27, 1941, p.2.
49. *Colonist*. June 22, 1941, p.17; December 29, 1943, p.18.
50. Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: The Original 1908 Edition*, ed. Elleke Boehmer (Oxford University Press, 2004), 382 pp.
51. These were Major J.B. Hardinge (1890-1965), Colonel J.S. Hodding (1867-1930), Colonel F.T. Oldham (1869-1960), Colonel B.A.M. Rice (1876-1940), and Lieut-Colonel A.B. Snow (1866-1949). See the *Colonist*, January 31, 1936, p.5; March 2, 1937, p.2.

LETTERS – continued from page 7.

KIPLING'S ASHES

From: Mrs Alison Vaughan Williams, 34 Underdown Road, Southwick, BN42 4HL

Dear Sir,

In *Kipling Sahib* by Charles Allen I have found this comment (pp.4-5):

When [Kipling's] ashes were immured in Westminster Abbey Poets' Corner not a single important literary figure troubled to attend.

At Bateman's they display *The Times'* account of the burial, where the list of mourners takes two full columns of broadsheet and looks pretty impressive.

Can any of your learned readers suggest who those 'important' missing figures might be? And has their importance survived? The problem has the makings of a good parlour game. Names that have occurred to me are Wells, Shaw, Gosse (still alive?), Edward Marsh, Galsworthy, Drinkwater, Eliot, Yeats . . . but they are not very likely funeral goers and not really all great survivors. Any ideas?

Yours sincerely,
ALISON VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

Continued on page 37.

RUDDY'S SEARCH FOR GOD THE YOUNG KIPLING AND RELIGION

By CHARLES ALLEN

[Charles Allen is well-known to members as the author of many books about Kipling, the Sub-Continent, and the Raj, the latest of which are *Kipling Sahib*, and *The Buddha and Dr Führer: an Archaeological Scandal*. Currently he is a member of Council, and he read this paper to us at a meeting in London on 14 November 2007. – Ed.]

BACKGROUND

The most direct signposting of Kipling's credo is found in his declaration of faith made at the age of twenty-four in a letter to Miss Caroline Taylor, written not long after his return from India:

Chiefly I believe in the existence of a personal God to whom we are personally responsible for wrong doing. . . I disbelieve directly in eternal punishment. . . I disbelieve in an eternal reward. . . Summarized it comes to *I believe in God the Father Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth and in one filled with His spirit who did voluntarily die in the belief that the human race would be spiritually bettered thereby*}

It may be that this declaration was written either to bring Kipling's uneasy engagement to Miss Caroline Taylor to an end or to rattle Miss Taylor's Methodist Principal father, or both, yet the beliefs expressed are what we would expect of one whose parents had rejected the Methodism of their fathers; who as a boy had experienced the 'full vigour' of Mrs Holloway's Evangelical Christianity in the 'House of Desolation' at Southsea; and who during his three and a half years in Lahore only went to church once and that was to ogle the pretty daughter of the military chaplain at Mian Mir barracks.

Kipling in his twenties was a man who has turned his back on Christianity, but who has no time for atheism – think of Aurelian McGoggin who believes himself too clever to need the crutch of religious belief and suffers a mental breakdown.² No surprise then to find Kipling at 42 describing himself in a letter to a friend as 'a God-fearing Christian atheist'.³ He lives in awe of the 'God of our fathers, known of old— / Lord of our far-flung battle line, / Beneath whose awful hand we hold / Dominion over palm and pine'.⁴ A decade later – having just lost his son John in the Great War – we find Kipling writing to another, closer friend that he finds himself unable to hold 'the mystic sense of communion' with God, believing that God 'doesn't

mean that we should get too near to Him—that a glimpse is all that we are allowed . . . otherwise we should become unfitted for our work in the world'.⁵ This idea of an omnipotent but remote deity shrouded in mystery forms the basis of "The Prayer of Miriam Cohen", the last verse of which reads:

A veil 'twixt us and Thee, Good Lord,
A veil 'twixt us and Thee—
Lest we should hear too clear, too clear,
And unto madness see!⁶

Finding no comfort in this remote Lord God of Hosts Kipling drew spiritual strength from the Law which holds chaos at bay – an abstract, amorphous Law never defined, but containing elements of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, Masonic ideals of brotherhood' and craftsmanship,⁸ the Wesleyan ideal of a life of service through action and even the Imperial ideal of the British empire as a positive force for good. Kipling's Law begins to take shape in the early 1890s in the poem "A Song of the English" and the writing of the *Jungle Book* tales, only to be subverted in 1900 in *Kim* and 'the Most Excellent Law', of which more anon.

KIPLING IN INDIA

So much for what might be called Kipling's protestations of faith. But there is a less conscious aspect to Kipling's search for God, running in parallel, which first becomes evident some two years after his arrival in Lahore and while still a teenager. The notion, propagated by the man himself, that Ruddy was happy to return to the land of his birth is no longer tenable. He was emotionally blackmailed into the post of 'stunt' at the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, and when he got there he was unhappy, rebellious and deeply resentful of the constraints of the much-vaunted 'Family Square'.⁹ The paradise years of his Bombay childhood might never have happened: he conformed absolutely to Anglo-Indian type while also being fearful of the unknown, disease- and ghost-ridden India beyond the ordered boundaries of the Station:

Unkempt, unclean, athwart the mist
The seething city looms,
In place of Putney's golden gorse
The sickly *babul* [thorny mimosa] blooms.¹⁰

And:

A stone's throw out on either hand
 From that well ordered road we tread,
 And all the world is wild and strange:
Churel [ghosts] and ghoul and *Djinn* and sprite
 Shall bear us company to-night,
 For we have reached the Oldest Land
 Wherein the Powers of Darkness range'.¹¹

This is the 'dark' India of which the eighteen-year-old Ruddy spoke in a letter to his cousin Margaret, the 'Wop of Albion' when he wrote that 'if you knew in what inconceivable filth of mind the peoples of India were brought up from their cradle; if you realised the views . . . they hold about women and their absolute incapacity for speaking the truth as we understand it – the immeasurable gulf that lies between the two races in all things. . . immediately outside of our own English life, is the dark and crooked and fantastic, and wicked, and awe-inspiring life of the "native".' Yet from that same letter and from his first published stories we know that Ruddy, for a combination of reasons that included isolation, sexual urges, insomnia, 'infernal opium' and Dr Collis-Browne's Chlorodyne, had now overcome his inhibitions to reach out for that Indian India – in his own words, to 'penetrate into it'.¹²

One consequence of that penetration was Ruddy's discovery of Islam. This first found public expression in the verses of "The Vision of Hamid Ali", written in the spring of 1885 just after he had completed that dystopian vision of an India without the Law – implicitly a Hindu, *babu* India – contained in "The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes".¹³ In "The Vision of Hamid Ali" three Muslims are pot-smoking the night away in the house of Azizun, Pearl of Courtesans, when one of them breaks out of his stupor to describe a terrifying vision in which he foresees the destruction of Islam – and all the other great religions. It is a crude poem, understandably repudiated by its author, but a first stab at understanding the dominant religion of Lahore. During this same spring of 1885 Ruddy was given his first serious journalistic assignment – reporting on the visit to India of the Amir of Afghanistan in March and April 1885 – which began with a series of traumas, including an encounter with hostile tribesmen in the bazaar in Peshawar, which he afterwards likened to scenes from Dante's *Inferno*: 'Faces of dogs, swine, weazles, and goats, all the more hideous for being set on human bodies, and lighted with human intelligence . . . all giving the on-looker the impression of wild beasts held back from murder and violence . . .'.¹⁴ His dislike of Afghans was further reinforced when a boy threw a stone at him – an act expanded by degrees into a sniper's pot shot – and this hostility persisted in his reports – until he met two

Afghans whose strong characters he admired: one of course is Mahbub Ali, the horse-dealer immortalised in *Kim*; but the first was an unnamed *qazi* or Muslim judge encountered on a train journey, probably just after the Amir's departure. Ruddy wrote up an account of their meeting for his paper under the title of "East and West", which tells you where it lead to.¹⁵

Ruddy's reward for his exertions was a month's early leave followed by three and a half months as the *Civil and Military Gazette's* Simla correspondent, but as soon as he was back in Lahore and away from his parents he resumed his night walks, culminating in that 'weary weary night' in early September 1885 which he wrote up as "The City of Dreadful Night".¹⁶ Let me remind you of how that city of the dead is brought to life again by the *muezzin's* call to prayer from the *minar* of the mosque of Wazir Khan:

The cloud drifts by and shows him outlined in black against the sky, hands laid upon his ears, and broad chest heaving with the play of his lungs—'Allah ho Akbar'; then a pause while another *Muezzin* somewhere in the direction of the Golden Temple takes up the call—'Allah ho Akbar.' Again and again; four times in all; and from the bedsteads a dozen men have risen up already.—'I bear witness that there is no God but God.' What a splendid cry it is, the proclamation of the creed that brings men out of their beds by scores at midnight! Once again he thunders through the same phrase, shaking with the vehemence of his own voice; and then, far and near, the night air rings with 'Mahomed is the Prophet of God.' It is as though he were flinging his defiance to the far-off horizon, where the summer lightning plays and leaps like a bared sword.

From then on Kipling wrote with growing sensitivity about Islam and Muslims; you find it in his tribute to his father conveyed in "The Letter of Halim the Potter"¹⁷ and in stories such as "The Story of Muhammad Din".¹⁸ He took to referring to God as 'Allah' – a habit which stayed with him right to the end of his life: the Outward Bound Edition (1899) of his works begins with the well-known Koranic invocation 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful' and he opens *Something of Myself* (1937) by 'ascribing all good fortune to Allah the dispenser of Events'. In the latter we also find Kipling comparing Islam favourably with Judaism. It was not, of course, a question of being a Muslim but of admiring the sure purpose, directness and manliness of Islam, which Kipling saw as having had a positive influence on India. This admiration is most vividly expressed in a scrap of poetry, frequently overlooked, which precedes (for no obvious reason other than

the title) the short story "The Captive" in *Traffics and Discoveries*. Although *Traffics and Discoveries* was published in 1904 I have no doubt that the scrap of poetry was written back in the 1880s in India. The poem's title is "From the Masjid Al-Aqsa of Sayyid Ahmed (Wahabi)" – Sayyid Ahmad being the fundamentalist preacher and revolutionary who in the 1820s introduced Saudi Arabian Wahhabism to India and tried to raise the Sunni faithful in Hindustan in jihad against the *kaffir*." Following Sayyid Ahmad's death in 1831 his followers built up the Wahhabi movement and took on the British directly in numerous uprisings on the North-West Frontier that continued right up to 1898. In the 1860s and 1870s several Wahhabi conspiracies were uncovered leading to some high-profile trials. The Viceroy Lord Mayo and the Chief Justice were assassinated by suspected Wahhabis and by the time Ruddy arrived in India 'Wahhabi' had become a loaded word akin to 'Al-Qaeda' today.

So why would Ruddy write a poem about the reviled Wahhabis? The answer seems to be that in June 1888 there commenced the third of four Wahhabi-inspired uprisings in the Black Mountains of Hazara, leading to a 'sharp engagement' with a British punitive force in October at which numbers of Wahhabi 'fanatics' were killed. Prisoners were taken and some of these evidently conveyed to Lahore Central Jail, where a group of them were sketched by John Lockwood Kipling. In February 1889 Ruddy went to Lahore to say goodbye to his parents and, although I can find no direct evidence for this in his surviving letters, my surmise is that he saw some of these Wahhabi convicts being marched in chains from Lahore railway station to the Jail, their route taking them through the Civil Lines. Another option is that prisoners were brought out from the jail in chain-gangs and put to work – along the Mall, let's say – and that Ruddy used his clout as a sahib and newspaper man to talk to them before rushing back to Bikaner House to write his eighteen lines, of which I quote the last fourteen:

Ere the sad dust of the marshalled feet of the chain-gang
 swallowed him,
 Observing him nobly at ease, I alighted and followed him.
 Thus we had speech by the way, but not touching his sorrow—
 Rather his red Yesterday and his regal To-morrow,
 Wherein he statelily moved to the clink of his chains unregarded,
 Nowise abashed but content to drink of the potion awarded.
 Saluting aloofly his Fate, he made swift with his story;
 And the words of his mouth were as slaves spreading carpets
 of glory
 Embroidered with names of the Djinns—a miraculous weaving—

But the cool and perspicuous eye overbore unbelieving.
 So I submitted myself to the limits of rapture—
 Bound by this man we had bound, amid captives his capture—
 Till he returned me to earth and the visions departed;
 But on him be the Peace and the Blessing: for he was
 great-hearted!

Kipling's respect for Islam never deserted him: when he visited Egypt in 1913 he thrilled to the sights, sounds and smells of Cairo, which made him 'voluptuously homesick'. Entering a deserted mosque he found himself comparing it unfavourably with a Christian church: 'Islam has but one pulpit and one stark affirmation—living or dying, one only—and where men have repeated that in red-hot belief through centuries, the air still shakes to it'. He went on to write enthusiastically of the great mosque of Al Azhar and its ancient university and, in a passage that has a particular resonance today, writes of the English understanding Islam 'as no one else does'. He goes on: 'Some men are Mohammedan by birth, some by training, and some by fate, but I have never met an Englishman yet who hated Islam and its people as I have met Englishmen who have hated other faiths. *Musalmani awadani*, as the saying goes—where there are Mohammedans, there is a comprehensible civilisation'.²⁰

Kipling was a good hater and the other side of the coin is that in India the greater his sense of affinity with Islam and Muslims the greater his contempt for Hinduism and Hindus, whom he associated with some of the worst shortcomings of Indian society such as caste, the plight of widows, enforced early marriage and infanticide. We find him at his worst after his move to Allahabad and the 'cow belt' in the autumn of 1887. Here he wrote some of his best short stories and his worst polemics, reaching a nadir with "The Bride's Progress" which first appeared in the *Pioneer Mail* in February 1888²¹ after a month of travelling that took Kipling south to Benares – the 'city of monstrous creeds' – and on to a Calcutta filled with 'the essence of corruption'.²² Kipling had already expressed his contempt for Hindu culture in a review of an English translation of the *Mahabharata* in which he parroted Macaulay's notorious *Minute on Education*²³ and in his *Letters of Marque* from Rajputana had expressed a deep discomfort with the overt sexuality of Shaivite worship, with its 'loathsome emblem of creation'.²⁴ Now he gave free-rein to his religious prejudices, which cannot be separated from his hostility towards the politicised, English-educated Bengalis and babu-types, whom he considered – unlike the Muslims their conquerors – unfit to exercise political power. "The Bride's Progress" ends with the British honeymoon couple fleeing Benares

where 'at every turn lewd gods grinned and mouthed. . . disease stood blind and naked . . . the walls dripped filth, the pavements sweated filth, and the contagion of uncleanness walked among the worshippers'. As they leave the city they hear the reassuring call of the *muezzin*, reasserting the supremacy of monotheism: 'In the silence a voice thundered over their heads: "*I bear witness that there is no God but God.*" It was the mullah proclaiming the Oneness of God in the city of the Million Manifestations. The call rang across the sleeping city and far over the river, and be sure that the mullah abated nothing of the defiance of his cry for that he looked down upon a sea of temples and smelt the incense of a hundred Hindu shrines.'

Although Kipling went on to write more wisely about Hinduism, most notably in "The Bridge Builders"²⁵ and "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat",²⁶ he remained essentially hostile, still viewing the Hindu pantheon as 'malignant'. However, both these stories come from a later phase in Kipling's life, long after he had left India and, crucially, after he had come to know the joys of parenthood. With his wife's pregnancy and the birth of his 'best beloved' Josephine in Vermont in 1892 Ruddy rediscovered the child in himself and underwent a softening of the heart that allowed him to write his most accessible and least polemical work, contained in the two *Jungle Book* collections. During this same period he also rediscovered his father, who himself seems to have undergone a distinct change of heart in the four lonely years in Lahore between the break up of the Family Square in 1889 and his final retirement in 1893. When Lockwood Kipling came alone to stay with his son and his new family in Vermont in June 1893 he arrived with a portmanteau stuffed with Indian drawings, books and ideas gathered over twenty years of working side by side with Indian craftsmen.²⁷ He had become a more tolerant, more humane person in the process and it is no exaggeration to describe John Lockwood Kipling's role in the years that followed as that of guru to his son. We can see this in the surviving letters, in the son's fulsome tributes to his father in *Something of Myself* and, of course, in *Kim*, the finest fruit of their collaboration. Some mention here should be made of a delightful drawing in pencil now among the papers of John Lockwood Kipling at Sussex University. Undated but captioned "The Infant Buddha, LAHORE MUSEUM No 460", it shows a boy Buddha seated crosslegged, and is drawn as if to suggest that it is a bas-relief from the museum's magnificent collection of Buddhist Gandharan sculptures. Yet the boy Buddha is quite clearly not a carving in stone but a living, breathing child – the very prototype of young Kimball O'Hara. Here is a mystery waiting to be resolved.

Father and son mulled over *Kim* in Vermont in 1893 but it failed to grow and was put to one side in favour of Mowgli. Two years later

Ruddy tried and failed to get *Kim* going again. Then in the autumn of 1898 one disaster followed hard on the heels of another: the death of his Uncle Ned and the complete mental breakdown of his sister Trix. Father and son found solace in working together on *Kim*, which served in Kipling's words as his 'Eastern sunlight'. The book was going well when in January 1899 the Kiplings made the fateful decision to visit America, resulting in Josephine's death and her father's near-fatal pneumonia. From then on Kipling lived, as his niece put it, behind a 'barrier'.²⁸ It was under this dark shadow but also against the background of the start of the Boer War, with Ruddy gripped by war-fever, that a first draft of *Kim* was written. Four months later he returned from South Africa deeply frustrated by his Government's failure to adequately defend its hard-won empire and determined to put out the message that Britain's imperial mission was under threat. That is what makes Kipling's achievement so paradoxical, for when he sat down in April 1900 to revise and complete *Kim* what he wrote was a novel that begins as a political allegory about the defence of British India – 'the Great Game that never ceases day and night' – constructed around a boy's search for identity, but then transforms itself into a spiritual journey. *Kim* is a profoundly religious book, set in a sacred landscape 'full of holy men stammering gospels in strange tongues; shaken and consumed in the fires of their own zeal; dreamers, babblers and visionaries'. It begins with Kim assertive and aggressive astride that supreme symbol of patriarchal potency the great gun *Zam-Zammah*, and ends with him resting under a banyan tree all passion spent, awaiting a Buddhist Lama's call to follow him. Kim does not – and could not – become the *chela* of a Hindu *guru*. In Kipling's eyes Hinduism existed in a moral vacuum, he had seen it in action and had found it wanting – whereas Buddhism in India was non-existent, despite its Indian origins, and could be admired in the abstract for its moral values. The Buddhism represented in *Kim* is a sanitised, idealised, Protestantised Buddhism as propagated by Edwin Arnold in his epic prose poem *The Light of Asia* (1879).

The Light of Asia was published the year before Ruddy began at United Services College. It was a huge best seller and we know from George Beresford that Ruddy flirted with this Arnoldian Buddhism at school for a term: 'Gigger was the apostle of Buddha or Arnold for a span at Westward Ho! and used to declaim very finely certain portions about "om pani padmi Hum" or words to that effect'.²⁹ Although Ruddy preached reincarnation to his room-mates this seems to have been no more than a passing flirtation – to be renewed only when Kipling was afflicted by his tribulations in the autumn of 1898. Those tribulations coincided with a revival of Western interest in Buddhism,

which had suffered a setback in the wake of the Theosophy scandals involving Madame Blavatsky and her so-called 'esoteric Buddhism' – scandals in which John Lockwood Kipling and the *Pioneer* newspaper for which he wrote were deeply involved. Spurring on this revival in the late 1890s were a series of archaeological discoveries in India: digs by Lockwood Kipling's colleague Aurel Stein in Swat in the wake of the Malakand Campaign of 1898 which greatly enhanced the already unrivalled collection of Graeco-Buddhist statuary at Lahore Museum; and more digs on the Nepal border which led to the discovery of Buddha's birthplace at Lumbini and the ruins of Kapilavastu, the city where the Buddha had been raised as Prince Siddhartha, and from which he had fired the arrow which gave rise to the Spring of the Arrow – the object of the Lama's quest in *Kim*.

Over this same period the Arnoldian perception of Buddhism as a moral philosophy free of gods and rituals received a boost with the translation of Buddhist texts by such Pali scholars as Max Müller,³⁰ Henry Clarke Warren and T. W. Rhys Davids, all of whom drew on the canon of texts in Pali preserved by the Theravadin Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma. Davids' *Buddhism* (first published in 1886) and *Dialogues of the Buddha* (1899), along with Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* (1896) are the most obvious sources for Kipling's coverage in *Kim* of such fundamental Buddhist concepts as Deliverance from the Wheel of Life, the Eightfold Path, the Chain of Causation, even the practice of meditation. However, Davids is at pains to explain that the core Buddhist term *Dhammacakka* (in Sanskrit *Dharmacakra*) should not be translated as 'the wheel of Law' – as it is by Arnold and others – and that a more accurate reading would be 'the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness'. Kipling, of course, stuck with Arnold and with Arnold's highlighting in his poem of positive action in obedience of the Law. Indeed, it is impossible to read the closing lines of Kipling's poem "The Law of the Jungle" – '*Now these are the Laws of the Jungle, and many and mighty are they; / But the head and the hoof of the Law and the haunch and the hump is—Obey!*'³¹ – without being reminded of similar invocations in *The Light of Asia*, such as:

Such is the Law which moves to righteousness,
Which none at last can turn aside or stay;
The heart of it is Love, the end of it
Is Peace and Consummation sweet. Obey!

However, in 1897 this Western interpretation of Buddhism received a nasty jolt with the publication of Dr Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, which presented Tibet's highly ritualised Vajrayana

Buddhism as a 'a priestly mixture of Sivate mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan idolatry, overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism . . . a cloak to the worst forms of devil-worship, by which the poor Tibetan was placed in constant fear of his life from the attacks of malignant devils both in this life and in the world to come'. Waddell's hostile interpretation was supported by the studies of a rival student of Tibet Buddhism, the translator and part-time agent of the Survey of India Sarat Chandra Das, who wrote three influential books on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism between 1881 and 1899.³² The headstrong Sarat Chandra Das was subsequently 'dropped' by his British handlers and some trace of this dispute may be detected in the character and actions of the babu-spy Hurree Chunder Mookherjee in *Kim*, who turns out to be less Anglicised than he first appeared to be. Perhaps more significantly, Kipling chose to reject Waddell and Das by sanitising his Tibetan lama. He strikes one of the few false notes in *Kim* when he has him protest about some of the practices in Buddhism in Tibet 'being overlaid, as thou knowest, with devildom, charms and idolatry'. He also describes the Lama somewhat misleadingly as a 'Red Hat', a term first used by the Mongol rulers of China to differentiate between the reformed Gelug 'Yellow Hats' order whom they supported and the unreformed Sakya, Kagya and Kadam schools who represented the old Tibetan order.

A striking feature of *Kim* is the steady progression through the novel away from all the characteristics we associate with Kipling as devotee of the Law as imperial order keeping chaos at bay. In the first half of the book he offers us all the conventional set certainties represented by such patriarchal authority figures, institutions and belief systems as Mahbub Ali, Crichton-Sahib, the two representatives of the Christian religion, St Xavier's, the Indian railways and the British Raj itself – which he then proceeds to subvert in the second half, beginning with Kim's exposure to Lurgan Sahib, who is neither sahib nor Indian nor terribly masculine but nevertheless has the power to reveal to Kim the illusory nature of all things. Kim then abandons the set framework of the British railway system for the disorder of the Grand Trunk Road, 'the backbone of all Hind', before turning his back on the male-dominated world of the plains by entering the matriarchal, natural world of the mountains, which Kipling himself signals by quoting the Indian proverb 'Who goes to the hills goes to his mother'. Now it is the feminine that dominates, represented by the unassertive, compliant Tibetan lama and the two ayah or surrogate mother figures of the *Sahiba* and the Woman from Shamleh who – as Kipling goes out of his way to tell us – has transformed herself from the victim of male oppression she was in 'Lispeth'¹³³ to superwoman. Even the effeminate, giggly

Bengali babu, Haree Chunder, sitting at the feet of the lama, sloughs off his Westernisation to reveal his true self: 'The Hurree Babu of his knowledge—oily, effusive, and nervous—was gone;.. There remained—polished, polite, attentive—a sober, learned son of experience and adversity, gathering wisdom from the lama's lips.'

What is most curious about what might be entitled the historiography of *Kim* in literary scholarship is the way in which the novel's ending has consistently been misinterpreted. 'Though it is not expressly stated,' writes Charles Carrington, 'the reader is left with the assurance that Kim, like Mowgli, and like the Brushwood Boy, will find reality in action, not in contemplation'.³⁴ After a spell as the Lama's *chela* Kim will return to the real world to serve the British cause as a player of the Great Game. This is the usual reading and one that has led a number of critics, ranging from Edmund Wilson to Edward Said, to take offence at the novel as an imperialist tract. The key passage in this reading is where Kim wakes from the drugged sleep which has followed his physical and mental breakdown. He feels that his soul is 'out of gear with its surroundings' and asks himself 'What is Kim?' – at which point 'easy, stupid tears' run down his nose and with an 'almost audible click' he feels 'the wheels of his being lock up anew with the world without. Things that rode meaningless on the eyeball an instant before slid into proper proportion. Roads were meant to be walked upon, houses to be lived in, cattle to be driven, fields to be tilled, and men and women to be talked to. They were all real and true'.

This moment of Arnoldian enlightenment is usually read as Kim moving back into the real world of action – but a pukka Buddhist would interpret it as Kipling's attempt to show Kim's acquisition of peace of mind having banished all the conflicting thoughts that had provoked his breakdown, very much as described in the *Dhammapada*, as, for example:

He whose senses have become tranquil,
Like a horse well broken-in by the driver;
Who is free from pride and the lust of the flesh,
And the lust of existence, and the defilement of existence—
Even him the gods envy.³⁵

Following Kim's enlightenment the Sahiba relinquishes her care, declaring that 'Mother Earth must do the rest'. Kim then goes out to lie upon the earth under a young banyan tree, both of which nourish him as he sleeps: 'Mother Earth . . . breathed through him to restore the poise he had lost lying so long on a cot cut off from her good

currents. His head lay powerless upon her breast, and his opened hands surrendered to her strength'. Again, to a Buddhist the imagery and sentiments are those associated with the Awakening of the Buddha under the bo tree at Bodhgaya and with the Buddha's action of the placing his right hand in contact with the earth in the gesture known as *bhumis-parsa mudra* – 'calling the earth to witness'.

To a Buddhist there is no ambiguity over what path Kim then follows. While he sleeps Mahbub Ali reappears to claim the boy for the Great Game and disputes with the Lama over who shall have him. 'It is his right to be cleansed from sin — with me,' argues the Lama. Mahbub Ali accepts that Kim needs cleansing but explains that afterwards he is 'somewhat urgently needed as a scribe by the State'. To the Lama what happens to Kim afterwards is irrelevant: 'Let him be a teacher; let him be a scribe—what matter? He will have attained Freedom at the end. The rest is illusion.' This irritates Mahbub Ali who grumbles to himself in Pushtu but then concedes that boy can stay with the lama for the time being: 'Now I understand that the boy, sure of Paradise, can yet enter Government service, my mind is easier.' He concedes to the Lama that Kim is his disciple, accepting that 'our Friend of all the World put his hand in thine at the first. Use him well, and suffer him to return to the world as a teacher, when thou hast—bathed his legs, if that be the proper medicine for the colt.'

Mahbub Ali, then, is convinced that Kim will return to his world in due course – and most readers seem happy to share his interpretation. But the exchange is not yet over. The Lama does not defer to Mahbub Ali. Instead he responds by suggesting that the Afghan might even convert to Buddhism himself: 'Why not follow the Way thyself, and so accompany the boy?' At first angered and then amused by the Tibetan's insolence Mahbub Ali backs off with the closing remark 'Thy strength is stronger still. Keep it—I think thou wilt. If the boy be not a good servant, pull his ears off. He then hitches up his belt and swaggers off into the gloaming.

Kim himself has played no part in this dispute over him, but a Buddhist would argue that it represents a struggle between the Middle Way and what Kipling himself called the 'Narrow Way'¹³⁶ – a struggle that ends with victory for the Lama. Like a Bodhisattva or Buddhist saint who returns from the Threshold of Nibbana in order to free others from sin, the Lama has come back to free Kim. 'Certain is our deliverance!' he tells Kim. 'Come!'

Kipling's journey in *Kim* is as remarkable as that undertaken by his hero, and it is no wonder that he also wrote at this time those striking verses about having two sides to his head:

Something I owe to the soil that grew—
More to the life that fed—
But most to Allah Who gave me two
Separate sides to my head.³⁷

After this second flirtation with the Middle Way Kipling reverted to the Narrow Way and his God-fearing Christian atheism. But that he did not entirely abandon Buddhist thinking and, in particular, its doctrine of the causes of suffering, can be seen from a speech he made seven years after the completion of *Kim* when he addressed the students of McGill University, Montreal:

Some of you here know—and I remember—that youth can be a season of great depression, despondencies, doubts, waverings, the worse because they seem to be peculiar to ourselves and incommunicable to our fellows. There is a certain darkness into which the soul of the young man sometimes descends—a horror of desolation, abandonment, and realised worthlessness, which is one of the most real of the hells in which we are compelled to walk. . . This is due to a variety of causes, the chief of which is the egotism of the human animal itself.

The solution, Kipling went on to suggest, was to lose oneself 'in some issue not personal to yourself. . . But if the dark hour does not vanish, as sometimes it doesn't; if the black cloud will not lift, as sometimes it will not; let me tell you again for your comfort that there are many liars in the world, but there are no liars like our own sensations. The despair and horror mean nothing, because there is for you nothing irremediable, nothing ineffaceable, nothing irrevocable in anything you may have said or thought or done. . . take anything and everything seriously except yourselves.'³⁸

NOTES

1. Rudyard Kipling to Caroline Taylor, 9 December 1889, University of Sussex, collected in Thomas Pinney, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. I, pp.378-9.
2. Rudyard Kipling, "The Conversion of Aurelian McGoggin", first published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, 28 April 1887, afterwards collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1888.
3. Rudyard Kipling to Lady Edward Cecil, 2 December 1908, referred to in Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*, 1999.
4. Rudyard Kipling, "Recessional", 1897.
5. Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard, quoted in Morton Cohen, *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship*, 1997.

6. Rudyard Kipling, first published as a preface to *Many Inventions* in 1893.
7. Marghanita Laski states that Kipling 'once said that Freemasonry was the nearest thing to a religion that he knew' but without naming the occasion, M. Laski, *From Palm to Pine*, 1987, p.8.
8. In the poem "My New-cut Ashlar" Kipling deliberately addresses his deity in such Masonic craft terms as 'Great Overseer' and 'Master' and declares 'If there be good in that I wrought,/ Thy hand compelled it, Master, Thine'. Also known as "L'Envoi", the poem closes the stories collected in *Life's Handicap*, 1891.
9. It is no accident that Rudyard Kipling's first two bursts of kicking over the traces to self-publish work that was deliberately shocking both took place while his parents were away in the Hills and unable to exercise their usual censorship.
10. Rudyard Kipling, "The Moon of Other Days", first published in the *Pioneer* 16 December 1884, collected in *Departmental Ditties*, 1886.
11. Rudyard Kipling, the verse heading to "In the House of Suddho", first published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* 30 April 1886, collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1888.
12. Rudyard Kipling to Margaret Burne-Jones, Lahore late November and early December 1885. Kipling Papers, Sussex, collected in Thomas Pinney, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. I, 1990.
13. "The Vision of Hamid Ali" was published in the *Calcutta Review* in October 1885 but its acceptance is referred to in a letter to Edith Macdonald dated 30 July 1885. The evolution of "The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes" is set out in Rudyard Kipling's *Diary 1884-5*, Houghton Library, University of Harvard, reproduced in Thomas Pinney, *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, 1990.
14. Rudyard Kipling, "The City of Evil Countenances", *CMG* 1 April 1885.
15. Rudyard Kipling, "East and West", *CMG* 14 November 1885 The encounter helped shape "The Ballad of East and West", first published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in November 1889.
16. Rudyard Kipling, "The City of Dreadful Night", *CMG* 10 September 1885.
17. This was written in the form of a verse letter to John Lockwood Kipling on his birthday, most probably written in June 1885.
18. Rudyard Kipling, "The Story of Muhammad Din", *CMG* 8 September 1886.
19. Charles Allen, *God's Terrorists: The Wahhabi Cult and the Roots of Modern Jihad*, 2006.
20. Rudyard Kipling, "A Serpent of Old Nile", *Egypt of the Magicians*, *Nash's Magazine*, 1913, collected in *Letters of Travel*, 1920.
21. Rudyard Kipling, "The Bride's Progress", *Pioneer Mail*, 8 February 1888, collected in *From Sea to Sea* as *The Smith Administration* but afterwards suppressed.
22. Rudyard Kipling, seven articles published in the *Pioneer* March-April 1888, collected in *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Places*, 1891[?].
23. Rudyard Kipling, "The Epics of India", *CMG*, 24 August 1886, collected in Thomas Pinney, *Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches 1884-88*, 1986.
24. Rudyard Kipling, nineteen letters "Letters of Marque" published in the *Pioneer* between 14 December 1887 and 28 February 1888, collected in *Letters of Marque*, 1899.
25. Rudyard Kipling, "The Bridge-Builders", *The Day's Work*, 1898.
26. Rudyard Kipling, "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat", *The Second Jungle Book*, 1895.
27. Most notably, the master-carver Bhai Ram Singh, who accompanied him to England on his royal contracts.

28. Angela Thirkell, *Three Houses*, 1931.
29. George Beresford, *Schooldays with Kipling*, 1936.
30. Max Müller's translations of the *Dhammapada* and the *Sutta Nipata* first appeared in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI, 1881.
31. "The Law of the Jungle" was written before June 1895 when the last *Second Jungle Book* story was completed. Thus it falls into the period when Kipling was beginning to construct *Kim* with his father at Tisbury.
32. Sarat Chandra Das, *Religion and History of Tibet*, 1881; *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, 1893; *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, India 1899, London and New York 1902.
33. Rudyard Kipling, "Lispeth", *CMG* 29 November 1886, collected in *Plain Tales from the Hills*, 1888.
34. Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling*, 1955, Ch. 14.
35. This is one of a number of sayings from the *Dhammapada* quoted by T. W. Rhys Davids in *Buddhism*.
36. 'O ye who tread the Narrow Way', Rudyard Kipling, "Buddha at Kamakura", 1892.
37. Rudyard Kipling, "The Two-Sided Man". The verses first appeared at the head of Chapter VIII in *Kim* but were revised and enlarged before collection in *Songs from Books*, 1913.
38. Rudyard Kipling, "Values in Life", a speech made at McGill University, Montreal, October 1907, collected in *A Book of Words*, 1928.

LETTERS – *continued from page 22.*

"THE CHURCH THAT WAS AT ANTIOCH"

From: Dr Philip Holberton, 1645 Hickeys Creek Road, Willawarrin, NSW 2440

Dear Sir,

In David Sergeant's article in the March Journal, he writes: "There also remains to be explained Valens' puzzling words: 'Home! Quick! I have it!'. What does he have and why the urgency?" I understand Valens to know that he has his death wound – hence the urgency! In gladiator fights, a shout from the spectators "Habet! – he has it!" greeted the death blow or coup de grâce.

He also describes the final part of the last sentence in the story as "provocatively hard to decipher", and in his decoding he adds a word: 'called on her God who had bought her at a price *so* that he should not live but die.' I think he is trying to stretch the analogy between Valens and Christ too far. When the girl is introduced into the story she says to Valens: 'My God bought me from the dealers like a horse. Too much, too, he paid. Didn't he?' The sentence simply means what it says. The girl is calling on Valens, who is her God, not to die. She is hoping against hope, trying not to believe the evidence that 'the brow beneath her lips was chilling.'

Yours faithfully,
PHILIP HOLBERTON

OBITUARY

GORDON PHILO, C.M.G., M.C., K.M.N.(Hon.)
(1920-2009)

By BARBARA LUKE

Gordon Philo, who joined the Kipling Society in 1980, was Chairman of the Council of the Society from 1986-88 and again from 1997-99, died on 24 January, aged 89. Gordon was an assiduous attendee at the evening meetings and the Annual Luncheon until he became too frail to make the journey into central London.

Gordon was born in London on 8 January 1920. He was educated at Haberdashers' Aske's school in Hampstead, from where he was awarded the Methuen Scholarship in Modern History at Wadham College, Oxford. He went up in 1938 and took an ordinary B.A. before being called up into the Army in 1940.

He was not a natural soldier and had to repeat his basic training, before being commissioned into the R.A.S.C. He spent eighteen months from 1942-43 in the Gold Coast attached to the Royal West African Frontier Force and, on return to the UK, was posted as a Transport Officer to 224 Parachute Field Ambulance unit, a part of the 6th Airborne Division. He duly completed parachute training and jumped with his unit on D-Day.

The citation for the M.C. which he was awarded that day states that "this officer was largely responsible for rallying the Field Ambulance personnel who were widely dispersed over this area following the drop. He led them safely through enemy infested country and finally found, and came under the protection of, 1st Canadian Para Brigade..." His light transport had come in by glider, but had been commandeered by a Sapper Major, and his heavy transport had not yet arrived from the beach. Word had reached Brigade H.Q. of a group of Germans willing to surrender so, to quote from the citation again, "he proceeded to Breville with 4 other ranks and captured 5 German vehicles and 1 motor cycle together with 63 German soldiers who gave themselves up. The capture of this transport meant the rapid collection of wounded from all over the Brigade Area and directly resulted in saving of many lives."

After further service in Europe, Gordon ended the war in India and was not able to return to Oxford until 1946. He took his B.A. Hons the following year, but, to his disappointment was awarded a Second Class

degree. He had been hoping for an academic career, and, after a year at the Sorbonne, returned to Wadham as a lecturer. In 1950 he became a Foundation Member of St Antony's College. But without a First Class degree he could not get a permanent academic appointment and in 1951 he joined the Foreign Service.

He was almost immediately sent on a year's Russian course at Christ's College Cambridge but, in 1952 posted not to Moscow, but to Istanbul. Subsequent postings included Ankara (1957-58), Kuala Lumpur (1963-67) and Consul-General Hanoi (1968-69). He was in Kuala Lumpur during Confrontation, the near-War with Indonesia at the time of the creation of the Malaysian Federation. He worked closely with the Malaysian authorities who wished to recommend him for an O.B.E. when he left. Gordon said he would prefer a Malaysian award. He was duly made an Honorary member of the Kesatria Magku Negara Order of Malaysia.

On retirement, from 1978 until 1990, Gordon became an Extended Interview Assessor in the Home Office Unit of the Civil Service Selection Board.

Gordon and his wife Mavis, or "Vicky", (*nee* Galsworthy, who died in 1986) together wrote a succession of detective stories under the *nom de plume* of Charles Forsyte, but a work in which they took greater pride was "The Decoding of Edwin Drood", (1980) in which they supplied an ending to Dickens' novel. Gordon was a serious student of Dickens' works. As well as "The Decoding . . ." he contributed articles on Dickens to various journals and for three years after his retirement participated in the annual Dickens Universe at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

For most of his married life and until his final admission to hospital Gordon lived in St John's Wood. But Oxford, and specifically Wadham College, remained his spiritual home and he attended functions there for as long as he was physically able to do so. For many years he put the war behind him, regarding his 5/4 years in the Army as an unwelcome interruption, which had probably cost him the academic career for which he had hoped. But in his later years he recognised that, by his actions on and after D-Day, he had played a part in significant events and he made several return visits to the battlefields and war cemeteries of Normandy.

FOOD AND COOKERY IN KIPLING: FROM THE CAVE-WOMAN'S MAGIC TO THE SCOUT'S BACON AND EGGS

By JAN MONTEFIORE

[Prof Montefiore, of the University of Kent, Canterbury, gave this talk to members in September 2008. She is a member of Council and was the organiser of the very successful University of Kent 2007 Conference. – *Ed.*]

She took the bone of the shoulder of mutton—the big flat blade-bone—and she looked at the wonderful marks on it, and she threw more wood on the fire, and she made a Magic. She made the First Singing Magic in the world.¹

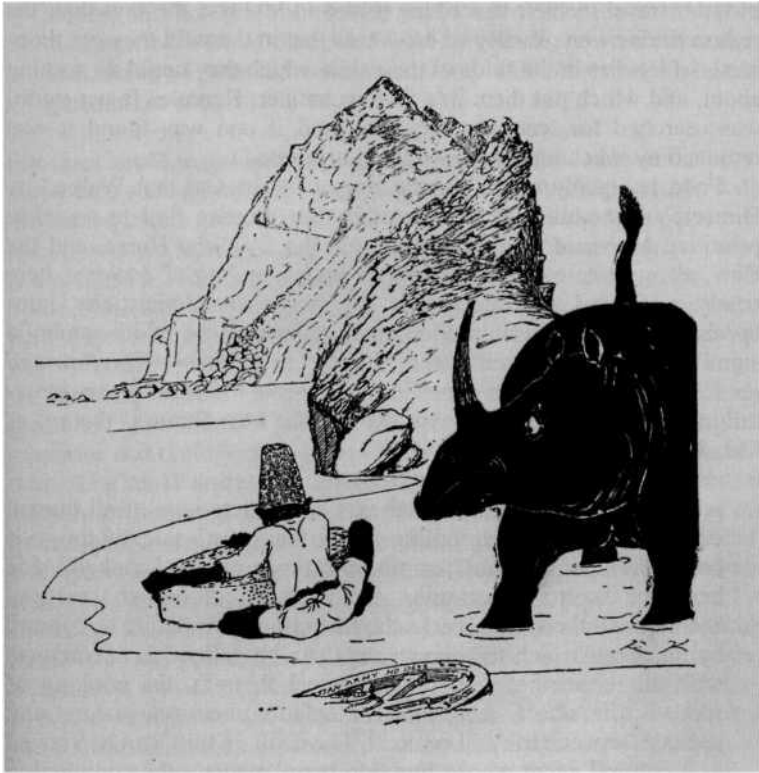
'A good cook's a King of men—besides being thunderin' well off if 'e don't drink.'²

Eating food is the simplest need and pleasure we share with animals but cooking it, as the tale of "The Cat that Walked by Himself" reminds us, is distinctively human. Animals may 'speak' in the sense of communicating with each other, but only humans routinely practice the transformation of raw foodstuffs, by the controlled application of heat, into something eatable or even savoury. With deceptive simplicity, Kipling's stories for children explore the ways in which food and cookery are part of human culture. This does not apply to his stories for adults, where food hardly appears except in his late stories featuring male communities dining convivially,³ as if the stomach pains Kipling suffered from 1915 positively inspired him to write the more lovingly of dinners which he couldn't eat. But his children's stories are another matter, not only for reasons of entertainment but because they touch, however lightly or playfully, on the questions of what it is to be human and how human societies define themselves. One could say very roughly that in the earlier fables for children, food and cookery are associated with women, magic, and the establishment of civilization, whereas in the late "His Gift", the art of cooking becomes the special province of an 'Inner Ring' of artists within an all-male world – but only very roughly, because as usual with Kipling, a writer who never has less than two sides to his head, the writing is too complicated and interesting to be summed up in any simple formula.

Food and its preparation play a major role in two of the *Just So Stories*, and in a different way, in *Kim*. The *Jungle Books* look at first like obvious exceptions since hardly any cookery goes on in them apart

from Inuits boiling seal-meat over blubber flames in "Quiquern" and devout Himalayan women preparing food in "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat", but a closer scrutiny shows that food and cookery, play a major role in defining the relationships between humans and the 'Jungle People'. Other stories feature food shared happily in the all-male worlds of public school, (the 'brews' in No.5 Study, not to mention the Lower Third 'cooking sparrows over the gas with rusty nibs; brewing unholy drinks in gallipots' and making 'sloe jam': *Stalky & Co.*, p.60), and of the fishing smack in '*Captains Courageous*'.

But I'll begin in the nursery, with the Parsee in "How the Rhinoceros got his Skin", possessing a 'cooking-stove of the kind you must particularly never touch', who 'took flour and water and currants and plums and sugar and things, and made himself one cake which was



THE PARSEE PESTONJEE BOMONJEE AND STORKS

(Drawn by Rudyard Kipling, *Just So Stories*)

two feet across and three feet thick . . . and he baked it and baked it until it was all done brown and smelt most sentimental' (*Just So Stories* p.23). That last 'and things' is a charming give-away: this is baking described by someone who enjoys eating but is no expert on how you actually produce the stuff. Uncooked cake mixture is too sloppy to be measured in feet and inches; a cake gets its shape from the hoop or tin in which it is baked. What matters is the Parsee's mastery of tools forbidden to children ('he was allowed to cook on that stove', p.23), and the magical skill that lets him bake something tempting and enables his revenge on the greedy rhino⁴ – for in this re-telling of the Fall, fruit cake is both temptation and instrument of punishment prefigured by that menacing 'Them that takes cakes / Which the Parsee-Man bakes / Makes dreadful mistakes' (p.24) – a spell that sticks. (Kipling's natural history is, by the way, basically correct, according to my late mother-in-law's travel memoir describing rhinos in Malaya; she says that 'the reason rhinos were usually so cross was that in the wild they got thousands of leeches in the folds of their skin, which they could do nothing about, and which put them in a furious temper. Hercules [a pet rhino] was searched for leeches every day, and if one was found it was removed by touching it with a lighted cigarette.')

Food is equally crucial to the story of "The Cat that Walked by Himself. The ability to cook enables the Woman first to socialise primitive Man and then to domesticate the Dog, the Horse, and the Cow, all in three evenings. Kipling's understanding of cookery, here firmly associated with the female sex, magic and domesticity, intuitively anticipates the anthropological understanding of its symbolic significance, famously outlined in Claude Levi-Strauss's *The Raw and the Cooked*, whose title's opposition represents the basic binary structure of human culture versus animal nature. Levi-Strauss' theory, as Milad Doehi has explained,

postulates that the raw/cooked axis is characteristic of all human culture, with elements falling along the "raw" side of the axis being those of "natural" origin, and those on the "cooked" side being of "cultural" origin – i.e. products of human creation. Symbolically, cooking marks the transition from nature to culture, by means of which the human state can be defined in accordance with all its attributes. In mythological thought, the cooking of food is, in effect, a form of mediation between nature and society, between life and death. .. The cook, in turn, can be viewed as a cultural agent whose function is to "mediate the conjunction of the raw product and the human consumer," the operation of which has the effect of "making sure the natural is at once *cooked and socialized*."⁵

The Woman in Kipling's story does indeed represent a 'cultural agent', mediating the conjunction of raw hunger with the rules of civilization. She first domesticates Man by bringing comfort and order into his life (with more than a touch of children playing house):

She picked out a nice dry Cave, instead of a heap of wet leaves, to lie down in; and she strewed clean sand on the floor; . . . and she hung a dried wild-horse skin, tail-down, across the opening of the Cave; and she said, 'Wipe your feet, dear, when you come in, and now we'll keep house.' (*Just So Stories* pp. 149-150),

and then follows this up with a magnificent dinner:

That night, Best Beloved, they ate wild sheep roasted on the hot stones, and flavoured with wild garlic and wild pepper; and wild duck stuffed with wild rice and wild fenugreek and wild coriander; and marrow-bones of wild oxen; and wild cherries, and wild grenadillas.

She does her Man proud: two elaborate *entrees* followed by a Victorian clubman's savoury of roast marrow-bones, and then dessert. As with the Parsee-man's cake, this is food described to children by a consumer not a cook; we learn nothing of *how* this feast is obtained or prepared (I feel that the Woman probably went to the Wild Butcher and the Wild Spice Merchant for her meat and flavourings). The enchanting menu isn't just one of those incantatory lists which Kipling does so well – though it is that too, especially as his audience wouldn't know the meaning of half the ingredients, coriander, garlic, pepper, fenugreek and grenadillas (= passion fruit), being then unknown to English nurseries and dining-rooms, and still unfamiliar to many English children. The meal represents a delicious paradox: on the one hand, it consists of hunter-gatherers' wild foods, and on the other, it requires quite elaborate cookery, for the meat is not just roasted but 'flavoured' with garlic and pepper and the duck 'stuffed' with 'wild rice and wild fenugreek and wild coriander' – spices which give the feast an 'Oriental' flavour, suggesting Middle Eastern or Indian cookery (even if wild rice and grenadillas do come from America). Because this level of gourmet cuisine represents a high degree of complex civilization, a comic tension arises between the repeated adjective 'wild' and the luxurious foods and spices it describes. Every time 'wild' recurs on the menu, it becomes more of a joke.

And the cookery is also a form of Magic. The feast acts as a sleeping potion, putting Man to sleep before the fire 'ever so happy' (p.150) to free the Woman for her second, greater achievement of taming the

domestic animals. She combs her hair and she takes 'the big flat blade-bone' of the Sheep and she made the 'First Singing Magic in the world.' The smell of her roast mutton attracts the Dog

and the Woman, looking at the blade-bone, heard him and laughed, and said 'Here comes the first. Wild Thing out of the Wild Woods, what do you want?'

Wild Dog said, 'O my Enemy and Wife of my Enemy, what is this that smells so good in the Wild Woods?'

Then the Woman picked up a roasted mutton-bone and threw it to Wild Dog, and said, 'Wild thing out of the Wild Woods', taste and try.' Wild Dog gnawed the bone, and it was more delicious than anything he had ever tasted, and he said, 'O my Enemy and Wife of my Enemy, give me another.'(p.151)

A bargain is struck: the Dog, the 'First Friend', helps the Man hunt by day and guard the Cave at night. He can have as many roast bones as he needs. He is followed the next night by Wild Horse who is attracted by the smell of fresh grass dried at the fire so it smells like 'new-mown hay' and promises 'I will be your servant for the sake of the wonderful grass' (pp. 154-5), as does the Cow after him. The Cat overhearing these exchanges, comments 'That is a very clever Woman . . . That is a very foolish Dog [or Horse, or Cow]' (pp. 154-6). Although we are not told why these animals are foolish (the *Just So Stories* follow the great tradition of folk-tales in maintaining what Walter Benjamin called a 'chaste compactness' which avoids being 'shot through with explanation'), there is more than a hint of Esau the hunter giving away his birthright to Jacob in exchange for a mess of lentil pottage' (yes, cooked food again), just as these animals surrender their birthright of free 'Wildness' in exchange for roast bones and hay. The cunning Cat won't fall for this but wants the comforts of human civilisation, so the Woman, taken off guard both by his flattering 'You are very wise and very beautiful' (p.159) and by her own ignorance that the Baby which she hasn't yet conceived might ever make her need his help, agrees that if she says three words in his praise, he can be admitted to the privileges of the Cave. The Cat then calls on three objects representing human culture and society – the Curtain which divides the human *limen* or threshold from the wild woods, the Fire which only humans use for warmth and cooking, and the Milk-pots made and used only by humans, to witness their bargain. Cookery then, is not only Magic, it is a form of that human cleverness, aided by the loyalty, strength and aggression of the Man and Dog, which enable humans to dominate and exploit the other animals – apart of course from the never-quite-tamed Cat.

Food in the form of spicy, delicious Indian dishes is a great feature of *Kim*; the 'cooked meal of the finest' which Kim shares with Mahbub Ali: 'great boluses of spiced mutton fried in fat with cabbage and golden-brown onions' (*Kim* p. 187), or the meal brought by the Jat farmer 'Rice and good curry, cakes all warm and well scented with *hing* (asafoetida), curds and sugar' (p.280). These, however, are prepared foods; closer to real cookery is the scene of the woman persuaded by Kim into assembling a meal:

' . . . Now, mother, a little rice and some dried fish atop—yes, and some vegetable curry.' . . . She took the bowl and returned it full of hot rice . . . [and] good, steaming vegetable curry, clapped a dried cake atop, and a morsel of clarified butter on the cake, [and] dabbed a lump of sour tamarind conserve at the side; . . .' (*Kim* p.20).⁸

Significantly, Kim calls the woman 'mother', which is more than an honorific title (though of course it is that as well since he's wheedling her into treating him as her own child). The actions of preparing and giving food are associated throughout *Kim* with generous mother-figures, most notably the old Kulu 'Sahiba' who welcomes Kim and the lama and sends them off with 'bountiful provision' cooked expertly by herself:

There were cakes, there were sweetmeats, there was cold fowl stewed to rags with rice and prunes—enough to burden Kim like a mule.

'I am old and useless,' she said. 'None now love me—and none respect—but there are few to compare with me when I call on the Gods and squat to my cooking-pots.' (p.325)

But the Sahiba's finest hour comes at the end when she restores the exhausted Kim to health with a feast;

She caused fowls to be slain; she sent for vegetables, and the sober, slow-thinking gardener, nigh as old as she, sweated for it; she took spices, and milk, and onion, with little fish from the brooks—anon limes for sherbets, quails of the pit, then chicken-livers upon a skewer, with sliced ginger between.

'I have seen something of the world,' she said over the crowded trays, 'and there are but two sorts of women in it—those who take the strength out of a man and whose who put it back. Once I was that one, and now I am this.' (p.393)

It sounds wonderful. But even here one notices that as with the Cave-Woman's dinner, Kipling gives us only the Sahiba's mouth-watering dishes and their ingredients; there is nothing about her skills (just *how* she threads those chicken-livers on skewers, for instance), only in the beautiful food she produces, hinting at her own past beauty and sensuality. Kim now calls her 'mother', not just flatteringly but out of 'plain love' (p.395), just as she takes him as 'my son' (p.397). These abundant feasts confirm Kim as the favoured child, the 'Little Friend of all the world' who will never starve, and India itself, 'this great and beautiful land' (p.193) full of delicious native food as a bountiful various pleasurable mother – indeed as what psychoanalysts call the good breast, an all-providing source of sensual enjoyment. This is the polar opposite of the unappetising food consumed by the all-male Army 'at one table in public (this was particularly revolting to Kim, who preferred to turn his back on the world at meals)' (p. 149). Confronted with the prospect of 'raw beef on a platter', Kim longs equally for 'soft mud squishing between his toes' and for 'rice speckled with strong-scented cardamoms, for the saffron-tinted rice, garlic and onions, and the forbidden greasy sweetmeats of the bazars.' (p.178) The spicy rich food of India is *the* sensual pleasure in Kim, often subtly hinting at other pleasures to be enjoyed with the women who produce it.

The treatment of food and cookery is even more complex and interesting in the two *Jungle Books*. Since cookery symbolically establishes a hierarchical divide of civilized humanity versus wild animals, it can't of course be mentioned around the 'Jungle People', who are animals humanized by holding, unlike the *Bandar-log*, to 'laws and customs of their own' ("Kaa's Hunting", *The Jungle Book* p.53). Even to mention cookery would emphasise the raw savagery of the Wolf-Pack, and would make Mowgli's position as inhabitant of both human and wolf worlds impossible – he might even resemble Fleete in "The Mark of the Beast" whose lycanthropy is signalled by a bloodcurdling desire for 'more chops—lots of 'em and underdone—bloody ones with gristle.'" In fact, there is very little about food or eating in the Jungle stories. Mowgli, his wolf brothers and his friend Bagheera the panther of course frequently kill and eat, but we don't see them either hunting or taking their meals (and we'd be horrified if we did). The only 'Mowgli' story in which cookery plays a key role in distinguishing men from animals is "The King's Ankus", a version of Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* in which Mowgli takes a precious 'ankus' (a jewelled elephant-goad) from an ancient hoard guarded by a cobra and throws it away, to be discovered by humans who – as Mowgli and Bagheera find as they track them – murder one another to possess the treasure. Six men in one night die for the same precious thing – one shot, with arrows, two stabbed

and finally three more, apparently unmolested, lying by a 'half-dead fire' bearing 'an iron plate which held a blackened and burned cake of unleavened bread'. As the two hunters deduce (with a touch of Sherlock Holmes), the man whose corpse they found with flour spilt beside him ('that white dust is what men eat' says Mowgli sagely, p. 172,) must have poisoned the bread with 'thorn-apple or dhatura, the readiest poison in all India'(p.173) so as to keep the ankus for himself by killing the three others who stabbed him, unknowingly ate the bread and died. Here the divide between wild nature/ human culture represented by baking bread on a fire, as against the Jungle rule of 'kill and eat' is firmly established, very much to humanity's discredit since that 'blackened' poisonous bread reverses the accepted equation cookery = civilization : raw meat = savagery. Humans cook their food and poison one another; innocently carnivorous animals don't dream of such a thing. Mowgli's Jungle-name for the poison, 'Apple of Death', though completely implausible from a 'realistic' point of view since cultivated apples are a European fruit unknown in the Seonee Jungle, powerfully underlines this by quietly alluding, like the sinister snake guarding the treasure, to the apple which damned the human race – or as Milton wrote 'the fruit/ Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste/ Brought Death into the world, and all our woe.'¹⁰ As Bagheera insists, 'The trouble is with the men.' (p.174)

There can be no cookery in the Jungle because cookery needs fire which is terrible to animals. When he first steals fire from humans, Mowgli sees the fire itself as a living thing needing food:

'They are very like me,' said Mowgli, blowing into the pot, as he had seen the woman do. 'This thing will die if I do not give it things to eat'; and he dropped twigs and dried bark on the red stuff. ("Mowgli's Brothers", *The Jungle Book* p.33)

When I was a child reading this story, Mowgli's remark 'They are very like me' puzzled me: did he mean that the humans whom he'd seen for the first time looked 'very like' him, or that the fire was a hungry creature 'very like' himself? The first, presumably; but I think now that Mowgli's remark is genuinely ambivalent, showing him as human in his use of metaphor as cognitive tool (he keeps his fire alight by thinking of twigs and leaves as its 'things to eat'), even while identifying himself as an animal for whom humans are 'they'. The possession of fire will end this ambivalence by dividing Mowgli utterly from the beasts he has grown up with who 'live in deadly fear of it' (p.31). By contrast, he recalls 'how, before I was a wolf, I lay beside the Red Flower and it was warm and pleasant.' (p.33) Fire is an invincible

weapon which enables him to beat, singe and mock Shere Khan and the treacherous Wolf-pack – after which he leaves the Jungle 'to meet those mysterious things that are called men.' (p.41) When he returns after nearly being lynched by the villagers, he brings a knife with him but not fire, which he shuns until "The Spring Running", where the sight of a distant cooking-fire which he recognizes as 'the Red Flower—the Red Flower that I lay beside before—before I came even to the first Seeonee Pack!' (*The Second Jungle Book* p.281) – draws him back him to Messua his human mother, and so to adult life.

On Mowgli's first, abortive return to human society, he has difficulty adapting to human ways. 'First he had to wear a cloth around him, which annoyed him horribly; and then he had to learn about money, which he did not in the least understand, and about ploughing, of which he did not see the use. ("Tiger! Tiger!"', *The Jungle Book* p.95) Changing his diet would surely be more difficult still, but since we never see Mowgli at his meals, we don't hear anything about it. The villagers are evidently Hindus since caste matters a great deal to them, so their food would consist of the grains and vegetables they grow themselves, plus milk and butter from their herd of cattle and buffalo. But Mowgli doesn't seemingly miss his meat diet while he's in the village, nor does he acquire a taste for Indian food from his stay there. When he rejoins the Jungle he clearly goes back, though this isn't dwelt on, to eating raw meat.¹¹

One highly significant food is, however, mentioned often, both in and out of the Jungle, namely, milk which is a natural food yet not 'wild'. As Marina Warner writes of milk and honey (a Jungle food also eaten by Mowgli, *The Jungle Book* p.25), 'Neither require any preparation to eat. . . No rites of purification attend their consumption; they are pristine. Eaten raw, they taste cooked . . . Unlike wine, they undergo no process at the hand of man, and in their innocence are distinguished from other sources of nourishment.'¹² Milk comes from a mother suckling her child, or from a domesticated animal like the Cow's 'warm white milk' desired by the Cat or the 'long drink of milk' which Messua gives Mowgli when she first receives him as her lost son Nathoo.¹³ Or, of course, from a wild animal suckling her pup, like Mother Wolf looking lovingly at the baby who totters into her den and pushes between the cubs to get close to her: ' "Ahai ! He is taking his meal with the others." ' (*The Jungle Book* p.10) Mother Wolf later recognizes 'the woman who gave thee milk' as a fellow mother-figure (*Second Jungle Book* p.63); in "Letting in the Jungle" she looks at Messua and realizes the human mother represents Mowgli's future: ' "I gave thee thy first milk: but Bagheera speaks truth: Man goes to Man at the last." ' (p.80) Because milk crosses the boundary between nature

and culture, raw and cooked, it is fitting that Messua should greet Mowgli's reappearance in "The Spring Running" by 'bustling among the cooking-pots . . . "I will make a fire, and thou shalt drink warm milk." ' After the milk has put him to sleep, she gives him a modest meal, described in detail for the first and last time in the Mowgli stories: 'a few coarse cakes baked over the smoky fire, some rice, and a lump of sour preserved tamarinds— just enough to go on with till he could get to his evening kill.' (pp.286-7) Mowgli has not yet said farewell to the Jungle, and we know from "In the Rukh" that he will not become a ploughman .

Food as part of a man's world is a very different matter. In the all-male fishermen's community of the *We're Here* in '*Captains Courageous*', we are told repeatedly of excellent meals cooked on board: 'pieces of crisp fried pork', 'cod-cheeks', 'fish-chowder and fried pies' (= doughnuts), described by the boy Harvey as 'best mug on the Banks' (pp.14, 77, 198) – and they sound it. Nevertheless, cookery retains an 'otherness' in the person of the ship's faintly mysterious cook, a black Canadian from Nova Scotia. This man is descended from Loyalist black refugees from the American Revolution, as the captain's son Dan explains:

'Comes from the innards of Cape Breton, he does, where the farmers speak home-made Scotch. Cape Breton's full o' niggers whose folk run in there durin' aour war, an' they talk like the farmers—all huffy-chuffy.'¹⁴

He speaks rarely, not in the Gloucester dialect or the stage Irish of 'Long Jack' ('Fwhat' for 'What', etc., etc.), and only to prophesy; he foretells to everyone's scepticism that Harvey will one day be Dan's master, 'and I shall see it' (p.93), and after the *Abishai's* drunken captain utters curses, perceives that ' "it wass his own death made him speak so ! He is fey—fey, I tell you! Look!" ' just as the *Abishai* runs herself underwater. (p.98) He is the only member of the ship whose name we never learn – he remains ' the cook' to the end, and has no nickname except 'the doctor' (cooks routinely acted as doctors on merchant vessels¹⁵). In a book celebrating seamen's skills, we never see him at work or learn what he does when he's not cooking. He doesn't take part in the fishing, and the only time he rows a boat is to rescue the fog-bound and terrified Dan and Harvey after the latter, presented with a drowned man's knife, fishes up the faceless corpse of its former owner. This 'coal-black Celt' (p.244) represents a combined 'otherness' in that, belonging to a dark-skinned subject race, he has the language and supernatural insight of the Celts, thought of by Victorian

Englishmen as feminine compared with the masculine rationality and sturdiness of the Saxon. (*cf.* Kipling's own description of 'my father with his sage Yorkshire outlook and wisdom; my Mother, all Celt and three-parts fire'¹⁶). With his power to turn out delicious meals combined with his black skin, Gaelic-accented 'phonograph voice' (p.98), and second sight, the cook is the nearest we get in this all-male world to the Cave-Woman and her magical powers in "The Cat that Walked by Himself.

Which is not very near, for the fishermen's community of '*Captains Courageous*' is emphatically a world of men. Its *camaraderie* and ethos of hard work free Harvey from his obsessively indulgent, over-protective mother, anticipating the well-run Scout camp in Kipling's late story "His Gift".¹⁷ Here cookery is shown as one of those masculine skills which Kipling loved to celebrate; it is neither feminine or magical, except metaphorically as a cook's 'wizardry among the pots and pans' or pride in his inborn talent: – "You see Prawn,... cookin' isn't a thing one can just pick up." ' (pp.97-8) The cookery in the story takes place on a Scout trip, the hero's mentor being Mr Marsh the baker, formerly a cook in the merchant navy who explains that a cook will always have power 'which, striking directly at the stomach of man, makes the rudest polite, not to say sycophantic, towards a good cook, whether at sea, in camp, in the face of war, or . . . the crowded competitive cities where a good meal was as rare, he declared, as silk pyjamas in a pigsty.' (p.93) As William B. Dillingham has pointed out,¹⁸ this is a rarity in Kipling's stories about work in that the hero is initiated not into a harsh discipline that turns out to be all for his own good, but into a skill which from the very beginning he loves exercising, is the one thing he wants to do in life, and will enable him to score off his former tormentors – whom by the end he regards with 'the Master's pity for the mere consuming Public'. (p.99)

Unlike all the earlier stories about food in which cookery is mentioned but the process of cooking never shown, Kipling here focuses on techniques – how not to cook stew, how to cook bacon and eggs. As it's not that well known, despite perceptive readings by Hugh Brogan and more recently William Dillingham, I'll summarise: Briefly, it's the story of William Glasse Sawyer, a fat lazy useless Boy Scout from South London on a camping trip, who initially gets bossed about by a senior known as the Prawn (a thin pink virtuous boy with sticky-out blue eyes) while the others go off exploring. After a hard morning's incompetent skivvying, William takes a doze under some bracken and wakes up to overhear the Prawn, who's trying to cook a stew, being grilled by 'an enormously fat little man with a pointed grey beard and arms like the fins of a fish' who contemptuously dismisses the Prawn's

efforts. William is so delighted to hear his hated superior being told off by this expert 'Marsh, the Baker' that he is inspired to get up early the next day to hang about outside the bakery and help Mr Marsh take down his shutters as his scout's 'good turn for the day' (do you remember those?) and then makes himself scarce – 'the Movies had taught him [William], though he knew it not, the value of dramatic effect' (p.87) – hoping that Mr Marsh will come back to the camp. Which he does, and needs only a small hint from William to put the open-air hearth to rights, get the fire going with 'some brush-stuff from the oven' (he evidently uses the traditional English brick oven heated by furze or brushwood), and instruct William in frying bacon and eggs to which 'Mr. Marsh supplied some wonderful last touches' (p.92). This leaves William high on dreams of glory – 'issuing bacon and eggs to crews on the edge of mutiny. Next he was at war, turning the tides of it to victory' (p.94) and lording it over his former bosses who'll beg for scraps. The scoutmaster invites Mr Marsh to demonstrate cookery to the camp, and he spends a triumphant evening 'beside an open wood fire, from the ashes of which he drew forth (talking all the while) wonderful hot cakes called "dampers"; while from its top he drew off pans full of "lobscouse," which he said was not to be confounded with "salmagundi"¹⁹ and a hair-raising compound of bacon, cheese and onions all melted together.' (This last, which sounds delicious, was probably 'hair-raising' because cheese, a strong-smelling food eaten by the poor,²⁰ was a comparatively 'low' food and fried onions even more so.) After more training from his mentor, William becomes the most respected member of his troop, producing a 'puffed and perfect' damper from the embers for the now humbled Prawn, and is evidently set fair for a prosperous career: 'After all, as he was used to say in future years, if it hadn't been for The Prawn, where would he have been?' (p.99)

William Dillingham has suggested in the *Kipling Journal* that "His Gift" is an autobiographical allegory, the revelation of William's gift representing Kipling's own discovery of his writer's gift, also at the age of fifteen, while Mr Marsh the master-cook represents the older Kipling : 'a mature craftsman who has found his lifework and practiced it with skill and dedication meets himself as a youth, still unaware of his gift, and tutors him with wisdom, patience and affection as the boy gloriously perceives what he is meant for. . . Kipling through Marsh is most surely remarking as well on the gifted writer and on the profession of letters.' (pp.37, 40) Although there's clearly something in this argument – William does discover his vocation with delight, Mr Marsh is a master of his craft who like Kipling has lost a son in the War – surely this reading underestimates the story's comedy: can we

really take this cockney-speaking 'enormously fat little man with arms like fins' ("His Gift" p.83) as Kipling's self-portrait? Hugh Brogan is surely right to emphasise the story's mischievous qualities: 'Kipling . . . is [now] a venerated, respectable author of the utmost dignity. Yet he is still Beetle at heart, and when challenged by anything so virtuous as the Boy Scout movement must be as disrespectful as ever',²¹ wrong-footing schoolmasterly pieties about clean-limbed youth. Also, if you take Mr Marsh's instruction cookery as just another trope for writing, you have to ignore the way the story focuses on the techniques of cooker, good and bad:

"Lor!" said he at last after more sniffs of contempt, as he replaced the lid. "If you hot up things in tins, *that* ain't cookery . . . That *is* meat, ain't it? Get me a fork." . . . The little man prodded into the pot.

"It's stew!" The Prawn explained, but his voice shook.

"Lor!" said the man again. "It's boilin'! It's boilin'! You don't boil when you stew, my son; an' as for *this*"—up came a grey slab of mutton—"there's no odds between this and motor-tyres. . . Pore boys! *Pore* boys! I'm glad you ain't askin' me to dinner." (p.84)

Mr Marsh's just indignation isn't a metaphor for literary criticism in which tinned food = junk literature which doesn't nourish the mind; it is very specifically about unappetising food and how not to prepare it. Later we see the expert at work, impressed by the news that William's middle name is Glasse and showing him how to fry bacon and eggs. Having greased the pan,

[h]e fell into an abstraction, frying-pan in hand. Anon, as he cracked an egg miraculously on its edge—"Whether you're a descendant or not, it's worth livin' up to, a name like that."

"Why?" said William, as the egg slid into the pan and spread as evenly as paint under an expert's hand. . . . The boy worked the pan over the level red fire with a motion he had learned somehow or other . . . It seemed to him natural and easy. Mr Marsh watched in unbroken silence for at least two minutes, . . . [before commenting] "I 'ave 'opes. You 'ave good 'ands, an' your knowin' I was a cook shows you 'ave the instinck."

And he holds forth on the power wielded by cooks to a silent William 'intent on his egg' while 'the eggs and bacon mellowed together.' (p.92) Charming though this scene is, it shows that its author can have known nothing practical about frying bacon and eggs, which you start



WILLIAM GLASSE SAWYER AND MR. MARSH

(From "His Gift")

by frying the bacon, putting in the eggs once the fat has run and the bacon is beginning to crisp. If you start as Mr Marsh does by frying the egg for 'at least two minutes' (p.91) and holding forth for another before you add any bacon, the resulting fry, far from 'mellowing

together', will be like greasy leather. (I confess to some feminist *schadenfreude* in pointing out that when Kipling celebrates cookery as a man's job, albeit with a bow to Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy by a Lady* [p.97], he should commit such a howler.) All the same, no one has ever made the joys of camp-fire cooking more alluring, just as no one else has written so enchantingly of the never-quite-stable frontier between raw hunger and human cuisine.

NOTES

1. Kipling, "The Cat that Walked by Himself, *Just So Stories* (O.U.P. 1995) p.151.
2. Kipling, *Land and Sea Tales*, (Macmillan 1923) p.92.
3. Examples of such shared meals are the officers on leave doing themselves well at a London restaurant in "Sea Constables", Freemasons enjoying home-made ham sandwiches " 'In the Interests of the Brethren' ", the medieval Abbot Stephen's excellent dinner ending with preserved 'dates, raisins, ginger, figs and cinnamon-scented sweetmeats' in "The Eye of Allah" (Kipling, *Debits and Credits*, Macmillan p.379), Army officers rebelling against uneatably bad food in "The Tie" and the five-course meal featuring 'an arrangement of cockscombs with olives, and capers as large as cherries' in "Fairy-Kist" (Kipling, *Limits and Renewals*, Macmillan, p. 153).
4. Patricia Cockburn, *Figure of Eight*, Chatto & Windus 1985, p.109.
5. Milad Doueihy, "The Lure of the Heart.", *Stanford French Review* 14 (Spring-Fall 1990): pp.51-68; reproduced in the web-page on Boccaccio, www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/dweb/themes/heart/raw.shtml
6. Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller", on *Illuminations*, Fontana, 1977, pp.91,89.
7. *Genesis* 25, verses 29-34.
8. This passage is very similar, in tone as well as content, to the feeding of Purun Bhagat by the pious Hill-women in "The Miracle of Purun Bhagat": 'Hill-food is very simple, but with buckwheat and Indian corn, and rice and red pepper, and little fish out of the stream in the valley, and honey from the flue-like hives built in the stone walls, and turmeric, and wild ginger, and bannocks of flour, a devout woman can make good things, and it was a full bowl that the priest carried to the Bhagat.' (Kipling, *The Second Jungle Book*, Macmillan 1908, p.45). This loving inventory of 'good things' and evocation of the charity shown to Indian priests both represent, like the story in which they are embedded, hymn to the beauty and wisdom of Hindu culture, strikingly different from its generally negative portrayal in the *Jungle Books*.
9. Kipling, *Life's Handicap*, (Macmillan 1893) p.216.
10. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Book I, lines 1-3.
11. Charles Allen pointed out when I first gave this paper to the Kipling Society in September 2008, that William Henry Sleeman's, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol.11, 1858, one of Kipling's written sources for Mowgli, describes wolf-boys as all rejecting cooked food when they first come into human society; those who did start eating stay, whereas those who went on eating their food raw always went back to the wild.
12. Marina Warner, *Alone of all her sex: the Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, (Quartet Books 1978) p.194.
13. *Just So Stories*, p.159; *The Jungle Book*, p.91.

14. Cape Breton is part of Nova Scotia, which in the 19th century was home both to Gaelic-speaking farmers descended from Highlanders evicted during the Clearances and to black Loyalist refugees from the U.S.A. who left after the Declaration of Independence. Dan's reference to 'aour war' therefore alludes not to the then recent American Civil War (since a grown man whose parents had come to Canada by the Underground Railroad would speak their African-American dialect, not Gaelic), but to the more distant Revolutionary War. I am grateful to Charles Allen (again) for pointing out the cook's Loyalist Canadian antecedents.
15. I learned this fact about ships' cooks from another audience member on the same occasion.
16. *Kipling, Something of Myself* (Macmillan 1937), p.89.
17. "His Gift" is, incidentally one of the first Kipling stories I read as a child, in Marghanita Laski's excellent anthology for children *The Patchwork Book* (Routledge 1946). As an adult I recalled the story with pleasure while forgetting the author's name, and I hunted for it without success in various short-story anthologies for children until I came across Hugh Brogan's account of it in *Mowgli's Sons*.
18. William Dillingham "Bacon and Eggs: Kipling's Calling", *Kipling Journal*, No.313, March 2005, pp.34-46.
19. 'Lobscouse' is a Navy dish consisting of salt meat, potatoes, onions; 'salmagundi' is composed of chopped meat, anchovies, eggs and onions.
20. cf. the refined Mrs Gibson in Elizabeth Gaskell's *Wives and Daughters* (1864) who is shocked by learning that her new husband likes cheese, 'it's such a strong-smelling, coarse kind of thing' (ch.11, Penguin edition 1969, p. 162); also the comic story in Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men In A Boat* about the man who becomes a social pariah because he can't get rid of a smelly cheese.
21. Hugh Brogan, *Mowgli's Sons: Kipling and Baden-Powell's Scouts* (Jonathan Cape 1987) p.59.

EDITORIAL *continued from p.5.*

Sir George Otto Trevelyan (1838-1928), then aged 24, was based in and around Calcutta. Some of the views that he expresses seem to me to chime with those of the young Kipling, and wonder how much influence this book could have had on him. It was selected and given to him by the man who had been acting effectively *in loco parentis*; Trevelyan was noted at Cambridge for his satirical verse, and there are several amusing pieces in the book, a "prologue" on the habits and pastimes of the "P. & O." travellers which would not have been out of place in *Departmental Ditties*. Also some Horace spoofs such as one of Book III, No.7 "Quid Fles, Asterie". I have found no evidence that Kipling and Trevelyan ever met, but from two letters it is clear that in later life Kipling was on friendly terms with his youngest son, the historian G.M. Trevelyan.

You will realise that I have more questions than answers over the book's influence on Kipling, and so, if any members have opinions about it, I would be very happy to read them.

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 2008

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

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

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

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Chairman	Cdr A. J. W. Wilson
Deputy Chairman	Mr S. Keskar
Secretary	Mrs J. Keskar
Treasurer	Mr F. Noah
Journal Editor	Mr D. Page
Membership Secretary	Lt-Colonel R.C. Ayers, O.B.E. (until July 2008)
Membership Secretary	Mr J. Lambert (from July 2008)
Meetings Secretary	Mr A. Lycett
Librarian	Mr J. Walker
On Line Editor	Mr J. Radcliffe
Publicity Officer	Mr R. Slade (until November 2008)
Bateman's Liaison Officer	Mr R. Mitchell

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Ms Anne Harcombe	2006-2008 (retired July 2008)
Dr Mary Hamer	2006-2008 (retired July 2008)
Prof Leonee Ormond	2007-2009
Mr Charles Allen	2007-2009
Mr Clive Bettington	2007-2009
Prof Janet Montefiore	2008-2010 (from July 2008)
Mr Charles Allen	2008-2010 (from July 2008)
Mr Bryan Diamond	2008-2010 (from July 2008)

In furtherance of its object, and on an ongoing basis, the Society:

1. Publishes the quarterly *Kipling Journal* that is distributed to all individual members and subscribing '*Journal-only*' institutions, dealing with matters of interest to readers and students of Rudyard Kipling.
2. Promotes and holds meetings, film shows, visits, discussions and readings in order to stimulate and encourage the study of Rudyard Kipling's works.

3. Maintains in City University, London, an extensive library of books, ephemera and reference material available to members and literary researchers.
4. Maintains a Kipling Room at The Grange Museum, in Rottingdean, Sussex.
5. Maintains a world-wide-web site (www.kipling.org.uk) containing information and pictorial material about the Society, about Kipling's prose and poetry and about his life and times, including the Society's expanding "New Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Works" (see below). There is also the catalogue of the Society's library and a comprehensive Index to the *Kipling Journal* from its inception in 1927. The web-site attracts requests for information from both members and non-members and is a good source for recruitment of new members from all over the world. The Society also, in association with the University of Newcastle, provides an email discussion forum on which questions relating to Kipling are canvassed and discussed.

State of the Society and Specific activities in 2008

Five issues of the *Kipling Journal* were published during the year, one of which was a supplementary issue devoted to a sample of eight of the papers which had been presented at the 2007 Kent conference.

The web-site continues to attract considerable interest from both members and the general public, and there were nearly 70,000 visitors to the site in the course of the year. Of these some 26,000 (37%) visited the on line New Readers' Guide pages.

The revision and updating of the 1950s 8-volume Readers' Guide to the Works of Rudyard Kipling is well under way, incorporating much new work. The responsible sub-committee have made good progress in the eighth year; over 300 of the stories and over 200 of the poems have so far been annotated and published on the Society's web-site.

Our programme of meetings has followed its normal pattern: we have examined the address-distribution of the membership, to see if it would be effective to hold a meeting outside London. As a result, it is planned to hold a meeting combined with a small conference in Sheffield in 2009.

During the year there were five meetings, inclusive of the Annual General Meeting, at each of which there was a lecture given by a guest speaker. At the Annual Luncheon the Guest of Honour was Rear-Admiral Guy F. Liardet who gave us his "Personal Observations on Religion in Kipling's Asia".

At the end of 2008 the Society had 496 individual, 5 life and 6 honorary members, 507 in all, and 91 'Journal-only' member universities and libraries. In addition, 6 legal deposit copies went to the British Library and leading U.K. and Irish universities and 8 *Journals* were provided free of charge to educational institutions at home and abroad.

On the financial front, our Bank Balance increased by £4,654 in 2008. The continued savings made by the reduction in *Journal* production costs, generous individual donations (included in subscriptions), and the British income tax recovered through the Gift Aid Scheme on subscriptions and donations have enabled the Society to keep pace with inflation. To support future developments, the Council implemented a modest increase in the rate of subscriptions effective from the end of 2007. The total Net Assets of the Society increased by £3,054 to £100,374 which includes a value of £14,731 for our Library.

Reserves

The Council has given consideration to the amount of reserves it is proper to keep, and have agreed that we should maintain reserves at a level of about three times the current rate of annual expenditure. At present, they are about four times that amount, and Council have a number of initiatives in hand to reduce them.

Risk

The Council has also given consideration to the matter of 'risk' as it affects the achievement of the Society's aims. The financial risk is assessed as being low, so long as we continue to generate a modest surplus of income over expenditure. The question of risk due to the possibility of an action for libel or for, say, breach of copyright was considered, but it was agreed that, so long as the officers remained aware of the possibility, the likelihood remained low.

[Signed] A. J. W. Wilson (Chairman)

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2008

1. Chairman's Opening Remarks

The Chairman, Alastair Wilson, welcomed members to the 81st Annual General Meeting of the Society, held on 9 July 2008, Royal Over-Seas League, London.

2. Apologies for Absence

Roger Ayers, Frank Noah, Robin Mitchell and Roy Slade.

3. Minutes of the 80th A.G.M., 4 July 2007

The minutes (summarised in the *Kipling Journal* No.327, June 2008) were agreed and signed.

4. Matters Arising

There were no matters arising.

5. Election of two 'elected' members

The Chairman expressed his gratitude to outgoing Council members, Anne Harcombe and Dr Mary Hamer. He reported that Bryan Diamond had kindly agreed to serve on the Council once again and that Dr Jan Montefiore was also happy to be a co-opted Council Member, although she sent her apologies for the A.G.M. The election of Bryan Diamond and Dr Jan Montefiore was then proposed and seconded.

Bryan, with his long experience, had been an active member of the Council and had kept us abreast of a great many Kipling related events which might otherwise have passed us by. The Chairman thanked them both.

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

Honorary Secretary	Mrs Jane Keskar
Honorary Treasurer	Mr Frank Noah
Honorary Membership Secretary	Mr John Lambert
Honorary Editor	Mr David Page
Honorary On Line Editor	Mr John Radcliffe
Honorary Librarian	Mr John Walker
Honorary Meetings Secretary	Mr Andrew Lycett
Honorary Publicity Officer	Mr Roy Slade
Honorary Bateman's Liaison Officer	Mr Robin Mitchell

7. Approval of Independent Financial Examiner

The Council approved the re-appointment of Professor G. M. Selim as Hon. Independent Financial Examiner.

8. Retirement of Sir Derek Oulton

Alastair Wilson offered Sir Derek Oulton our grateful thanks for his years as the Society's Hon. Legal Adviser, but who now wished to retire.

9. Retirement of Sir George Engle and Election of Field Marshal Sir John Chappie as President

The Chairman also expressed his gratitude to Sir George Engle, now retiring as President. Sir George was presented with a cheque for a case of wine as a token of the Society's appreciation. The Chairman was delighted to announce that Sir John Chappie had agreed to be President. Sir John was duly elected.

10. Chairman's Report

Alastair Wilson gave a resume of the Society's activities during the last year. He was very pleased to welcome our new Membership Secretary, John Lambert. He reported that the Council would have liked to make a presentation of a cheque, for Roger, to buy a case of German wine. However, as Roger was away, the presentation of a cheque would take place at the September meeting. The Society's finances were in good order, £3,000 up on last year. A surplus was needed if we were to make good use of our funds to support works associated with Kipling. We had thus been able, this year, to contribute to a fund for Sussex University to buy the Kipling Baldwin papers, as Earl Baldwin had decided to sell. The University had raised most of the sum required and also had a grant from the V & A.

The Chairman also reported on the forthcoming prize for Secondary schools in the East Sussex area, within a 7 mile radius of Bateman's. A prize for Primary Schools would be a more complex task, so the Society was starting with an essay competition for year 10, with funding of £2,000 from the Society. This would also fulfil the paramount purpose of awakening interest and improving the age profile of the Society's membership.

11. Honorary Officer's Reports

a) Secretary

Jane Keskar reported that the Society had had an eventful and fruitful year. The Society had supported the Kipling Conference at the University of Kent in September, which had been the catalyst for many fascinating papers and discussion. David Page had produced a supplementary *Journal*, publishing a selection of these papers. Jane reported that the University of Capetown would also be holding a Conference in September 2009. Details of timings would be on the website. (Now postponed indefinitely)

Jane continued, reporting that the Society was establishing links with the Sir J. J. School of Art, where the Kipling family bungalow was to be refurbished, and part of it used as a Kipling Museum. This atmospheric house stands in a tropical garden in the grounds of the School; and the Society planned to contribute books from the Library and some reproductions of John Lockwood Kipling's drawings of Indian craftsmen. Jane expressed the Society's gratitude to Jo Webb for giving the Society 2 framed photos of Kipling, and Jo has agreed that they would make a fine gift to the Museum. Jane said that Charles Allen made regular visits to India, and was liaising with the School and a prominent Indian philanthropist, Mrs Sangeeta Jindal to support the Museum.

Jane reported that our Annual Luncheon had been a great success, with 87 guests, and all had enjoyed a very good lunch and talk by Rear Admiral Guy Liardet. She announced that next year's Guest Speaker at the Annual Luncheon on 6 May 2009 would be the Military Historian, Professor Richard Holmes. During the Kipling week at Bateman's, held in June, Robin Mitchell, our Liaison Officer at Bateman's, had introduced a presentation of readings on Kipling and Empire, read by members of the Council and our Chairman.

Jane reported that there had been a most successful year of talks at our Meetings here at the RO-SL, which had included one by Professor Tom

Pinney, who had spoke of his work editing a new and comprehensive edition of Kipling's poems and heralded its eventual publication by the Cambridge University Press.

b) Membership Secretary

John Lambert reported that the duties of the role of Membership Secretary had been carried out in the main, by Roger during the last year, indeed up until the beginning of June 2008. Whilst he could state that the society membership is constant and he had received renewal of subscription (cheque payment) from twenty members and three new members in the last four weeks, Roger had been administering the updates of standing orders. Roger continued to assist John whilst he 'learned' the role and he would be forever in his debt for doing so.

Roger Ayers had also provided a report, which John read. Roger apologised for his unavoidable absence from the A.G.M. and reported on the last year from 1 July 2007 to 31 May 2008. After handing over as Membership Secretary after nearly ten years, Roger wished to thank all Members of Council and the other Officers of the Society for providing a purposeful but most congenial working environment throughout that period which had made the work a pleasure to do. He also wished to thank the numerous Society Members who had enlivened the routine work by their additional notes, letters and comments, which had greatly added to his 'job satisfaction' and in some cases developed into a steady exchange of correspondence. He also wished to thank, in abundance, John Lambert, who had volunteered to take over from him.

Roger reported that, having initiated the updating of Standing Orders following the increase in membership subscriptions from 1 January 2008, he was continuing this process until later in the year, in order to be able to hand it over as complete as possible. Of the 303 members who paid by Standing Order, 246 had needed to make an increase up to the minimum subscription of £22 and had been sent a new mandate to complete. Of these, 172 (70%) had been returned and sent on to the banks concerned. The 74 members who had not yet responded would be sent a reminder during July. In the course of this measure, 7 members had decided to resign, all owing to a need to reduce their range of interests, most citing very advanced ages in explanation. Roger had passed on the Society's thanks for their years of support and wished them well.

c) Treasurer

In the Treasurer's absence Anna Lonsdale, the Accountant, responded to queries on the Financial Statement. Rudi Bissolotti asked if the Tax Rebate due to us from Gift Aid had been claimed. Anna replied that she had claimed for 2005-2006, and was waiting for the information for 2006-2007 (which might be with the Treasurer) before she returned the claim for that year and 2007-2008. Anna explained that the Treasury had allowed an extension of the 22% for Charities to be carried on for 2-3 years. Bryan Diamond asked why income varied from one year to another. Anna explained that the Accounts were prepared on the amounts banked in the December of any year.

Anna also explained that there had been an increase in unusual expenditure and receipts, with the payment for the Kent Conference and an increase in the Interest from the Savings Account, paid into the Current Account quarterly.

Bryan Diamond also asked if the Society made a profit from events such as the Annual Luncheon. Jane Keskar explained that the price of the ticket to members just about covered our costs.

d) Editor

David Page reported that we had produced five issues of the *Journal* in the twelve months to-date, including the selection of papers from the Conference at the University of Kent. He was very pleased with the geographic diversity of the authors who had submitted papers, as well as those by the younger academics. He felt that he should mention that he had a policy of not making too many corrections to the work of those authors, whose first language is not English, limiting the changes to those necessary for a reasonable understanding. He wanted to encourage them, and it did demonstrate that interest in Kipling and his works is very far from over.

The relationship with our printer, 4word Ltd, remained very strong, and they did all that they could to help. The material for the September 2008 issue of the *Journal* had been sent to them on 23 June, and key articles were already in hand for the December and March issues, with some already in for June next year.

David also had in hand material for another supplementary issue in the first half of 2009. This would be a monograph built round a series of previously unpublished letters from Kipling to (Sir) Maitland Park (of *Cape Times* fame) and to his family. Mrs Muir, the owner of the letters, had been carrying out a lot of additional research at the University of Cape Town and the Cape Town City Library, and sent all the material to David a week ago.

As was always the case, David wanted to assure all members that he welcomed anything that they care to submit.

e) Librarian

John Walker reported on:

Research and support: Research visits had steadied at an average of one a week during the last year, but it was interesting that Ph.D. candidates now outnumber M.A. students, researchers for TV and radio, or specialist writers.

The range of questions through email and the post had changed, in that many requests are now for citations, references and even digitised copies. Particularly since the Kent Conference, officers of the Society will know that the Society is treated by academics as a direct source for information of all kinds.

Among the more general requests, there had been three separate enquiries from United States Air Force personnel, who had been subjected to many hours of a looped tape of "Infantry Columns (Boots)" as part of their training. They all needed, desperately, to obtain a copy!

Acquisitions: Over fifty volumes had been added to stock this year, including no less than twelve new publications written by members of the Society.

Other additions included foreign language editions, more biographies of contemporaries, and two Dissertations. A particularly exciting gift had been a copy of *The Love Sonnets of Proteus*, by Wilfrid Blunt, once owned by Rudyard's mother, Alice, and including a manuscript copy of her poem "To Proteus, on reading his Love Sonnets". The volume was donated by Tom Aitken of Perth, and was being transferred to the Special Collections section at the University of Sussex, for conservation and storage.

Ephemera Catalogue: The sorting, classifying and safe, separate storage of many years of cuttings, photographs, photocopies and correspondence was now almost complete. It was hoped that details could be included with the next version of the Library Catalogue, which was due this autumn.

Library Surplus Sale: Preparations for the Kent Conference had taken precedence over the proposed second sale of surplus stock. This would now be undertaken from February 2009.

Radio and Television Programming: The producers of "My Boy Jack" chose to limit research at the Library to some enquiries about costume.

Exhibitions: We had been able to supply a range of images, books and ephemera for the Imperial War Museum's very successful "My Boy Jack" exhibition. In addition, the Librarian was asked to give talks to visitors on the facts of the story.

War Poets Association: Links with other literary societies, such as the Wilfred Owen Association, and the David Jones Society, continued to be very useful. Members may be interested in the Ninth International Robert Graves Conference, in Oxford, from 9 to 13 September, and "Wilfred Owen 90 year on" in Shrewsbury during October. Further details were available on www.warpoets.org

Access at City University Library: The silent study room at Northampton Square was used each May for examinations. Although the staff at City Library were as helpful as possible, it was clear that increasing pressure on the space would mean difficulties for researchers over several more weeks next year.

Andrew Lycett asked that, as recent valuable acquisitions like *The Love Songs of Proteus* had gone to Sussex University, perhaps Sussex would be the best place for more of our books. Charles Allen agreed that things might be taken away easily as there was little supervision and the Chairman agreed that there was always that risk as the collection was uninsurable.

f) On Line Editor

John Radcliffe reported that visits to the web-site had continued the previous trend, down somewhat on the same period a year ago. We had a total of 76,494 visitors to the site in the year to the end of June 2008 (209 visitors a day) a reduction of some 19% on the previous year. He felt that this was probably due to the availability of a good deal of material on Kipling and his works on Google itself and on Wikipedia, the on-line encyclopedia. We continued to be the third ranked Kipling site on Google, after these two. The total number of visitors since launch was now 790,000. Over the past twelve months there had been 57 on line requests for membership forms.

John also reported that we had continued to develop the New Readers' Guide, and had annotated 288 of the 325 short stories, and three of the four novels. Of the non-fiction we had published notes by Thomas Pinney on *Something of Myself*, David Page was working his way through *From Sea to Sea*, Sharad Keskar had annotated *The Eyes of Asia*, and Alastair Wilson had covered *A Fleet in Being* and *Sea Warfare*. As a further general article Hugh Brogan had contributed an essay on "Kipling and History", and others are planned. The Kipling Journal archive continues to have good use, as does the Themes database. We hope to have completed notes on all the prose works by the end of 2009.

For the verse, 190 of the poems, have now annotated including new notes by Mary Hamer on *The Five Nations*. Roger Ayers was continuing his work on *Barrack Room Ballads*, and Roberta Baldi on *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses*. The Reader's Guide Group were still in the process of analysing the themes covered in the main poetry collections in order to create a 'themes database' for the verse.

John finished by saying that he was now reasonably confident of the feasibility of creating a searchable database of Kipling's prose and poetry, though detailed work is unlikely to proceed on this yet awhile.

g) Meetings Secretary

Andrew Lycett was glad to report that our meetings over the past year had been relatively easy to arrange and had taken place without hitch. He expressed his gratitude to the excellent speakers who had given up their time to talk to the Society.

He continued to seek out suitable speakers for our Society and was happy to report that we have a programme that takes us up to and including April 2009. Andrew announced that the vacant slot for the meeting on September 10 2008 had been filled by Professor Jan Montefiore of the University of Kent, who will be talking on the intriguingly titled "From the Cave-Woman's First Singing Magic to the Scout's Bacon and Eggs: Food, Cookery and Gender in Kipling's Tales".

Numbers attending the talks continued to be much the same i.e. an average of around 25-30. Consideration had been given to holding events at different times, but the consensus had been that our current slot of 6pm was a good one. We do however hope to extend the geographical range of our meetings.

With the help of Professor Danny Karlin at Sheffield University, we expect to hold a symposium in Sheffield next year.

h) Publicity Officer

Nothing to report.

12. Any Other Business

There were no items under this heading.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR TO 31 DECEMBER 2008

The Accounts for the year to 31 December, 2008 which follow have been prepared under the simplified format as the Society qualifies as a Small Charity under the Charity Commission's rules. These Accounts have not yet been scrutinised by the Society's Independent Financial Examiner.

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

- 1) The Society employs no paid staff, but the Society has engaged a professional accountant to provide accounting services to the Society. The fee paid for accountancy services included in the Administration costs for 2008 amounted to £459. The Society does not have a permanent office. All overhead costs are included as Administration expenses.
- 2) This includes miscellaneous receipts from sales of the *Journal*, advertising, etc.
- 3) A small amount of Subscription income has been received in advance, but this figure has not been included in "Creditors" as subscriptions received are not refundable to members. No amounts have been included in Subscriptions and Donations in respect of income tax recoverable on amounts which members have paid under "Gift Aid" rules. Tax claims are submitted for relevant tax years, and tax refunds will be included in each Receipts and Payments Account and identified separately when the refunds are received.
- 4) Payments for reimbursements of administration costs and other expenses of lectures and functions, etc., were made during the year to the Trustees: Mrs J.M. Keskar £768; R.C. Ayers £131; A. Lycett £309; J. Walker £471; F. Noah £214; J. Lambert £39. Amounts owing to Trustees at 31 December 2008 for other expenses incurred during 2008 are not included. No payments were made to J Radcliffe or D. Page this year.
- 5) During the year the Society donated £1,000 to the University of Sussex Library towards their purchase of the Kipling / Baldwin papers.

	<u>2008</u>	<u>2007</u>
6) Costs of programme of lectures and A.G.M.	£ 1,988	£ 1,858
Costs of special lectures, functions and events	£ <u>3,496</u>	£ <u>4,662</u>
	£ <u>5,484</u>	£ <u>6,520</u>

- 7) The Essay Competition for secondary school 6th-form students is being financed from the legacy left to the Society a few years ago by the late Mrs Eileen Stammers-Smith. The expenses incurred in 2008 related to the initial publicity costs and providing information to the schools.
- 8) Fixed assets are depreciated over 5 years at 20% p.a. *pro rata*, except that Library bookcases are depreciated at 10% *pro rata*.

Continued on page 67.

KIPLING SOCIETY YEAR ENDED

31 DECEMBER 2008

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

	2008		2007	
	£	£	£	£
Bank balances at 1 January 2008		80,072		77,794
<u>Income received in the year</u>				
Subscriptions and donations	14,861		13,491	
Special lectures, events and functions	2,996		4,607	
Bank interest	4,303		3,672	
Tax refunds on subscriptions and donations (including interest) (3)	888		0	
Sundry income (2)	120		114	
Sales of new and surplus library books	<u>369</u>		<u>672</u>	
Total Income received		23,537		22,556
<u>Deduct: Expenses paid in the year</u>				
Printing and despatch of <i>Journal</i>	7,403		7,353	
Costs of lectures, events and functions (6)	5,484		6,520	
Administration and sundry running costs of the Society (1) (4)	1,891		2,464	
Website, on-line expenses	1,108		1,736	
Bank charges	177		127	
Readers' Guide	534		286	
Donation (5)	1,000		0	
Essay Competition Expenses (7)	102		0	
Cost of new books sold	325		0	
Additions to books for Library	56		0	
Gifts to retiring Officers £160				
<u>Less</u> contributions of £(160)	0		0	
New computer and installation	803		0	
Kipling Conference at Kent University	<u>0</u>		<u>1,792</u>	
Total Expenditure		(18,883)		(20,278)
Bank balances at 31 December 2008		<u>£ 84,726</u>		<u>£ 80,072</u>

KIPLING SOCIETY YEAR ENDED

31 DECEMBER 2008

STATEMENTS OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

	2008	2007
	£	£
Assets		
Bank balances		
– Current account	6,839	3,729
– U.S. dollar account	1,453	1,078
– Euro account	223	54
– Deposit account [including Legacy £ 23,786 (7)]	76,211	75,211
	<u>84,726</u>	<u>80,072</u>
Debtors	1,115	1,163
Library and office fixtures, furniture and equipment		
– balance at year end (8)	<u>16,903</u>	<u>16,330</u>
Total assets	102,744	97,565
Deduct: Liabilities		
– creditors (3)	(2,370)	(244)
Net assets at		
31 December 2008	<u>£ 100,374</u>	<u>£ 97,321</u>

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS – *continued from page 65.*

8) Fixed assets at the year end –		
Library, including additions in the year		£ 14,731
Fixtures, furniture and equipment, library and offices –		
Cost, including additions	£ 10,839	
Depreciation at 1 January 2008	(8,308)	
Depreciation provision for 2008 not included in Receipts and Payments Account	<u>(359)</u>	
		<u>2,172</u>
Balance at 31 December 2008		<u>£ 16,903</u>

ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY

The Kipling Society is for anyone interested in the prose and verse, and the life and times, of Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). It is one of the most active and enduring literary societies in Britain and, as the only one which focuses on Kipling and his place in English Literature, attracts a world-wide membership. (Details from the Society's web-site and membership forms from the **Membership Secretary, Kipling Society, 31 Brookside, Billericay, Essex CM11 1DT**. The forms quote the minimum annual subscription rates. Some members contribute a little more.)

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

- maintaining a specialised Library in **City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB**,
- answering enquiries from the public (schools, publishers, writers and the media), and providing speakers on request,
- arranging a regular programme of lectures, and a formal Annual Luncheon with a Guest Speaker,
- running the web-site at **www.kipling.org.uk** for members of the Society and anyone else around the world with an interest in the life and work of Rudyard Kipling,
- and publishing the *Kipling Journal*, every quarter.

The *Journal* of the Society aims to entertain and inform. It is sent to subscribing paying members all over the world free of charge. This includes libraries, English Faculties, and 'Journal – only' members. Since 1927, the *Journal* has published important items by Kipling, not readily found elsewhere, valuable historical information, and literary comment by authorities in their field. By not being wholly academic, the *Journal* is representative of Kipling, whose own diverse interests and versatile talent covered a wide range of literary writing – letters, travel, prose and verse. For the serious scholar of Kipling, who cannot afford to overlook the *Journal*, a comprehensive index of the entire run since 1927 is available online to members or in our Library. Apply to: **The Librarian, Kipling Society, 72 Millbank, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9RG, England or email to jwalker@gmail.com**

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

MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION RATES

UK (payment by Standing Order)	£22	Joint £32
UK (payment by cheque)	£24	Joint £34
(Joint – two members, same address, one <i>Journal</i> .)		
UK Young Members (under 23)	£12	
Surface mail, worldwide	£26	US\$52
Airmail Europe	£26	€37
Airmail worldwide	£30	US\$60

Universities and libraries are £2 more than the corresponding individual rate.

Cheques are accepted made out to the Kipling Society and drawn on British banks in pounds, on US banks in dollars or on European banks in Euros. For other currencies please use either a Bank Draft or a Bank Transfer in pounds sterling. Transfers should be made to the Kipling Society account at Lloyds TSB, Old Bond Street, London, using our International Bank Account Number (IBAN) **GB18LOYD30962400114978** and the Bank Identity Code (BIC) **LOYDGB21014**.

Members who pay their subscriptions from UK taxed income may increase the value of their subscription to the Society by completing a Gift Aid Declaration, available from the Membership Secretary. This enables the Society to reclaim from H.M. Revenue and Customs the tax paid on subscriptions.

John Lambert, Membership Secretary, can be contacted at **31 Brookside, Billericay, Essex, CM11 1DT, U.K.**

or by e-mail: john.lambert1@btinternet.com