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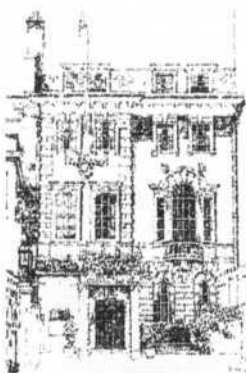
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SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOME FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Wednesday 10 July 2013, 4.30 p.m. Annual General Meeting in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League. A complimentary tea will be served at 4.00 p.m. in the Wrench Room for members who inform the Secretary in advance.

At 5.30 for 6.00 p.m., there will be "A Kipling Entertainment – an evening when members present their favourite pieces of Kipling's writing, and defend their choices. Please come armed with material, and be prepared to be called upon". In order to involve as many people as possible, it is proposed to restrict each participant to 5 (maximum 8) minutes.

Wednesday 11 September 2013, 5.30 for 6 p.m. in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Prof Thomas Pinney**, will speak to us on the "Confessions of an Editor".

Wednesday 13 November 2013, 5.30 for 6 p.m. in the Mountbatten Room, Royal Over-Seas League, **Prof Daniel Karlin**, University of Bristol will speak to us on "Kipling's French: People, Place, Language".

THE KIPLING JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

BY THE RETIRING EDITOR, DAVID PAGE

As announced in the December 2012 issue of the *Journal*, this is the last issue in which I appear as Editor. It has been an exhilarating experience for me – intensely interesting and great fun – and I hope that my successor, Jan Montefiore, will get as much pleasure from the Editorship as I have. She has done a great deal over the years in promoting Kipling Studies including the organisation of two conferences and writing a book, *Rudyard Kipling*, in the Northcote House series "Writers and their Works".

I have been particularly fortunate in the number of conferences/study days that have taken place over the last ten years. In addition to the two organised by Jan in 2007 and 2011, there was "Scylla and Charybdis", the unpublished Stalky story in 2004, the Study Day at the University of Sheffield in 2009 on *Actions and Reactions* and another Study Day at the University of Bristol in 2010 built around the topic of "The Absent-Minded Beggar". We were able to print at least some of the papers from all of these in the *Journal*, most of them as supplementary issues.

The expiry of the main Kipling copyright in 2007 opened up a treasure-trove of material for us to reprint which I hope had not been too accessible to most members. The majority of the original publications took place in the period up to 1892 and so are heavily weighted towards first appearances in the *C.M.G.* the *Pioneer*, and the London press, and include both short stories and poems.

We have also been fortunate in the number of articles from people who had either direct contact with Kipling, usually godchildren, or who were related to Kipling's friends. This has led to the publication of letters and much information from various family archives, revealing Kipling's less formal interests and particularly his happiness when interacting with children. My thanks go to everyone who allowed us to use this material.

After I took over as Editor, we changed printers and switched from using traditional paper-based input to sending each issue to our printer as a collection of electronic files. Unfortunately that printer went into administration after three years. Very happily for me and the *Journal*, the work-in-progress was bought from the administrators by a group of ex-employees led by John Roost. They have continued to produce the *Journal* for us and I thank them most heartily for all their work on our behalf.

It has been an honour to work for the Society editing the *Journal*, and as I have said before, this has been the best retirement present that anyone could have given me, so I send my thanks to you all.

Editorial continued on page 23

OBITUARY: J.W. MICHAEL SMITH (1929-2013)

By SHARAD KESKAR

The loss of a friend can leave an emptiness that is hard to fill. Such a sense of bereavement has been left by J.W. Michael Smith, a Vice-President of the Society, who died on Tuesday 29 February. All who knew him, well or even briefly, were saddened by the news. That is the measure of the man.

Mike, as he liked to be called, served in the R.A.F, taught at Pakistan's Air Force College, gained an Honours Degree in Geography and a Diploma in Education at Reading University. Involved with teacher training, he took an abiding interest in the education of the young. But, above all, this man of many talents was a brilliant lecturer. He addressed historical, literary, and geological societies, and championed his hero, Rudyard Kipling. To that last end he established a small Kipling Museum at the Grange in Rottingdean, where for many years he maintained a store of every *Kipling Journal* from its first issue, of March 1927.

Mike was a delight to hear. He spoke with the relaxed confidence of one with complete mastery of his subject. It was a genius deserving of recognition and reward, but Mike had his priorities. He turned down many an honour when faced with a choice that saw the need of a greater obligation – his family. A good husband to Audrey, their home was a welcoming place, where one was greeted by twinkling eyes and ready smiles. Jane and I were fortunate to spend a summer's day with them, when they joined us on a boat trip down the Thames. Mike was soon clicking away with the enthusiasm of a boy given his first camera and, soon, perfect strangers were being greeted, as 'old chaps' or 'dear boys'. Of course, such a frank and open nature is often easily hurt when misunderstood, but not for long. Mike's bubbling personality always triumphed.

The Kipling Society will remember Mike as a great organiser with a charming ability to persuade. He created the post of Membership Secretary, which for many years he combined with his of Honorary Secretary, till he managed to twist the arm of a now most prominent Member of our Society. Mike will remain, in affectionate memory, an outstanding member of the Kipling Society. His valuable contribution to its present high reputation is a record of his scholarly dedication and service. His books and works on Kipling are already a treasured legacy.

On 7 February, our President, the Secretary, several Officers, Members, their wives and husbands, attended Mike's funeral service, at St Margaret's, Rottingdean. Elaine Eardley read "If—" during the service.

CULTURAL CHANGE, SPIRITUAL HEALING AND THE LAND IN "'MY SON'S WIFE'"

By ANDREW SCRAGG

[Andrew Scragg is a librarian at Birmingham City University, supporting the School of English. His M.Phil was on the cultural politics of early English Modernism between 1900 and 1918, including the Bloomsbury Group and the Vorticist art movement. – Ed.]

Written in 1913, before the outbreak of the Great War and published in 1917 at the height of the war, "'My Son's Wife'" remains one of Rudyard Kipling's most frequently mentioned, but infrequently analysed stories². The tale is that of Frankwell Midmore a weak, metropolitan young man and fellow traveller of the 'Immoderate Left' who inherits an estate in the country and is gradually changed and reinvigorated by way of the works of Surtees³, fox hunting, laughter and clean living and finally finds the love of a good woman, Connie Sperrit.

It has long been recognised that issues of healing and redemption play a major role in Kipling's later works, particularly those written after the Great War in *Debits and Credits* (1926) and *Limits and Renewals* (1932). However, it was a familiar theme before these works, with overstretched administrators, soldiers and others being healed by the medical profession. From the first decade of the twentieth century there are also other sources of healing in his works: in "An Habitation Enforced" (*Actions and Reactions*, 1909) where the American businessman George Chapin recovers from stress and overwork by re-establishing his wife's roots in the English countryside and "A Charm", the introductory poem of *Rewards and Fairies* (1910) where he writes:

Take of English earth, as much
As either hand may rightly clutch.
In the taking of it breathe
Prayer for all who lie beneath—
Not the great nor well bespoke,
But the mere unaccounted folk
Of whose life and death is none
Report or lamentation.
Lay that earth upon thy heart,
And thy sickness shall depart!⁴

Kipling here explores the notion of 'spiritual healing drawn from "English earth"⁵'. The land itself with its traditions and wisdom is

capable by itself of curing the sicknesses of modernity – 'the disease of the century'. It is this same land that will heal Frankwell Midmore.

"My Son's Wife", viewed from nearly a century on, offers an opportunity to explore Kipling's attitudes to a range of social and cultural concerns which were coming to the fore in the years before the Great War. This article will reconsider the story to explore what it tells us about changing social and cultural ideas before the Great War and Kipling's own attitudes and beliefs at that time and how they impacted on his style and writing of this story.

* * *

The centrality of rural England to the nation and its culture was not a concept unique to Kipling. Since the 1860s following the rapid expansion of industrialization and a slump in agricultural prices and rural unemployment England had been an urban nation with the majority of its citizens migrating from the country to work in factories and offices in towns, yet there has always remained a strong idealized ruralist leaning in the English psyche. However, it should not be thought that all the countryside was included in this, far from it. The 'countryside' of the popular imagination was mainly in the south of England, below a line roughly between the Thames and the Severn (excluding Cornwall but with Shropshire thrown in). This was a countryside of the imagination, a 'product of an urban world and an urban world at a certain time – the late 1870s through to the early 1900s'⁶. This countryside became to be seen as the repository of the true English spirit, whether through traditional music (this was the time of Cecil Sharp's collecting of traditional music), folklore (Henry Moule, Vicar of Fordington in Dorset and the writer Richard Jeffries were keen folklore researchers collecting and publishing traditional material) or traditional ways and knowledge (George Sturt from Farnham, Surrey wrote extensively on rural crafts). A feeling grew in some quarters that rural areas represented the genuine, unconscious soul of the country – 'all that modern life was not, a psychic balance and refuge'⁷.

The reasons for the spread of this attitude are a complex mix of internal and external factors. The growth of towns brought an increasing sense of nostalgia for the old ways of rural life initially among migrant rural workers but increasingly amongst the growing middle class in English towns and cities⁸. This manifested itself in contemporary middle class perceptions about 'degeneracy' – the decline in health among the new generation of office workers, as Lord Walsingham wrote to Henry Rider Haggard in 1899:

Look at the pure bred Cockney – I mean the little fellow whom you see running in and out of offices in the city, and those whose

forefathers have for the last two generations dwelt within a two-mile radius of Charing Cross. And look at an average young labourer coming home from his day's field work, and I think you will admit the city breeds one stamp of human being and the country breeds another ...'

Others saw a nostalgic, idealized countryside as an escape from the pressures and unrest of modern life, the simpler social structures of village and manor offering a social stability that contrasted with the rootlessness and social friction caused by industrialization and the drift to large anonymous cities. Urban life led to what was seen as a loss of social deference and an increase in new ideas, particularly amongst an increasingly literate and educated middle class. These ideas for social reform led to the rise of left wing politics with socialism countering the new market led Victorian Capitalism as well as movements advocating gender and identity politics, with the rise of Suffragettes and 'the New Woman'. The weakening of traditional faith for many by scientific developments and the publication of Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859) led to a search for self-awareness and 'Truth' in non-traditional ways heralding an upsurge of interest in mysticism and cults.

This yearning for a return to the certainties of 'the village' was especially popular amongst those who sought to put themselves in the position of the gentry rather than the peasant. This conception of countryside offered a contrast between urban materialism and greed on the one hand and rural straightforwardness, spirituality and honesty. It stood for traditional England against the rest of the world – as a William Le Queux¹⁰ character states: 'An English country house with its old oak, old silver and air of solidity is always delightful to me after the flimsy gimcracks of Continental life'¹¹. There was a strict class hierarchy, the local peasantry (Kipling's Hobden or Sidney), stolid and true, deferential, repositories of ancient truths, and the owners of the big houses, the squirearchy. In early Victorian times this would have been the traditional landowners, there for generations, but by the 1890s, this ruling rural elite had changed to embrace professional, self-made men or Empire adventurers (Kipling's Sperrit or Chapin). There developed the notion of an upper class chivalry, where the gentleman was 'brave, straightforward, true to his word, loyal to his friends and country, unflinchingly protective of women, children and animals'¹² (unless, of course, he was hunting them).

Britain had for many years been the industrial and military heart of the Empire. For many who had left for the colonies to escape poverty or to seek their fortunes it was seen as the mother country and

a successful return was the goal for many. Literature is full of country houses funded with riches made in the Empire (from Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, to John Buchan's *Fosse Manor*). However, by the end of the Nineteenth Century this position was changing. What commentators like Walsingham saw as urban 'degeneracy' was impacting upon the Empire, too; other countries, including Germany and America, were challenging Britain as centres of manufacturing, and the Boer War, when increasing numbers of English army volunteers were rejected as unfit and the military suffered setbacks, signalled that British military supremacy was no longer something that could be guaranteed.

Kipling, having seen the Boer War at first hand was disturbed by the events in South Africa and their implications for the Empire that had previously offered him certainties in life. Gilmour suggests that Kipling hoped that the Boer War would regenerate the Empire and he was distressed at the failures and, looking for new certainties, returned to England. He writes: 'Until the Boer War, Kipling's politics had been international, imperial and sometimes visionary. Now they became national as well, a development that led to his increasing identification with the Conservative party'¹³ and as we have seen, Kipling took up this ideology with delight. Conservatives, particularly, drew comfort from the concept of an unchanging England in the countryside, a bulwark against changing times, social unrest and threats from outside¹⁴. Chesterton wrote that 'He [Kipling] admires England, but does not love her; for we admire things with reasons, but love them without reasons. He admires England because she is strong, not because she is English'¹⁵. This is however to ignore how the Boer War changed Kipling. Chesterton is correct if he is writing about the Kipling of 1901 who wrote to Rhodes that 'England is a stuffy little place', but not about the Kipling after the war who lived at Bateman's and discovered the power of the countryside. After spending his early life in India, travelling the world and being at the forefront of Empire, rural England, particularly Sussex, offered him a place where he had social status and the space to rest and indulge in nostalgic contemplation.

There was not one unified understanding of what this rural English idyll was like. For G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc it was 'Merry England' with jolly peasants, commons, guilds, and parishes¹⁶; others, like Saki (H.H. Munro) or Kenneth Grahame saw it as the home of Pan, the ancient and (alternately) terrible or beneficent god of the woodlands; for Thomas Hardy it was the mythical Wessex. Hardy's Wessex was not a land frozen in amber as was Chesterton's, but a rural area of its time, the last link with the rural past, with modern trains, ideas

and people with the same problems as those in the town. While Hardy recognised this progress and the benefits it brought, he was ambivalent about the loss of tradition and unease that progress brought. For Kipling, lately returned from an acrimonious time living in Vermont¹⁷ and living the life of the gentry in the dampness of his country house Bateman's, surrounded by locals who dispensed advice and local lore, Sussex represented a similar idyll. It did not exist apart from the modern world. Kipling eagerly embraced the technological aspects of modernity, particularly those that made his rural life easier – motoring and electricity. He introduced electric light to Bateman's, generating his own electricity using a Hornsby Ackroyd generator powered by the eighteenth century waterwheel of the mill on his estate. In his life as well as his art Kipling saw how traditional ways and knowledge can inform and enhance the modern. Times change, but the land abides, older, wiser and waiting for its people to reconnect – unlike Hardy he actively regretted that loss of tradition.

For Kipling England (or at least Sussex) was home. In the calm and content¹⁸ poem "Sussex" (1902) he writes:

So to the land our hearts we give
Till the sure magic strike,
And Memory, Use, and Love make live
Us and our fields alike—
That deeper than our speech and thought,
Beyond our reason's sway,
Clay of the pit whence we were wrought
Years to its fellow-clay.¹⁹

Kipling's land creates a link within every English man and woman, a link back through the ages to a nostalgic time of certainty and peace. The countryside could renew the country and its people, but it was the responsibility of the gentry to hold the countryside together²⁰. It was not ownership of vast estates, but a smaller scale ownership – 'as much / As either hand' where the landowner was an integral, contributing part of the village life, not a distant, absentee landlord. Certainly this renewal was what Kipling needed following the recent tumultuous years – the troubles in Vermont and later, in 1899, the loss of his young daughter, Josephine. The countryside stands in opposition to the modernity of urban life and the challenging (and to Kipling's eyes, dangerous) new ideas that were abounding – Materialism, Socialism, Feminism and Modernism.

This is the context for "'My Son's Wife'", which is about Frankwell Midmore's journey from a feminized child state to manhood,

responsibility and marriage. In the story Kipling weaves a series of dualities countering Midmore's life in London and his life in the country. By considering these juxtapositions we can see how Kipling contrasts traditional and 'modern' responses to themes of women, maturity, materialism, masculinity and responsibility to diagnose both the 'disease of the century' and its 'cure'.

* * *

Midmore's life in London is that of a grown up child, indulged by his mother (who follows a strange anti-death cult and so cannot attend her sister's funeral); no mention of his father is made. He is ruled by women – 'it may have been a woman that made him attach himself to the "Immoderate Left"' [334] and they lead his exploration of the various theories of social change. Even at the start of his life in the countryside he collapses in the house and exchanges his indulgent London mother for the practical country mother, Rhoda Dolbie.

In *Kim*, there is the much quoted comment from the Woman from Kulu, that there are two types of woman: 'those who take the strength out of a man and those who put it back'²¹, these two extremes are exemplified in " 'My Son's Wife'" by the two women Midmore is involved with – Daphne and Connie.

Daphne is a member of the 'Immoderate Left' who, in a florid twelve page letter, dumps Midmore and 're-stated, rather than pleaded the gospel of the Immoderate Left as her justification, and ended in an impassioned demand for her right to express herself in and on her own life' [337]. She has come to this decision after much deep self-analysis of her own feelings, but still a friend says she may have 'misunderstood herself, like so many of us' [359]. She is the dominant one in the relationship, interested in possessing Midmore as a compliment to her needs and as such contributes to his feminized state.

If Daphne is a threat, Connie is the opposite. She is practical, she has been a keen hunter since she was seven or eight (an attachment to the land from childhood) and is sure of herself and direct in her assessments of others – she tells Midmore: 'You haven't a bad seat ... but you're worrying him' [355]. She speaks her mind to fellow landowners: 'I told him [Bob Lotten] he hadn't any business impounding water for his idiotic trout without rebuilding the dam' [363], demonstrating both a forthrightness and an understanding of the relationship of people and change with the land. At the height of the flood she and Midmore work together to shift the floodgates and move furniture, she then takes control of the domestic situation and looks after Mrs Sidney (the traditional role of the female gentry) and sends Midmore off to get dry,

echoing Kipling's vision of a countryside where people work together and support each other.

His London life is one of theatres, teas and talk, the theoretical reconstruction of society by a group of young (or not so young people – as Rhoda says 'they're too old for romps' [350]) people, a life without responsibilities (except to himself). His group has little experience of life beyond their own metropolitan existence, as is reflected in Midmore's contemptuous reference to 'Ther Land' [334] and the group's naive vision of life in the country, that 'if he [Midmore] only held true to the gospels of the Immoderate Left the earth would soon be covered with 'jolly little' pigsties built in the intervals of morris-dancing by 'the peasant' himself [349] – clearly Kipling has no truck with this Chestertonian vision of the countryside.

When Midmore visits his inheritance following his aunt's funeral his concern is not about the loss of his aunt, but materialistically about the estate and his legacy. He is suspicious of Rhoda's claim for a bequest of thirty pounds a year which was not in the final will and puts her tears at the funeral down to that rather than grief for a lost mistress/ friend. The fact that the final will was made in London and that this long-standing bequest was missed further heightens the disparity between rural tradition and metropolitan materialism; lawyer Sperrit's comment 'It's in no sense a legal obligation' [336] challenges the Londoner to make this London error right. He wants to sell the house, but is told 'the house itself is rather old fashioned—hardly the type purchasers demand nowadays' [335], a reference both to the physical condition of house and the difference between country house attitudes and those in contemporary London.

On his second visit he gets to look round the house and view his new possessions:

Everything his eyes opened upon was his very own to keep forever. The carved four-post Chippendale bed, obviously worth hundreds; the wavy walnut William and Mary chairs—he had seen worse ones labelled twenty guineas apiece; the oval medallion mirror; the delicate eighteenth-century wire fireguard; the heavy brocaded curtains were all his ...[340]

These domestic items represent a history of the house and the generations that have lived there – Midmore's history. His reaction is not to consider the items or their history, but their financial value. His materialism is underlined by the finding of the purse and money (which Kipling details) to be told ' "You used to play with that when my sister brought you down here after your measles," said Rhoda as he

slipped the money into his pocket' [341] – he loved the money even as a child.

Sidney, the sitting tenant, comes to see him to demand a new pig-pound, although Midmore is only liable for repairs. He appears a typical, grasping farmer, but when Midmore provides materials, he is honest enough to say this and take no more than is his just due – to do more would be 'like cheatin' a suckin' baby' [351], a much repeated phrase which reinforces the idea of Midmore's initial naivety. This compares with the members of the 'Immoderate Left' that Midmore knows in London, who casually sponge off him (there are 'plenty of women anxious to help earnest inquirers with large independent incomes ...' [334]) and then complain when he does not give hand outs ('So a cloud settled on Midmore's name. His London world talked of a hardening of heart and a tightening of purse-strings which signified disloyalty to the Cause' [352]).

The country characters (the 'queer community' [352]) contrast with the London crowd. There are two distinct groups – the middle-class squirearchy and the local 'peasantry'. They are straightforward people, honest in their way ('they lied, except about horses, grudgingly and of necessity, not for art's sake' [357]) and are practical in ways that Midmore's London crowd are not – managing the land and coping with nature is just part of their everyday existence. They are adults, with adult responsibilities and we see Kipling's obvious pleasure in drawing out the local characters – Sidney, Rhoda and Charlie. The lawyer Sperrit's quotations from Horace reflect Kipling's affection – in his autobiography, Kipling later wrote: 'C——[Kipling's classics master at Westward Ho!] taught me to loathe Horace for two years; to forget him for twenty, and then to love him for the rest of my days'²². Surtees is the required reading for the local gentry; it has been suggested that this is to demonstrate a kind of anti-intellectualism amongst the elite, but again we meet a childhood literary hero of Kipling's²³. These literary references serve to strengthen the concept of links to the past in the story; these were the books that helped form the adult Kipling during his formative schooldays – as they will form the adult Midmore. At first Midmore is horrified by these books, but he is drawn in – 'a lonelier Columbus into a stranger world the wet-ringed moon never looked upon' [347].

Through Surtees, hunting, with its traditions and rituals, proves to be Midmore's introduction to his role as a country gentleman in the village and with his neighbours – the farmers, lawyers and others who constitute the social elite. The inborn hunting skills within the metropolitan man come back to Midmore remarkably quickly – when playing with the late colonel's shotguns

he loaded one, took it out and pointed—merely pointed—it at a cock pheasant which rose out of a shrubbery behind the kitchen, and the flaming bird came down in a long slant on the lawn, stone dead [343]

– the land is reaching back into the collective memory of its people. This interest in hunting distances Midmore from his London friends and Midmore's deceptions (sprouting like 'mushrooms on a dung pit' [359]) to explain his absences from town and change of behaviour play on his London friends' prejudices and mutual mistrusts:

The rent, he said, was an object to him, for he had lately lost large sums through ill-considered benevolences. He would name no names, but they could guess. And they guessed loyally all round the circle of acquaintances ... [354].

Midmore is passing from his childlike state. He confronts Sidney over the pig shed and Sidney responds adult to adult – ' "Very good" said the giant. "I reckon you thought you 'ad something against me and now you've come down an' told me like man to man"' [350]. His status is extended when he gets Sidney to remove the wire from around his land, as the M.F.H. says; 'What! Midmore got Sidney to heel? *You* never did that, Sperrit' [356] and when he exerts his authority over Sidney to stop any claims for missing chickens:

'There won't be,' said Midmore. 'It's too like cheating a sucking child, isn't it Mr Sidney?'

'You've got me!' was all the reply. 'I be used to bein' put upon, but you've got me, Mus' Midmore' [356].

The social tension that existed when Sidney first met Midmore has turned to shared laughter and respect. Midmore is no longer the 'suckin' baby', but 'Mus' Midmore' – man and master. The land has taken the female dominated child and turned him into a man, a gentleman (with all the attributes that that entails) who will be a leader of local society, ready to take his place and his responsibilities among the country hierarchy, as his ancestors before him had done.

The life in London was one of theoretical discussions, of the 'higher truths'; in the country theory comes second to practical, decisive action. This is demonstrated by the flood scenes. Throughout the story the rain has been falling and the land is constantly damp. Midmore has taken action to repair the floodgates, but the power of nature overwhelms that of man and the countryside and house are inundated. The flood is based

on Kipling's personal experiences when the river Dudwell flooded Bateman's in autumn 1909. As he did in "The Friendly Brook" (1914) Kipling uses 'the brook and its almost magical powers to sort things out'²⁴. Here, the flood brings out the story of Rhoda's past relationship with Sidney, Charlie's parentage and Midmore's love for Connie Sperrit. Midmore's final acknowledgement of that love demonstrates how far he has come. After Connie is startled by the piglet and falls down, he adopts the chivalrous, protective attitude of the gentry towards women: 'Are you hurt, darling?' [374] he asks, lifting her up and cleaning her face. He calls her 'My dear child' [375] explicitly accepting the adult role. But in contrast to his transient liaisons in London he conforms to the rural proprieties for the gentry: 'They set off together, very careful not to join hands or take arms' [376], there can be no affectionate physical contact before Connie speaks to her mother (as her mother had doubtless done before her). The house is flooded, as it has been before and will be again, by the eternal power of nature, but it has survived and will have new blood to take it into the future – secure in the old ways.

* * *

The most quoted critical assessment of "'My Son's Wife'" is a brief analysis in Angus Wilson's *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*²⁵. Here, while praising the story's 'picture of Sussex village people' and the 'well sustained' flood sequences Wilson considers the story spoiled by the 'overweight of moral and social theory under which it sways'²⁶, yet it is that social theory that now gives greater insight into the story. Wilson's main criticism centres on Kipling's descriptions and discussions of the 'Immoderate Left' which Wilson categorises as the 'sour grapes of ageing' and which reminds him of 'the talk of my father's club friends in Sussex in my boyhood'. Wilson's criticisms are frequently referenced in later analyses of the story, but while he makes some interesting points he misses Kipling's main intention with the story – to focus on the redemptory power of the country and the corrosive influence of modern city life.

Wilson correctly suggests that Kipling has the Bloomsbury group of intellectuals and its fellow bohemians in his sights when describing the 'Immoderate Left' and their activities. He suggests that Kipling's antipathy to this group is based on 'The sour grapes of the ageing'. This may be an over-simplification. Kipling was aware of the various members of the Bloomsbury group and their social and cultural agenda, and the members of the group knew Kipling's work and attitudes. Bloomsbury attitudes varied – Clive Bell wrote that Roger Fry (the Modernist art critic and curator) thought of Kipling's works as 'works of art which

according to current doctrine ought not to come off but which somehow or other do"²⁷, while Lytton Strachey, the biographer and literary critic, considered Kipling to be the one living genius among contemporary poets²⁸.

Kipling's contact with the avant-garde was more limited. He was a generation older; while he was a modern writer, discussing the issues of the day he was not Modernist or avant-garde in the way that writers like Virginia Woolf or Katherine Mansfield were (his style of stories reflecting more the influence of the French writer Guy de Maupassant, rather than the more psychological stories influenced by the later Russian Anton Chekhov being produced by Mansfield and other younger writers) and would have moved in different circles and, to an extent had a different audience. Records of meetings between Kipling and Bloomsbury members date from after the publication of "My Son's Wife". When the Kiplings met Lytton Strachey in 1923, Carrie noted in her diary that he was 'a new person to us'. Kipling read Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* when it came out in 1918 and felt it was 'downright wicked at its heart', but he was sufficiently interested to read Strachey's next book, *Queen Victoria*, which he seems to have enjoyed and developed a respect for Strachey as a biographer²⁹. However he is likely to have had less sympathy with the pranks of the group such as the Dreadnought Hoax, where in February 1910, at the height of the naval rivalry between Britain and Germany, Virginia Woolf, Duncan Grant, Adrian Stephen, Anthony Buxton, Guy Ridley and Horace Cole, members of the Bloomsbury group, dressed as representatives of the Abyssinian government boarded the Dreadnought, the most advanced British warship of its time and proceeded to inspect the ship. The deception was not discovered until some time later. While Kipling was not averse to writing about humorous pranks and hoaxes (for example "The Bonds of Discipline", in *Traffics and Discoveries* [1904] where a French spy appears on H.M.S. *Archimandrite* and the crew put on an extraordinary show of incompetence and ill-discipline to confuse him), one could doubt whether he would have found the real life version amusing – he would be more likely to consider it immature and unpatriotic, certainly not sour grapes as Wilson suggests.

Wilson says that Kipling's picture of the activities of the 'Immoderate Left' are 'exaggerated and without any sympathy' – yet he follows this by saying that they are 'not too far away from the world of Orage and Middleton Murry'³⁰. Wilson correctly identifies the lack of sympathy for the 'Immoderate Left', yet it is a reasonably accurate depiction; given Kipling's ideological intentions with the story does he need to portray them sympathetically?

Bohemianism was a developing trend among some metropolitan Modernist circles towards the end of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. Elizabeth Wilson in *Bohemians: the glamorous outcasts*³¹ identifies the opposition of the Bohemian to the bourgeoisie and the growth of the romantic mythology of the starving artist in the garret developing from the writings of Henri Murger (*Vie de Bohème*) and similar writings which had captured the public imagination; the romantic images he created became the stuff of bourgeois entertainment, and the anti-establishment bohemian figure became a recognised (if not always socially acceptable) element within society³². In early twentieth century London the ideas of the cultural intellectuals were developed in small coteries, and communicated and diluted to others at the fringes of these groups. Wilson gives a number of aspects of Bohemian subcultures: the city (it being a particularly metropolitan phenomenon); the rise of the identifiable individual (whether that was a writer, artist or critic), their self-image as a 'different sort of person' to the rest of society; the importance of friendship and personal relations within Bohemian groups; and a rejection of bourgeois society and its institutions and mores.

These are the elements that Kipling fairly accurately references and satirises in "My Son's Wife" – the teas, the talks and the search for 'Truth'. Wilson, I feel, focuses too much on the question of what he describes as the younger generation's 'promiscuity' and 'easy morality'. Wilson feels that this 'plain man' approach, focussing on the prurient elements of the Bloomsbury group is a negative aspect to the story. Certainly this is an aspect of Kipling's critique; as well as satirising Bohemian fads and self-absorption he counters well the casual, self-involved infidelity of the 'Immoderate Left' with the acceptance of a similar state in the countryside amongst the local peasantry, but, interestingly, not amongst the gentry, but to focus on this is to miss Kipling's main intention, that of promoting his vision of a restorative rural idyll counterpointed against a changing and challenging metropolis.

Wilson may be looking at the story with the benefit of hindsight when he writes that Kipling's attitudes remind Wilson of his father's friends in the club. When Wilson was writing in 1977, as now, Bloomsbury were recognised as innovators and shapers of English culture (even if a little out of fashion); however, in 1913, before the Great War, (when details of their now familiar sexual relationships were more concealed) they and their social and cultural ideas were viewed with degrees of mistrust, as the 'other' to the respectable middle-classes that Kipling was depicting, and to an extent writing for – in a similar way to how punks were viewed by the establishment when Wilson was writing. There is clearly a lot of politics of varying sorts within Kipling's

writings. He was following and promoting a conservative standpoint which he felt strongly about and writing for an audience that would see and approve his standpoint. This can be problematic for readers today, but it is true that Kipling's politics, which Orwell, Wilson and others have criticised 'are just the elements from which as an artist he drew his greatest strength; in short, that for what Ernest Hemingway called "the good Kipling" politics were always the very essence of aesthetics'³³.

What Wilson does not discuss is Kipling's treatment of women in the story. Kaori Nagai has recently discussed Kipling's treatment of women in his stories and some elements of this discussion are relevant here. While they are usually roundly described and treated as psychological entities rather than ciphers, as Daphne, Connie and Rhoda are, Nagai writes that 'women are confined in domesticity to the role of companion with little freedom to explore the world on their own'³⁴. Connie certainly conforms to this assessment – she takes on the roles of Midmore's companion in life: she works with him during the flood to shift the flood-gates, she then takes control of the domestic situation and looks after Mrs Sidney (the traditional role of the female gentry). This companionship is not, however, an equal partnership. Nagai suggests that women are meant to be the companions of men, as that is the way the man masters her³⁵. We see this in Connie's late conversation with Midmore:

'Oh, I'll be good. I'll be good.' Her voice changed suddenly. 'I swear I'll try to be good, dear. I'm not much of a thing at the best.'
[376]

– this from a woman who has taken control of situations overnight, is a fearless rider and hunter and can harangue local landowners!

What we can see is Kipling retaining what we now understand as the outmoded, potentially misogynist, gender attitudes of Victorian writing, with the hero male and the woman in the background. He was not against the new, urban working woman³⁶ who in 1913 was pressing for the vote and a greater freedom to play her part in life, except where she is self-absorbed at the expense of her companion – as he pictured Daphne. Here, in keeping with the theme of the story, he merely retains (and celebrates) the traditional, gentry attitude to women, typical of men of his age and upbringing, attitudes which were being challenged by the avant-garde writers of Bloomsbury that he sought to satirise.

"My Son's Wife" is not a complex tale like "Mrs Bathurst" or a powerful exploration of love and loss as in "On Greenhow Hill". However, it does give us many insights into the social and cultural attitudes in the years before the Great War and how Kipling, the conservative imperialist, responded to those challenges to the values he

held dear. Kipling was a late Victorian writer coming to terms with the challenges of Modernism and modernity both in the literary world and wider society. He responds to these challenges with a retreat into the past to find security. His gentle satire pillories the excesses of the new bohemians self-absorbedly trying to change society, demonstrating a keen awareness of avant-garde life, while his depictions of the country and its inhabitants are full of humour and keen observation, reflecting his abiding love for his new-found home. It is a story written from a conservative political ideology, Kipling was promoting his vision for social regeneration, and there is evidence that he put a lot of himself into the story – we see the books that have influenced him, the location, the house and the flood are all drawn from his Sussex reality, while the peace and pleasure that comes to Frankwell Midmore echoes that which Kipling and Carrie (is there a subconscious link with Connie here?) claimed to have found at Bateman's. However, it is not dogmatic or polemic – it is a simple, hopeful fantasy with a satirical edge. As J.M.S. Tompkins points out³⁷, humour and laughter are at the heart of the story – it is laughter that finally breaks the spell of the 'Immoderate Left':

For a few seconds the teaching of the Immoderate Left, whose humour is all their own, wrestled with those of Mother Earth, who has her own humours. Then Midmore laughed till he could scarcely stand. [351]

Kipling was struggling to find hope and certainty when he wrote the story in 1913 and tapped into a growing conservative nostalgia for an idealized rural past to wipe away the concerns of the present. By 1917 when the story was published in book form the mood of the country had changed. The horrors and loss of the Great War had firmly cemented the notion of England as home and this nostalgia for a structured rural England into the national consciousness, a position it still strongly retains today as we can see by the on-going popularity of *Downton Abbey* and the Olympic opening ceremony.

NOTES

1. "My Son's Wife", collected in *A Diversity of Creatures*, London, Macmillan, 1917. Page references are from the Centenary edition, 1966.
2. The index to the *Kipling Journal* cites only two references 118/16 (1956) and 153/10(1965).
3. Robert Smith Surtees (1805-1864) author of a number of humorous sporting novels featuring the fox hunter Mr Jorrocks and a recurring cast of characters between the 1830s and 1860s.
4. Rudyard Kipling, "A Charm", *Rewards and Fairies*, London, Macmillan, 1910, ix.

5. J.M.S. Tompkins "Kipling's Later Tales: the themes of healing", *Modern Language Review* 45,(1950) pp. 18-32
6. Alan Howkins, "The Discovery of Rural England" in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds) *Englishness: politics and culture 1800-1920*, Beckenham, Kent, Croom Helm, 1986, pp.62-88.
7. Martin J. Weiner, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*, London, Penguin, 1985, p.51.
8. See Alan Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds) *Englishness: politics and culture 1800-1920*, Beckenham, Kent, Croom Helm, 1986, pp.62-88.
9. Quoted in H. Rider Haggard, *A Farmer's Year*, London, Longmans, 1899, p.466, cited in Howkins above, p.66.
10. William Le Queux (1864-1927), French / British writer of over 200 novels and stories including occult, crime and early thriller novels, he wrote 'invasion scare' novels before the Great War, warning of the threat of a German invasion. He was influential in Lord Roberts' rearmament movement.
11. William Le Queux, "The Secret of the Fox Hunter" in *Secrets of the Foreign Office*, London, Hutchinson, 1903.
12. Mark Girouard, *Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, New Haven, Yale U.P., 1981, p.260.
13. David Gilmour, *The Long Recessional: the imperial life of Rudyard Kipling*, London, John Murray, 2002, p. 181.
14. Martin J. Weiner, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*, London, Penguin, 1985, p.55.
15. G.K. Chesterton, "On Mr Rudyard Kipling (from Heretics)" [1905] in *The Bodley Head G.K. Chesterton* (ed P.J. Kavanagh), London Bodley Head, 1985, p.71.
16. See G.K. Chesterton "The Meaning of Merry England" [1917] in *The Bodley Head G.K. Chesterton* (ed P.J. Kavanagh), London Bodley Head, 1985, p.387-395.
17. In 1893 Kipling and his new wife Carrie moved to Vermont and built a house, 'Naulakha'. Carrie's family were there but in 1896 tensions between Kipling and Carrie's brother Beatty lead to confrontations between the men and legal proceedings. The Kiplings eventually moved from the house they loved back to England. See Frederic F. van de Water *Kipling's Vermont Feud*, Rutland Vermont, Academy Books, 1981.
18. Peter Keating, *Kipling the Poet*, London, Secker, 1994, p.150.
19. Rudyard Kipling, "Sussex" [1902], *Verse*, Definitive Edition, London, Hodder, 1940, p.215.
20. Bonamy Dobrée, *Rudyard Kipling, Realist and Fabulist*, Oxford, O.U.P., 1967, p.107.
21. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, London, Macmillan, 1901, p.394.
22. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* London, Macmillan, 1937, p.33.
23. See Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky and Co.*, London, Macmillan, 1899, p.5.
24. Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999, p.436.
25. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: his life and work*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1977.
26. Angus Wilson, *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling: his life and work*, London, Secker and Warburg, 1977 pp.282-283.

27. Quoted in S.P. Rosenbaum (ed), *The Bloomsbury Group: a collection of memoirs and commentary*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1995, p.174.
28. Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1994, p. 173.
29. Harry Ricketts, *The Unforgiving Minute: a life of Rudyard Kipling*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1999, p.356.
30. Alfred Richard Orage (1873-1934,) a left wing intellectual and writer, editor of the magazine *The New Age*. John Middleton Murry (1889-1957) an English writer, essayist and critic. He was married to the Modernist writer Katherine Mansfield.
31. Elizabeth Wilson, *Bohemians: the glamorous outcasts*, London, Taurus, 2000, pbk ed 2003.
32. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle created perhaps the greatest fictional detective and bohemian, Sherlock Holmes; he has Holmes' companion Watson read Murger's *Vie de Bohème* in *A Study in Scarlet* (*The Complete Sherlock Holmes Long Stories*, London, John Murray, 1929, repr. 1977, p.43), yet Doyle kept his own Bohemian marital arrangements secret.
33. Elliot L. Gilbert, *The Good Kipling*, Manchester, M.U.P., p.9.
34. Kaori Nagai, "Kipling and gender" in Howard J. Booth (ed) the *Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, Cambridge C.U.P., 2011, pp.66-79, p.77.
35. Kaori Nagai, "Kipling and gender" in Howard J Booth (ed) the *Cambridge Companion to Rudyard Kipling*, Cambridge C.U.P., 2011, 66-79, p.70.
36. For example, his comments about American typewriter girls and their taking control of their lives in time of misfortune *From Sea to Sea and other Sketches* Vol.2, London, Macmillan 1900, pp.6-7.
37. J.M.S. Tompkins, *The Art of Rudyard Kipling*, London, Methuen, 1959, pp.50-51.

Editorial continued from page 6.

THANKS TO C.R.W. PUBLISHING LTD

Further to the Editorial comment in the *Journal* No.349 (March 2013, p.6) on the volume of poetry recently published in the *Collector's Library* series, our President, Lt-Colonel R.C. Ayers tells me that C.R.W. Publishing Ltd have now donated three sets of their four current Kipling titles to the Society. These are to be used as additional prizes to be awarded in this year's essay competition.

We are most grateful to C.R.W. for this generous gesture.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS IN *KIM*¹

By JEREMY KRIKLER

[Dr Krikler is a Reader in the Dept of History at the University of Essex. – *Ed.*]

Historians should be grateful to literary scholars who have pointed out how *Kim* illustrates facets of the past. They have revealed how this great novel illuminates 'orientalist' stereotypes of Asians; anxieties regarding Russia in British India; the Raj's concerns about the intractable north-west frontier; a British view of the Indian 'Mutiny'; the complicity of ethnography in colonial rule; and the discomfort of the supporters of the Raj with a nascent Indian nationalism.² This article largely eschews discussion of such points since they have now passed into scholarly consensus, even if the labour of refining them continues: thus Jan Montefiore, who gives due importance to the racial attitudes implicit in the novel, has recently warned against pressing the characters of *Kim* into uncomplicated stereotypes. Not only is Kipling's warmth (and even love) reserved for his Indian characters, the whites in the novel are held at a distance and are sometimes portrayed as ignorant or oppressive.³

The present article proposes some hitherto-unexplored historical significances of the fiction through a detailed biographical reading of the novel: hence my references to Kipling's private papers and autobiographical writings, as also to the process by which he composed the work, the manuscript of which is held by the British Library.⁴ Charles Allen has argued profoundly that *Kim* reflected Kipling's need – stimulated by his experience of fatherhood, the tragic loss of his first child, and his being reunited with his father after so many years – to reconnect with his boyhood in India.⁵ Other writers have pointed convincingly to this recapturing of childhood in the novel.⁶ Some of what I write reinforces this, in part through archival evidence. But I also propose that the autobiographical elements in *Kim* reveal the impact of master-servant relations on the British in India and the way in which these coiled about the parent-child relationship of whites in the Raj. I also argue that *Kim* relates to the experience of educational exile suffered by the white children of colonial India in a subterranean way, and that its particular (submerged) mode of relating the experience helps to account for the appeal of the novel. Finally, I suggest that a historian's reading of *Kim* might explain something of the peculiar quality of one of its major characters, the lama.

To begin with the autobiographical elements of *Kim*. Obviously, Kipling – unlike Kim – was not a white orphan, believed to be Indian,

who adventured through India, accompanying a beloved Tibetan lama who sought a Holy River and elevation to a higher spiritual plane. Neither did Kipling disguise himself as an Indian and act as a secret agent in an imperial network of surveillance and control. Moreover, in certain respects, Kipling creates a vast social distance between himself and Kimball O'Hara. Kim is a child of the Irish working class in India: his mother was a nursemaid; his father a non-commissioned officer, a man who later became a railway employee before he succumbed to alcohol and then opium, 'and died as poor whites die in India'.⁷ Kipling, by contrast, was the son of the English middle-class in India, though his father – an artist-curator – was not economically secure. A document in the Kipling papers contains a struck out passage that refers to him as 'a comparatively poor man' and alludes to how difficult he found it to fund his children's education in England or even his wife's annual summers in Simla.⁸ His income and station in life, however, were far above the man described as Kim's father and whose alcoholic tramping ends only when he takes up with a 'half-caste woman', an opium addict. Kim's mother has long-since died.⁹

In terms of social class, then, Kim bears little relationship to Kipling. However, in other respects the two characters have much in common, and those commentators who have identified the novelist with the character are unquestionably correct.¹⁰ Kim is an orphan, and if Kipling himself was not one, he certainly had a strong sense of feeling orphaned as a young boy when he was sent away from India to school in England. Not surprisingly, Kipling's other world-famous character, Mowgli, is also an orphan, and there is a powerful insight in the argument of one writer that Kipling, in both *The Jungle Book* and *Kim*, makes the heroes orphans who, in effect, escape this status by being adopted by a number of other characters." In this way, Kipling both registers and overcomes what he felt to be his fate as a child.

There are other correspondences between Kipling and the boy hero of his novel. When Kipling writes of Kim speaking 'the vernacular by preference, and his mother-tongue in a clipped uncertain sing-song',¹¹ he could have been writing of himself in his early Indian years. As is well known, he spoke the language of his Indian carers more comfortably than he did English. He later recalled how those servants 'would tell us stories and Indian nursery songs all unforgotten, and we were sent into the dining-room after we had been dressed, with the caution "Speak English now to Papa and Mamma." So one spoke "English," haltingly translated out of the vernacular idiom that one thought and dreamed in."¹²

The vernacular idiom that one thought and dreamed in – this is Kim. When, having moved through the novel with a confident use of idiom and a fluent vernacular, the boy Kim is captured by his late father's

regiment, he is described as speaking 'the tinny, saw-cut English of the native-bred'. Montefiore has emphasised that *throughout* the novel, even after his schooling at St Xavier's, Kim's English is given an Indian accent.¹⁴ This would further seal the connection between Kim and the young Kipling since after Kipling's schooling his English lost its Indian accent. As to thinking in the vernacular, just as did the young Kipling, so does Kim. After he has delivered a message from Mahbub Ali, horse dealer and secret agent of the Raj, to Colonel Creighton, the intelligence chief, Kim is described as 'thinking as usual in Hindustanee'.¹⁵

This merging of aspects of Kipling with Kim was not accidental. There is evidence that Kipling felt the character of Kim somehow incomplete unless given certain characteristics of his own boyhood. In the original manuscript of the novel, Kipling did not initially include the words 'thinking as usual in Hindustanee' when he first wrote the sentence describing Kim's cogitation about the message delivered to the Colonel. But, clearly, he found the original description inadequate until he could add a flourish in a marginal annotation that recalled something of his boyhood.¹⁶ And this is not the only evidence of this that can be traced in the creative process through which the novel took its final form.¹⁷

Kim is also similar to the young Kipling in his open attitude to religion. On hearing of the lama's faith, Kim quickly accepts it as just one more of the 'few score' religions he's encountered.¹⁸ Probably the most unsympathetic character in the novel is the Protestant chaplain Bennett,¹⁹ the man who dismisses the overwhelming bulk of humanity as mere heathens because the divinities they worship are not his own. By contrast, when Kim comes across the symbol of his father's regiment, he absorbs it into his tolerant sense of the variety of religions in the Raj. For Kim, the white soldiers seem to be worshipping the golden bull that is the mascot of their regiment.²⁰

The hostile portrayal of the military chaplain Bennett in *Kim* may lie in part in Kipling's own childhood encounter with the austere Protestantism espoused by the woman with whom he first boarded when he was sent to England to be educated. This was preached with a certainty that excluded all other roads to the truth, and with the fearful whip of eternal damnation for those who would not accept it.²¹ But Kim's hostility to this and his openness to the other faiths of India arises also from the contrast between this religion of fear and a different experience of religion. For Kipling's autobiography famously refers to his early introduction to a world of many faiths. His Catholic *ayah* (nanny) 'would pray – I beside her – at a wayside Cross. Meeta, my Hindu bearer, would sometimes go into little Hindu temples where, being below the age of caste, I held his hand and looked at the dimly-seen, friendly Gods.' There were also 'gaily dressed Parsees wading out to

worship the sunset'. It is also significant that Kipling here accords 'all good fortune to Allah the Dispenser of Events'. "The first chapter of the autobiography, then, introduces us to Islam, Hinduism, Catholicism, the Parsees. The first chapter of the novel, too, parades adherents to numerous faiths: Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity."²³

It was the Indian carers of his childhood who opened the infant Kipling's eyes to the faiths of India, investing them with warmth and intimacy. (This was something he shared with other white children of the Raj.)²⁴ And it is arguable that the centrality of Indian servants in Kipling's early upbringing, the degree to which he absorbed their culture, is powerfully represented in the novel. This is probably why India is so embedded in the character of Kim that when Kipling wishes to illustrate what he considers Oriental traits, he sometimes does this through the character of the white boy, a point registered but not given significance in Said's famous identification of Kipling's 'asides [in the novel] on the immutable nature of the Oriental world as distinguished from the white world'.²⁵ Actually, these worlds are fused together in Kim. There is a seamless melding of the boy's imperialist role – that is, his intelligence work for the Raj – with his love for and ability to become part of India and its peoples.²⁶ This is one of the sources of the novel's ability to seduce those who would otherwise be put off by its imperialism.²⁷ But even as we concede this melding, we also need to account for that evidence in the novel of Kim's resistance to becoming a Sahib, which is – of course – associated with his being sent to school, ultimately at St. Xavier's in Lucknow: 'They'll make a man o' you ... at St. Xavier's -', Father Victor, the sympathetic regimental chaplain, tells Kim, 'a white man ...'²⁸

Yet Kim often implies – or states – that he is not a Sahib and that he is being forced to become one. After his initial encounter with the chaplains of his late father's regiment, he comments that: 'They say ... I must needs go to a *madrissah* [a school] and be turned into a Sahib.' When the lama asks Kim what the chaplains' plans are for him, he replies scornfully: 'Make me a Sahib – so they think.' And he rejects the white race when the chaplains suggest that soldiering in the British Army might appeal to Kim: " '*Gorah-log* [white-folk]. No-ah! No-ah!' Kim shook his head violently." He seeks to escape the fate of being made white. When he tries to run away from the regiment, he pleads to Mahbub Ali: 'I do not want to be a Sahib ...' Later, after some time at St. Xavier's school, Kim declares: 'I am *not* a Sahib ...'²⁹

In fact, there is some evidence that Sahib culture chafes against Kim. He finds delight and ease in Indian clothing, and yet discomfort in that of the British.³⁰ Kim's food preferences are also overwhelmingly Indian. One scholar has argued that this betrays the maternal force with

which Kipling invested India and Indian women.³¹ But it also says something about his cultural alienation from the British world. In the novel, its food appears as the antithesis of the glorious Indian foods described. Kim finds eating in the British military style 'peculiarly revolting'. The fare of the regimental school is 'most unappetising', apparently including 'raw beef on a platter'.³² This finds an echo in Kipling's later comments to his son about food at boarding school in England: 'the grub was simply beastly'.³³ There might be an aberrant moment or two when, after being schooled at St. Xavier's, Kim 'felt all the European's lust for flesh-meat',³⁴ but the food of the Sahibs is as nothing compared with the Indian cuisine after which he hankers. The very prospect of being free in India during the St. Xavier's vacation is partly associated with the food to which Kim can return: 'his mouth watered for mutton stewed with butter and cabbages ... for the saffron-tinted rice ... and the forbidden greasy sweetmeats of the bazars'. When he eats with Mahbub Ali 'a cooked meal of the finest with almond-curd sweetmeats (*balushai* we call it)', he contrasts this with the fare at school: 'assuredly they give no such victuals at my *madrissah*. Generally it is the Indian foods that Kim falls upon and that Kipling writes of with such a sensuous delight that it makes one hungry'.³⁵

We should take all this, as also the ecstasy with which Kim returns to an Indian persona and 'native speech' when the vacation comes round at St. Xavier's – 'In all India that night was no human being so joyful as Kim'.³⁶ – as reflecting Kipling's sense of the cultural loss entailed in being schooled into being a Sahib. *Kim* is both a novel that announces white supremacy and the duties of the Sahib and, paradoxically, one that registers the personal and cultural losses entailed in being drilled into the dominant race. The novel, of course, emphasises that Kim must take on the duty and supremacy of being white in the empire. *Kim* reflects and endorses the system of British imperial control in India.³⁷ And the principal argument for empire is made in the subtlest of ways: the white men (and boy) who play the Great Game prevent India from falling into anarchy and violence, and they thereby protect both the colourful diversity of that land, as well as the great noble character of the story, the lama, who is allowed his spiritual search.³⁸ In this way, the British are portrayed as exercising a necessary and morally-justified supremacy.

Nevertheless, there are points in the story when the guidance of the Sahib breaks down, and when the white boy, Kim, having treated Asian adults either as the equals of a white child or as people to be duped, exposed, looked after or enjoyed for their exoticism, suddenly becomes dependent on them. In short, we are treated to role reversals – where power flows in a direction that is surprising. There are two striking moments when this occurs. The first takes place when Kim – up until

now, the carefree, confident boy who has taken the lama under his wing, protecting and helping him in his quest for the sacred river – is excluded from the travels of the holy man and subjected to the lama's plans for the boy's education.

Kim has been captured by the chaplains of his late father's regiment, and his hope is simply to escape from them and rejoin the lama on his saintly quest. But the lama is decisive in rejecting this (he 'disregarded Kim's plans for an early flight') and instead decides that the boy should be educated at the expensive St Xavier's school in Lucknow." The reversal of paternalism is striking and abrupt. Up until this point, the lama relies on the wiles and knowledge of Kim to such a degree that the boy in effect plays worldly adult to the lama's innocent child. In the first four chapters of the novel, Kim gets food for the lama, buys his railway ticket, protects him from fraud and theft and finds places for him to sleep. The lama is infantilised by Kim and when the boy's hands are literally full he is given to 'piloting the lama with a nudging shoulder'.⁴⁰ Yet we now arrive at a point where Kim's future is decided, in great part, by the lama's decision and resources.

The role reversal is all the more abrupt for the fact that *after* Kim's schooling, he reverts once more to the paternal role. This is made evident by the moments at which he arranges or carries food on the renewed quest and, above all, by his falling upon the Russian spy after he has hit the lama and by Kim's tending to the shocked old man after this. When the search recommences, '[t]he lama...needed no more than Kim's shoulder to bear him along'. It is true that, not long before this, it is the lama – gathering strength from the mountains of his homeland – who leads the way in the trek through the peaks that Kim finds so gruelling. But this moment of the lama's physical strength is brief, and perhaps the great writer in Kipling was here simply carried away by the artistic possibilities of writing about the mountains and those bred to them. This provides occasions for literary virtuosity – as when Kipling describes the lama striding powerfully away after taking 'a deep double-lungful of the diamond air' – but the narrative here violates briefly the established relationship of dependence between the lama and Kim.⁴¹

Another moment of role reversal, admittedly less dramatic, occurs when Kim – bullied, lonely and alienated in the regimental school as he awaits departure for St. Xaviers – beseeches Mahbub Ali to carry him away from his torments. However, the fearsome Pathan horse trader, an old friend of Kim's, will do no more than 'apply a peculiarly adhesive quirt' to the drummer boy who had persecuted Kim. He will not take him away, or allow him to disappear, into the vast, warm and colourful sub-continent that is Kim's natural and preferred environment.⁴² Again, the boy is placed in a situation of powerlessness, not in keeping with the

earlier relationship with Mahbub Ali, in which the Sahib boy deals with so formidable a character with something of a jesting equality, and from whom he gets what he wants – that is, money and food.⁴³

In the instances described above, the role reversals take place at precisely the moment that Kim is seeking to be saved from those who are about to send him away to school. This is the point where the Asian characters mutate into father figures to whom Kim appeals for protection. These moments of complete reversal are brief and, later in the novel, it is Kim who protects these characters, saving Mahbub Ali from ambush by anti-British elements, and the lama from the violence of the French and Russian agents. The white man, or boy, comes once more to shoulder his burden. Why do the reversals take place? They occur when Kim is being forced to be educated away from all that he has known and loves. Arguably, the writer's emotions at these points are strong enough to reverse the political values that, as Said has shown, underpin the novel.

As is well known, the fundamental trauma of Kipling's early years was his parents sending him away from his home in India to school in England at the age of six.⁴⁴ It is striking how the theme of parents and children separated by the oceans recurs in Kipling's writing. In "Private Learoyd's Story", which is about dogs, the colonel's wife is referred to as bestowing upon the terrier Rip all the demonstrative affection (the "coodlin' an' pettin'") that a child should 'by good right' have had. But, of course, the children of the colonel's wife are in England.⁴⁵ The subject of parents and children separated by the educational exile that was so common an experience for white children in the Raj is, of course, the theme of "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" (1888), the short story that was a direct transposing of Kipling's own experience into fiction. And it was described by Kipling in the unforgettable first chapter of his autobiography where he evoked 'the House of Desolation' in England that was associated with that wrenching experience.⁴⁶

There are possibly some resonances of this experience in *Kim*. The bullying drummer boy, part of the regimental school to which Kim is initially consigned after his separation from the lama, could be modelled on the son of the woman with whom Kipling boarded and who schooled him in Southsea. For Kipling viewed that boy as a persecutor.⁴⁷ When in the novel, then, Mahbub Ali whips the drummer boy, this could be wish fulfilment on Kipling's part: there is the intervention of an avenging adult that, in his childhood, Kipling was powerless to secure. But note that the intervention is not by a Sahib. The idea that in British India, an Asian horse-dealer would beat with impunity a white child apprenticed to a British regiment strains credulity. Kipling's introduction of this must therefore be impelled by something other than the storyteller's

desire to provide arresting but convincing detail. Why then is an Asian character called upon to perform a role of retribution and protection for the white boy?

One answer, if one concedes – at least in part – the autobiographical origins of the novel, is that in Kipling's own life at the crucial moment of his vulnerability, his father-Sahib was not only not present to defend him but had actually placed him in the situation of despair and then departed. Who could Kipling turn to? Years later in writing *Kim* – interestingly, in very close touch with his father – Kipling recovered the moment of trauma in his fiction, and the way he exacted revenge upon the bully of his early years, conforms with his position in Southsea. Kipling could not then call upon his father, and neither can Kim who is, after all, an orphan. But that an Indian (or, strictly speaking, an Afghan employee of the Raj) fulfils the role of avenging parent in *Kim* reflects not only the fact that the Sahib who was Kipling's father failed to protect him. It also reflects the fact that in Kipling's early life, Indian servants were fundamental to rearing and protecting him.

Elsewhere in the novel, a racial and colonial subordinate fulfils for Kim the function that Kipling wished his parents had fulfilled in his life. Kim is cared for by the 'half-caste woman' with whom his father took up. After his father dies, it is she who will not allow some of the local British to send the boy to 'the Masonic Orphanage in the Hills'.⁴⁸ This is precisely what, in Kipling's view, his mother had failed to prevent when he was taken away from his home in India and sent to school in England, the subject of the autobiographical "Baa Baa, Black Sheep".

The centrality to Kipling's early development of Indian servants is well-attested in his autobiography. It is plausible to see how, later in his life, when fantasising about vengeance against a boyhood persecutor, or indeed being saved from being sent away, his imagination might enrol the racial subordinates of the Raj to execute it. This was a writer whose experience of infancy was inseparable from Indians ministering to him and protecting him: Kipling's earliest memory was associated with the servants who cared for him.⁴⁹ The compliance of Indians in the household of Kipling's parents (and in the white households and enterprises of the Raj, more generally) was enforced on a racial, class and colonial basis.⁵⁰ This was a powerful and inescapable aspect of the lives of the British in India. One sees it registered vividly in that remarkably illuminating and moving set of letters of one such family – the Beveridges – present in India at the same time as the Kiplings and whose little children were also sent for schooling in England. 'Please tell the old servants not to forget us', is the plea of one child in a letter from England.⁵¹ She needn't have worried. A few months later her father was writing: 'The old bearer often asks after you all & he is fond of looking at the photographs.'⁵²

Kipling was shaped by such relationships throughout his time in India, both as a small child and later on. Indeed, when he returned to India from England at the age of sixteen, his memory of what his parents provided him included a servant as part of a basic inventory: 'I had my own room in the house; my servant, handed over to me by my father's servant, whose son he was ... my own horse, cart, and groom'⁵³ And the immense power he wielded over servants as he grew into manhood should not be underestimated. It could take frightening forms: on one occasion, he lashed Noor Ali, a bearer who had caused him trouble and expense.⁵⁴ The ubiquity of master-servant relations was impossible to escape: at work, Kipling would have encountered them every time the 'Punkah wallah' fanned him.⁵⁵

Command of servants, then, was a powerful part of Kipling's life in India, and we should not be surprised that it left its mark on the fiction he wrote. One of his early short stories has as its hero the six-year old Tods, a white boy in India worshipped by the servants and who expects his instructions to be followed.⁵⁶ In that great but propagandistic short story, "A Sahib's War", what might be called the Indian servant-parent appears again; indeed, that character is the narrator of this story about the tragic loss of the British officer whom the Indian viewed as his son and yet his master.⁵⁷ In *Kim*, there is no obvious evidence of master-servant relations in this way, but it can be suggested that there is a link between such relations and a projection on to Mahbub Ali and the nameless 'half-caste' woman who partnered Kim's father, the roles that Kipling wished his parents had performed when he was younger. It might be argued that the power over Indians that Kipling himself experienced was being used in his imagination – though not consciously – to address questions relating to his relationship with his parents. If Camus in *The Outsider* used the Arab characters in that novel as fodder for exploring existentialism, in *Kim*, Asians are used as props and symbols to explore a colonial-born Briton's identity and the trauma that marked his childhood. The social historian might consider this as a deeper emblem of colonialism than are the more obvious ideological undertones of the novel, for it reflects how deeply the hierarchies of race had been absorbed into the psyches of the colonial-born whites.⁵⁸

Mahbub Ali certainly performs a quasi-paternal role for Kim, whom he calls '[m]y son' at one point. He provides the boy with money and food and acts decisively against the drummer boy who bullies him; he also has insight into Kim's character and appreciates – as would a father – Kim's special gifts: hence he warns Colonel Creighton, who has taken Kim's education in hand, against a training that would submerge the boy's gifts. When Kim's schooling is at an end, it is of Mahbub Ali that he asks: 'Is it indeed all finished, O my father?'⁵⁹ Mahbub Ali is also

one of only two characters in the novel to whom Kim writes letters, a tell-tale sign of something of the father-son relationship, though one that is likely to be missed by readers oblivious to the massive emotional and symbolic significance of letters to and from exiled children in the days of the Raj.⁶⁰

Whatever paternal investment Kipling made in the figure of Mahbub Ali, however, the most complex of such investments takes place with respect to the figure of the lama, the other figure in the novel to whom Kim writes letters: indeed, when Kim is about to enter St Xavier's school he is desperate to know an address for the beloved elder: " 'But whither shall I send my letters?' wailed Kim, clutching at the robe, all forgetful that he was a Sahib."⁶¹ There is a dream-like quality in the relationship between Kim and the lama. On the one hand, it is Kim, the child, who fulfils the paternal role of protection and guidance. On the other, it is the lama who does so, considering Kim his *chela* (disciple) and deciding the school to which he will go. Indeed, the lama can explicitly refer to Kim in a paternal way: 'My *chela* is to me', he explains to the Widow of Kulu, 'as is a son to the unenlightened.'⁶²

In the novel, the lama is associated both with depriving Kim of the warmth and freedom of his early life – he is somewhat complicit in the boy being taken under the stern wing of the regiment – and yet he is associated with saving Kim: it is he who mobilizes the resources that allow Kim to go to St. Xavier's school, where the education is much more congenial. There is an interesting parallel here with the role of Kipling's father who was decisive in the young Rudyard's being wrenched from his security in India and deposited in unhappy Southsea where he was first educated, and then – equally – in arranging and providing the wherewithal for Rudyard to go to school in Westward Ho! where, after a difficult eighteen months, he was much happier and came to treasure its Head.⁶³ Compare this with the description in *Kim* of 'the terrible time of his first schooling' with the regiment and then his experience at St. Xaviers, the school that the lama made it possible for him to attend, where '[t]he atmosphere suited him, and he thrive'.⁶⁴

The lama can be shown in certain respects to represent Kipling's father. More particularly, the relationship between Kim and the lama might be said to represent symbolically Kipling's grappling with his complex feelings about the man whom he both loved and yet by whom he felt betrayed at the most vulnerable point of his life. Scholars of *Kim* are agreed that the character in the novel who is directly modelled on Kipling's father is the museum curator in Lahore.⁶⁵ That is undoubtedly so, given that John Lockwood Kipling, Rudyard's father, had precisely the same job when the young Kipling was growing up. But the curator has a brief role in the story – he appears in the first chapter and then

never again (except by reference and then only extremely occasionally) – and he shares not a word with Kim. In effect, the curator discusses Buddhism with the lama and then disappears from the novel. Before he does so, however, he gives the lama his spectacles. The lama has poor eye-sight, and what do we find but that the defect in the holy man's eyesight is virtually identical to that suffered by the curator of the museum, who passes on his fine, crystal-lensed spectacles to the holy man. Both men it seems literally see the world in the same way.

There is no literary point to the passing on of the spectacles. Even when we expect the spectacles to appear for artistic purposes, when the lama is struck full in the face by one of the French and Russian agents, Kipling in writing of the lama's shock and injury, fails to mention them. At one point in the novel, we are told that '[t]he lama stared through his spectacles', but elsewhere they are only ever mentioned in relation to the museum curator: firstly, when that figure gifts the spectacles in the first chapter of *Kim*; and, secondly, when the world darkens towards the end of the novel and the lama thinking that the end of his life approaches speaks of how even the glasses of the museum curator cannot let him cut through the 'shadows' that now cloud his vision.⁶⁶

The spectacles are significant as a link between the lama and the museum curator, a link between the novel's noble character and Kipling's father. Their complete lack of significance in literary terms is proved by the fact that the beautiful illustrations for the first editions of the novel, the images that were provided by Kipling's father himself after he had engaged in deep collaborative work with his son on the fiction, have the lama always without spectacles.⁶⁷ The spectacles are merely the occasion for, a trace of, the link between the curator (Kipling's father) and the lama. Indeed, the last time the spectacles are mentioned in the novel, the lama is at pains to make clear that he is sure that in a 'past life' the museum curator was 'a very wise abbot' – in other words, more or less exactly what the lama is (a Buddhist of great standing) – and this is just after the lama has just mused that he himself may once have been 'a Sahib'.⁶⁸

Such evidence suggests then that there is a curious meshing of the lama and the museum curator modelled on Kipling's father. Indeed, they are described early on as sharing a kinship and as both held by that implacable Wheel of Things – the demands of material existence – from which the lama brother...' says the lama. To this the curator replies: 'I am bound...'. In truth, the two characters are bound to one another: their interest in the beauty and meaning of the art relating to Buddhism is firmly established in the first chapter and the curator declares 'We be craftsmen together, thou and I.' Shortly afterwards, these words are echoed exactly by the

lama.⁶⁹ And the link between the lama and Kipling's father is sealed by the role that the lama plays in Kim's schooling.

There is, then, an argument to be made that, although Kim is an orphan, the novel has at its heart a relationship that might be construed as that between a father and a son. Interestingly, at odd moments, both Kim and the lama use the language of parent and child in reference to each other: when the ticket collector on the train to Umballa forces Kim off the train, he refers to the lama as his parents; and at the end of the novel, the lama addresses Kim as 'Son of my Soul'.⁷⁰ Kipling tends to jumble the parent-child roles – the boy Kim tends to take on the role of protector and guide, while the lama progresses innocently as a child through the dangers of colonial India – and this may reflect the fact that Kipling was not consciously conceiving of the relationship between Kim and lama as somehow linked to that between a father and son: it just emerged, impelled by Kipling's needs and experience as much as by the artistic demands of the writing. This dream-like jumbling might also express the enormous difficulty Kipling had in confronting directly the more painful aspects of his relationship with his father.

Interestingly, on one occasion, the prospect of being separated from the lama – this is after the boy has known him for only a few days – is implicitly likened by Kipling to the death of a parent when it seems that Kim – his ticket incorrect – will not be allowed to continue on the train journey with the lama, he

burst into a flood of tears, protesting that the lama was his father and his mother ... that the lama would die without his care.... The lama blinked – he could not overtake the situation – and Kim lifted up his voice and wept....

'I am very poor. My father is dead – my mother is dead. Oh, charitable ones, if I am left here, who shall tend that old man?'

Kipling writes this as a masquerade: the boy restrains the lama when he prepares to make good the money for the ticket, for Kim much prefers that one of 'the charitable ones' should do this.⁷¹ But in the midst of all this impish trickery, one should not lose sight of the declaration of orphan-hood, and the assertion by Kim that the lama represents his parents. Significantly, there is in the narration of this incident a significant difference between the original manuscript and the published version of the novel. In the published version, Kim hushes the lama when it seems he might offer money to pay for a ticket: "'Oh, be silent,' whispered Kim; 'are we Rajahs to throw away good silver when the world is so charitable?'"⁷² By contrast, in the original manuscript of *Kim*, these events are rendered in a way that makes the lama powerless

to prevent Kim from being separated from him – for the lama explicitly says that he has no money.⁷³ In fact, as we know from earlier in the chapter in which this incident occurs, the lama does have a bag of money with him – Kim has just used some of it to buy their railway tickets – and this noble character surely would not lie about this. The lama in the original manuscript thus acts contrary to the facts about his character and resources as earlier conveyed by the author.

It is tempting to see something autobiographical in the rendering as found in the manuscript. Kipling's parents never helped him when he was parted from them, and the lama is here portrayed as unable to help Kim at a point when separation from the lama ('his father and his mother') is threatened. In the published version of the novel, the lama's response – gesturing to offer money to resolve the difficulty – is brought into conformity with what we know about the character. But the manuscript of *Kim* betrays something else: the impossibility of the parent figure helping the child.

The notion of a connection between the lama and Kipling's father is supported by the fact that Kipling relied heavily on his father in creating the character. As Charles Allen has most comprehensively shown, Kipling drew very considerably upon his father's knowledge and interpretation of Buddhism in crafting the lama and his cosmology.⁷⁴ Both the textual traces that have been referred to, and the context of the actual writing of the work, then, suggest the presence of Kipling's father. The degree of their collaboration on the novel was quite extraordinary, as Kipling himself emphasised:

In a gloomy, windy autumn *Kim* came back to me with insistence, and I took it to be smoked over with my Father. Under our united tobaccos it grew like the Djin released from the brass bottle, and the more we explored its possibilities the more opulence of detail did we discover.

Note the use of the word 'we' in the description of this imaginative exploration. And note too that in describing Kim's journey, we find Kipling writing in the plural as well: 'Between us, we knew every step, sight and smell of his casual road, as well as all the persons he met.' The enormous paternal contribution to the novel was signalled by Kipling's loving complaint that his father 'would take no sort of credit for any of his suggestions, memories or confirmations' as also by Kipling's admission regarding *Kim*: 'There was a good deal of beauty in it, and not a little wisdom; the best in both sorts being owed to my Father.'⁷⁵

It might be thought odd that Kipling should have as a major figure in the story a character who is not only not from India – he comes from

Tibet – but a man who is a Buddhist: as has been pointed out particularly by Indian scholars of *Kim*, Buddhism is hardly exemplary of the standard representative religions of India; for hundreds of years, it has barely had a presence in the country.⁷⁶ Kim himself on first seeing the lama is astounded by his exoticism and declares him right away to be 'no man of India that I have ever seen'.⁷⁷ There must be an explanation, then, for why Kipling has introduced into the story a character whom he clearly felt was out of the character of the place in which the novel is set. To say that this was perhaps to utilise his father's expertise⁷⁸ could quite easily be cast in a different way. To have the lama as a central character would *require* his father's expertise and involvement in the novel; this would result in the smuggling of his father into the character of the lama, and then allow, in a dream-like way, a broaching of the unresolved pains of aspects of Kipling's relationship with his father, more particularly those relating to his father's imposing upon the young Rudyard the wrenching experience of being sent away from India to school in England.

Those pains could never be resolved, but they could be forgiven. And what Kipling does through the figure of the lama is to portray someone impelled by spiritual nobility in his actions. Note how in leaving Kim to his education ('to help the ignorant to wisdom is always a merit'), the lama declares that his departure is impelled by a spiritual imperative: "I follow my Search,' he cried, and was gone."⁷⁹ In this way, Kipling might be considered to have forgiven his father, to have conceded that what he did had to be done and was done for the best of reasons. In the novel, Kim expresses gratitude for the resources that the lama has provided for his schooling and he does so in words that Kipling could equally have said to his father: 'My teaching I owe to thee. I have eaten thy bread three years. My time is finished. I am loosed from the schools. I come to thee.'⁸⁰ By the end of the novel, not only is there no blame attached for the separation for educational reasons that was earlier found so painful, it is seen as having entailed sacrifice on the lama's part and as being intrinsic to a noble necessity that, once fulfilled, allows lama and Kim, father and son, to be reunited. No blame is to be attached. Does not the lama declare himself in the last lines of the novel to be 'sinless'?

Kipling had to find a way to forgive his father; his relationship with him was so powerful and deep as to necessitate this. 'Dear as my mother was,' he wrote on the death of his father, 'my father was more to me than most men are to their sons: and now that I have no one to talk or write to I find myself desolate.'⁸¹ This was a man with whom Kipling shared not merely the bond of father and son, but a deep aesthetic and professional connection: 'besides being all he was to me,

I'd worked with him for the better part of 30 years and he with me'.⁸² His private correspondence discloses his father's close involvement with his son's creative work. Even prior to their collaborative work on *Kim* which, as Allen has revealed, was extensive,⁸³ John Lockwood was intimately involved with Rudyard's work. 'I'm rearranging all my stories for the new Scribner Edition', Kipling wrote in October 1896, ' – getting 'em into groups according to their subjects, while my father is busy making pictures for them.' A month later, referring to '*Captains Courageous*', he writes: 'I tell you that tale will be a snorter, I read it to my father and he went to bed about as much impressed a man as you could hope to see! Says it's a new world that we've opened.' The following year, Kipling describes his father as 'very pressed' in his artistic work for Kipling's fiction and ends the letter to a correspondent with: 'And now I've got to hustle out for a drive with my father who sends his best salaams to you.'⁸⁴ Given their close connection in the course of Kipling's creative work, it is not surprising that the author's fictions came, at times, to be linked to an exploration of his relationship with his father.

If, as I have suggested above, one might read *Kim* as a work by which Kipling forgave his father, we should also see it as one in which he registered a belief that his father's action in sending him away to school caused as much desolation to his father as it did to him. Kipling does this through the figure of the lama, a character – interestingly – who from the start moans, even when he has only known Kim for hours and he thinks him gone, the lama 'bowed his head ... and wailed'; a little later, when the pair are in Umballa and Kim wishes to absent himself briefly, the lama clutches his wrist and beseeches: 'Thou wilt return? Thou wilt surely return?'⁸⁵

Initially, in the encounter with the regiment, the lama pleads that Kim should not be separated from him: 'But tell them that thou art my *chela*... how thou didst come to me when I was faint and bewildered. Tell them of our Search, and they will surely let thee go now.' And as it dawns on the lama that Kim must be schooled and be apart from him, his pain is evident: 'Ah, *chela*, thou hast done a wrong to an old man because my heart went out to thee.' Kim is 'distressed for the lama's agony' and Father Victor, the Catholic chaplain of the regiment, declares of the lama: 'I don't know how to console him'.⁸⁶ The lama views the separation as a terrible punishment, but one that he must endure.⁸⁷ This pain is re-enacted later when the lama briefly sees Kim just before he enters St Xavier's school in Lucknow. 'My heart has been heavy since we parted,' declares Kim, who weeps at the moment when he must leave the lama to enter the school. But the lama is equally

bereft: 'Go up to the Gates of Learning. Let me see thee go ... Dost thou love me? Then go, or my heart cracks ...'⁸⁸

This separation, and the trauma intrinsic to it, was felt by the individual parents and children who suffered it, but it was in some sense the collective experience of a social stratum. This is one of the reasons why *Kim* is so valuable to historians: in part, it deals with a separation and trauma that was a common experience of the British community in the Raj and, indeed, of those families in Britain itself who could afford to send their children to boarding schools. It remains of interest that the experience of this particular childhood trauma by one generation did not generally lead it to intervene to halt it for the next. Perhaps, rather, it enabled acquiescence in the tradition. Rudyard's father was described by his daughter as having been 'sent to school when he was seven – to Woodhouse Grove – a dreary Methodist school – & was little at home afterwards'.⁸⁹ His experience at that 'hard, rough school' was somewhat miserable⁹⁰ but, as we know, this did not stop him from imposing on Rudyard the same experience.

And so on down the generations. Rudyard sent his son when a little boy to boarding school. And like the lama in *Kim*, Kipling was pained by the loss entailed by the experience. Just after he had settled his son there, Kipling wrote to him of his sadness: 'Strange as it may seem I did not sing very much on the road home. No – it was not a cheerful drive.' He also remarked upon nearly having killed dogs on that drive⁹¹ – perhaps an unconscious expression of his concern about the gravity of what he was now putting his son through: the dog, as already suggested, can feature as substitutes for children in Kipling's writing. And, interestingly, there is a hint that the character of Kim is sometimes associated with dogs in the novel: on one occasion he is described as having 'bristled like an expectant terrier';⁹² at another moment in the original manuscript, a moment excised from the published version of the novel, he describes himself as the 'dog-boy' of the museum curator, the figure inspired by his father.⁹³

It might be that the way in which *Kim* relates to the kind of experience detailed above that explains some of the appeal of the novel historically. In many ways, it is a book ill-suited to children and to many adults – the adventure is intermittent, the descriptions so rich and complex, the story in many ways opaque (not for nothing did Kipling call the novel 'plotless')⁹⁴ – that a mass, enduring readership has to be explained. Perhaps the powerful, but rather subterranean, evocation of the relationship between parent and child, the pain of separation and the joy of reunion, explains this. Moreover, because the work was not explicit about these matters in the way that "Baa Baa, Black Sheep" is – after all, the lama and Kim are not related – may have allowed the

reader to be unguarded in receiving the rendering of an experience that, if undisguised, would usually lead to the raising of emotional ramparts.

Kim, then, allows readers to approach a particular kind of loss, to ennoble it (who is more saintly than the lama who must for spiritual reasons leave the boy to whom he's devoted?), to accept it, without really being aware that they were engaged in such a profound emotional exercise. This also helps to explain why the lama is portrayed with such over-riding spiritual power and purity – an explanation that Edward Said's framework did not allow him to grasp: indeed, he dismissed some of the lama's spirituality as mere 'mumbo jumbo'.⁹⁵ As suggested here, the lama's spirituality is the fundamental justification for his role in sending Kim away to be educated. Kim forgives the act. And, we might say, Kipling forgives his father, the man whom he rejoined in India after his educational exile in England, just as Kim rejoins the lama after his schooling at St Xavier's.

NOTES

1. I have benefited from discussions with the following people, some of whom have read earlier versions of this paper and have offered helpful advice: Hugh Brogan, Eliza Kentridge, Jan Montefiore and David Page. Jan Montefiore's response to the earliest version of this article was of crucial importance.
2. At the risk of being drawn into an interminable bibliography, I draw these points from merely two standard critical commentaries on *Kim*. See Edward Said *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), pp.177ff., 179-180 (in the context of Said's comments on p.163), 181, 183ff., 185; and Angus Wilson *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling* (London: Pimlico, 1994) pp.43, 76-7, 91, 108-9. Wilson's exploration of Kipling's view of Russia – pp.43, 76-7 and 108-9 – does not refer to *Kim*. However, when one reads *Kim* in the light of it, the connection of the Russian spy in the novel to fears of Russia emerges starkly.
3. Jan Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling* (Horndon: Northcote House Publishers, 2007), pp.89ff., 95-96, 101-3.
4. References to *Kim* are to the Folio Society, London 1995 edition. To aid readers using other editions of the novel, I signify both the pages and the chapters where quotations and passages are to be found.
5. Charles Allen *Kipling Sahib* (London: Little Brown, 2007), pp.355-6.
6. See David Landry and Caroline Rooney, 'Empire's Children' in Caroline Rooney and Kaori Nagai (eds) *Kipling and Beyond. Patriotism, Globalisation and Postcolonialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.59ff; and Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.97-8.
7. *Kim*, pp.7-8 (chap. 1).
8. Kipling Papers (University of Sussex), Box 3, File 16, Biography notes [relating to John Lockwood Kipling] T. S.
9. Kipling *Kim*, p.7 (chap. 1).
10. See, as examples, Hopkirk *Quest for Kim. In Search of Kipling's Great Game* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 19-20; Said *Culture and Imperialism*,

- p.160; Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.98, 99; Landry and Rooney, 'Empire's Children', p.59.
11. Janet Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.97-98. I have also benefited from Hugh Brogan's comments on the significance of Mowgli's orphanhood.
 12. *Kim*, p.7 (chap.1)
 13. Rudyard Kipling *Something of Myself* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Canto edition, 1991) p.4. Montefiore also stresses the point made here: see *Rudyard Kipling*, p.98.
 14. Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, p.91. The quotation from *Kim* is from p.87 (chap.5)
 15. Quotation from *Kim*, pp.42-3 (chap.2).
 16. British Library [BL] Add. MSS 44840, (Kim O' The Rishti, Original Manuscript), p.18 of the bound volume.
 17. Compare *Kim*, p.192 (chap.XI) with BL Add. MSS 44840, (Kim O' The Rishti, Original Manuscript), p.67 of the bound volume. In the manuscript, there is no reference – as there is in the published novel – to *Kim*, once reunited with the lama, having 'dreamed in Hindustanee, with never an English word'.
 18. *Kim*, p.18 (chap.1).
 19. Wilson *Strange Ride*, p. 132.
 20. *Kim*, p.86 (chap.5)
 21. Kipling *Something of Myself*, p.6
 22. *Ibid.*, pp.3-4.
 23. I should stress that, in establishing a similarity between Kipling's and *Kim*'s openness to the faiths of India, I am referring to the child Kipling. Kipling's developing thought regarding various religions – he tended in the end to favour Islam and Buddhism but to disparage Hinduism – may be followed in Charles Allen's "Ruddy's Search For God. The Young Kipling and Religion", *Kipling Journal*, June 2009. The question is complex, with one writer arguing that Kipling could see the religions of India as older and superior to Christianity: see B. J. Moore-Gilbert *Kipling and 'Orientalism'* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 123-124, 125-126.
 24. Dr. Pauline Webb, who had grown up in India, when at school in England stated the transmigration of souls to be a fact. She had picked this up from her *ayah* Pemputti. Conversations of the author with Dr. Webb (Cape Town, 1985) and with her daughter, Erica Shipley (Cardiff, May 2012).
 25. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 181.
 26. Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.85-6.
 27. Thus Tariq Ali, prominent intellectual of the Left, recalls *Kim* as the book 'he loved most as a boy' in Lahore. See Peter Hopkirk *Quest for Kim*, p.3.
 28. *Kim*, p.118(chap.7)
 29. These moments and quotations are drawn, respectively, from *Kim*, pp.92-3 (chap.5), 95 and 96 (chap.5), 109 (chap.6) and 135 (chap.8); italics in the original.
 30. For examples of the constrictions and discomfort *Kim* feels in Sahib clothes, see *Kim*, p.98 (chap.5), p.103 (chap.6), p. 107 (chap.6). For a delight or ease in Indian clothes, see pp.169-170 (chap.10) and p.179 (chap. 10).
 31. See Jan Montefiore, "Food and Cookery in Kipling: From the Cave-Woman's Magic to the Scout's Bacon and Eggs", *Kipling Journal*, June 2009, pp.45-46.
 32. See *Kim*, pp.107 (chap.6), 104-5 (chap.6) and 126 (chap.7) for the quotations
 33. Kipling Papers (University of Sussex), Box 13, File 8, letter 13, Kipling to his son, 12 October 1907.

34. *Kim*, p.193 (chap.11). See also p.194 (chap.11) where Kim, 'faint with emptiness', longs for 'a plate of beer.
35. For the quotations, see *Kim*, pp.126 (chap.7) and 131 (chap.8). For other appetising descriptions of Indian food, see *Kim*, pp. 19-20 (chap.1), 68 (chap.4), p.183 (chap.10), p.195 (chap.11). Note also the 'beautiful meals' that Kim is given by Mahbub Ali (p.23: chap.1)
36. For Kim's transformation into an Indian during the school vacation to which I refer, see *Kim*, p.126ff. (chap.7). Quotations from p.128.
37. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. 162-3, 167-8, 175, 176; Montefiore, p.86-88.
38. Wilson *Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, pp. 130-131; Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, p.86.
39. The lama's decisiveness with regard to Kim's schooling at St. Xavier's, and his arranging for its funding, is to be followed on pp.96-7 (chap.5), 105-6, 112, 113 (chap.6).
40. Quotation from *Kim*, p.69 (chap.4).
41. Incidents and facts referred to in this passage are drawn from chapters 11-14. Quotations from pp.248 (chap. 14) and 228 (chap. 13).
42. *Kim* pp. 108-9 (chap.6).
43. *Kim*, pp.23-26 (chap.1).
44. For arguments relating to the sublimation of this in *Kim*, see Montefiore *Rudyard Kipling*, pp.97-98; and Landry and Rooney, "Empire's Children", p.59ff.
45. Rudyard Kipling, "Private Learoyd's Story": pp.3—15 in *Collected Dog Stories* (Macmillan: London, 1934). Quotation from p.4.
46. Rudyard Kipling *Something of Myself*, pp.5, 6, 7, 8-9, 11-12.
47. For the bullying and beating in Southsea by the son of the woman with whom Kipling boarded, see *Ibid.*, 6, 8-9, 11-12. For the beating of Kim by the drummer-boy, see *Kim*, p. 108 (chap.6).
48. *Kim*, pp.7-8 (chap.1)
49. Kipling *Something of Myself*, p.3.
50. In a revelatory essay, Margot Finn draws attention to the importance (and severity) of Master and Servant legislation in this. See M. Finn, 'Slaves Out Of Context: Domestic slavery and the Anglo-Indian Family, c. 1780-1830' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19 (2009), p.201.
51. BL MSS. Eur. C. 176/115 (Letters from the children and Emma Vogel to Henry and Annette Beveridge 1884), Letty to Papa, 29 June 1884. (This is part of the Beveridge Collection, held by the British Library, and was formerly part of the India Office Records).
52. BL MSS. Eur.C. 176/116 (Letters from Henry and Annette Beveridge to the children Oct. - Dec. 1884), H. Beveridge to Letty, Willie and Jeannette, 30 October 1884. The letter is typed in upper case, which my quotations do not reflect. In my research notes, I also did not reproduce the letter's occasional running together of words.
53. Rudyard Kipling *Something of Myself* p.25.
54. Andrew Lycett *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999), pp. 110—111.
55. Entry for 14 September 1885 in *Rudyard Kipling's Diary* in R. Kipling *Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, Thomas Pinney (ed.), p.212.
56. See "Tods' Amendment" (1888) in R. Kipling *Plain Tales from the Hills* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1993).

57. 'I have been a Sahib's servant... when we were alone he called me Father, and I called him Son': R. Kipling, "A Sahibs' War" (1901) in Rudyard Kipling *Short Stories: Volume 1. A Sahibs' War and Other Stories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), pp.12-13.
58. The psychoanalytic reading of *Kim* provided by Landry and Rooney (see "Empire's Children", p.59ff.) may conform with some of what I say here, but it does not hinge upon the absorption of master-servant relations, which is critical to my argument.
59. Passage based on *Kim*, pp.170 (chap. 10), 115 (chap.6), 128 (chap.7), 166 (chap.8), 175 (chap. 10). Quotations from pp. 170 and 175
60. For the importance of letters in this respect, see Elizabeth Buettner *Empire Families. Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.130-140. For Kim writing to Mahbub Ali, see *Kim*, pp.103-4 (chap.6), 128-9 (chap.7). For Mahbub Ali writing to Kim while he was at school, see *Kim*, p. 175 (chap. 10).
61. For Kim's letter writing to the lama, see *Kim*, pp.116-117 (chap.7); for the quote, see p.123 (chap.7).
62. *Kim*, p.270(chap.15).
63. See Kipling *Something of Myself*, chap.2.
64. *Kim*, p.206 (chap. 12) and p. 125 (chap.7)
65. See, for example, Hopkirk *Quest for Kim*, pp.45-46, 47-8; Said *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 160; Wilson *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, p. 13; Allen *Kipling Sahib*, p.357.
66. The references/quotations relating to the spectacles are drawn respectively from *Kim*, p.203 (chap. 11), p. 17 (chap. 1), p.267 (chap. 15).
67. See the illustrations by John Lockwood Kipling facing pages 21, 100 and 404 as also that serving as the frontispiece of the Macmillan Colonial Library edition of *Kim* (London: Macmillan, 1901).
68. *Kim*, p.267 (chap. 15).
69. For the various quotations (and the echoing referred to), see *Kim*, pp.16, 17, 18 (chap. 1).
70. *Kim*, p.34 (chap.2) and p.285 (chap. 15).
71. The incident and the quotations provided are to be found in *Kim*, pp.34-5 (chap.2)
72. *Kim*, p.35 (chap.2)
73. BL Add. MSS 44840 ('Kim O' The Rishti', Original Manuscript), p. 15
74. Allen *Kipling Sahib*, pp.357-8.
75. All quotations are from Kipling *Something of Myself*, pp.82-3. Allen (*Kipling Sahib*, p.356), with whose fine work I became familiar after my initial drafting of this passage, also highlights some of these quotations.
76. See Wilson *Strange Ride*, p. 132.
77. *Kim*, p. 10 (chap.1).
78. Wilson *Strange Ride*, p. 132.
79. *Kim*, pp.96-7 (chap.5)
80. *Kim*, p. 188 (chap. 11). Later in the novel – see p.211 (chap. 12) – Kim repeats to the lama: 'I ate thy bread for three years...'
81. Rudyard Kipling to Edmonia Hill, 10 February 1911: in Thomas Pinney (ed.) *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol. 4, 1911-19* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp.12-13.
82. Rudyard Kipling to Colonel H. W. Feilden, 23 February 1911: in *Ibid*, p.15.
83. Allen *Kipling Sahib*, p.356 ff.

84. Kipling Papers (University of Sussex), Box 14, File/43: copies of letters of Rudyard Kipling to James Conlan dd. 1 October 1896, 8-17 November 1896, 25-29 March 1897.
85. *Kim*, p.21 (chap. 1) and p.40 (chap.2).
86. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from *Kim*, pp.91, 93, 94 (chap.5).
87. *Ibid*, pp.94-5 (chap.5).
88. Kipling *Kim*, pp.122, 123.
89. Kipling Papers (University of Sussex), Box 3, File 19, Notes on John Lockwood Kipling by his daughter, Mrs. Fleming, 1945.
90. Wilson, *Strange Ride*, p. 13
91. Kipling Papers (University of Sussex), Box 13, File 8, Letter 6, Kipling to his son, 18 September 1907.
92. *Kim*, p.215 (chap. 12).
93. BL Add. MSS 44840 (Kim O' The Rishti, Original Manuscript), p. 14.
94. Quoted in Charles Carrington *Rudyard Kipling. His Life and Work* (London:, Macmillan, 1955), p.360. Note also Carrington's acute observation on the same page: 'the reader soon loses interest in a plot which the author does not trouble to elaborate'.
95. Said *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 172.

"MAD CAREW" OR "THE GREEN EYE OF THE YELLOW GOD"

By ALEXANDER LYON MACFIE

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The popularity of song in late Victorian and Edwardian music hall ("My Old Dutch", "Lily of Laguna", "I Love a Lassie", "The Man that Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo", "It's a Long Way to Tipperary") is well known. Less well known is the popularity of the musical monologue or recitation, an art form that has now almost entirely disappeared. Such monologues, which generally aimed to provoke a sympathetic response in the audience, were for the most part concerned with aspects of everyday life in England. Only a few ventured further afield. Of those that did the most famous at the time (and possibly even today: the poem was recently broadcast on the BBC) (with the possible exception of Kipling's "The Absent-minded Beggar", 1899) was probably J. Milton Hayes's "Mad Carew" or "The Green Eye of the Yellow God" (c.1911), the story of Mad Carew, an officer in the British army in India who, as a result of a somewhat ill-advised exploit in India (in Khatmandu), came to a bad end'. For many years after its first appearance, "Mad Carew" was performed in music halls and variety theatres both in the British Isles and abroad (the poem was extremely popular in America, Canada and Australia), first by Bransby Williams, the well-known music-hall performer, and then by Milton Hayes himself; and it was frequently burlesqued or parodied by amongst others Reginald Purdell, Billy Bennett, Bert Graham, Leslie Henson, Cyril Ritchard and Stanley Holloway (Reginald Purnell is said to have been the first to have parodied the poem at a Savage Club Supper Night. I heard the poem parodied by two comedians in a show put on for the British army in Egypt [the Canal zone], where I served for a time as a conscript in 1950-51). So popular, indeed, was the poem that in 1913 a low-budget, black and white, silent film was made of the story in Hollywood, with Charles Ogle playing the part of Mad Carew.

The literary and historical significance of "Mad Carew" today, it may be supposed, lies primarily in the fact that it enables the reader

(it is hardly ever recited) to recover something of popular, British, possibly British imperial, music-hall sentiment regarding India in an age when the British people (mainly Christian, Western) were intimately concerned (admittedly to an extent disputed by historians) with the cultures and peoples of the Indian subcontinent (mainly Hindu). In particular, it raises some of the questions regarding British attitudes to the Orient raised by the late Edward Said, in his ground-breaking *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978) – in which he argues that Westerners have displayed throughout their history a condescending attitude towards the Oriental – though for the most part Said tends in *Orientalism* to deal rather more with elite European culture than with popular. "Mad Carew" makes it clear that the British people, or at least British music-hall audiences, had a relatively clear understanding of the complex questions of inter-cultural (inter-civilisational) relations at that time in their history.

According to John Blackley, who wrote a short entry on Milton Hayes in *Notes and Queries* in March 1953, Milton Hayes was born in Manchester (in or about 1884) and educated at the Ducie Avenue Central School there (132). After entering the theatre, for which he showed an evident talent, he rapidly became a 'star' performer, appearing on stage wearing an ordinary lounge suit, with hat, gloves and stick, but without make-up, which he is said to have scorned. According to Wilfred H. Holden, who also wrote a short entry on Milton Hayes in the same volume, his repertoire, in the early part of his career at least, consisted mainly of musical monologues and recitations, including, besides "Mad Carew", Kipling's "Gunga Din" ('You're a better man than I am, Gunga Din!') and "Boots" ('Boots—boots—boots—boots—movin' up and down again!'), both favourites at the time. Later, following the end of the First World War (1914-18), in which he served on the Western front and was captured by the Germans (he was sent to a prison camp near Metz where, according to his own account, he was treated very well), he introduced a new act, based on his observations of an English army officer giving a lecture on map-reading, in which the speaker rambles on and on without ever actually saying anything. Following a successful career on the stage, Hayes retired to the south of France. He died in 1940, aged 56.

Born in London in 1870, Bransby Williams was an even more successful music hall performer than Milton Hayes. According to his own account, in *Bransby Williams by Himself* (1954), Williams started his stage career as a 'blackened up' (negro) comedian at the Pavilion Theatre, Whitechapel, London, sometime in the 1890s and his professional music hall career at the London Music Hall, Shoreditch. His act consisted mainly of impersonations of the leading actors and comedians of his day, such as Dan Leno, Henry Irving, Beerbohm Tree and

Fred Terry, and well-known literary characters, such as Dickens's Bill Sykes, Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Shakespeare's Hamlet. His remarkable career spanned the highpoint of the Victorian and Edwardian music hall, the rise of the cinema and the appearance of television. He was still acting in film and television shortly before he died, aged 91, in 1961².

It was whilst performing at the Palace Theatre, Manchester, that Williams was presented, by a young man who haunted the stage door of the theatre, with a copy of "Mad Carew" or "The Green Eye of the Yellow God" ('too long and needed a more dramatic touch, but the subject was good'), a poem that later became popular all over the world. According to Williams, in the early days Milton Hayes was delighted to have him perform his monologue, but later, when he himself became well known, both as an author and a performer, he is said to have become haughty and stand-offish and forbade Williams to perform his work (47).

"Mad Carew" or "The Green Eye of the Yellow God" tells the story of Mad Carew, a British officer stationed on an army base in Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal, who steals the 'green eye of the little Yellow God', a jewel lodged in the eye of an idol in a temple to the north of Khatmandu. This he does at the behest of his fiancée, the Colonel's daughter, who expects shortly to celebrate her birthday with a ball at the base. In response to this rather foolish and no doubt light-hearted request, Mad Carew sets out on the eve of the day of the ball to steal the jewel. He returns the next morning 'with his shirt and tunic torn/ And a gash across his temples dripping red'. After being patched up and sleeping all day, Carew presents the 'green eye of the Yellow God' to his fiancée. But she refuses to accept the stone, though it is evident that she is deeply moved by Carew's devotion:

She upbraided Mad Carew in the way that women do,
Though both her eyes were strangely hot and wet;
But she wouldn't take the stone, and Mad Carew was left alone
With the jewel that he'd chanced his life to get.

Later, crossing the Barrack Square to see how her fiancée is getting on, she finds Mad Carew dead, murdered, with an ugly knife buried in his heart, the 'Vengeance of the Little Yellow God'. The poem ends with the verse with which it begins

There's a one-eyed yellow idol to the north of Khatmandu,
There's a little marble cross below the town;
There's a broken hearted woman tends the grave of Mad Carew,
And the Yellow God forever gazes down.

One does not need to be very perceptive to discover in "Mad Carew" many of the orientalisms analysed so effectively by Said in *Orientalism*: the absolute (ontological) difference between the Orient, represented by the 'one-eyed yellow idol', and the Occident, represented by the 'little marble cross below the town'; the apparent fanaticism (irrationality) of the worshippers of the 'one eyed yellow idol' who take such an instant revenge on Mad Carew for his wanton profanity; the opulence usually associated with the East, here represented by the green eye of the yellow God, presumably an emerald; the implication that the Orient is at bottom something to be feared; and most significantly of all, perhaps, the suggestion that the Orient, or at least the Indian religion, is timeless and unchanging. Not that "Mad Carew" confirms every aspect of Said's expectation regarding orientalism, in particular that which predicates a suggestion of British (European) hegemony or control. On the contrary, what the message implied in "Mad Carew" suggests, in admittedly a rather rudimentary way, is that British government in India was essentially fragile, tenuous in the extreme.

Sources of Milton Hayes's "Mad Carew" may be found in the numerous stories told in the nineteenth century about precious stones stolen, usually by an adventurous or corrupt British officer, from the forehead or eye socket of an Indian god. The most notable of these was probably Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868), the story of a large diamond, stolen by the heroine's uncle during the Siege of Seringapatam, possibly inspired by the stories and legends told about the Koh-i-Noor, the Hope diamond and the Orloff diamond, all well known at the time. Other possible sources of Milton Hayes's inspiration include the works of Rudyard Kipling, the so-called unofficial 'laureate of empire', who in the closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth made a great impression on the English popular imagination. This he did in such novels and short stories as "The Education of Otis Yeere", "Beyond the Pale", "The Mark of the Beast" (the story of a drunken planter named Fleete who, ignorant of native customs, desecrates the shrine of Hanuman, the monkey God, with strange and unexpected consequences), "To be Filed for Reference", "The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney" and *Kim*; and in such poems as "Mandalay", "Danny Deever", "Gunga Din" (which we know Milton Hayes recited), and "Boots" (which we know he also recited). So certain, indeed, was Milton Hayes of the responsiveness of his audience to the Indian context of his story that, according to Alec Waugh, Evelyn Waugh's brother, who knew Hayes well, Hayes felt able, in the "The Green Eye of the Yellow God" (which he is said to have written in a mere five hours) to include only the barest of background details, certain as he was of a ready response.

One area in which a pronounced similarity between Milton Hayes's "Mad Carew" and many of Kipling's stories may be detected is in the way they depend for their effect on the establishment of clear dividing lines between two different worlds, each governed by its own code of mutually incomprehensible rules and customs. In Kipling's stories the division is more often than not between the world of men, 'areas of conflict', 'combat zones', inhabited by males, 'fierce, courageous, hard, even cruel', and the world of women, 'soft', nurturing and emotional'. In Milton Hayes's "Mad Carew", on the other hand, the division is between the world of the British army barracks, inhabited by men like Mad Carew, and the world of the little yellow god, an 'other' world in which one had better understand the rules that apply there, otherwise (like Mad Carew) one will almost certainly come to grief. Not that an element of Kipling's distinction between the masculine and the feminine cannot still be detected in the poem.

The perceptive (or perhaps very imaginative) historian of the British Raj in India might also detect in "Mad Carew" faint remembrances of the early days of empire, when enterprise and daring were more highly valued than conscientious endeavour and bureaucratic responsibility; the somewhat late arrival of the English memsahib; fears and anxieties associated with the terrible events of the Indian Mutiny of 1857; and the racial prejudice all too often associated with British imperial rule in the subcontinent.

It would be too simplistic, however, to associate "Mad Carew" only with the sort of condescension identified by Said in *Orientalism*. The monologue, as I have suggested, quickly became the subject of parody, a parody that suggests that British music-hall and variety theatre audiences had a good understanding of the more absurd aspects of imperial government. The original title of one of the earliest "Mad Carew" parodies, in which the performer would attempt to recite the monologue, whilst one or sometimes two supposed members of the audience would interrupt, apparently spontaneously, with well chosen and hilarious comments, was the "Pukkah Sahib". And British audiences would respond enthusiastically to the ridiculing of the over serious performer, who must more often than not have been associated by the audiences with the pretensions of the imperial caste. Humour, it may be remarked, was not a subject that much attracted Said's attention.

A number of historians (Stephen Koss, J.A. Mangan, Bernard Porter) see the Boer War (1899-1902) as the event that marked the end of the period of popular imperialism and jingoism that supposedly started at the time of the Eastern Crisis of 1876-8 or thereabouts, an enthusiasm fuelled by the excitements of the Afghan and Zulu disasters of 1879 and the Egyptian and Sudan campaigns of 1882-8 (the death of General

Gordon, the battle of Omdurman, Kitchener of Khartoum). Others see the end in the terrible events of the First World War (1914—18). One way or the other it is evident that "Mad Carew", a poem that makes clear the fragility of empire, differs substantially from the rumbustious patriotic and imperialist songs sung in the music hall (the 'fount of patriotism') during the previous quarter century or so ("By Jingo", 1878, "Soldiers of the Queen", 1881, "Sons of the Sea", 1897, "How India kept her Word", 1898, and "It's the English Speaking Race against the World", c.1900)'.

Milton Hayes's audiences in the Edwardian music hall would probably have taken it for granted that the European (Western, Christian) monotheism, symbolised in "Mad Carew" by the 'little marble cross below the town', represented a higher form of religion than the polytheism apparently symbolised by the 'one-eyed yellow idol' in the temple in Khatmandu. It is doubtful if they would have realised, as Alain Daniélou points out in *The Gods of India: Hindu Polytheism* (1985), that in their immense diversity the Hindu gods merely represent particular aspects of the perceptible universe, which is in its very nature an illusion (*m y*); and that in no way can they represent the non-dual immensity, the Brahman, the ultimate, which cannot be described, imagined, named or even numbered. They would not have realised, in other words, that the Hindu absolute, the Brahman, is even more absolute than their own Christian God, since unlike the 'one' Christian god it cannot even be numbered. And that, moreover, for the Hindus the one Christian god represents just one more god in the huge pantheon of possible Hindu gods.

Following his remarkable success with "Mad Carew", Milton Hayes wrote a number of other poems and monologues about the fate of mainly (Christian) Europeans in the non-European (non-Christian) world, most of which have a sometimes pronounced orientalist character. These include "The Dream Ring of the Desert", a poem about an Arab, Abu Khan, who, shunning the customs of his own race, tries to marry his daughter to an Englishman; "The Foreign Legion: A Saharan Desert Story", a poem about a company of French legionnaires stationed at a camp near Ain-se-fra in the Saharan desert and their love for Blanche Marie, a dancing girl, who lives in a cafe near the camp; and "The Whitest Man I know", a poem about a South Sea trader who is 'workin' out a penance for the things he hasn't done' (Musical Monologues, nos. 81, 83 and 105). In "The Dream Ring of the Desert", Abu Khan's beautiful daughter, Leola, who has enjoyed all the benefits of an English education, refuses to marry the Englishman chosen for her by her father – 'an Englishman or none' – and opts instead for a fellow Arab, Ben Kamir, who places an opal ring, once worn by Mahomet, Allah's priest, on her finger. Responding to a voice that speaks to her from the burning sands of the desert she rides away with Ben Kamir, leaving her father,

who declares fatalistically that 'Mahomet is the Prophet – God is God', alone to lament his loss. In "The Foreign Legion: A Saharan Desert Story", the French legionnaires – Uhlans, Yankee engineers, Russians 'wanted by the Czar', Irishmen, sappers from Vienna, English bombardiers – threatened by defeat in a battle against the Touaregs, are inspired by a vision of Blanche Marie, with whom they have all fallen in love, ('And they seemed to hear a little voice that whisper'd "Fight for me"') and by the sight of a yellow scarf belonging to Blanche waved by a colour-sergeant during the battle. Returning to the base, the surviving legionnaires raise a cheer for Blanche Marie, though when they attend roll-call only half the legion answer 'Here!' The bones of the other half lie 'bleaching in the sand'. In "The Whitest Man I know", the south-sea trader confesses in court to having shot the Dago lover of his mistress, a murder he had not committed – the murder was in fact committed by his mistress during a row. Convicted of the crime, in a South American court, he is imprisoned, but a friend (the story teller) arranges his escape and flight to the South Seas, where he makes his living, trading pearls and copra, 'workin' out the penance for the things he hasn't done'. As their later publication showed, each of these poems and monologues proved popular with the audiences of late Victorian and Edwardian music hall, but none it seems attained the fame and popularity of "Mad Carew", which Said would no doubt have identified as an iconic product of the popular English imperial culture of its time.

There's a one-eyed yellow idol to the north of Khatmandu,
There's a little marble cross below the town;
There's a broken-hearted woman tends the grave of Mad Carew,
And the Yellow God forever gazes down.

He was known as "Mad Carew" by the subs at Khatmandu,
He was hotter than they felt inclined to tell;
But for all his foolish pranks, he was worshipped in the ranks,
And the Colonel's daughter smiled on him as well.

He had loved her all along, with a passion of the strong,
The fact that she loved him was plain to all.
She was nearly twenty-one and arrangements had begun
To celebrate her birthday with a ball.

He wrote to ask what present she would like from Mad Carew;
They met next day as he dismissed a squad;
And jestingly she told him then that nothing else would do
But the green eye of the little Yellow God.

On the night before the dance, Mad Carew seemed in a trance,
And they chaffed him as they puffed at their cigars:
But for once he failed to smile, and he sat alone awhile,
Then went out into the night beneath the stars.

He returned before the dawn, with his shirt and tunic torn,
And a gash across his temple dripping red;
He was patched up right away, and he slept through all the day,
And the Colonel's daughter watched beside his bed.

He woke at last and asked if they could send his tunic through;
She brought it, and he thanked her with a nod;
He bade her search the pocket saying "That's from Mad Carew,"
And she found the little green eye of the god.

She upbraided poor Carew in the way that women do,
Though both her eyes were strangely hot and wet;
But she wouldn't take the stone and Mad Carew was left alone
With the jewel that he'd chanced his life to get.

When the ball was at its height, on that still and tropic night,
She thought of him and hurried to his room;
As she crossed the barrack square she could hear the dreamy air
Of a waltz tune softly stealing thro' the gloom.

His door was open wide, with silver moonlight shining through;
The place was wet and slipp'ry where she trod;
An ugly knife lay buried in the heart of Mad Carew,
'Twas the "Vengeance of the Little Yellow God."

There's a one-eyed yellow idol to the north of Khatmandu,
There's a little marble cross below the town;
There's a broken-hearted woman tends the grave of Mad Carew,
And the Yellow God forever gazes down.

[J. MILTON HAYES]

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NOTES

1. "Mad Carew" or "The Green Eye of the Yellow God" is available in *Musical Monologues*, no. 62, words by J. Milton Hayes, music by Clarke Cuthbert, British Library Music Collections. I obtained my copy of the poem from the BBC. A version of the "Green Eye of the Yellow God" story was later used in an edition of the BBC television programme, *Dad's Army*, to great dramatic effect. Ronnie Barker, the British comedian, remarked in a recent TV programme that he saw Hayes's act and was much influenced by it.
2. Bransby Williams appears in the giant oil painting of 226 leading Music-hall performers entitled "Popularity", painted by Walter H. Lambert, completed in 1901-3. The setting of the painting is 'Poverty Corner', on the Waterloo Road, near the 'Old Vic' Theatre, a place where unemployed Music-hall performers frequently assembled outside the many agents' offices in the area. Walter H. Lambert was himself a Music-hall performer, who frequently appeared on the stage as a female impersonator.
3. See Carol Scott. "Kipling's Combat Zones: Training Grounds in the Mowgli Stories, *Captains Courageous* and *Stalky and Co.*", in Francis Butler, Barbara Rosen, and Judith A. Plotz, eds. *Children's Literature*, 20. Yale: Yale University Press, 1992.
4. For a short discussion of the sea-change in popular sentiment regarding the Empire that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, see John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, Introduction. For an account of the patriotic songs sung in the music hall in this period see Penny Summerfield, 'Patriotism and Empire: Music-Hall Entertainment, 1870-1914', in the same work.

KIPLING ROCK, CLACKAMAS RIVER, OREGON, U.S.A.

By THE EDITOR

In 2011 Debra Wynn, who is one of our members and also a proud native Oregonian, proposed to the Oregon Board of Geographic Names that they recognize the geographic feature identified by some oldtimers in the area near Carver, Oregon as "Kipling Rock" in the Clackamas River.

The Oregon Board, which is an all-volunteer board of historians, journalists, cartographers and other professions operating under the auspices of the Oregon Historical Society, approved the proposal at their November 2012 meeting. This was then sent as a recommendation to the U.S. Board of Geographic Names for a final decision and inclusion on the nation's map. As can be seen from the information below, the U.S. Board approved the recommendation on 14 February, the anniversary of 14 February 1859 when Oregon was granted statehood. The information was entered into the GNIS Database on 17 February 2013.

Feature Detail Report for: Kipling Rock

ID: 2745590
Name: Kipling Rock
Class: Pillar
History: Named for author and poet Rudyard Kipling
(1865-1936), who visited the rock in 1889
Description: 89 ft. high; in the Clackamas River 0.3 mi. upriver
from Carver, 2.3 mi. SW of Damascus; Sec. 18, T2S,
R3E, Willamette Meridian
Citation: U.S. Board on Geographic Names. Geographic Names
Post Phase I Board/Staff Revisions. 14-Feb-2013.
Entry Date: 17-Feb-2013

Kipling's association with the river is described in his *From Sea to Sea*, Letter No. XXVII which "Shows how I caught Salmon in the Clackamas", on his way to England via the Far East and North America.

Our heartiest thanks go to Debra Wynn, and all the members of the Oregon Geographic Names Board who pursued this project so successfully.

RUDYARD KIPLING'S *JUST SO STORIES*
(ADAPTED AND DIRECTED BY LUCY BETTS;
MUSIC AND MUSICAL DIRECTION
BY DAVID PERKINS)

REVIEW by MICHAEL KYLE

On 14-17 March the Yvonne Arnaud Youth Theatre in Guildford presented a production entitled "Rudyard Kipling's *Just So Stories*". The cast of nearly 30, who were all in their early teens or younger, put on a captivating and professional show with great verve; it will certainly inspire children watching (they made up half the audience of the performance this writer watched) to read more of the stories.

The production opened with a sung version of the poem "Morrow Down", referring to a place 'an hour or out of Guildford' as well as being part of the *Just So Stories*. The scene was then set by two sisters on a bed talking about stories; they were joined by their father, Kipling, and this device led into each of the five tales. These were: "How the Whale got his Throat"; "How the Rhinoceros got his Skin"; "How the Camel got his Hump"; "How the Leopard got his Spots"; and "The Elephant's Child". They all had both speaking parts and a chorus, as a much of the production was set to music, including the "*Sloka*" from "Rhinoceros" ('Them that eats cakes...') and the verse from the end of that story "This Uninhabited Island is off Cape Gardafui". Although the stories were related through a combination of dialogue and inserts of narration by "Kipling", the script stuck faithfully to the text of the *Stories*. This latter fact rendered the final story, "The Elephant's Child", particularly successful, as it included many wonderful lines from the 'Bi-Coloured-Python-Rock-Snake'.

Costumes were minimalist, with everyone in white except for players of specific parts, who wore only one, appropriately decorated, coat (and, in the case of the 'Parsee' in "Rhinoceros", a hat which was faithfully described by the narration of Kipling) and this ensured that attention was focussed on the dialogue. The one, and highly creditable exception, was, of course, 'The Whale', portrayed by a young girl engulfed by a great flat domed dish of what looked like dark blue papier-mache, surmounted by two huge eyes. It was very effective and immediately captured the attention of the younger audience members.

The one detracting factor was the occasional lack of clear diction in the singing; this was a pity as the words of the songs were more important than music. This may be better in the next production of the *Stories*, as it will be presented by an older cast of teenagers at this year's Edinburgh Festival, and later at the Yvonne Arnaud on 8-10 August. It is recommended.

MEMBERSHIP NOTES

NEW MEMBERS

Mr A.F. Wood (*Kent*)
Mr Bing Chen (*China*)
Mr Anthony Thomas (*Powys*)
Mrs Mary Mudd (*Worcestershire*)
Mr Erick Llerena (*U.S.A.*)
Dr Andrew Winrow (*Middlesex*)
Mr David Wyatt (*Gloucestershire*)
Mr Simon Molloy (*London*)
Miss Jill Smith (*London*)
Mr Larry Wright (*U.S.A.*)
Dr Mark Pafford (*Birmingham*)
Mr Richard Clarkson (*U.S.A.*)

BACK NUMBERS OF THE *KIPLING JOURNAL*

Members may wish to know that I have a selection of back numbers of the *Kipling Journal*. Please contact me with any requests you may have.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Members are requested to check that they are paying the correct amount for their subscription fee, be it by cheque or Standing Order Mandate, etc., by referring to the information on the back cover of the *Kipling Journal*.

Members are also reminded of the due date of their subscription on their address label when they receive the *Journal*. The date given as such 01/08/12 refers to 1st August 2012. If you are in any doubt please contact me by the methods also given on the back cover.

Please advise me of any changes of address, including e-mail if applicable and also notice of termination of membership would be appreciated.

JOHN LAMBERT
Hon. Membership Secretary

REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 2012

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

Accordingly, the aim of the Society is the advancement of public education by promoting the study and appreciation of the life and works of Rudyard Kipling. The Society is run by a Council of Honorary Executive Officers and elected ordinary members. Those serving during this year were:

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Chairman	Prof Leonee Ormond
Deputy Chairman	Prof Janet Montefiore
Secretary	Mrs J. Keskar
Treasurer	Mr R. Beck
Journal Editor	Mr D. Page
Membership Secretary	Mr J. Lambert
Meetings Secretary	Mr A. Lycett
Librarian	Mr J. Walker
On Line Editor	Mr J. Radcliffe
Bateman's Liaison Officer	Mr R. Mitchell

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Rear Admiral Guy Liardet	2012-2015 (from November 2012)
Ms Julia Hett	2012-2015 (from July 2012)
Dr Mary Hamer	2011-2014
Cdr Alastair Wilson	2011-2014
Mr Charles Allen	2010-2013 (resigned November 2012)
Dr Lizzy Welby	2010-2013
Ms Anne Harcombe	2009-2012 (to July 2012)

The Society publishes the quarterly *Kipling Journal*, which is distributed to all subscribing members and institutions, and deals with matters of interest to readers and students of Rudyard Kipling. It also:

1. Notifies and holds meetings, film shows, visits, discussions and readings in order to stimulate and encourage the study of Rudyard Kipling's works.
2. Maintains, in City University, London, an extensive library of books, ephemera and reference material available to members and literary researchers.
3. Maintains a Kipling Room at The Grange Museum, in Rottingdean, Sussex.
4. Maintains a web-site (www.kipling.org.uk) containing information and pictorial material about the Society and the life and works of Kipling, as well as the expanding "New Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Works" (see below). Also, the catalogue of the Society's library and a comprehensive Index to the *Kipling Journal* from its inception in 1927. The web-site attracts requests for information from members and non-members and is a good source for recruitment of new members from all over the world. The

Society, with the University of Newcastle, provides an email discussion forum on which questions relating to Kipling are canvassed and discussed.

State of the Society and Specific activities in 2012

Four issues of the *Kipling Journal* were published this year. The web-site attracted 1,045,000 visitors from August 1999 to the end of December 2012. Of these some 350,000 visited the "New Readers' Guide" pages. The sub-committee responsible for the web-site and "New Readers' Guide" has continued with its annotation of Kipling's verse.

This year there were five meetings, including the A.G.M. At each a lecture was given by a guest speaker. The Annual Luncheon Guest of Honour was Mr David Marler and the title of his talk was "Getting Under the Skin of the Other – if you can". The prize-giving for the winners of the John Slater Memorial Kipling Essay Prize took place at this event.

At the end of 2012 the Society had 427 individual members and 93 corporate members. In addition, 6 legal deposit *Journals* went to the British Library and leading U.K. and Irish universities, and 8 complimentary copies went to educational institutions at home and abroad.

Financially, our Bank Balance fell by £2,221 to £85,889 in 2012, mainly due to the anticipated costs of the Essay prizes and an increase in the number of Grants and Donations made in the year. Generous individual donations (included in subscriptions), and the British income tax recovered through the Gift Aid Scheme on subscriptions and donations, lessened the effects of the economic down turn. The total net assets of the Society fell by £1,870 to £103,574.

Reserves

The Council considered the amount of reserves it is proper to keep, and agreed to maintain them at their present level, but with plans to initiate further projects for public benefit. Besides the costs of producing the *Journal* and the expenditure for the maintenance of the web-site and the Library, the Council continue to earmark funds for the Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture and The John Slater Memorial Kipling Essay Prize; and plan to sponsor Conferences and Study Days. Once again, the Council has decided not to raise the subscription rate and to offer students and those 'in need' half price membership.

Risk

The Council considered the matter of 'risk' as it affects the Society's aims. Financial risk was assessed as being low, so long as the Society generates a modest surplus of income over expenditure. It was agreed that so long as officers were aware of the possibility of any action for libel or breach of copy-right, the risk remained low.

MINUTES OF THE 85TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 2012

1. Chairman's Opening Remarks

Leonee Ormond welcomed all to the 85th Annual General Meeting. She reminded members of the changes over the past year; Roger Ayers had taken over from F.M. Sir John Chapple as the Society's President and she had replaced Sharad Keskar as Chairperson. The highlight of the year had been the excellent Conference in October with papers from Dr K. Nagai and other academics. This year the Society had again organised the John Slater Memorial Kipling Essay Prize which had not had as many entries as we hoped, but the winners from St Paul's Girls' school had received their well deserved prizes at the Annual Luncheon. Sadly, we had also heard of Max Rives death and sent our condolences to his family.

The Minutes of 84th A.G.M., 6 July 2011 were agreed upon and signed.

2. Apologies for Absence

Charles Allen, Andrew Lycett and Mary Hamer

3. Matters Arising.

There were no matters arising.

4. Election of an 'elected' Council member.

Anne Harcombe proposed Ms Julia Hett who was duly elected in her absence.

5. Re-election of Hon. Executive Officers and nomination of...

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

Approval of:

Mr Andrew Dodsworth as the Society's Financial Examiner

6. Reports

a. Secretary

Jane Keskar reported that the Kipling Society had once again had a year of excellent meetings with some fascinating speakers and a good Annual Luncheon attended by 88 guests with a talk by our guest speaker, David Marler, who gave us much to think about. If only our other Meetings had been attended so well! Despite our best efforts and expenditure on advertising, numbers remain at around 30, which did not do justice to those invited to talk or our Meetings Secretary, Andrew Lycett, who as always finds us stimulating speakers.

Jane continued reporting that to engage young people we continued to offer a substantial prize to students and their schools and at the Luncheon, Roger Ayers, our President, had presented the John Slater Memorial Kipling Essay Prize to two students as winner and runner up, from St Paul's Girls' School. The winning essays would appear in the September *Journal*. We hope that as the prize becomes established we will have more entries from the wide range of schools targeted.

One of the highlights of the year was the Kipling Conference, 'Rudyard Kipling: An International Writer' at the Institute of English Studies in Bloomsbury, in October 2011, organised by our Deputy Chairman, Jan Montefiore, "a truly global gathering" attended by 70 people including Kipling Society members, who came both as speakers and as audience.

We have some exciting publications to look forward to this Autumn; Cambridge University Press will be publishing a new definitive edition of Kipling's poems edited by Tom Pinney and Magdalene College Cambridge are to publish a facsimile edition of the Colleges holding of 39 poems given to them by Carrie Kipling.

There will shortly be a notice in the *Journal* and on our website offering a visiting fellowship in Kipling studies at Magdalene College for established but not necessarily senior academics. We had the pleasure of meeting Dr Lewins for lunch and he will be happy to discuss this with anyone who is interested.

Regrettably Jane reminded the Society that she had given 2 year's notice in November 2011. Almost a year had passed and she would be giving up her post as Secretary in November 2013. Jane felt sure that there would be someone out there who would continue to give the Society and Kipling all they deserve and who would immensely enjoy the variety, richness and privilege of the post, which comes with support of the Council Officers, who Jane wished to thank for their support during the year.

b. Membership Secretary

Individual Members

John Lambert reported that at present there were 435 recorded individual members subscribing. 33 members had resigned during the year. 26 new members had joined the society, of those 10 had joined through the internet web-site, 1 member had subscribed following the society's essay competition earlier in the year. 1 new member had been gifted their fees for 10 years. 1 joined via the internet but not via the web-site. 1 had joined via EBSCO and the rest via society leaflets.

New members continued to subscribe to the Society from the USA, the Ukraine, Canada and the UK.

Corporate Members

There were 91 corporate members. 3 organisations had resigned membership, Kings Junior School, Tarleton University and the University of California. St. Pauls Girls School, London joined the Society this year.

General

John Radcliffe had been given details of all 'home counties' based members in a bid to entice better attendance to the meetings.

Issues still prevailed regarding ex-members subscriptions being paid via SOMs, where the member has passed away. Unfortunately, the bank cannot help in this matter. Membership fees remained unchanged.

c. Treasurer

Ray Beck reported that the Society's main asset £75,000 was still held in a Lloyds TSB 2 year fixed income account. This was scheduled to mature on 19th September 2012. As the Society's next meeting would be on 11th September, Ray hoped to be able to present to the Council some options for the investment of this fund. Ray continued that the Society still held £9041 in the CCLA Investment Management Fund, and £1855 in the Lloyds TSB current account, with \$1572 in the dollar account and 70 euros in the euro account.

Ray wished to point out to the Council, that although the Society was still in a strong financial position our funds had been gradually depleted over the past three years. This was due almost entirely to conditions beyond our control. For instance, in 2008 the Society was receiving £4303 per annum on its main asset in an instant access bank account, now we realise £1960 a year on a fixed interest 2 year bond. Also ever increasing costs and a slight fall in our membership was adding to the strain on the Society's finances.

Ray reported that two years ago we thought that there was a danger that the Charity Commission would oblige us to dispose of some of our assets. Ray had spoken to them on a couple of occasions since and they had assured him that this would not be required. Ray felt that, perhaps we should keep in mind the conservation of the Society's funds in any future Council spending decisions, until hopefully the present national economic situation improves.

Rudolph Bissolotti asked about the Charity Commissioners position on the use of the Charity's funds. Anna Lonsdale, the Accountant, explained that the Charity Commission had carried out a review of the size of the Reserves held by large Charities. If they regarded the funds held as being excessive, the charities were required to reduce their Reserves by spending funds for their charitable purposes.

Anna understood that the Charity Commission had intended to carry out the same review of Reserves held by medium sized charities, the category which included the Kipling Society. Local Charities, especially village halls which held significant Reserves, had been very concerned at the possible requirement to start spending some of their Reserves.

However, as there had recently been a change in the Chair of the Charity Commission, Anna understood now that the Commission's stance on this had been relaxed and the review was unlikely to be extended to all medium-sized charities.

In addition, the Kipling Society had now ear-marked some of its Reserves for specific purposes (such as the Essay Competition), which meant that the size of the charity's General Reserve had been reduced.

d. Editor

David Page reported that in the twelve months to date we had produced four issues *of the Journal*. We had not been able to publish a special issue containing

some of the papers presented at the IES Conference which was held in October last year, but David had four of these in the coming December 2012 issue.

Our printer, 4word Ltd, continued to be as helpful as ever, and David was most grateful to them. The material for the September 2012 issue of the *Journal* had been sent to them two weeks previously, and the contents of the December issue were already prepared. Articles were already in hand for the March and June issues of 2013. As is always the case, David assured all members that he welcomed anything that they cared to submit, be it articles, letters, or whatever.

e. Meetings Secretary

Andrew Lycett reported that our meetings continued to play a central role in the activities of the Society.

Over the past year we had enjoyed a wide-ranging and well-received programme of presentations from Barbara Fisher, Professor Harry Ricketts, Fiona MacCarthy and Simon Heffer. At the conclusion of this A.G.M., the lexicographer Jonathon Green would address the Society.

An equally comprehensive series of talks was scheduled for the rest of the year and for 2013. Andrew concluded that, as always, ideas about speakers or topics for future events were always welcome.

f. Librarian

John Walker reported as follows:

Research and support: Contacts arising from the London Conference had been the main source of queries and visits during the year, though we had also welcomed our youngest researcher, nine year old Katy Corteel. Her subject was the illustrations used for *The Just So Stories*, and we were able to show her the work of over forty different illustrators, from twelve countries.

More unusual subjects covered this year include D.N.A. tracing of branches of the Kipling family, with the most significant sample taken from a first cousin twice removed. Apparently, this may indicate a link to the Bowes area of North West Yorkshire.

Research proposals supported include "How Kipling's sight affected his work", "Kipling's Gentlemen Rankers", "Kipling and 'poor Jack' Fleming" and there were no less than three people working on aspects of *Kim*.

"With Magic in My Eyes" by Anthony Gibson (Fairfield Books, October 2011) was the latest publication to acknowledge research help from the Society. **Acquisitions:** Over fifty foreign language editions of Kipling's works had been added to our stock. Many have excellent illustrations, and the introductions to some reflect the attitudes of other cultures. We also continued to build up our stock of biographies and autobiographies of Kipling's contemporaries.

An important gift to the Society was a copy of *Departmental Ditties*. This is the facsimile of the first edition, published in the U.S.A. by Mansfield and Wessels in 1889 and was part of the estate of Dorothy M. Ryan, from Kentucky.

With an excellent copy of the fifth edition, donated recently by Michael Healey, this means that we can offer examples of almost all editions of this title. **Exhibitions and talks:** Talks this year had included the Kipling Day address to Junior King's School, Canterbury, a lunch lecture at Bateman's, a talk at Rottingdean, on Kipling's India, and publicity drive talks to a number of local

organisations and schools."Im Dschungel", the exhibition in Berlin to which the Society contributed some early editions of *The Jungle Book* proved very successful, and went on tour round Germany.

g. Online Editor

John Radcliffe reported that

1. There had been some 48,000 visitors to the site in the year to June 30th, some 132 a day, of whom some 19,850 (40%) visited the *NRG* pages. This was a reduction of some 25% on the previous twelve months. (The figures may have been affected by our recent switch to another service provider.) The total number of visitors since launch was nearly 1,025,000.
2. There had been a slow response to our pages for serving soldiers and sailors. The soldiers' page was registering some 400 visitors a month. It may be that to reach this younger readership we need to use Facebook and Twitter.
3. In the past year there had been 22 applications for membership via the site, much the same as the previous year. We continued to be the second or third ranked Kipling site on Google. The *Kipling Journal* archive continued to have good use, as does the Themes database, which enabled one to search for particular themes within the tales.
4. We had continued to develop the *New Readers' Guide*. As reported in the *Journal*, we have completed notes on all the tales and articles in the *Sussex Edition*, and we will be reviewing this work over the next few months. We continued to have many suggestions for corrections and updates from readers from all over the world, including the United States, Australia, and Ukraine.
5. Of the verse, a larger and more complicated task than the prose, we had so far annotated a further 100 poems since the last A.G.M., totalling 433 at the latest count, over two thirds of the published verse. John Walker, who is General Editor for the verse, was working on the *Early Verse*, Roger Ayers on *Barrack Room Ballads*, Alastair Wilson on *The Seven Seas*, and several other Editors including Philip Holberton in Australia, on *The Years Between* and *Songs from Books*.
6. The *Kipling Journal* archive could now be used independently of the main site, and could be found at kiplingjournal.com. The main site had been moved to kiplingsociety.co.uk, a more efficient (and cheaper) service provider, losing a few visitors in the process, but – hopefully – not permanently. We had retained kipling.org.uk and registered kiplingsociety.org.uk and kiplingsociety.com. Before too long one would be able to access the site from any of these addresses.
7. Finally, John wished to pay special tribute to the work of John McGivering, who at rising 90 was the single most industrious annotator of Kipling for the Readers' Guide, and has been a stalwart of the Society for very many years.
8. He had updated Arthur Young's *Kipling Dictionary*, and he worked with R.E. Harbord some fifty years ago on the original Readers' Guide. He has made a tremendous contribution to our work, updating many of the notes on both prose and verse. He continues to be young in heart, has decided that he now needs to slow down a little. His exceptional knowledge of the works, his penetrating judgement and his enlivening wit, have been invaluable in creating the *New Readers' Guide*.

Publicity

John Radcliffe reported that over the past year the Council had agreed to spend money on publicity by advertising our meetings in the newspapers. This had been expensive and had not attracted many people. Our main effort now was to remind our members via e-mail. Alastair Wilson suggested designing a poster for display in Libraries in the London area.

h. Bateman's Liaison Officer

Robin Mitchell reported on the year at Bateman's.

Bateman's Staff: To recognise her 27 years of outstanding service managing the shop, the Society had presented Madeline Smith with a framed print from "Punch" illustrating Rudyard Kipling, for her retirement in December 2011.

The Paddle Boat: The replica of R.K.'s paddle boat, in which he used to entertain, especially, his younger guests, to which the Society contributed £500, was launched in April 2012 by Miles Huntington-Whiteley, Kipling's godson, who appeared with R.K. in the well known photograph with R.K. in the paddle boat. Visitor Numbers: Visitor numbers in 2011 had achieved a grand total of over 101,000 – a record. The property continued to receive highly complimentary remarks, on the house, garden and restaurant, as well as the performance of staff and volunteers.

Changes to the House: Work continued at Bateman's to meet the Trust's new policy of giving their houses a look of being lived in by a family. Plans were underway to create a room dedicated to John. This room still needed a boy's dormitory bed, school and officer cadet uniforms for Wellington in the early 1900s and/or photographs of these. So far, visitors had welcomed the changes. Juvenal: In December 2011 an unexpected and intriguing discovery of a copy of *Juvenal's Works* had been made in the attics. This was currently on display in a showcase in the Library, together with a translation from Satire 6, a 'ruthless denunciation of immoral wives' (O.C.D.) with Kipling's translation of Horace's Odes in another showcase.

Robin thanked members who had come down to Bateman's for the Kipling Day on 24 June and, in this Jubilee year, contributed to readings on "Kipling and the Monarchy". He announced that Bateman's were to hold a British Empire weekend on 29 and 30 July.

7. Any Other Business

The President, Roger Ayers made an appeal to members, saying that, in two hours the Olympic Torch would arrive in a field outside his house, but that the Society had its own issue about torches. Our Editor and Secretary planned to retire and he asked if members knew of anyone with inclination and ability to take over either of these roles, could they let us know. It would be a great shame if we could not find the right person at the right time.

Rudolph Bissolotti drew Members attention to the commission, which the Society received from Amazon.

Jane Keskar, Honorary Secretary

Signed _____ Chairman

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR TO 31 DECEMBER 2012

The Accounts for the year to 31 December, 2012 which follow have been prepared under the simplified format as the Society qualifies as a Small Charity under the Charity Commission's rules. These Accounts have not yet been scrutinised by the Society's Independent Financial Examiner.

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

- 1) The Society employs no paid staff, but the Society has engaged a professional accountant to provide accounting services to the Society. No invoice for accountancy services was issued in 2012. The invoice was issued and paid by the Society in 2013. The Society does not have a permanent office. All overhead costs are included as Administration expenses.
- 2) This includes miscellaneous receipts from sales of the *Journal*, advertising, etc.
- 3) A small amount of Subscription income has been received in advance, but this figure has not been included in "Creditors" as subscriptions received are not refundable to members. No amounts have been included in Subscriptions and Donations in respect of income tax recoverable on amounts which members have paid under "Gift Aid" rules. Tax claims are submitted for relevant tax years, and tax refunds are included in each Receipts and Payments Account and identified separately when the refunds are received.

- 4) Payments for reimbursements of administration costs and other expenses of lectures and functions, etc., were made during the year to the Trustees: Mr S. & Mrs J. Keskar £410; A. Lycett £298; J. Walker £551; J. Lambert £195; J. Radcliffe £1,404; D. Page £141; Prof L. Ormond £31. Amounts owing to Trustees at 31 December 2012 for other expenses incurred during 2012 are not included.

- 5) During the year the Society made the following grants and donations –

Kipling Conference at the University of London	£	558
Cash donation towards restoration of bedroom at Bateman's		300
Purchase of bed donated to Bateman's for restoration of bedroom		80
Grant towards production of "Just So Opera"		250
	<u>£</u>	<u>1,188</u>

	2011	2012
Costs of programme of lectures and A.G.M.	£ 2,845	£ 1,962
Costs of special lectures, functions and events	£ 4,121	£ 3,792
	<u>£ 6,966</u>	<u>£ 5,761</u>

- 7) The prizes for the Essay Competition for secondary school 6th-form students are being financed from the legacy of £ 10,000 received by the Society from the Estate of the late Mr John Slater, a former Hon. Librarian of the Society. The expenses of running the Essay Competition are borne by the general funds of the Society and are included with Administration expenses.

Continued on page 67.

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2012

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

	2012		2011	
	£	£	£	£
Bank balances at 1 January 2012		88,110		91,210
<u>Income received in the year</u>				
Subscriptions and donations	13,233		13,525	
Special lectures, events, & functions	3,510		2,960	
Bank interest	2,029		2,040	
Tax refunds on subscriptions and donations (including interest) (3)	–		–	
Legacies	–		500	
Sundry income (2)	30		–	
Sales of new books and surplus library books	–		–	
Total Income received		<u>18,802</u>		<u>19,025</u>
<u>Deduct: Expenses paid in the year</u>				
Printing and despatch of Journal	8,298		10,126	
Costs of lectures, events and functions (6)	6,966		5,761	
Administration and sundry running costs of the Society (1) (4) (7)	969		2,004	
Website, on-line expenses	1,576		924	
Bank charges	143		127	
Readers' Guide	–		2	
Publicity including advertising	847		997	
Donations and grants (5)	1,188		600	
Essay Competition (7) – Prizes	900		1,270	
Additions to books for Library	136		314	
Total Expenditure		<u>(21,023)</u>		<u>(22,125)</u>
Bank balances at 31 December 2012		<u>£ 85,889</u>		<u>£ 88,110</u>

KIPLING SOCIETY

YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 2012

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

	2012 £	2011 £
Reserves		
General Reserve	55,023	56,344
The John Slater Essay Competition Fund	7,080	7,980
The Eileen Stammers-Smith Memorial Lecture Fund	23,786	23,786
	<u>85,889</u>	<u>88,110</u>
Represented by Bank Balances –		
– Current Account	£ 1,367	
– Deposit Accounts	£ 84,041	
– Foreign Currency Accounts	£ 481	
	<u>£ 85,889</u>	
[At 31 December 2011: £ 88,110]		
Debtors and prepayment	2,394	1,821
Library and office fixtures, – furniture and equipment – balance at year end (8)	16,316	16,638
Total assets	104,599	106,569
Deduct: Liabilities – creditors (3)	<u>(1,025)</u>	<u>(1,125)</u>
Net assets at 31 December 2012	<u>103,574</u>	<u>105,444</u>

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

- 8) Fixed assets are depreciated over 5 years at 20% p.a. *pro rata*, except that Library bookcases are depreciated at 10% *pro rata*.

Fixed assets at the year end – Library, including additions in the year Fixtures, furniture and equipment, library and office		£ 15,658
Cost, including additions	£ 11,139	
Depreciation at 1 January 2012	(10,023)	
Depreciation provision for 2012 not included in Receipts and Payments Account	<u>(458)</u>	
		<u>658</u>
Balance at 31 December 2012		<u>16,316</u>

ABOUT THE KIPLING SOCIETY

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

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

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

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

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

MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

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

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

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

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