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The *Kipling Journal* is the quarterly magazine of the Kipling Society, a charity whose object is the advancement of public education by the promotion of the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling. The Journal is open to submissions of any length between 500 and 5000 words from students, scholars, professional academics, and Kipling enthusiasts. All articles are peer reviewed.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily correspond to those of the Editor or the Council of the Kipling Society.

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FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Our ‘hybrid’ meetings, followed by optional supper with the speaker, have been so successful that we shall continue to follow this model, except in September when we shall again take advantage of the World Wide Web to hold a live meeting online.

Wednesday 6 July 2022, 4.30 for 5 pm (5 pm BST online) Annual General Meeting in the Wrench Room, Royal Over-Seas League, followed by **Dr Sarah Shaw** of the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, speaking on a topic to be arranged.

Wednesday 21 Sept 2022, 6 pm Online meeting: **a conducted virtual tour of Bateman’s**. Zoom link to be sent out beforehand.

Wednesday 16 Nov 2022, 5.30 for 6 pm Wrench Room, Royal Over-Seas League, and streamed online. **Christopher Kreuzer** (University of Kent) speaking on ‘The King’s Pilgrimage (1922)’.

June 2022

Alex Bubb
(Meetings Secretary)

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EDITORIAL

This number begins, sadly with obituaries. In March 2022, the Society lost its distinguished former President Field Marshal Sir John Chapple. Our Librarian John Walker kindly wrote a brief personal memoir of Sir John just in time for this issue, to be followed by a full obituary in the September number. There is also an obituary by myself of our member Bruce Page, who died in March.

This issue, which also contains the July 2021 AGM Minutes and Accounts, has three articles about single works by Kipling. Two of these are companion pieces to articles in our previous number (389, March 2022). Sarah Shaw, who will address us after this year's A.G.M. on July 6th, follows her fascinating account of how the stories heard by the child Rudyard 'in the vernacular that one thought and dreamed in' from his *ayah* and beloved bearer Meeta, particularly the popular versions of stories from the Jâtaka, influenced the *Jungle Books* and the *Just-So Stories*. Now she addresses the great story 'The King's Ankus' and its relationship to an ancient Buddhist folk-tale. The focus shifts to *Kim* in Part 2 of David Richards' article on *Kim* and British and American intelligence services, fictional and real. Having dealt in March with Victorian India, he now traces in detail the novel's influence on Allen Dulles the director of the CIA, who connected Kipling's Great Game with the Cold War contest with the Soviet Union, on the spy Kim Philby, and on writers of spy thrillers: Ian Fleming, Lt Col John Masters, and especially John Le Carré.

In the late story *The Debt* (1930), Rudyard Kipling for once allowed himself to describe in detail the war cemeteries in France which were very close to his heart (he had visited them in 1922 as part of the 'King's Pilgrimage' and again in 1924 (see 'Motoring Tours' ed. Thomas Pinney, KJ 371, Dec 2017)). Originally given as a paper to the Kipling Society in 2019, my close reading of this comparatively little-known story traces its connections with Kipling's own childhood in Bombay, with the assassination of Viceroy Mayo in 1871, and to the post-War cemeteries whose beauty and dignity are lovingly described by a former Afghan veteran to a little English boy.

Andrew Scragg reviews here a new biography of Stephen Crane, whose connections with Kipling he has analysed in his article 'Stephen Crane and *The Light That Failed*' (KJ 387, KJ Sept 2021). And finally, Alastair Wilson gives us a splendid update of the Society's email discussion group 'The Mailbase', over the years 2021–2.

FIELD MARSHAL SIR JOHN CHAPPLE
G.C.B., C.B.E., D.L.
1931–2022

By JOHN WALKER

One of the undoubted advantages of becoming a member of the Kipling Society is the people you meet: the lifelong enthusiasts, those collectors with great eyes for detail, the men and women who have written on Kipling, lectured on his work, shared their knowledge with the world. We also value enormously those who can offer insights into the wider aspects of geography and history, science, the arts, and life experience. There was even a time when you could, like me, hope to talk to someone who had met Kipling. So many of our members have been, and are, great characters in their own right.

Sir John, for me and so many members of our Society, was the archetype and epitome of our membership. He had actually been introduced to Kipling, at the age of four, at Brown's Hotel, and was certainly collecting first editions from those long-lost shops in Charing Cross Road while still at school. That schooling was initially at Imperial Service College, and he told me that his grandmother had proposed the posting partly because it was the successor to Kipling's own United Services College. Fittingly once again, when he moved on to Haileybury and Imperial Service College, it was to join Kipling House. His books are now a key part of the selection in the Clock House at Haileybury, complementing the Society's own stock.

Sir John Chapple's career was, of course, illustrious. After National Service with the Royal Artillery, he read German and History at Trinity College, Cambridge before spending three years active service with the 2nd King Edward VII's Gurkha Rifles. After time with the British Army of the Rhine, he returned to the Rifles as a C.O.. By 1972, John was at Staff College, Camberley, and following service in Hong Kong, he returned to the U.K. to advise and command in steadily higher positions, culminating as Chief of the General Staff.

Military historians may wince at my brief summary of an exemplary career, but my intention was to emphasise the wisdom and experience that we appreciated so much in our President, from 2008 to 2011. His guidance in establishing a new home for our library at Haileybury was vital, and I was sincerely grateful to have John as a friend and example.

BRUCE PAGE 1936–2022

By JANET MONTEFIORE

The eminent reporter Bruce Page rose to distinction as part of the ‘Insight’ team of the pre-Murdoch *Sunday Times* edited by Harold Evans, which reported the truth about Kim Philby, Robert Maxwell, Bernie Cornfeld and most famously of all, the origins of the Thalidomide scandal, enabling its victims to be given decent compensation. He was above all an investigative journalist, though he thought all journalism should be investigative, arguing that ‘Not until a news organisation develops and consistently exercises the capacity to discern which sources of news (or policies) are corrupt, can it report events and offer useful interpretation.’ No reporter lived up better than Bruce to the motto ‘Run and find out’.

Bruce’s other passion was his lifelong love of literature, particularly the works of Kipling, which he could and did recite for pleasure, right to the end of his long life. For 20 years a member of the Society, his knowledge of Kipling was comprehensive. When I asked him to choose and comment on a poem for the December 2014 number of the *Kipling Journal* (no.358) themed on poetry, he chose one new to me, the little-known ‘Song of Seven Cities’, delighting in its ‘mighty, killer-diller line *And garrisoned by Amazons invincible in war.*’ He later contributed the excellent and characteristically well-researched article ‘The Treasure, the Law and the Prophet: Anti-Semitism, T.S.Eliot and Rudyard Kipling’ defending Kipling’s record in writing about Jews (no. 370, Sept 2017). It was entirely fitting that at his funeral in London’s Charterhouse Chapel, one of the poems read was Kipling’s ‘The Press’:

*As the war-horse snuffeth the battle afar,
The entered Soul, no less,
He saith ‘Ha! Ha!’ where the trumpets are,
And the thunders of the Press!*

THE KING'S ANKUS AND THE JATAKAS

By **DR SARAH SHAW**

Dr Sarah Shaw is a Member of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Oxford, and an Honorary Fellow of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies. This article is her second in the *Kipling Journal*, based on a talk organised by Indus Experiences and given to the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Alumni Travel Programme.

Kipling was profoundly influenced by the Jātakas and the Indian narrative traditions to which he was introduced by his ayah and his bearer as a child.¹ As we saw in the article in the last issue, animals in these tales exhibit many of the characteristics of the those in the *Jungle Book*: they talk and think 'like humans', they argue, demonstrate curious bursts of affection, tenderness and respect between species, and behave sometimes well, though of course just as often very badly.² Animals eat and kill each other too, just as in the natural world, and do their best to evade unhappy ends. In Jātakas, animals and humans are also likely to break out into verse, and deliver teachings to all willing to listen. Verses in Jātakas, like those in Kipling's stories, sometimes recount narrative, but often provide an emotional counterpoint to the action, a song-like chant expressing sentiments of the central characters, or general observations on the nature of the laws and principles underlying existence of all species, animal or human. Such stories express one overriding interest: *dharma*, a term that pervades the Indic religious and narrative traditions. Derived from the word to wear (*dhar*) it means variously law, the underlying principle of how phenomena in the universe operate, a set of religious observances or, primarily, a moral code.³ How should I live? How to survive and be ethical? In Indian stories, humorous musings on how to escape the latest threat to one's safety are important; but both animals and humans always return to *dharma* as their primary subject of conversation.

Kipling inherited a tradition of Indian story-telling, and while inventive in adapting it, he also seems to have had an unusually sharp memory for his early heritage as well as an ability to create works that borrow freely but adapt, with considerable authenticity, such sources for his own purposes. This latter ability seems also dependent on allowing the forms, meters and rhythms of an indigenous form to seep into his own style by a kind of empathetic osmosis. We have seen that in his 'Jātaka' in *Kim*, based so carefully on traditional models; as Kaori Nagai points out, the Jātakas have always evolved in this informal way.⁴ Janet Montefiore has also convincingly suggested, after extensive detective work, that the love song the narrator says he had heard on the

streets in 'Beyond the Pale'(1888) could be a composite construction on Kipling's part, in the style of Punjabi poets, yet finally his own.⁵ Kipling does sometimes give remarkably faithful accounts of earlier stories too.

'The King's Ankus', in *The Second Jungle Book*, is worth considering in detail, both for its vindication of *dharma*, such a central issue both to Kipling and the Indic story traditions, but also for the way that Kipling transforms key elements of earlier sources so effectively to suit his own purposes. He produces here a mythically powerful tale that still sits happily within the overall frame of Mowgli's often rowdily carefree adventures in the jungle.

'The King's Ankus' tells of Mowgli and Kaa visiting an underground treasure vault, long abandoned by the kings and men who had built the ruined city above it. In Jātaka fashion, the treasure is guarded by White Cobra, a whitened snake, who cannot acknowledge to himself that the peoples who gave him his task had long departed. The vault is filled with jewels, shows of wealth, jewelled sedan chairs and priceless gems, the paraphernalia of a sophisticated culture, now long gone, whose impermanence is marked by the disappearance of the great city above; Kipling takes a page to describe the various treasures that are spilt all over the ground. There is one object, an ankus, a jewelled elephant goad, which interests Mowgli. When he has picked it up, the cobra attacks him; Mowgli retaliates with the ankus, but sees the cobra's teeth, and hence his poison, have gone. The cobra lets him take the ankus, but warns him it brings Death. Mowgli soon loses interest in the object. He does not like its associations with cruelty to elephants, his friends. As it is not even very good as a knife, he soon throws it away. Bagheera tells him next day that a man has taken it. Other men are involved too, and, through carefully reading the signs of the struggles that litter the path, they work out that six men have been involved, all wanting the ankus, and all being murdered for it. The last has been poisoned, a murderer who himself did not realise his companion had poisoned him. Having regained the ankus, Mowgli sees its bad luck, and resolves to give it back to White Cobra. Two days later, White Cobra sees it again, hurled to his vault.

There are remarkable parallels here with Chaucer's 'The Pardoner's Tale', familiar to western readers and so thought by most to be Kipling's source. Here the Pardoner tells of three men in a tavern, who hear about a friend who has been killed by the 'thief', Death. They vow to find Death, and are told to look under a certain tree. There they find wonderful treasure. While one of the three goes to town to fetch food and drink the other two plot to kill him. Their fellow, who has gone to town, finds rat poison and puts it into their drink. The two

men kill the returning companion, and then die miserable deaths themselves, drinking the wine he has brought them. Because of this, modern criticism assumed Chaucer supplied the root story, but Kipling, when questioned about the affinity, was insistent:

Touching Chaucer and the motif of the King's Ankus – look up the fables of Pilpay or anything you can find that is more than 8000 BC. Chaucer was a parvenu. I don't remember when I didn't know the tale. Got it I suppose as a fairy tale from my nurse in Bombay.⁶

Kipling was largely right – though perhaps a few thousand years out! The tale travelled from India, to be changed and adapted by Chaucer into the 'The Pardoner's Tale'.⁷ Indeed in 1888 the Reverend Dr Richard Morris, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, had noted the striking resemblance between the incidents of the thieves killing each other for treasure in 'The Pardoner's Tale' and a Buddhist story, the *Vedabbha Jātaka* (J 48).⁸ This describes a brahmin who ignores his disciple's advice to refrain from using a mantra, which, if uttered during a particular configuration of the stars, brings down a rain of jewels. When captured by thieves, however, the brahmin says the mantra, and sets in train a series of murders motivated by greed for the treasure: he is killed for the jewels, while the thousand thieves who have the treasure split into two groups where one kills one another. Then the group divides again, and so on, until at the end two apparent confederates are left. They murder each other almost simultaneously, one stabbing the other, who has left him poison in his rice. These murders all leave a trail of clues, which the disciple, the Buddha in an earlier life, is able to read. In the manner of a modern detective story he can thus reconstruct the events that have taken place through his teacher's recklessness. The many shared features with 'The Pardoner's Tale' include burying treasure at the bottom of a tree, an apparent friendship that turns to ruthless murder, and the final near-simultaneous murders, one through stabbing and one through poison, though 'The Pardoner's Tale' involves three final protagonists. The aphorism that is announced at the end is, however, the same, in both cases delivered by a hypocrite. The thief, left to his own devices guarding the treasure in the *Jātaka* says: 'Greed, indeed, is the root of ruin'.⁹ The Pardoner twice piously asserts: '*Radix malorum est cupiditas*'.¹⁰ Chaucer skilfully invites the reader to draw their own conclusions through the ironic twist that it is the Pardoner, selling deliverance through dodgy holy relics, who delivers this homily. Chaucer's tale can be traced, through Arabic folklore, back to India, and the *Vedabbha Jātaka*.¹¹

Kipling's version is closer to the original Indian version, but is still a thoroughly Mowgli-type adventure. Like the Bodhisatta, the aspirant Buddha, Mowgli and Bagheera have to trace the trail of bloody evidence back to its conclusion, so allowing their understanding of the sequence of events to unfold gradually, in an excitingly gruesome way. Whereas 'The Pardoner's Tale' does not involve the extended crime reconstruction found in the Jātaka, Mowgli and Bagheera find the bodies one after the other, as the Bodhisatta does. So in both stories we have the benefit of likeable characters, who have not fallen prey to greed and hatred, sifting the evidence of their search in much the same way. Mowgli's search also serves as a terrifying reminder of the harm he too could have experienced if he had had a shred of greed to retain the ankus, hateful to him and Bagheera as linked to unnecessary force, excessive riches and the less savoury aspects of the world of men. Within the frame of reference of each of the three versions, one thing is clear: greed is the root of ruin. The Jātaka and 'The King's Ankus' provide us, however, with commentators who make vindication of this aphorism an exciting part of their search: they decipher these events as part of the story, with listener/reader close beside them.

Even here, however, Kipling shapes the material. The treasure is changed to an elephant goad, an interesting resonance with the elephant 'Jātaka' in *Kim*. Elephant goads, rubies, gold and fine craftsmanship are all irrelevant in the Jungle, particularly when, as Mowgli points out, an ankus is not even very useful as a knife. He is untouched by the desire to take, and hence is free from the apparent curse of the ankus. Kipling, interestingly, borrows freely from the sources that engendered the tale in the first place, but which were not involved in the original tale. In Buddhist narratives, *nāgas*, miraculous snakelike creatures in Jātakas, guard treasure underground and under water.¹² They have immensely long lifespans and memories: in the introduction to the *Jātakas*, Kāla, the *nāga* who lives in the river near where the Buddha has become enlightened remembers four earlier Buddhas becoming enlightened at exactly the same place, aeons ago.¹³ Such creatures do not feature in the *Vedabbha Jātaka* at all, but White Cobra is clearly a close relative. The python Kaa is also a little like such figures: at the beginning of the tale he is in a bad mood as he sheds his skin for the two hundredth time. In Kipling's tale there are no hypocritical assertions on the part of Mowgli or anyone else. Mowgli puts his survival down to his luck. But the reader, of course, realizes that it is his complete absence of greedy interest in the ankus that has protected him. Mowgli returns it at the end, throwing it down to the snake in his vault below. This is not in the Jātaka – the jewels fall from heaven in that tale – but here he acts wholly in the spirit of the Jātaka ethos, where, for instance, magical

jewels slip from one's fingers if greed is involved in catching them, and where generosity is the first and paramount virtue.¹⁴ Mowgli has an innate protection from any harm the ankus might bring as he is not motivated by greed in this instance; he just wants to get rid of something so obviously harmful and imbued with bad luck.

But is Kipling just rewriting an Indic story he remembered, in much the same form? Kipling is always authentic: we feel the truthfulness of his stories, whether borrowed, adapted or not. What is not always clear is where he is really deriving stories in 'intact' form, or where he is, in line with the ancient traditions of storytellers in those regions, composing his own, borrowing from older versions for inspiration and deploying their styles, motifs and content to suit his own authorial intent. 'Influence' is not really a term one can apply to the pool of South and Southeast Asian stories and the way they interreact within vernacular tales and popular art. Peter Skilling observes: 'Vernacular literature is in constant conversation with Pali and Sanskrit, with *nīti* [the Sanskrit study of ethics] and narrative, with deities and protectors, with rote and recitation, with rhythm and metre, with brush and trowel'¹⁵ The same rather applies to Kipling's use of such stories for his own purposes: his prime aim, like traditional Indic composers and tellers of tales, appears to be to find truthfulness in the themes and subject matter of the needs of the moment, not the *Ur* version of a much-circulated tale.

For Kipling's writing was shaped by other sources too. He shared, for instance, some contemporary western preoccupations, which also contribute to this tale. To my knowledge, the notion of an abandoned, decayed city, whose treasures are rendered useless in different times, is not a feature of Jātakas or traditional Indic stories generally. Possibly a culture so familiar with the rise and fall of cities and civilisations felt less inclined to focus on any one manifestation of urban decay. The trope became, however, a popular and powerful emblem for one of the central themes of western fiction in the 1890s: the fragility of the apparently civilized veneer of western life and its relationship to the darkness of the 'nether world' beneath. *The Second Jungle Book* was published as a book in 1895, the same year that H.G.Wells' *The Time Machine* appeared in its final version. In this story, the Time Traveller visits a future where human beings have bifurcated into two new species. The beautiful but frail Eloi, the remnants of the effete and affluent upper classes, are now pathetically weak and ignorant. They live above the ground, around the ruins of broken and useless urban environments. The Morlocks, the ugly, predatory descendants of down-trodden humans, live in darkness underneath them, and feed and prey on their earlier masters. One of the most powerful images of *The Time Machine* is that of the ruined public museum and library, 'The Palace

of Green Porcelain', above ground. It is filled with wonderful but now unrecognisable weapons and idols, along with mouldering books, the precious 'treasures' of another time.¹⁶ Kipling does not relate his ruined city to the cultures of the modern West – the people who once lived in his jungle city were powerful brahmins – but he too exposes the underbelly beneath 'civilised' human societies and their dwellings. The artefacts and objects precious to one human culture are rendered useless and irrelevant in new times and different contexts. Kipling dramatises this: the ankus is his symbol for the objects of our insatiable desire: 'the Eyes of Man', mentioned in the epigraph to the story.¹⁷ Kipling demonstrates, through Mowgli, a lack of attachment to the paraphernalia of societies in general, through attunement to what could be described as the laws of *dharma*. The exploration is conducted, however, entirely within the world of Mowgli's own *imaginaire*, and is true to him.

Kipling loved and heard Jātakas as a child. We do not know in what form: they are Buddhist in origin and the reasons for their resilience in a country where Buddhism ceased to be practised in a widespread manner in the twelfth century would itself offer a fascinating study. Still popular in India today, particularly in comics, these stories seem to have survived where the Buddhist tradition itself did not, in some form or another.¹⁸ He translates much of their structure and style into the contents of the *Jungle Books*. But he does so on his own terms, borrowing freely and adapting to suit the terms his story requires.

In a recent interview with Keith Moxey, art historian Partha Mitter criticizes the simplistic one-sidedness of so much of our modern analyses of relationships between east and west. Suggesting that we underestimate all involved cultures through this tendency, he offers this comment on possible ways ahead in post-colonial discourse:

Colonial discourse represents cultural intersections as a linear process. It's like the waterfall, ideas forever flowing downward from the West to the Rest, even though multidirectional flows of cultures have been a known fact of history. Suppose we look at such encounters as a product of reciprocity?¹⁹

In 'The King's Ankus', as in other stories, we feel that Kipling's imagination appears to have been irrigated by both eastern and western waters. This is no one-way traffic; apparent influences, eastern and western, are complicated by their own dynamics and their own often fluid and changing styles. Kipling pulls and adapts tales suitable for his own story and for his own characters, Mowgli, Kaa, and Bagheera, from very diversely watered pools. Mowgli is saved from the ankus' curse because he conforms to what one might term adherence to *dharma*:

lack of greed or desire to cause unnecessary harm, principles applicable anywhere. The story itself has been fed by many streams, themselves often far more complex than they first appear.

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NOTES

- 1 For an introduction to the genre and some translated tales, see Sarah Shaw, *The Jātakas; Birth Stories of the Bodhisatta*, Penguin Global Classic (New Delhi: Penguin 2006). Jātakas are cited by number in these notes (eg J 55). The full text used is that of the Pali Text Society, abbreviated as Ja.
- 2 See also Linda Shires, 'Kipling's Animal Worlds', *Victorian Review*, Fall 2020, vol. 46, 2020, 2: 210.
- 3 For examination of the Sanskrit and Pali term *dharma* see Patrick Olivelle, *The Dharmasūtras: the Law Codes of Ancient India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxxvii-xlii.
- 4 For discussion of some aspects of this, see Kaori Nagai, (2021a) ' "I have the Jātaka; and I have thee"; Fables and Kipling's political zoology', in Harish Trivedi and Janet Montefiore eds. *Kipling in India, India in Kipling* (Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge), 165–167.
- 5 In Janet Montefiore, 'Rudyard Kipling's Indian Love Lyrics,' Harish Trivedi and Janet Montefiore eds. *Kipling in India, India in Kipling* (Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, 2021), 91–104. I would like to thank Janet Montefiore for guidance in this article.
- 6 T. Pinney ed. *Letters of Rudyard Kipling Vol 3 1900–10*, Palgrave Macmillan 1996, 176. Pinney glosses *The Fables of Pilpay/Bidpai* as 'a collection of fables from the Sanskrit.' I am grateful to Janet Montefiore for providing me with this quote from Kipling and Pinney's comment. *The Fables of Pilpay* collection appears to be an Arabic reworking of the Indian *Pañcatantra* stories. For further discussion of Kipling's sentiments on the subject, see also Kaori Nagai, 2021, pp. 35–38.
- 7 *The Contemporary Review*, XXXIX (May 1881), p. 730. See also W.A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions, their Migrations and Transformations*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1887), II, pp. 379–407. The tale is listed by Stith Thompson under 'The treasure finders who murder each other' in *Motif Index of Folk Literature: a classification of narrative elements in folk tales, ballads, myths, fables, mediaeval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books and local legends*, (6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), 4: K, 1685.
- 8 For discussion of this, see Shaw, *Jātakas*, pp. 43–44.
- 9 *Lobho ca nām'esa vināsmūlam eva* (Ja 1:255).
- 10 See 'The Pardoner's Tale,' N. Coghill trans., *Canterbury Tales* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1951, reprint, 2001), 241. The Biblical original is well known: 'The love of money is the root of all evil': Timothy, 6, 10, KJV.
- 11 Of the many versions, see, for instance, 'The Merchant and Two Sharpers,' in night 152 of the *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (R.F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, 10 vols, London: Burton, 1885), 3:158.
- 12 See the discussion about the *Campeyya Jātaka* (J 506) in Shaw, *Jātakas*, 158–162.
- 13 He only wakes when he hears the clink of the Buddha's golden bowl plunging into the river: 'For to him all the time during which the earth emerged and filled the sky...was just like yesterday and today.' (Ja 1:70).
- 14 See, for instance, *Mahosadha Jātaka* (J 546; Ja 5:404–5). See also Appleton and Shaw, *Ten Great Birth Stories*, 1:277, n.90, for the inability of the person with an unskilful mind to keep magical jewels.

- 15 Skilling applies comments on early Siam to South and Southeast Asia generally. See 'King Rāma I and Wat Cetuphon: the Buddha Sāsana in Early Bangkok', in Peter Skilling et al ed. *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm), 336.
- 16 H.G.Wells, *The Time Machine: an Invention*, London: Heinemann 1895, 108–122.
- 17 'These are the Four that are never content, that have never been filled since the Dews began,/Jacala's mouth, and the glut of the Kite, and the hands of the Ape, and the Eyes of Man.' Kipling *The Jungle Books* p.226, based on *Proverbs* 30, 15–16. Jacala is a crocodile.
- 18 For modern examples, see for instance, Meera Ugra (2003) *Jātaka Tales: The Magic Chant and other Stories*, with artwork by Ram Waerker (Mumbai: India Book House Pvt. Ltd).
- 19 Partha Mitter and Keith Moxey (2013) 'A Virtual Cosmopolis: Partha Mitter in Conversation with Keith Moxey,' *The Art Bulletin*, 1 September 2013, vol. 95, 3:381–392.

KIPLING'S KIM, THE GREAT GAME, AND REAL SPIES – PART TWO

By DAVID ALAN RICHARDS

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“It’s nothing but a complicated game, really. But then, so’s international politics, diplomacy – all the trappings of nationalism and the power complex that goes on between countries. Nobody will stop playing the game. It’s like the hunting instinct.”

Ian Fleming, *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1967)

Kim as a novel and its boy hero, at the story’s end the newly-fledged member of the “Ethnological Service” which was the cover name for the book’s fictional spy network, were both mightily admired by men who became real spies, to the point of taking *Kim*’s name. These included not only Britons, but Americans.

Of the officers of the OSS and the CIA, it has been fairly said by the intelligence historian Thomas Powers:

They tended to be white Anglo-Saxon politicians from families with old money, at least at the beginning, and they somehow inherited traditional British attitudes toward the colored races of the world – not the pukka sahib arrogance of the Indian raj, but the fascination and condescension of men like T. E. Lawrence, who were enthusiastic partisans of alien cultures into which they dipped for a time and rarely doubted their ability to help, until it was too late.¹

Allen Dulles (1893–1969, the younger brother of Eisenhower’s Secretary of State John Foster Dulles), who after World War Two service in Switzerland with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) running an espionage network, served as the deputy director of the OSS’s successor the Central Intelligence Agency, and then, from 1953 to 1961, as that service’s most important director in the CIA’s first half-century. For him, Kipling’s Great Game was “a renewed contest with Soviet Russia following the Second World War for control of the entire globe that Dulles pursued with a patriot’s devotion, an appetite for combat, and an elastic sense of the permissible,” in a Cold War that began on 17 May 1945 and lasted until the Berlin Wall came down on 9 November 1989.²

A Princeton graduate and Presbyterian, he had early in his career spent a year teaching English in an Indian mission school in Allahabad (now Prayagraj), where Kipling had once worked as a journalist, and Dulles attended meetings of the anticolonial movement, meeting Molit Nehru and his son Jawaharlal, the future prime minister, just back from Cambridge University. He first read *Kim* in 1914 sailing toward India to take up that teaching post, and kept it with him his whole life: this well-worn copy was on his bedside table when he died. Later in his career, when a guest lecturer at Yale, he acted Colonel Creighton (one agency nickname for the director was “the great white case officer”), meeting with a large group of students interested in a career with the CIA, using the Corporation Room in Yale’s headquarters building Woodbridge Hall.³

One of Dulles’s favorite officers was Theodore Roosevelt’s grandson Kermit “Kim” Roosevelt Jr. (1916–2000), a Harvard-educated Arabist, and a Kipling devotee.⁴ His father, the first Kermit, as a fourteen-year-old in 1903 – just two years after *Kim*’s publication – accompanied President Roosevelt on a trip to the Badlands, where TR in 1884 had become friends with Sheriff Seth Bullock (made newly famous in this century by the television series “Deadwood”). Bullock nicknamed the boy “Kim” because he reminded the lawman of the “Little Friend of All the World” of the same age in Kipling’s novel. “Kim” became thereafter the standard nickname for the generations of Kermits in the Roosevelt clan.⁵ Kipling and Theodore Roosevelt were friends, and his son Kermit Sr. had visited the author at Bateman’s before the U.S. entered the First World War,⁶ so the nickname could not have been displeasing.

Roosevelt, editor of the OSS’s official two-volume history, moved with many of its officers directly into the CIA, joining its Office of Policy Coordination. In his book of 1949, *Arabs, Oil and History*, he urged payback for Soviet expansion of minority discontents in the West by using Afghanistan as the springboard for sowing discord in Soviet Central Asia and the Russian Caucasus – the very reverse of the Russian Empire’s 19th century strategy against the British. Assigned to Egypt, he aided in that country’s army’s move to carry out the Free Officers coup d’état in 1952 which installed Gamal Abdel Nasser, part of Roosevelt’s strategic notion, as the Cold War gathered momentum, of America forming an alliance with Arab countries as they emerged from under the sway of Britain and France. More famously, or notoriously, Kim Roosevelt was the architect of the CIA’s successful effort to overthrow Mohammed Mosaddegh, the Majlis-appointed leader of Iran, in August 1953, installing in his place Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the consequences of which still poison Iranian-American relations.⁷

Dulles's tenure and his fascination with *Kim* cast a long shadow. When the British military historian John Keegan visited the Central Intelligence Agency headquarters at Langley, Virginia in 1984, what impressed him most was its resemblance to British India's Political and Secret Service in the days of the Raj. He wrote in his book *Warpaths*: "Vietnam was our Raj,' one of its old field hands once said to me. The CIA does indeed carry on the traditions of the Indian Political Service, the ethos of *Kim* and the Great Game....Mediation between the old power of the Anglo-Saxon world and the new is the CIA's calling. It has assumed the mantle once worn by Kim's masters as if it were a seamless garment."⁸

One final American intelligence agent must be mentioned, Edward Lansdale (1908–1987): a former air force officer, CIA operative from 1950 through 1956, and another favored lieutenant of Allen Dulles, he had masterminded the defeat of the Huk Rebellion, a communist uprising in the Philippines, and engineered the election victory of his friend Ramon Magsaysay as that country's president in the early 1950's. Sent to Saigon in 1954, Lansdale guided another neophyte leader on behalf of the CIA, Ngo Dinh Diem. He organized teams to carry out secret operations in North Vietnam, encouraged anti-Communist Catholics to emigrate south, and scouted out possible leaders among the competing private armies and local strongmen of Saigon and its surroundings before settling on Diem.⁹

Uniting this complex portfolio, in Lansdale's mind, was the inspiring figure of Rudyard Kipling. "Vietnam was so filled with the arcane," he wrote in his memoir *In the Midst of Wars*, "that I used to advise Americans to read Kipling's *Kim* and pay heed to the description of young Kimball O'Hara's counterintelligence training in the awareness of illusions." Lurgan's game of jewels, adopted by Baden-Powell for the Boy Scouts, was now used to train American operatives performing Lansdale's intelligence operations in North Vietnam.¹⁰

The two figures whose novels about spies did not make them "spy novelists", but whose influence created the anxiety under which later thriller writers labored, were Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad. The heroic romance of adventure, of spying in defense of the Empire, comes from Kipling's *Kim* (1901), and the cynical, realistic story of intrigue, betrayal and double agents was established by Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907). The game is central to the thriller: "'The Great Game', Kipling's term for the secret service in *Kim*, fitted the boy's fantasy of living between two cultures, English and Indian, a sort of double agent without the anxiety of the Cold War, but it also stuck as a term for espionage in succeeding thrillers."¹¹

Kipling's younger contemporary, that servant of empire John Buchan (1875–1940), has been called “the father of the modern spy thriller... [whose books] are about the penetration of the enemy, about lonely escape and wild journeys, about the thin veneer that stands between civilization and barbarism even in the most elegant drawing-room in London.”¹² Working over Kipling in Britain's World War One propaganda bureau as its Director of Information, Buchan was also a fellow member of Rudyard's London dining clubs, and they shared A. P. Watt as their literary agent. In Buchan's series of what he called “shockers”, he developed one Kim-like hero, Sandy Arbuthnot, an accomplished linguist and master of disguise.¹³

After his *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915), Buchan's second most well-known thriller is *Greenmantle* (1916), which indeed was his best-selling book¹⁴. It features both Richard Hannay of the first book and Sandy Arbuthnot, who goes East as a dancing dervish, like the disguised Daniel Dravot leaving for Kafiristan in Kipling's story “The Man Who Would Be King.” Describing Arbuthnot, Hannay reflects smugly: “We call ourselves insular, but the truth is that we [English] are the only race on earth that can produce men capable of getting inside the skin of remote peoples.”¹⁵ (In *Kim*, the teenager is disguised by a prostitute “dabbing a twist of cloth into a little saucer of brown dye that holds longer than walnut juice.”¹⁶)

Greenmantle, in which Germany makes use of a Muslim prophet in a plot to destroy Britain's empire, is in some sense Buchan's *Kim*. A new and more sinister Great Game commenced with the beginning of World War One in 1914, masterminded in Berlin but unleashed from Constantinople, in the form of a Holy War against the British in India and the Russians in Central Asia, fought out between the intelligence services of the King, the Kaiser, the Sultan, and the Tsar. Buchan was then closely involved in intelligence work, and had ready access to the secret reports of German activity in the East.¹⁷

In *Greenmantle*, Sir Walter Bullivant, Permanent Secretary to the Foreign Office and employer of secret agents, briefs Richard Hannay, with whom he had worked in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, and the echoes of the old sub-continental contest and of Kipling's Mahbub Ali are hard to miss:

It is a *great game*, and you are the man for it, no doubt...I have reports from agents everywhere – pedlars in South Russia, *Afghan horse-dealers*, Turcoman merchants, pilgrims on the road to Mecca...as well as respectable Consuls who use cyphers. They tell the same story. The East is waiting for a revelation. Some star... is coming out of the West. The Germans know, and that is the card with which they are going to astonish the world.¹⁸

The premier historian of this actual conflict in the First World War, Peter Hopkirk, notes that the German strategy of a drive to the East, the *Drang nach Osten*, took in the whole of British India and Burma, where Berlin hoped, with the aid of smuggled arms, funds, and crates of revolutionary literature smuggled into India behind the innocuous dust-wrappers of English classics, to foment violent revolutionary uprisings among the restive natives, whether Muslims, Sikhs or Hindus¹⁹ – one of the aims of the feckless spies foiled by Hurree and Kim four decades (in fictional time) before.

Another favorite author of Allen Dulles was Ian Fleming. Dulles asked his CIA technical division to duplicate some of the gadgets that Fleming's hero James Bond used, politically wooed Jack Kennedy by sending copies of new Bond novels as soon as he got his hands on them to the senator and his wife (Jackie had given Dulles Fleming's *From Russia With Love* in the first place), and included a Fleming yarn in his book *Great Spy Stories*.²⁰ Fleming (1908–1964) never announced an affection for Kipling. Nevertheless, in his creation of the greatest code name ever for the modern spy, "007", he was almost certainly channeling Kipling's use of the masking number for the secret agent (Lurgan Sahib, in first speaking of the Bengali babu, tells Kim that "he has no name, but only a number and a letter – that is a custom among us," a designation for which Kim immediately yearns.)²¹

The origins of the double 00 title may date to Fleming's wartime service: agents of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) were given an "0" prefix when they became "zero-rated" upon completion of training in how to kill. Bond's 00 number was awarded to him because he twice killed in fulfilling assignments. In the first of the series, *Casino Royal*, the 00 concept is introduced; in the second, *Live and Let Die*, the 00 number designates a past killing, and not until the third, *Moonraker*, does the 00 number designate a license to kill. We are a long way from Agent R.17, "the obese Babu" Hurree Chunder Mookerjee.

Nevertheless, the use of a code number by Fleming seems clearly derived from *Kim*. Because survey work undertaken by the pundits employed by the British as surveyors and spies could extend up to and beyond the frontier and their lives might be in danger, secrecy was necessary, so they were known by code names such as "the Mullah", "the Mirza", and "the Munshee". When their organizer, British Army Captain T. G. Montgomerie, began publishing their reports in the Royal Geographical Society *Journal*, code names were employed, often simply initials or numbers: "No. 1", "the Patwar" or "GM", the "Third Pundit" or "GK", and "Krishna" or "AK". Kipling borrowed the idea of code-names from the *Journal* accounts.²² In *Kim*, Mahbub Ali is C.25, Hurree is R.17, and the Maratha whom Kim helps to disguise is E23.

Lt. Colonel John Masters (1914–1983) was a regular officer of the British Army, fighting in World War Two with the Chindits in Burma after pre-war service on India's North-West frontier with the Gurkha Rifles. The best-known of his historical novels about India, *Bhowani Junction*, became a successful film in 1956 with Ava Gardner and Stewart Granger, and one Indian novelist, Kushwant Singh, remarked that while Kipling understood India, Masters (who was in the fifth generation of his family to serve in India, and late in life discovered he had a distant Indian ancestor) understood Indians.²³

Masters's historical novels attempt to trace the history of the British in India through the life of one family, the Savages. One of these, clearly influenced by *Kim*, was *The Lotus and the Wind* (1953), a tale of the Great Game set in 1879–1880 on this author's well-remembered North-West frontier where "Russians and Indians and Englishmen struggled and maneuvered". The book puts in the heroine's father's mouth Kim's retort to the Afghan horse trader Mahbub Ali: "Trust a snake before a woman, and a woman before a Pathan;" the hero, a British soldier-turned-spy, disguises himself as an Afghan horse trader, and makes contact with another in the spy network, "Yakub the jeweller," who like Lurgan Sahib has "semi-precious stones in a tray near the front of the shop".²⁴ *Autre temps, autre mœurs*: one of Masters's last novels was *The Himalayan Concerto* (1976), a Cold War thriller about spying on a planned invasion of India by the *Chinese*.

The greatest British spy novelist of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, John Le Carré (1931–2020), a veteran of both MI5 and MI6 who depicted their characteristics in his fictional "Circus", was more interested in internal treachery within the secret service or between rival nations' intelligence services – a ruthless, impersonal, cerebral contest – than in great power border contentions abroad, but he was fascinated with *Kim*. As one literary critic has observed, "References, muted and ironic, are frequent within his novels of the Circus".²⁵ Like Kipling's, his fictive imagination was inspired by contemporary history: Le Carré's principal hero-villains, Bill Haydon of *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* and Magnus Pym of *A Perfect Spy*, are both based partly on the notorious British traitor and KGB double agent Harold Adrian Russell "Kim" Philby. (Notably, the charming Magnus Pym has a last name which rhymes with the teen-age Kim's, and to be "the perfect spy" is to deceive even oneself with the sincerity of one's playacting.)

Indeed, Kim Philby might be said to have been constructed along the lines of Kipling's teenage hero. He was born in 1912 in Ambala in the Punjab, one of the fictitious Kim's haunts, of British parentage, and earned his nickname for his baby fluency in Punjabi. Years later in

Moscow, after resigning from MI6 under suspicion in 1951 and later fleeing to Russia, after belated exposure as “the Third Man”, one of the Cambridge Five with Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean, Philby explained:

I spent more time with the servants and other Indians than I did with my own parents, so I soon picked up some words in Punjabi. One day my father came into the kitchen and heard me chattering away. “Good heavens,” he said, “He’s a real little Kim.” Everyone began calling me Kim and the name stuck.”²⁶

This is too simple an explanation. His father, H. St. John Philby (1885–1960), later famous for his career in the Middle East, was a self-dramatizing Indian Civil Service officer who first lived and worked in the Punjab and Lahore where *Kim* is set. He gave the boy his nickname at age two in 1914, and in the words of the pair’s dual biographer:

The name touched the British heart. It meant something in the Raj and other official classes: the young man on duty on the frontiers of the empire; the subaltern working for the common good, that of the Occident and the Orient, in the foothills of the Himalayas. It had something imperial and admirable about it. No other name of the period had such resonance, for it bespoke romance and adventure in distant parts.²⁷

Philby’s chief in MI6 was Sir Steward Menzies, known as “C” (transmuted to “M” in Fleming’s Bond novels). In a reminiscence published in *The Times* at Menzies’s death, an Eton schoolmate recollected that their housemaster at that school, Edward Impey, “had a profound love and admiration for the works of Kipling and Co. and *Kim*. Had the book played its part in Philby’s appointment to the secret service?”²⁸ When Russian cables from 1945 were decoded in the frantic search for the Cambridge spies’ Third Man, Philby’s code name was, jarringly, “Stanley”.²⁹

According to Le Carré’s extended analysis of Kim Philby and his father, “He could hardly fail, when his father delivered him over to the Establishment for his education to feel already that he was being trained in the enemy camp. Like Kipling’s boy, one feels, he was already waiting for the call: *‘It was intrigue, of course – he knew that much, he had known all evil since he could speak – but what he loved was the game for its own sake – the stealthy prowling through the dark gullies and lanes...’*”³⁰ Le Carré does *not* reveal here that he is quoting from *Kim* itself: the boy delighted, wrote Kipling, in “the stealthy prowling through

the dark gullies and lanes, the crawl up a water pipe, . . . and the headlong flight from housetop to housetop under cover of the hot dark."³¹ Not only is Philby the model for the traitor Bill Haydon in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, but in that novel, retired MI6 agent-turned-preparatory school teacher Jim Prideaux reads Buchan to the boys in their dormitory, and uses little Bill Roach to spy for him, as Mahbub Ali uses Kim, giving the boy purpose because he's "a good watcher", who by his vigilance helps protect Prideaux from strangers on the school grounds, as Kim saves Mabub Ali from would-be assassins.³²

Le Carré's *Our Game*, published in America in April 1995 and the following month in Britain, in its title alone invoked *Kim*. The story is about a former British intelligence operative, now a university professor, and his former M16 handler, now a retired Treasury boffin; by the end both Britons end up with AK-47s joining the rebels in Ingushetia in the Caucasus. In his review for *The New Yorker*, John Updike found echoes of Kipling. *Our Game* took him back "to Victorian times, when the great multicolored globe existed as a vast playing field on which truehearted Englishmen could chase their personal rainbows while the picturesque heathen cheered."³³ Kipling's influence is to be found, too, in *The Secret Pilgrim* (1990), linked short stories in the manner of Somerset Maugham's *Ashenden: Or The British Agent* (1927). Le Carré's provisional title for this book was "Plain Tales from the Circus," an allusion to Kipling's *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888).³⁴

In words he put into the voice of Lurgan Sahib speaking to Kim, Kipling wrote: "From time to time, God causes men to be born – and thou art one of them – who have a lust to go abroad at the risk of their lives and discover news – today it may be far-off things, tomorrow of some hidden mountain, and the next day of some near-by men who have done a foolishness against the State. These souls are very few . . ." ³⁵ Despite the relief the British Foreign Office felt in Kipling's fictional portrayal of their competence in espionage (as described in Part One of this two-part article), the author was not so much interested in depicting historically the operations of its secret service in India during the period of some five years covered in *Kim*, as he was in using that organization (if it even might be called that at the time)³⁶ as a metaphor for secret service in defiance of the disorder, darkness, and meaninglessness that constantly threaten to engulf humankind.

As previously described, the organized spy service of the Great Game in *Kim* "is almost entirely Kipling's invention." There was no "intelligence service, nor an Ethnographical Department; there was only a governmental task force called 'Survey of India' that was entrusted with the task of charting all India in response to a typically English anxiety of control."³⁷ In this sense, Kipling's Ethnographical

Department is as invented as Le Carré's "the Circus". *Kim* is not in the end not so much about the glory of the British Empire as about the wonder of the human spirit of heroism.³⁸ One commentator on *Kim* has presciently observed:

[S]ecret agents, and for that matter diplomats, are aware of a number of truths that are hidden from the general public, and so their outlook is lucid and disenchanting. In fact, those who handle top secrets are supposedly entrusted by the common people with the task of managing them on their behalf, like modern secular priests. Only exceptional people achieve enlightenment, like [Kim's lama] Teshoo, and only exceptional people become members of the Great Game, as Creighton tells Kim on introducing Hurree Babu.³⁹

Lurgan Sahib's "very few" can see beyond the conditioning effect of identities that constrain outsiders. Their transcending of these bounds is made possible by their understanding of their own and others' nature, and by the depth of their characterization.⁴⁰ Mahbub Ali describes that gift to Colonel Creighton in the simile he favors: "'As regards that young horse,' said Mahbub, 'I say that when a colt is born to be a polo-pony, closely following the ball without teaching – when such a colt *knows the game by divination* – then I say it is a great wrong to break that colt to a heavy cart, Sahib.'"⁴¹ In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt observed:

Playing the Great Game, a man may feel as though he lives the only life worthwhile because he had been stripped of everything which may still be considered to be accessory. Life itself seems to be left, in a fantastically intensified purity, when man has cut himself from all ordinary social ties, family, regular occupation, a definite goal, ambitions, and the guarded place in a community to which he belongs by birth.⁴²

Bonamy Dobrée, one of Kipling's most perceptive critics, put it more simply: "Man is playing a Great Game of 'to be or not to be' in the face of an indifferent universe."⁴³

Mahbub Ali also tells Colonel Creighton of the boy, "When he comes to the Great Game he must go alone – alone, and at the peril of his head. *Then*, if he spits, or sneezes, or sits down other than as the people do whom he watches, he may be slain." In the next chapter Kim tells Mahbub Ali, "I see my road all clear before me in a good service."⁴⁴ Kim seems to perceive that he is being initiated into a select, elite, and secret society for whom unselfish service to others even in the

face of possible death is paramount, spying not for patriotism, nor for pay (“the pay is the least part of the work.”⁷⁴⁵). He has been prepared by his instructors to embody the intellectual strength and moral standing to handle truths that are above other people, be they practical or spiritual.

In his *Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order*, the late former diplomat and Yale historian of grand strategy Charles Hill writes about Kim’s Great Game:

It is a “game,” but it is deadly serious as well, a Hobbesian war of all against all epitomized when Russian and French agents viciously beat up the lama. The empire must be protected by espionage in the first instance, by war if it must come to that.⁴⁶

A game is finally simply a game, and no matter how seriously the Great Game may be taken by the players, an adult will always know the ultimate inconclusiveness, if not futility – the frequent loss, if not tragedy – of such an enterprise. “When everyone is dead the Great Game is finished. Not before.”⁷⁴⁷ It is the appeal of spy novels today, to their readers, and to spies.

We might conclude with the sobering reflection of one of our greatest modern military historians, John Keegan, about the urgent need of modern espionage services to combat foreign terrorist cells:

The challenge will cast the agencies back into the methods which have come to appear outdated, even primitive, in the age of satellite surveillance and computer decryption. Kipling’s Kim, who has survived into modern times only as the delightful literary creation of a master novelist, may come to provide a model of the anti-fundamentalist agent, with his ability to shed his European identity and to pass convincingly as a Muslim message-carrier, Hindu gallant and Buddhist holy-man’s hanger-on, far superior to any holder of a Ph.D. in higher mathematics.⁴⁸

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NOTES

- 1 Thomas Powers, *Intelligence Wars* p. 44.
- 2 Powers, pp. 45–46, 128. Nine months before, on 15 February 1989, the Soviets pulled their last troops out of Afghanistan.
- 3 Powers, p. 56; Kinzer, *The Brothers*, pp. 19–20; Gross, *Gentleman Spy*, pp. 18–21; Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown*, pp. 15, 20–22, 54–55. Yet another historian has noted that at the time Dulles discovered the thrill of espionage when serving as Third Secretary in Bern, Switzerland in 1917, he grew his “flat black Kipling-esque moustache...across his long upper lip”: Hersh, *The Old Boys*), p. 21.
- 4 Meyer, *The Dust of Empire* p. 118.
- 5 Kermit Roosevelt, Jr., *The Happy Hunting Grounds*, pp. 165, 167, and, on “Little Friend of All the World,” personal communication to the author from Kermit Roosevelt III, now Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania.

- 6 David Alan Richards, "Rudyard Kipling and the Roosevelts," *Kipling Journal*, December 2020, pp. 45–53; Christopher Benfey, *If: The Untold Story of Kipling's American Years* pp. 206–207.
- 7 Scott Anderson, *The Quiet Americans* pp. 322–325; Hugh Wilford, *America's Great Game* Roosevelt's cooperation in Iran with MI6 is discussed in John Prados, "The Anglo-American Special Relationship in Intelligence", in Wm. Roger Lewis, ed., *Effervescent Adventures* pp. 130–131.
- 8 John Keegan, *Warpaths* pp. 53–54.
- 9 Anderson, pp. 126–138, 218–280, 345–366, 380–427. Lansdale was the model for the hero Colonel Edwin Hillandale in Lederer and Burdick's 1958 novel *The Ugly American*, a copy of which was sent to every member of the U.S. Senate by Senator John Kennedy, who later used it as inspiration to create the Peace Corps. Max Boot, *The Road Not Taken*, pp. 325–327.
- 10 Edwin Lansdale, *In the Midst of Wars* p. 243; Richard Drinnon, *Facing West*, pp. 385–387.
- 11 Michael Denning, *Cover Stories* pp. 26, 32 (emphasis in original).
- 12 Robin Winks, ed., introduction to *John Buchan: The Four Adventures of Richard Hannay*, p. xi.
- 13 On Buchan and Kipling, see David Alan Richards, "Kipling and the Propagandists", *Kipling Journal*, July 2017, pp. 17–22.
- 14 Andrew Lownie, *John Buchan*, p. 139.
- 15 Kipling on Dravot in *Wee Willie Winkie* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 220; Buchan in *Greenmantle* (London: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 25. Richard Osborne's *Clubland Heroes* describes (on p. 117) fourteen recorded disguises of Arbuthnot to be found in Buchan's novels, including the "Turkish gipsy dancer".
- 16 Kipling ed. Said., p. 174. "A popular stereotype in British fiction, which has continued to thrive until the present day," writes Francis G. Hutchins in *The Illusion of Permanence*, "is the Englishman elaborately stained with walnut juice who can pass with complete freedom and anonymity along the byways of Indian society. This genre appealed to the British presumption that Indian society had no secrets from them." (p. 87)
- 17 Peter Hopkirk, *Like Hidden Fire* pp. 5–6, 195, 201–202, 276–277. There are parallels between his novel and the relevant chapter in Buchan's 24-volume *History of the War*, according to Lownie, p. 139.
- 18 John Buchan, *Greenmantle* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981), pp. 11, 14–15, emphasis supplied. Similarly, in a very different series, the faux-historical Flashman novels by George MacDonald Fraser, in *Flashman in the Great Game*, the Russian spy Count Nicholas Ignatieff "came over the Khyber disguised as an Afridi horse-coper" (p. 31).
- 19 Hopkirk, *Like Hidden Fire*, pp. 2–3.
- 20 Gross, pp. 491, 494–495; Kinzer, pp. 274; Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995), p. 406, also noting that Fleming called Dulles his "Agent 008" (p. 418).
- 21 Kipling ed. Said pp. 208–209. Kipling's short story "007" collected in *The Day's Work* (1898) is about a locomotive with that designation, and seems to have no connection with Fleming.

- 22 Meyer and Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows*, pp. 212, 2211 see also, Karen Piper, “Pundit A and the Trans-Himalayan Surveys” in Piper, *Cartographic Fictions*, pp. 41–61, and Derek Waller, *The Pundits*, pp. 193, 201–08.
- 23 John Masters, *Pilgrim Son*, p. 348; see generally, John Clay, *John Masters: a regimented life* (London: Michael Joseph, 1992).
- 24 John Masters, *The Lotus and the Wind* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1956), pp. 33, 22, 130, 133, 137; in *Kim*: “Trust a Brahmin before a snake, a snake before a harlot, and an harlot before a Pathan, Mahbub Ali.” Edward Said, ed., *Kim* (London: Penguin, 1987), p. 158.
- 25 Judith Plotz, “The Empire of Youth” p. 129, note 3.
- 26 Philip Knightly, *The Master Spy: The Story of Kim Philby* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 24.
- 27 Anthony Cave Brown, *Treason In the Blood: H. St. John Philby, Kim Philby, and the Spy Case of the Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), pp. 14–15.
- 28 Cave Brown, p. 585.
- 29 Powers, p. 113.
- 30 Bruce Page, David Leitch, and Philip Knightly, *The Philby*, introduction by John Le Carré, pp. 4–5, italics in original. The leitmotif of this book is the affinity between Kipling’s Kim and Kim Philby.
- 31 Said ed., p. 51. At another point in the novel, Kim rejoices that “The housetops of his search should be half India” (p. 210).
- 32 Anthony Masters, pp. 229–235; John Le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 10, 122–123, 285.
- 33 John Updike, “Le Carré’s Game,” *The New Yorker*, 20 March 1995, *Our Game* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2017, pp. 336–337) relates a prophecy “widely believed in Sufist circles ever since the nineteenth century when the Imam Shaml sent letters to your Queen Victoria, that the Russian Empire will one day collapse and the North Caucasus, including Ingushetia and Chechenia, will come under the rule of the British sovereigns.”
- 34 Adam Sisman, *John Le Carré: The Biography* (New York: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2015), p. 472. In *Ashenden*, R. says to Ashenden of a Mexican spy, “He hasn’t had the advantages of a public-school education. His ideas of playing the game are not quite the same as yours or mine.”
- 35 Kipling ed. Said., p. 209.
- 36 See David Alan Richards, “Kipling’s Kim, The Great Game, and the Real Spies – Part One”, *Kipling Journal* 389, March 2022 pp. 20–33. The intelligence chiefs in Whitehall and Calcutta were almost entirely dependent on the St. Petersburg newspapers for knowledge of the latest movements of the advancing Tsarist armies in Central Asia. The true identities of the pundits – the models for the fictional spy Hurree Mookerji – may have been protected by code names, but their clandestine work was hardly secret, since their reports were regularly published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and enthusiastically read not only in London but in Paris, Berlin – and St. Petersburg (Meyer and Brysac, p. 221).
- 37 Allesandro Vescovi, “Beyond East and West: the Meaning and Significance of *Kim*’s Great Game,” at p. 12 in *Other Modernities* (May 2014), published by the University of Milan, <https://doi.org/10.13130/2035-7680/4040>. A similar conclusion was reached earlier by Gerald Morgan in “Myth and Reality in the Great Game,” *Asian Affairs*, Vol. LX (new series, vol. IV part 1), February 1973, p. 62.

The maximum number of pundits was a mere dozen. To be fair about the “typical English anxiety of control,” consider Viceroy of India Lord Curzon’s observations in his 1907 Romanes Lecture at Oxford: “Frontiers are the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the issue of war or peace and the life of nations. Frontiers are the chief anxiety of nearly every Foreign Office in the civilized world, and are the subject of four out of every five political treaties or conventions that are concluded.” *Frontiers: The Romanes Lecture, 1907. Delivered in the Sheldonian Theater, Oxford, November 2, 1907* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

- 38 Dillingham, p. 240.
- 39 Vescovi, p. 18.
- 40 David Sergeant, *Kipling’s Art of Fiction*, pp. 178–179.
- 41 Kipling ed. Said, p. 161, emphasis supplied. In the 1951 movie version on the novel, this line is spoken virtually verbatim by Errol Flynn as Mabub Ali.
- 42 Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* p. 217.
- 43 Dobrée, quoted in Roger Lancelyn Green, ed., *Kipling: The Critical Heritage* p. 343.
- 44 Kipling ed. Said, pp. 177, 183.
- 45 Kipling ed. Said p. 209. In his story “The Children of the Zodiac”, Kipling establishes the epiphany for the central male figure Leo that “serving others has everything to do with the dreadful realization (amounting almost to a preoccupation) of one’s mortality because such willful unselfishness and self-abnegation defy ‘normal’ reactions to the horror accompanying a *memento mori*.” Dillingham, p. 55. Leo dies knowing he has taught humankind that “whatever comes or does not come, we men must not be afraid.”
- 46 Charles Hill, *Grand Strategies: Literature, Statecraft, and World Order* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 273.
- 47 Hurree Mookerjee to Kim in Kipling ed. Said., p. 270.
- 48 John Keegan, , pp. 317–318.

MEMBERSHIP NOTES

June 2022

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- Mr. Peter ANWYL-HARRIS (*Kent, UK*)
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Membership Secretary

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THE MAYO ASSASSINATION AND THE WAR GRAVES: KIPLING'S LAST RAJ STORY

By JANET MONTEFIORE

[Janet Montefiore is Editor of the *Kipling Journal*, author of *Rudyard Kipling* (2007) and editor of *In Time's Eye: Essays on Rudyard Kipling* (2013) and, with Harish Trivedi, *Kipling in India: India in Kipling* (2020).]

In Kipling's late story *The Debt* (1930, collected in *Limits and Renewals*, 1932), the Afghan convict 'One Three Two' tells the story of King George V's kindly act during his 1922 tour of the War Graves in France, when His Majesty ordered a convalescent British general to put his 'Baritish warrum'¹ overcoat over his dress uniform against a cold wind. I begin, however, with a much earlier event, the assassination of Lord Mayo the Viceroy of India in 1872. This is mentioned at the start of Kipling's memoir *Something of Myself*: 'The Mother sang wonderful songs at a black piano and would go out to Big Dinners. Once she came back, very quickly, and told me, still awake, that the "Big Lord Sahib" had been killed and there was to be no Big Dinner. This was Lord Mayo, assassinated by a native. Meeta explained afterwards that he had been "hit with a knife."² This vivid scene actually comes from Kipling's own imagination. He had lost Meeta, his beloved bearer, when he and his sister Trix were exiled to the Southsea 'House of Desolation', several months before Lord Mayo was killed on 8th February 1872.³ Although Kipling doesn't say so, the Mayo assassination turned out to be an important event for his family because it led to the foundation by public subscription of the Mayo School of Arts at Lahore, in memory of the dead Viceroy. Rudyard's father Lockwood Kipling, till then an art teacher in Bombay, was appointed as the Mayo School of Art's first Principal. Although (or perhaps because) Lockwood and Alice Kipling indirectly benefited from the event, the shock of hearing the news clearly stuck in their memories, and it was probably from listening to his parents' conversations after he rejoined them in Lahore in 1882 as a cub reporter on the *Civil and Military Gazette*, that Rudyard Kipling came to believe that he too had heard about the assassination on the day it happened. That a writer usually so knowledgeable about the differences between Indian ethnic groups should describe the assassin as a 'native', the catch-all colonial word for any dark-skinned subject, shows just how traumatic this event was for the Anglo-Indian community into which Kipling was born, for whom the assassination of Queen Victoria's personal representative was simply an inexplicable act of violence by a racial inferior.

That 'native', the Afridi Sher Ali Khan, was in fact a former soldier of the Queen, an orderly of the Commissioner of Peshawar, and a decorated soldier of the Indian Army, before he was convicted of murder and sent to the much-feared penal colony of the Andaman Islands, known as the *Kalapani* or Black Water. He killed Lord Mayo on His Excellency's official visit in 1872 to the Andamans, where Mayo planned to increase the number of convicts to 20,000 so as to make the penal colony self-supporting (presumably by forced convict labour). As Nadeem Omar Tarar has explained:

Employed with the Punjab Mounted Police, Sher Ali had served the British officers well in the Ambala campaign in 1863, against the followers of Sayyed Ahmad Brailwi, the 19th century Wahhabi leader. He was sentenced to life imprisonment on account of a murder which he had committed in Peshawar Cantonment, as part of a hereditary blood feud. Given his decorated career in the colonial army, he expected to be released without charge, as he had committed no crime against the British. In killing his kin, he was following a tribal custom permissible within the framework of customary law in the Punjab; but since the murder was committed in the British territory, he was held guilty of violating the rule of British law. Unexpectedly for him, the court sentenced him to the death penalty, which was later changed to life imprisonment at *Kalapani*. In 1869, he reached the Andaman Islands to serve his sentence. Over the next two years, he had behaved well at the prison, and had been placed among the ticket-of-leave convicts at Port Blair. But he did not forget his revenge; he had already made up his mind to kill 'some European of high rank' to restore his honour. Nobody knew that his target would be a Viceroy, the highest ranking officer in the British Empire.⁴

What has Sher Ali to do either with Kipling's *The Debt* or the War Graves in France? The answer lies in the back-story of the convict known as 'One Three Two' who tells the story of King George and the General to his six-year-old protégé William, son of the Doctor of his North Indian gaol,⁵ and to Mahmud, *darzi* (tailor) to the Doctor's family. Before the story begins, we learn that

One Three Two was a 'lifer', who had unluckily shot a kinsman a little the wrong side of the British frontier. The killing was a matter he could no more have shirked than an Englishman his club dues. The error in geography came from a head-wound picked up at Festubert, which had affected his co-ordinations. But the judge who

tried the case made no allowance, and One Three Two only escaped the gallows on an appeal engineered and financed by the Colonel and officers of his old regiment, which he had left after twenty years of spotless service and a pension, and – as was pointed out at his trial – urgent private affairs to settle.

His prison duties – he had been a non-commissioned officer – were to oversee the convicts working in the Doctor's garden, where, bit by bit, he took it he took it upon his battered and dishonoured head to be William's bodyguard or, as he called it, 'sacrifice'. Few people are more faithful to such trusts than the man of one fair killing, and William made him chief of all his court, with the honorary title of *Busi-bandah*, which means much the same as 'Goosey-gander.' (w)

The parallels between One Three Two, formerly Zuhar Khan (211) and Sher Ali Khan, are striking. Like Ali Khan, Kipling's convict is a 'hard-bitten Afridi from the Khaiber hills' (209) and a former soldier who has served the British with credit before committing murder in a hereditary blood feud on British-ruled territory. We learn later that during One Three Two's war service, in addition to the serious head wound he suffered at the Battle of Festubert (1915), he lost two toes through frostbite (215), and that he had 'dug my Captain, who is now Colonel, out of some ground that fell upon him' while serving 'in Frangistan (France)'. (212) His act of murder was, like Sher Ali's, one which among his own people was no crime but an obligation comparable to a gentleman 'paying his club dues.' The great difference, of course, is that 'One Three Two' has been helped by the officers of his regiment who financed his appeal against the death sentence ('My Colonel spent money like water on lawyers and lying witnesses for my sake' (212)), and that he is completely loyal to the distant 'Padishah' (Emperor), as he calls King George. Sher Ali, not treated leniently after his loyal war service, violently revenged himself on Queen Victoria's direct representative the Viceroy.

The Colonel's support of his former NCO has gone beyond financial generosity. As One Three Two tells William, the story of George V and the General was originally witnessed by 'my Colonel', who told it 'to comfort my heart' (213). Moreover, after One Three Two's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, he has been treated very gently; far from being sent to the terrible *Kalapani*, he works in the Doctor's garden. He supervises convict inferiors and takes care of his beloved little William, much as Kipling's bearer Meeta had once looked after Ruddy Baba, while chatting with Mahmud the tailor, and does not

return to his cell until William's parents return after dark, at the end of the story. This is about as mild a punishment as imprisonment can be.

One Three Two's story and his conversations with Mahmud and William constitute only the 'frame' story of *The Debt*, whose core is the anecdote about George V. But, unusually for Kipling, this outward shell, occupying nearly six of the tale's eleven pages, is quite as important as the very small kernel it encloses, for One Three Two's leisurely narration makes the telling and its teller and carry at least as much meaning as the story. Before unpacking these meanings, however, I return to George V and his 1922 tour of the war graves in France, called by Kipling the 'King's Pilgrimage' and commemorated by him in a poem of the same title. Here are the verses about the King's journey:

And the first land he found, it was shoal and banky ground,
Where the broader seas begin,
And a pale tide grieving at the harbour-mouth
Where they worked the death-ships in.
And there was neither gull on the wing,
Nor wave that could not tell
Of the bodies that were buckled in the life-buoy's ring
That slid from swell to swell.

*All that they had they gave- they gave- and they shall not return,
For these are those who have no graves where any heart shall
mourn.*

And the next land he found, it was low and hollow ground-
Where once the cities stood,
But the man-high thistle had been master of it all,
Or the bulrush by the flood.
And there was neither blade of grass
Nor lone star in the sky,
But shook to see some spirit pass
And took its agony.

And the next land he found, it was bare and hilly ground-
Where once the bread-corn grew,
But the fields were cankered and the water was defiled,
And the trees were riven through.
And there was neither paved highway,
Nor secret path in the wood,
But had borne its weight of the broken clay
And darkened 'neath the blood.

*Father and mother they put aside, and the nearer love also,
An hundred thousand men who died whose graves shall no man
know.*⁶

By choosing a ballad form (more or less) for ‘The King’s Pilgrimage’, Kipling made the poem as un-individualised and as communal as possible. Yet it is not impersonal; the images of drowned bodies, death agonies and ‘broken clay’ and the italicised lines about the uncounted dead, show how close to his heart was this royal ‘pilgrimage’. We know how much the War Graves meant to Kipling, and that he was closely involved with the King’s tour – and not only because of his work as one of the War Graves Commissioners, and his post-war motor tours to France when he inspected the graves (and recorded his findings in diaries which Alastair Wilson has edited for the Society’s website). He was present when the King delivered the moving speech at the close of his tour, which Kipling himself had written for him, and as he told his daughter, he had seen and heard the King ‘making the General put on his “British warm” at an inspection in France before he would allow him even to salute.’⁷ He knew King George V personally, having helped him during the War with letters to bereaved families of officers, and as the ‘the only writer whose company the King enjoyed,’ he dined at Buckingham Palace and was invited to Balmoral. He would write the text of the first royal speech ever to be broadcast on Christmas Day, 1932, and according to one biographer ‘wept as he heard his own words’ spoken by the King on the radio.⁸ When King George was ill with pneumonia in November 1928, when the action of ‘The Debt’ takes place, Rudyard and Carrie Kipling must have listened to those radio bulletins about the King’s progress which small William translates into Urdu for One Three Two and Mahmud, probably discussing the news as anxiously as do the two fictional Indians.

WILLIAM, PUNCH AND RUDDY BABA

Kipling was an ageing man when he wrote *The Debt*, but its frame-story goes back to his own early childhood. His 1930 letter from Sussex to his little godson Bonar Sykes, son of the Governor of Bombay and born like William in 1922, shows Kipling’s mind running on his early Indian memories:

We have been having rain and floods. How do you like the noise of the rain in the Monsoon? I used to lie awake listening to it till I fell asleep. *Do* go and look at the house where I was little. I think it is still there. Tell me if it is. It is very small. A hen chased me once on the Esplanade and I remember that it looked to me as big

as a donkey ... Have you eaten sugar-cane yet? And do you like mangoes? ... What is your bearer's name? Mine was called Meta. He was a Surti.⁹

Since this letter is dated 4 January 1930, Kipling probably wrote it either just before or while he was writing 'The Debt,' which he finished and dispatched to *Liberty* magazine before setting off on 6 February with Carrie, on their cruise to Bermuda.¹⁰ Both his own bearer Meta and the incident of the hen would reappear a few years later in *Something of Myself*, and when Kipling created little William playing in his parents' garden in the care of One Three Two, he clearly drew on memories of being a child looked after by loving Indian servants. As in *Something of Myself*, the boy's mother is a somewhat distant figure, appearing only at the story's end to ask 'Shall I hear your prayers, little man?' (218). But William is anything but neglected. Tired of playing while the adults talk with 'my blue buttony-bokkus', Mahmud's 'lovely, old, lacquered Kashmiri pen-case where oddments were kept' (209–10), he imperiously demands attention:

William had suddenly shut the pencase. 'Enough,' he said. 'Bring again my *eskootah*, Busi-Bandah. I will be a horseman. I will play polo.'

Now little snakes, which have a habit of coming out on damp garden-paths, cast no warning shadow when a low sun is blinded by thick mango-trees.

'It is brought,' said One Three Two; but in place of getting it he said to Mahmud: 'While he rides, I will tell thee a tale of the Padishah which my Colonel told me.'

'No! Let be my *eskootah*. I will listen to that tale. Make my place!' said William.

It was not five steps to the man's side, but by the time William had taken them, an inviting lap awaited him, into which he dropped, his left cheek on the right shoulder in its prison blanket, his right hand twined in the beard, and the rest of him relaxed along the curve of the right arm.

'Begin, Busi-Bandah,' he commanded from off his throne. (212–12).

The princely little Sahib deferred to by Indian adults, and the physical intimacy, ease and tenderness which the men show him in a land where all children are loved and cosseted, recall the brief paradisaical opening of 'Baa Baa, Black Sheep'¹¹ when Punch (a.k.a. Ruddy) is put to bed by 'the ayah and the *hamal* and Meta, the big Surti boy, with the red

and gold turban.’ Punch demands ‘the story about the Ranees that was turned into a tiger. Meeta must tell it, and the *hamal* shall hide behind the curtains and make tiger-noises at the proper time.’ The story is duly told, and the ayah tells Punch that he’s about to leave her and go away.

‘Up the Ghauts in a train?’ said Punch, standing on his bed. ‘All the way to Nassick, where the Ranees-Tiger lives?’

‘Not to Nassick this year, little Sahib,’ said Meeta, lifting him on his shoulder. ‘Down to the sea where the coconuts are thrown, and across the sea in a big ship. Will you take Meeta with you, to *Belait*?’

‘You shall all come,’ said Punch, from the height of Meeta’s strong arms. ‘Meeta and the ayah and the *hamal* and Bhini-in-the-garden, and the salaam-Captain-sahib-snake-man.’

There was no mockery in Meeta’s voice when he said ‘Great is the Sahib’s favour’ and laid the little man on the bed while the ayah, sitting in the moonlight in the doorway, lulled him to sleep.¹²

In both scenes, the Indian servants skilfully manage the child without ordering him. An English nanny would have told Punch ‘Lie down and go to sleep’, whereas Meeta picks him up, cuddles him, listens to his command and lays him down ‘without mockery.’ An English governess would likewise have told William ‘You mustn’t go on the path’, probably warning him against poisonous snakes; One Three Two feigns obedience but announces that he’s going to tell a story, cleverly distracting the child from dangerous play. Both William and Punch converse with the Indian servants in what Kipling called ‘the vernacular’ (in this story, probably Urdu). This very last Raj story by Kipling (*pace* the late Charles Allen who claimed that title for *The Eyes of Asia*, 2016),¹³ shows us the world of Indian Muslims as Kipling knew them: their gentleness to small children, the fierceness and loyalty of Afghan soldiers, the way Mahmud the household’s *darzi*, who holds the seam of the dress he is sewing ‘between his toes’ (208),¹⁴ also doubles as ‘Imam or leader of the little mud mosque of the village by the Gaol gates, where he preached on Fridays’ (209). Mahmud can also cast fortunes, using his expertise in the complicated Muslim astrological system known as the ‘Names’:

The Koran discourages magic, but it is lawful to consult the Names of Allah according to a system called the Abjad, in which each letter of the Arabic alphabet carries one of the nine-and-ninety names of God beginning with that letter. Each Name has its arbitrary Number, Quality, Element, Zodiacal sign, Planet and so forth. These tables

are written out and often used as amulets. Even William, who thought he knew everything, did not know that Mahmud had sewn an Abjad into the collar of his cold-weather dressing-gown. (210)

The tone of this exposition is much the same as in the description of an 'object-letter' and the accompanying explanation of how to decode it in Kipling's 1886 story 'Beyond the Pale.' (Indian colleagues have confirmed that in both these stories, Kipling got the authenticating details right.)¹⁵ Even more significant is the apparently casual remark that the murder which turned the NCO Zuhar Khan into the convict One Three Two was a binding obligation like paying one's 'club dues.' (207) Kipling had already handled this topic in the 1912 story 'In the Presence', in which the officers and Chaplain of a Sikh regiment discuss outstanding acts of piety and fortitude by serving soldiers. One, evoked in the story's title, is that of the Gurkha soldiers at King Edward VII's funeral whose honour and loyalty compelled them to stand with bent heads, for longer than any other troops, during the King's lying-in-state at Westminster Abbey, suffering for hours the torment of watching the 'unendurable procession of feet from the knee down, that never – never – never stops!'¹⁶ But this tale of honourable endurance is preceded by the 'Regimental Chaplain's' proud account of the exemplary revenge taken by two 'well-conducted men', Rutton and Attar Singh, on their mother's family who had contested their inheritance and persecuted their farmer brothers. After correctly obtaining leave from their Regiment, these heroes borrowed a gun with cartridges (for whose subsequent return, together with three rupees to cover the cost of ammunition, they had scrupulously arranged), and died after killing and wounding 'twenty-seven – all their mother's kin, male and female'¹⁷. Similarly in the bloodthirsty story 'A Private Account' (1916), the third tale in *The Eyes of Asia*, a family 'three and a half miles across the Border – Kohar way' read and discuss a letter from a soldier son serving in France who advises his parents and brother how to conduct their ongoing blood feud, and then describes in detail his experience of war in France, the terror of mass slaughter in the trench battles, the customs of French people and their indiscriminate hatred of Germans, a model which he bids his family follow against their own enemies, who have 'taken refuge on the Government side of the Border' where the law protects them. He recommends undertaking reprisals against their families: 'Even up the account from the nearest household of our enemies ... Let it be *any* life.'¹⁸

In both these tales, Kipling's stance is, one might say, anthropological; he represents these gory feuds as perfectly normal for the societies where the tales are set. When he collected 'In the Presence' in

A Diversity of Creatures, Kipling followed it with the poem 'Jobson's Amen', which opposes a xenophobic speaker horrified by difference ('*Blesséd be the English and everything they own,/ Curséd be the Infidels who bow to wood and stone!*')¹⁹ to Jobson who knows and loves the foreign peoples whose customs appal the other speaker. These killings by Sikhs or Afghans in pursuit of blood feuds are represented as obligatory, excusable, and not in conflict with the native soldiers' duty and loyalty to the British King and Empire. 'Few people are more faithful ... than the man of *one fair killing*' (*The Debt* 207, my italics). This is very different from the handling of an 'honour' killing in Kipling's early monologue *Dray Wara Yow Dee* (1888), whose deranged speaker, having killed and mutilated his unfaithful wife, is now pursuing his own cuckoldry with the obsessional hatred of a madman or damned soul. For early and late Kipling alike, the savagery of blood feuds, however 'justly' pursued, implicitly justifies the rule of the British Empire enforcing its *Pax Britannica*.

That said, blood feuds in *The Debt* are very much in the background, emerging only when One Three Two/ Zuhar Khan mentions his near-execution, and when he insists that since a death must be paid for with a death, saving a life means that one's own life will be saved, and therefore the Padishah *will* recover from his illness as payment for having saved the convalescent General's life. 'It was a fair blood-debt between a man and a man. The life of that General is owing to the Padishah. I hold it will be paid to him, and that the Padishah will live.' (228).

'THE PEOPLE OF THE GRAVES'

Far more important than One Three Two's crime is the long account of the King's action and the lead-up to it, including the fact that 'my Colonel told it me to comfort my heart'. Why should this story of George V's kindness to an English General in a war cemetery which the storyteller has never seen and never will see, be a 'comfort'? Surely because One Three Two the War veteran, though now 'only a convict' (212), is still in heart and mind a loyal soldier of the King, for whom the dead lying orderly in their graves are soldiers awaiting 'an inspection, with all gear laid out on the cots' (215). It is therefore a solace for him to hear from the Colonel whom he has faithfully served (and saved) through the War, that the British Empire and its monarch do value the Indian troops who have served them on the Western Front as One Three Two did, that those who died there are buried with honour, and that the Padishah, the King-Emperor himself, came to pay ceremonial tribute to 'the People of the Graves'. It also matters to this old soldier that it was in the graveyard where 'our own people – Mussulmans for the most part' (215) were buried, that the General waited to greet his

sovereign. In One Three Two's mind, the King's care for his subordinate's health ('By Allah, O man, I conjure thee to put on that coat in one breath! This is no season to catch sickness' (216)), evidently matches his own Colonel's support for him in his misfortune and disgrace. This, I think, is the connexion between the story and the ballad 'Akhbar's Bridge' which follows it, about a very different act of kindness by a great man to his social inferior. When the great Mogul Emperor Akbar, 'Guardian of Mankind,' walks *incognito* beside the river Goomti, a cross old working woman orders him to ferry her across. Akhbar does so, but the ungrateful old lady abuses him as an 'Ox who cannot row', curses Munim Khan, his fool of a Viceroy who 'Must build a mosque to Allah when a bridge is all we need'; when Akhbar laughs, she actually scratches his face bloody for mocking her. Yet the great Emperor disregards this outrageous *lèse-majesté* and takes her advice, ordering Munim Khan to 'build the hag her bridge.'²⁰ The vast social distance between the Emperor and the ancient 'Widow of the Potter', least and meanest of all his subjects, mirrors the gulf between King George V and the convict One Three Two who was once Rissaldur Zuhar Khan. Both story and poem commemorate a great and wise ruler's generosity to his subjects.

Yet the finest part of 'The Debt' is not the King's words to the General, but One Three Two's preceding account of the beauty and dignity of the cemeteries, rendered with the lyrical eloquence and formalised syntax which Kipling gives to his 'vernacular' storytellers:²¹

'... And to each man was his tomb, with his name, rank, and service cut in white stone, all one pattern, whether he had been General or Sweeper – Sahib – Mussulman – Yahudi – Hubashi – or heathen. My Colonel told me that the burial-places resembled walled towns, divided by paths, and planted with trees and flowers, where all the world might come and walk.'

'On Fridays,' murmured William. Friday is the day when Muhammedan families visit their dead. He had often begged afternoons off for servants to go there.

'And every day. And when all was done, and the People of the Graves were laid at ease and in honour, it pleased the Padishah to cross the little water between Belait and Frangistan, and look upon them. He said, "Let there be neither music nor elephants nor princes about my way, nor at my stirrup. For it is a pilgrimage. I go to salute the People of the Graves." Then he went over. And where he saw his dead laid in multitudes, there he drew rein; there he saluted; there he laid flowers upon great stones after the custom of his people. And for that matter,' One Three Two addressed Mahmud, 'so do our women

on Fridays. Yes, and the old women and the little staring children of Frangistan pressed him close, as he halted among the bricks and rubble and ashes and the broken wood of the towns which had been killed in the War.'

'Killed in the War,' William answered vaguely.

'But the People of the Graves waited behind their white walls, among the grass and flowers – orderly in their lines – as it were an inspection with all gear set out on the cots. ... And at the last, and at the last, was a narrow cemetery, walled with high walls, entered by one door in a corner. Yes, like this Gaol-Khana. ... And so to this narrow, high-walled burial place of the one gate came a General-Sahib, sworded and spurred, with many medals, to wait the Padishah's coming.' (214–15).

This is a post-war story, full of 'modern' details. William listens to the news from the wireless, known to him as 'the Bokkus' (209) and rides his scooter, where a Victorian child would have rolled a hoop.²² His father smokes cigarettes (207) not cheroots, his mother wears short skirts (207), and both return from their tennis party (208) in a motor car, the sound of which warns One Three Two to return to the gaol (218). On the other hand, no one in this story has ever heard of Indian nationalism. There is no Congress Party, no Amritsar massacre, no Mohandras Gandhi; it is all one long Raj afternoon. The two Indian characters are loyal servants of an idealised British Empire whose justice is tempered with mercy, the gaol even boasting a Doctor to treat the inmates (even if he does disappear with his wife to play tennis). This is not merely a rose-coloured vision of British India but a censored one, omitting not only Indian nationalism but the penal colony of the Andaman Islands, where One Three Two's probable original Sher Ali Khan served his sentence and murdered the Viceroy. By the time *Limits and Renewals* appeared in 1932, the British had built the infamous Cellular Jail in that same town, to punish nationalists as well as common criminals with its notoriously harsh regime of solitary confinement and forced labour.

All this is unknown to Kipling's imagined Indians, who feel only loyalty and gratitude to the 'Padishah' and 'the things he does daily, in his power.' (226). Yet 'The Debt' is not sentimental, and not only because both the deadly snakes in the garden and the 'little black shed' containing a gallows perched on the gaol's roof, which William knows all about although 'no one had ever told him what it was for,' (212) remind us that India is not all sunshine, mango trees and kindly storytellers. At the centre of this story is the trauma of the Great War, of which William, born 1922, is as yet barely aware. The War has indirectly destroyed the life of One Three Two through the head wound

which ‘affected his co-ordinations’ [i.e. left him with brain damage], causing the ‘error in geography’ (207) which let him kill his man in British territory where this was a crime. Much worse, the War has transformed millions of lively young men (including Kipling’s only son, though of course the story doesn’t say so), into the silent ‘People of the Graves’. ‘The Debt’ is thus a sunset story, and not only in the literal sense that it begins in mid-afternoon and ends in ‘full dark.’ (218) King George V the all-powerful ‘Padishah’ was like Kipling an ageing man, and although One Three Two, like all foretellers in Kipling’s fiction, will be proved right that the ‘Padishah’ will not die of his illness (‘The Debt’ was written after the King had recovered), his death nonetheless cannot be many years off; as it turned out, George V and Kipling would both die in January 1936. One Three Two’s real life of action and comradeship is over; however easy his life as a prisoner, he will never have a son of his own and will die in gaol. His companion ‘old Mahmud’ (208) with his ‘big, silver-black beard’ (213), who has worked for William’s family for three generations, is likewise in the evening of his life. The six-year-old William may look like a charmed exception to this rule, but his sheltered life as little prince of the garden is drawing to its end. He does not know this, any more than Punch at the opening of ‘Baa Baa, Black Sheep’ knew that he was about to lose his beloved Meeta forever; but once he turns seven, the ‘little man’ will be sent to England to be turned into a conventional English public schoolboy of the kind Kipling had written bitterly about in ‘The Waster’ (1925):

From the date when the doors of his prep-school close
 On the lonely little son,
 He is taught by precept, insult and blows,
 The Things That Are Never Done.²³

Those ‘things that are never done’ quite certainly include conversing in Urdu with ‘native’ servants, and falling asleep in the lap of an Afghan convict.

John Kipling never seems far away when Kipling writes about the war dead. If his presence is to be felt anywhere in this story, it is in the silent ‘People of the Graves’, whose title recalls the ‘People of the Hills’, those vanished Faeries of post-Reformation England described in *Puck of Pook’s Hill* to Dan (John) and Una (Elsie Kipling).²⁴ But perhaps Kipling’s memory of telling stories to a sleepy small boy may lie behind William’s poignant unawareness of the catastrophic War underlying One Three Two’s narrative. The consequence of those mass deaths may prove momentous for the grown-up William, but the child hears only a bedtime story of the King riding past ‘the bricks and rubble

and ashes and the broken wood of the towns which had been killed in the War.’

‘Killed in the War,’ William answered vaguely. (214)

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NOTES

- 1 Kipling ‘The Debt’, *Limits and Renewals* p. 214. References in the text are to this edition. A ‘British warm’ was a military greatcoat for officers.
- 2 Kipling *Something of Myself* p. 7.
- 3 According to Andrew Lycett, the Kipling parents took their children to the Holloways’ house in Southsea on 1st October 1871, four months before Lord Mayo was murdered (Lycett p.45).
- 4 Nadeem Omar Tarar, ‘John Lockwood Kipling, Ram Singh and the Mayo School of Arts’ 8–10 (KJ 377, May 2018. 7–22).
- 5 Kipling’s ‘Indian’ fictions are nearly always set in North India, and the ‘cold-weather dressing-gown’ (215) which Mahmud puts over William at nightfall clinches this.
- 6 Kipling ‘The King’s Pilgrimage’, *Works of Rudyard Kipling* (Ware, Wordsworth 2010) pp. 805–6.
- 7 Pinney ed. *Letters of Rudyard Kipling vol VI*, pp 22–3 (letter to Elsie Bambridge)

- 8 David Gilmour p. 308.
- 9 Pinney ed. *Letters of Rudyard Kipling Vol V*, p.519: letter to Bonar Sykes. (As in ‘Baa Baa, Black Sheep’, Kipling writes ‘Surti’ for ‘Surati’.)
- 10 ‘The Debt’ first appeared in *Liberty* magazine in April 1930 (NRG). For the date of the Kiplings’ departure to Bermuda, see Lycett p. 755. Kipling wrote to Elsie on 30 January 1930 from London (Pinney ed. *Letters of Rudyard Kipling V*, 520), having presumably sent off the story before leaving Sussex.
- 11 As in *Something of Myself*, the boy’s mother is a somewhat distant presence; although she goes out to play tennis rather than to attend a Big Dinner.
- 12 Kipling ‘Baa Baa, Black Sheep’, p 290.
- 13 Charles Allen, ‘Rudyard Kipling and Indian Troops in the Great War,’ 11–12.
- 14 C.f. Lockwood Kipling’s drawing of a cross-legged Punjabi wood-carver holding a panel between his toes where an English carpenter would use a vice: the frontispiece of Bryant & Webers (eds.) *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts of the Punjab*, based on the exhibition of the same title at the V & A Museum and Brandeis University, 2017–18.
- 15 The object letter in ‘Beyond the Pale’ is according to Sharad Keskar ‘fairly authentic’ (*New Reader’s Guide*, www.kiplingsociety.co.uk, accessed 13 July 2020). The authenticity of Kipling’s rendering of the Abjad is confirmed by Joshua Kassanis, head of Arabic tuition at the FCO. (Email from Alex Bubb to me, 13 July 2020).
- 16 Kipling ‘In the Presence’, *A Diversity of Creatures*, 231.
- 17 Kipling *ibid.* (220–1, 223).
- 18 Kipling ‘A Private Account,’ *Eyes of Asia*, 30–1, 41.
- 19 Kipling ‘Jobson’s Amen,’ *Diversity of Creatures* p.238; *Works* p.503.
- 20 Kipling ‘Akhbar’s Bridge’, *Diversity of Creatures* pp. 219–21, *Works* 779–81.
- 21 For an analysis of the rhetorical range of Kipling’s ‘vernacular’ speakers, see my book *Rudyard Kipling* (2007), Chapter Two ‘Imagining a World’, pp. 32–41.
- 22 Alice Fleming mentions playing with hoops during their 1877 Loughton holiday in ‘Childhood memories of Rudyard Kipling’, p. 34.
- 23 Kipling ‘The Waster’, *Works* p. 423, Pinney ed. *Complete Poems III*, p. 1431. According to Pinney, this was first published 1939, but an MS version of the first stanza, quoted here, is dated 10 January 1925. (Pinney, 1547n).
- 24 Kipling ‘Weland’s Sword’, *Puck of Pook’s Hill* p.14.

BOOK REVIEW

Burning Boy: the life and work of Stephen Crane by Paul Auster: London, Faber & Faber, 2021: 800pp, ISBN 9780571353354, £17.17 (Hardback, Amazon)

The American novelist Paul Auster (award winning author of *The New York Trilogy*, *Sunset Park* and *Book of Illusions*) is a long-time admirer of the writings of Kipling's contemporary (and literary follower) Stephen Crane. However, he has become concerned that Crane is no longer taught in American schools and is increasingly unknown to the general reader and thus is becoming relegated to the preserve of academics. To counter this, he has written an introduction to the life and works of Crane providing both a biography and analysis of Crane's major works.

The biographical aspects are well researched, drawing on Crane's letters, published reminiscences and memoirs from Crane's family and friends, including Willa Cather, Henry James, Conrad and Wells as well as other, more academic biographies. Auster considers Crane's life in some critical detail, identifying the ways in which Crane developed his journalistic style and how, like Kipling, his journalism informed his artistic writings, his use of his journalistic observations of life in the New York slums to make the vernacular dialogue in *Maggie: a child of the streets* authentic as Kipling had done in 'The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot', his only 'slum story' and how a mix of imagination and research enabled Crane to write the dramatic and realistic battle scenes in *The Red Badge of Courage* (Kipling was praised for his descriptions of combat in *The Light that Failed*, but, like Crane, had never seen action himself at the time of writing). Auster brings together themes of the writer's ill-health; his romantic bohemianism which brought him into conflict with Teddy Roosevelt and the corrupt police of late nineteenth century New York; his battles with publishers (including the McClure syndicate) for payment and his constant, crippling lack of funds; his rootlessness and insistent search for adventure, culminating in his time as a war correspondent in the Spanish-American War (again following Kipling's lead), all of which contributed to his early death in 1900. Auster characterises Crane's life as a kind of Sisyphean struggle – an endless uphill battle, but a life which Crane enjoyed and lived to the full.

Interspersed with this, Auster uses his skills as a novelist to carefully analyse Crane's major works including the novellas *Maggie*, *Red Badge* and *The Monster*, the famous short stories 'The Open Boat', 'The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky' and 'The Blue Hotel' as well as Crane's

lesser-known poetry. This provides a good introduction to Crane's writing, some thought-provoking insights into the works, as well as demonstrating the development of Crane as a writer, his struggles with early success (many of the early reviews of *Red Badge* compared Crane to the young Kipling as a writer of adventure) and why he should be recognised as one of the most significant writers of his time.

Burning Boy is aimed at the general reader who has little or no knowledge of Crane, and Auster has succeeded admirably in this, creating a long, well written and very readable balance of authoritative biographical research and skilful analysis of Crane's writing. There is a good index and reasonably clear (but basic) referencing for further reading. Although a writer read by and influential on Crane, Kipling, sadly, is not one of the authors that Auster discusses in terms of Crane (there are just four references to him in the book); but if any readers of the recent article on Kipling and Stephen Crane (*KJ* 387, September 2021) are interested in expanding their knowledge of Crane, his work, and times, this is an excellent starting point.

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A.K.A. 'THE MAILBASE'

March 2021–February 2022 (inclusive)

By ALASTAIR WILSON

I don't seem to have produced a Mailbase commentary for a whole year – not sure why; goodness knows, there's been little enough to do during our Lockdown. March started off with 46 postings on 14 separate subjects, the first of which was a notification of an up-coming broadcast on Radio 4 of a modern take on *The Jungle Books*, in two parts: unfortunately, no-one commented on the broadcast. [I listened to the play but was too disappointed by it to comment. Perhaps others felt the same way? *Ed.*]

April brought another 36 postings, the major subject being 'a quote, ostensibly from *Kim*': the general consensus being that it wasn't, but that it might have come from an introduction to *Kim*, written for a 1983 printing. Another April posting was under the heading 'Kipling and South African Railway Archaeology', which arose from a note concerning the tale 'Bridge Guard in the Karoo'. Yet another subject was Kipling's use, and discontinuation from 1932, of the swastika symbol, which had become the symbol of Nazi Germany. In fact, it was not exclusively an Eastern religious symbol, associated with Hinduism, but under another name 'fylfot', appeared as an early English heraldic emblem. And the last subject was an introduction by our Hon. Librarian, of a book entitled *Subaltern Squibs and Sentimental Rhymes: the Raj Reflected in Light Verse*, an anthology devoted exclusively to light verse composed by British authors in undivided India, plus a few items illustrating parallel experiences in Ceylon and Burma, as they were then named. Written overwhelmingly by the junior ranks of the military and civil service, these works constitute a 'running commentary' on the Raj from below. The typical subaltern liked to picture himself as unduly put upon, unfairly ignored, and inexplicably underrated.

In May, there was a query about the fire at Cape Town University, and any damage to the Kipling collection in the University Library: further messages suggest that restoration work is under way. And in June, there was a report in the *Times Literary Supplement*, June 25, page 15, of our Hon. Editor's review of John Batchelor, *How the Just So Stories Were Made*, a complete page with an illustration -- The Elephant's Child having his nose pulled by the crocodile. It also mentions that Janet is editor of the *Journal*, though it doesn't actually mention the Society: but we could hardly expect better.

We went pretty quiet in July, but perked up again in August (26 postings), including some huffing and puffing, in eight postings, about the use of Kipling's name by a firm which makes writing implements of all sorts, who produced a writing set labelled 'Homage to Rudyard Kipling'. The general opinion was that he 'wouldn't have gone much on that' – though the firm have done the same with many other writers (including Mahatma Gandhi). September was very quiet; only two postings. (Did we come out of lockdown then?)

The 20 postings in October were full of meat; five were on the subject of names in Kipling; another six concerned a bit of doggerel found by John Radcliffe, in the *London Magazine* in 1902 in 'An Alphabet of Authors', which read:

K is for Kipling
A builder of rhymes,
Who 'lest we forget'
All our national crimes
Sets them forth at great length
In large type in *The Times*.

November had three postings about the origin of the nickname 'Rabbits-Eggs' given to the local carrier at Westward Ho! whom Stalky 'tweaked' in the tale 'Slaves of the Lamp, part I', in *Stalky & Co*. There were also four entries about a new super deluxe replica of the first edition of *The Jungle Book* (at a price to match the super deluxe). December contained seven items, six being John Radcliffe's teasing quotations, or comments on them. January was similarly short on content, though as usual there is always someone who can provide us with the answer: the question in this case being 'Where was it that Robert Louis Stevenson wrote that Kipling's christening must have been attended by all the Good Fairies? The answer seems to have been, 'in a letter to Henry James', in 1890.

And finally, February 2022, we woke up again, with 19 postings, containing four quotations to test our wits, and one exchange initiated by an American member, Fred Lerner, who reported on the obituary of John Hare, an explorer, writer and saviour of camels in the Gobi Desert, whose kit contained a 'lack of almost any devices, except a compass and a copy of Kipling's *Kim* for tough times.'

As always, a splendidly varied collection of subjects; and as always, there is someone who knows the answer.

MINUTES OF THE 94TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Wednesday, 30 June 2021, by Zoom videoconference

Around 35 members of the Society attended.

The Chairman welcomed those present to the meeting.

1. Apologies for absence

Apologies were received from Hugh Montgomerie, John Smales and Julia Hett.

2. Confirmation of the minutes of the 93rd AGM 1 July 2020.

The minutes were separately published in the June 2021 edition of *The Kipling Journal*. They were accepted and signed as a true record.

3. Reports from the Honorary Officers for 2020-21

Chairman – Jan Montefiore

The Society's programme for 2020/21 continued to be held on-line because of the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic and a full programme of meetings was held. The new format enabled us to invite speakers from overseas, including one from India and two from North America. Although we plan to restart meeting in person in September, meetings will also be accessible by Zoom, enabling the greater international participation to continue.

In addition, following the poetry readings on Zoom after the 2020 AGM, four further on-line members reading evenings have been held, all of which I was very happy to chair. Around twenty-five members read on each occasion, with a number of other members content just to listen. Members participated from around the world, and we are especially grateful to those who got up early or stayed up late to fit in with European time. These online readings are much enjoyed by all participants and will continue in future, at least twice yearly.

Instead of an Annual Luncheon, we held a lecture and dinner jointly with the Honourable Artillery Company in June 2021. This was subject to the 'rule of six' but nevertheless was well attended by members of the Society and of the HAC. Also, the 'Kipling in the News' conference has had to be postponed again, but now will be held in September 2021, in person for some and on-line for those who can't come to London.

Eight editions of our on-line newsletter were issued, all of which were also printed and sent to members for whom we did not hold an e-mail address. I am very grateful to those members who contributed items for the newsletter, and the Secretary is always on the lookout for more. We have been able to produce the usual four editions of the Journal punctually; this year's themed number was 'Rudyard Kipling and religion'.

A great deal of effort has been put in during the year by our On-line Editor, John Ratcliffe on website developments. Visually, the current site has been

given a more attractive appearance and a number of new pages added following the recommendations of a committee of Council. Less obviously, we are well-advanced on work to convert the website to a WordPress platform, which will enable additional features to be added in future and allow future maintenance of the site to be shared across a number of honorary officers.

As you may remember, in 2019 John McGivering left £1,000 to the Society in his will. Council decided to use this to initiate a writing prize for adults, the first competition for which was held earlier this year, for poems on the theme of travel which also engaged with Kipling. It was most gratifying that we received 64 entries, all of a very high standard. It was no easy matter for the judges to select the winners – and in the event the first prize was awarded jointly. The winning entries will be published in the September number of the Journal, after which the poets have given permission to put the winning poems up on our website. It was, sadly, not possible to hold the ‘Writing with Kipling’ schools’ competition again this year.

We have been saddened to learn of the deaths of several members in the past year, including Anne Harcombe, who died in June 2021 and who had been a member of Council, with occasional breaks, from 2001 until 2020. We also lost the distinguished writer Charles Allen, the Kipling critics Professor Shamsul Islam and Dr John Coates, and Philip Holberton, a valued contributor to the *New Reader’s Guide*.

During the year, we welcomed David Forsyth to Council, co-opted as Bateman’s Liaison Officer. Also, our President since 2011, Roger Ayers, felt compelled for health reasons to stand down. The Society owes him a tremendous debt of gratitude for his years of service, not only as our President since but before that as Membership secretary for ten years and Chairman for 2003-5. Subject to approval at the AGM, I look forward to welcoming the eminent Kipling bibliographer – and our North America representative for many years – David Alan Richards, as our next President. In these days of Zoom, even the width of the Atlantic will not prevent David participating fully in our proceedings. I also look forward to welcoming Jane Keskar as a Vice President, a well-deserved honour after her many years on Council and as a most efficient Honorary Secretary. Finally, I’d like to thank outgoing Council member Mary Hamer for her valued contributions to the workings and discussion of Council over the last three years.

Treasurer – Mike Kipling

As can be seen from the accounts published in the June 2021 Journal, the Society’s net assets increased by around £2,000 in the year to December 2020. This was largely due to reduced costs from not holding any physical meetings, but also because of a legacy of £1,000 from the estate of the late John McGivering. Expenditure on the website increased, being the first part of the planned future-proofing which will continue in 2021.

The Eileen Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture Fund was not drawn on in the year. The John Slater Essay Competition Fund was used to provide a small prize to a school running a Kipling-themed writing competition.

The Society's investments are mainly held in three charity term accounts with United Trust Bank, maturing in 2021 and 2022. A further amount remains in a CCLA charity account where it is instantly accessible.

There has been no material change to the Society's financial position since 31 December 2020.

Membership Secretary – Fiona Renshaw

Despite (or perhaps because of) the pandemic, 2020-2021 was a good year for membership of the Kipling Society, particularly as regards individual members. The new-look website deserves a large part of the credit for this since virtually all the new members over the past year discovered and approached the Society online. The greatest number of individual membership applications were received in August and December. Two thirds (67.5%) of our individual members are based in the UK and 57% of our corporate members (mainly university and public libraries) are located in North America.

Current membership numbers

The total membership of the Society currently stands at 464, a net increase of 9 in comparison with this time last year. However, the upward trend in individual members is not reflected in the figures for corporate members.

Individual members: As of 15 June, there were 400 individual members, a net increase of 17 overall since July of last year. Over the course of the year, we have welcomed 50 new members and a total of 33 existing members have left the Society for a variety of reasons. (See the table on the next page for a year-on-year comparison.) The new student membership category, introduced in July of last year, has attracted 7 new members to the Society so far.

Corporate members: The current total is 64, down 8 overall since July of last year. One new corporate member joined the Society last year but 9 universities, all based in North America, failed to renew their subscriptions in December for 2021 without explanation and have not responded to further invitations to do so.

Payment of subscriptions

A certain leniency was applied regarding late subscription renewals during the pandemic, but most members are now up to date with the payment of their membership dues. Almost half (46%) of individual members pay by standing order and an increasing number (currently 28%) are using the PayPal facility on the Society's website to pay for and renew their annual subscriptions.

Renewal reminders are printed in red ink on the address labels of members' copies of *The Kipling Journal* when their subscription is due for renewal. If payment is not received within a couple of months, the member is contacted personally by email and/or letter. If there is no response to these communications within a reasonable period, the member is removed from our list of active members. Happily, this final action doesn't have to be taken too frequently.

Meetings Secretary – Alex Bubb

This year has seen four successful Zoom meetings in which we welcomed speakers from around the globe, as well as a series of very popular online readings (to be covered in Jan Montefiore's report). Last September we were joined by Madhu Grover from Delhi University, who delivered a lecture on 'Border Crossings in Kipling's Indian Short Stories'. In November Jan herself spoke on Kipling's last Raj story 'The Debt', and its connections with both Lord Mayo's assassination in 1872 and Kipling's work for the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. In February and April, we welcomed two speakers from the US: Prof John McBratney, who gave an overview of developments and new directions in Kipling Studies since the turn of the millennium; and Prof Tricia Lootens, who highlighted the links connecting Kipling with Mark Twain and Toru Dutt. By the time this report has been distributed and read, we will (fingers crossed) have enjoyed our first in-person gathering since February 2021, not in our customary venue but instead under the kind auspices of the Honourable Artillery Company. Many thanks to Angela and Joseph Eyre for originally suggesting this and putting me in touch with the HAC—those initial discussions feel like an awfully long time ago!

The next three scheduled meetings are all expected to take place as before at the Royal Overseas League, and our speakers are all patient people who were rescheduled amidst the pandemic chaos. This is the rota extending into next year:

22 September 2021: Prof Harry Ricketts, 'Kipling and Trauma.'

10 November 2021: Madeleine Horton, 'Rethinking Rudyard Kipling : Genre, Value and Reputation'

9 February 2022: Richard Howell, "'One Spot Beloved Over All": the Kiplings and the Bateman's Estate'

I'm sure all of us would agree that although it has been trying and sometimes distressing to have been isolated for so long, unable to enjoy the drinks, dinner and other social aspects of a pukka Kipling Society meeting, one great benefit of our prolonged Zoom interregnum has been to bring together the worldwide Kipling community. As Meetings Secretary, I am determined to capitalize on that and for this reason all future events will be livestreamed for the benefit of our far-flung membership.

There is also the possibility of continuing to host online-only events periodically. Specifically, I am meditating a Zoom-based "show and tell" of the rare Kipling books and ephemera many of us have in our homes. Please let me know informally if this kind of event would interest you.

Librarian – John Walker

Haileybury: With continued restrictions necessary to protect students and staff on campus, we have not been able to offer visits to the Kipling Room, except for those already in the 'bubble'. We are enormously grateful to our Honorary

Archivist, Dr Toby Parker, and his associates, who have continued to work on the latest new acquisitions of ephemera. The proposed restructuring of our catalogue, to enable researchers to interrogate the data through HACS, and to parallel data in the stock from the Royal Society for Asian Affairs, is likely to be delayed.

Digitising of images continues, in TIFF at 600 dpi, with much of the ephemeral printed or photocopied material also digitised, though at lower resolution. This includes lecture notes and the originals of Journal articles.

Other ephemera have been sorted under five main headings: Society History, Articles and Papers, Cuttings and Printed Material, Copies of Letters, and Individual Items (the latter to include such material as small and easily mislaid material).

Research and support: Support to researchers, to members and to the general public continues at an average of three queries per week, either directly – through the Facebook page or by email, or forwarded by other officers. These have been wide-ranging and very interesting, with important outcomes reported to Council, via the mailbase or in the Newsletter.

Acquisitions: The most important items this year have, once again, been found among the material recovered from past officers of the Society. Relatively few new publications have been added to stock

Journal Editor – Jan Montefiore

The *Kipling Journal* has had another good year and is in a healthy condition, with high quality submissions coming in steadily from academics, students, independent scholars and Kipling fans in the USA, India and Canada. The usual four numbers were produced smoothly and punctually by 4word Printers. Peer review by our global panel of 13 referees from the UK, USA, India and New Zealand continues to work smoothly. I thank the referees warmly for the care and attention they bring to the job.

There were fewer reviews of new books in the *Kipling Journal* than in 2021, but John Batchelor's well received book *How The Just So Stories Were Written* is reviewed in the September number, while the December *Kipling Journal* will carry a review of the essay collection *Kipling in India: India in Kipling*, edited by Harish Trivedi and myself. This will be a themed number on Kipling and India, so the review will fit in well.

I was glad to publish the non-fiction memoir 'Quoting Rudyard Kipling in the Army' by Christine Wozney in *Kipling Journal* 386, and I hope that other members will be moved to submit further memoirs, poems, or stories as well as articles. All submissions will continue to be peer reviewed.

On-line Editor and Publicity – John Radcliffe

This has been another positive year for our on-line activities. The number of visitors to the web-site in the year to May 31st was just over 98,000 – some 270 a day – in comparison with 80,000 the previous year. There continue to be some 1000 visitors a month to the NRG pages. The total number of users since

launch in May 1999 is over 1.5m. There are some 600 regular followers of the Facebook page, and over 100 regular uses of the Mailbase discussion group.

Because of the pandemic we have turned to on line meetings on Zoom, which have been very successful. They have attracted many people, from the UK and abroad, who cannot come to the London meetings, including members from the United States, India, and New Zealand. The additional sessions of Kipling readings by members from around the world, arranged and moderated by Jan Montefiore, have typically attracted 30 to 40 members, and have been very popular.

We have given a good deal of thought over the year to how best to use our on line presence to attract new members. We have created new sections of the web-site for young readers, for reading groups, and for writers and would-be writers. We have started an 'About Us' page to promote what we have to offer, and aim to improve this. We are planning to make more effective use of social media, including Twitter as well as Facebook. We hope to make the site more interactive, with pages for researchers and authors, and a continuing provision for teachers, mainly in Primary Schools. We have started to offer soundtracks for some of the poems on the site, and soundtracks for the Just So Stories on YouTube.

For the New Readers' Guide we are improving the presentation of the data, and establishing better links within the site, including more guidance on relevant NRG articles. For researchers and serious users we are improving the search systems and adding a site-wide search facility. For new and more casual users we are making it possible to link straight from the front page to the texts of the stories and poems, and thence to the notes, and to make the process of joining the Society easier. We are also making greater use of illustrations.

These developments will be supported by a major move of the site onto the Wordpress platform with the aid of an experienced internet consultant, Michael Wilcox. Work on this is currently in progress and can be seen in prototype at this address: <https://ks-demo.wilcox.net/>. This move will also make it possible for us to take advantage of various ongoing technical developments of the internet, and support different authors, who will be able to contribute without the need for technical expertise.

John Walker writes: The Facebook page continues to attract lively interest. By the end of June we will have offered almost 120 suggestions for 'Verse of the Week', currently received by nearly 600 people, worldwide. Each entry provides links to the New Readers' Guide, for the text and the notes, and there is often guidance to sites offering spoken or sung versions of the piece. A significant number of the audience are non-members, who have come upon the page when a sample is shared, so there are regular exhortations to join the Society, and links to the necessary page, on-line. There is sufficient material in Tom Pinney's Cambridge edition of the verse for another ten years, with weekly introductory ramblings.

Three e-books of Kipling's works, incorporating our NRG notes, are now available from Amazon, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, *Soldiers Three*, and *Letters of*

Marque. As reported earlier these have been put together very elegantly by Tom White in California and further titles are planned. Income from them is modest so far but they are another string for our bow.

Work on the current review of the New Readers' Guide reminds one how far it has been the work of many hands, many current members, and many who are now longer with us, including George Webb, Lisa Lewis, John Slater, David Page, Philip Holberton, Alan Underwood, John McGivering, and the other doughty creators of what we now call the 'Old Readers' Guide', including Reginald Harbord, Roger Lancelyn Green, and Alec Mason. We hope they would approve of our present operations.

Bateman's Liaison Officer – David Forsyth

This has been a difficult year for Bateman's and the National Trust. The substantial loss of income necessitated a re-set programme, resulting in staff rationalisation to reduce costs. This has principally affected the support personnel with the house and garden teams left relatively unscathed as they are already highly efficient operations reinforced by volunteers.

With the house either closed in lockdown or opening with a reduced covid compliant access to the ground floor only it has been possible to undertake several long-deferred projects. It is not commonly appreciated just how much intensive and time-consuming work is necessary but the release of space on the first floor, and during lockdown, the use of the rarely available floor area of the Hall has enabled the much-delayed renovation of large furnishings.

Examples:-

1. Carpets

Bateman's has in store some 40 carpets, many of considerable size. Most were in use by the Kiplings but have not been on display for many years. They were unrolled, inspected, photographed, cleaned and then re-rolled, re-racked and relabelled.

2. Removing and cleaning the tapestry hanging in the Inner Hall.

This 9 sq. metre Flemish wool and silk tapestry, c.1600 (i.e. contemporaneous with Bateman's) in a rather faded state appears to represent a mythical queen, surrounded by courtiers with symbols of Roman authority and contained in a floral border. A hessian backing was added in 1933. The hanging was demounted with some difficulty and spread out on the Hall floor with appropriate protective precautions. Both sides were gridded and meticulously cleaned using a special museum vacuum cleaner with a goat's-hair brush attachment to remove accumulated dust, all quantities and locations being recorded for reference. The whole process took 22 hours each operation involving 1-4 people; a total of 34 hours work. The final assessment was that the tapestry was fragile and much damaged by light, but not insects. The recently installed temperature and humidity control together with close monitoring of light levels should minimise future damage but another assessment will be needed in 7 years' time.

3. Books in the Study

These, some 2,080, are displayed as they were on Kipling's death and were not removed to Wimpole Hall as were most of the other artefacts. They had been previously catalogued but some erroneously or listed in duplicate. After a lengthy task of reconciliation and re labelling each book can now be located precisely to its original shelf position, ensuring that the collection will remain exactly as Kipling knew it. Cleaning the books and inspection for insect damage is an annual, time-consuming, task.

4. **The study curtains**, previously away on a long and expensive restoration, are now ready to rehang

5. Progress on the electronic CMS (Collection Management System).

This was instituted in 2008 and enables the National Trust to list every item in its collection, with location, description, condition, history, photographs and details of any conservation work. This system builds on a previous less sophisticated catalogue and due to a huge amount of work, 90% of Bateman's 5,000 items are now recorded on CMS. This will ultimately ensure that The Trust has on public access, many millions of detailed artefacts.

I have described these works in some detail to emphasise just how much work is undertaken at Bateman's and throughout The Trust, which goes unnoticed. In our case, this work preserves for ever Kipling's legacy.

The Garden

In a word, magnificent. A great deal has been done over the last year to replace old beds and Len and his team of volunteers have replaced a long herbaceous border in the rose garden with an amazing display. The last of Kipling's apple trees in the orchard, albeit dead and supporting a clematis, has been removed. Watch the space.

The Mill

Now restored and grinding flour, it opens twice weekly for demonstrations. The cost and length of the restoration of the mill pond is fading from memory and Gary Enstone, the House and Collections Manager, has stopped crying at the recollection.

Visitors.

Visitor numbers, normally about 125,000 per annum, have obviously declined sharply with a severe impact on revenue. Expectantly the current regulations will end soon and the tedium of covid restrictions will be forgotten.

Hopefully next year will be better, but to end on a positive note, a great deal has been done to maintain and catalogue the collection and the grounds.

5. Election of Members

David Forsyth and Sarah LeFanu had been proposed and, as there were three vacancies on Council, they were elected *nem con*.

6. Appointment of Hon Independent Financial Examiner

Mr. Harry Waterson was amenable to be re-appointed. This was agreed unanimously.

7. Election of President

Council had nominated David Alan Richards as President of the Society. He was elected *nem con* and, being present, was warmly congratulated. In turn, he expressed his thanks to the Society for the honour and said that when current circumstances permitted, he hoped to be able to attend some meetings in person.

8. Election of Vice-President

Council had nominated Jane Keskar as a Vice-President of the Society. She was elected *nem con* and, being present, was warmly congratulated. In turn, she expressed her thanks to the Society.

9. Any Other Business

There was no other business.

Jan Montefiore
Chairman

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR TO 31 DECEMBER 2021

The Accounts for the year to 31 December 2021 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 been scrutinised by the Society's Independent Financial Examiner.

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

- 1) The Society employs no paid staff, and it does not have a permanent office. All overhead costs are included as Administration expenses. In 2021, these included £901 for the printing and mailing of copies of our electronic newsletter to members for whom we hold no e-mail address, which the Society continued to do for part of the year.
- 2) Web-site expenses include £8,800 in respect of developing a much-improved version of the Society's website which went live during the year.
- 3) A small amount of subscription income has been received in advance, but this figure has not been included under 'creditors' as subscriptions received are not refundable.
- 4) Income tax recoverable on amounts which members have paid under 'Gift Aid' rules is reclaimed annually following the end of a financial year. A claim was made in respect of 2020 was made in 2021. The expected recovery in respect of 2021 has been included under 'Debtors'.
- 5) During 2021, the Society retained £53,224 on deposit with United Trust Bank, withdrawing £7,000 to fund the web-site development. Interest is accounted for when received. Accrued interest of £549 has also been included under 'Debtors'.
- 6) Payments for reimbursements of administration costs, expenses of meetings and library acquisitions were made during the year to the Trustees: Mike Kipling £307, Jan Montefiore £471, Fiona Renshaw £282 and John Walker £335.
- 7) The pandemic meant that only two physical meetings were held in 2021 and no annual luncheon, so the costs of meetings continued to be lower than was previously typical.
- 8) No creative writing competition for schools was organised in 2021 because of the pandemic, so there was no call on the John Slater Essay Competition Fund. The prizes awarded for the John McGivering competition were met from general funds (which also received the entry fees for the competition), as were prizes awarded to papers at the 'Kipling in the News' conference organised jointly with City University of London.

- 9) Costs associated with the travel and accommodation of keynote speakers at the 'Kipling in the News' conference and the cost of a small gift to the 2021 Eileen Stammers-Smith memorial lecturer (which was delivered on-line) were charged to the Eileen Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture Fund.
- 10) All fixed assets of the Society have been fully depreciated. Books and other library items are included at purchase price or deducted at sale price.

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

	2021		2020	
	£	£	£	£
Bank balances at 1 January		68,994		66,767
<u>Income received in the year</u>				
Subscriptions and donations	14,039		12,898	
Annual Luncheon	320		0	
Bank Interest	1,306		356	
Tax refund on subscriptions	1,141		1,267	
Legacies	<u>0</u>		<u>1,000</u>	
Total Income received		16,806		15,521
<u>Deduct : Expenses paid in the Year</u>				
Printing and despatch of Journal	10,116		9,352	
Costs of lectures and functions	1,048		-581	
Conferences	2,241		0	
Administration	1,230		1,687	
Web-site, online expenses	9,036		1,720	
Bank/PayPal charges	294		179	
Foreign Exchange Adjustment	37		-4	
Donations and grants	0		800	
Competition Prizes	900		33	
Additions to books for Library	<u>309</u>		<u>108</u>	
Total Expenditure		<u>-25,211</u>		<u>-13,294</u>
Bank balances at 31 December		<u>60,589</u>		<u>68,994</u>

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2021

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

	2021	2020
	£	£
RESERVES		
General Reserve	39,745	47,093
John Slater Essay Competition Fund	2,904	2,904
Eileen Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture Fund	<u>17,940</u>	<u>18,997</u>
	60,589	68,994
Represented by Bank Balances:		
-Current Account	£1,583	
-Deposit Accounts	£57,685	
-Foreign Currency Accounts	£1,123	
-PayPal Account	<u>£198</u>	
	<u>£60,589</u>	
Debtors and prepayments	1,691	2,150
Library books, etc	<u>17,494</u>	<u>17,185</u>
Total Assets	79,774	88,329
Deduct: Liabilities - creditors	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Net assets at 31 December	<u>79,774</u>	<u>88,329</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 and membership forms are available on the Society's web-site, or from the **Membership Secretary Fiona Renshaw, Keylands, Burwash, East Sussex, TN19 7HP, email ksmemsec@outlook.com**. 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 the **Haileybury, Hertfordshire, and Special Collection, Sussex University**
- 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, following 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, 56, Chaplin Drive, Headcorn, Ashford, Kent TN27 9TN, England, or email to jwawalker@gmail.com**.

The Editor of the *Kipling Journal* publishes membership news, Society events, talks by invited speakers, and articles on all aspects of Kipling and his work. She is happy to receive submissions from readers. These may be edited and publication is not guaranteed. Letters of crisp comment and articles between 500 and 5000 words are especially welcome. Email **jem1@kent.ac.uk**, or write to **The Editor, Kipling Journal, 36 St Dunstan's Street, Canterbury, Kent, CT2 8BZ, U.K.**

MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION RATES

UK (payment by Standing Order)	£27	Joint £37
UK (payment by cheque)	£29	Joint £39
(Joint – two members, same address, one <i>Journal</i> .)		
Students	£10	
Europe, airmail	£31	€43
Rest of the World, surface mail	£31	US\$48
Rest of the World, airmail	£35	US\$54

Universities and libraries are £2 (or the currency equivalent) 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.

Fiona Renshaw, Membership Secretary, can be contacted at **Keylands, Burwash, East Sussex TN19 7NP, U.K.**

or by e-mail: ksmemsec@outlook.com