



The
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THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

DISCUSSION MEETINGS 1979

All at 'The Clarence' Whitehall, S.W.1. (near Trafalgar Square Tube Station) at 17.30 for 18.00 hours.

Wednesday, 11 April: Mr. T. L. A. Daintith will open a discussion on 'Revenge'.

Wednesday 11 July: The Reverend Dr. Arthur R. Akers, M.A. will open a discussion on 'The Kiplings of Yorkshire'. His opening talk will be illustrated with slides.

Wednesday 12 September: Mrs. Lisa A. F. Lewis will open a discussion on '*The Prophet and the Country*—the nastiest story?'

Wednesday 14 November: Mr. Peter Bellamy will give a Musical Entertainment.

OTHER MEETINGS

Dates, times and places of Council Meetings will be sent to Council Members with the Minutes of their last Meeting.

Date and arrangements for the Annual Luncheon and the Annual General Meeting will be announced in the Journal.

VISIT TO BATEMAN'S

By courtesy of the Administrator, National Trust, members will be welcome to a private visit to Bateman's, Burwash, Sussex, on Friday 4 May 1979. Lunch, snacks, drinks will be available at THE BEAR in Burwash for members who like to forgothar there. Tea will be available at Bateman's.

J.S.

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NEWS AND NOTES

"PILTDOWN MISHANDLED"?

It was suggested some years ago that Kipling knew all about the Piltdown Man forgery, or may even have been concerned with it, if not actually in league with the conspirators. Nothing has since come to light to prove that this was so, but the confessions of James Douglas, sometime Professor of Geology at Oxford, published in *The Sunday Times* of 29 Oct: 1978 reveal so close a likeness to the plot of 'Dayspring Mishandled' (first published in *The Strand Magazine* July 1928) that one is tempted to believe that Piltdown suggested the plot of the story.

"The instigator has been named as Prof. William Sollas, Professor of Geology at Oxford from 1897 to 1937. Before he died earlier this year (1978) Prof. James Douglas, who was Sollas's assistant and later successor at Oxford—made a tape-recording—saying that Sollas, the most eminent geologist of the day, carried out the hoax as part of a personal feud with Sir Arthur Smith-Woodward, former Keeper of Geology at the British Museum. Sir Arthur staked his reputation on the authenticity of the skull found in a chalkpit at Piltdown, Sussex, at the beginning of the century. It was claimed to be a 'missing link' in man's evolution. But in 1953 scientists proved that the skull was a fake, constructed from a human cranium and a modern ape's jaw bone."

The closest resemblance between 'Dayspring Mishandled' and the Piltdown case lies in the fact that Sollas, like Manallace in the story, had a "personal" feud with his intended victim, got him to "stake his reputation" publicly on the genuineness of the fake—and then never exposed him.

Dr. Beverley Halstead, Reader in Geology and Zoology at Reading, who now possesses Prof. Douglas's tape, commented in the current number of *Nature*, "I believe Sollas felt unable to reveal the hoax when he saw all the other eminent names that joined with Smith-Woodward in authenticating the find. It would also be unseemly for a man in his position to admit to such a trick."

The actual "finder" of the skull was Charles Dawson, "a Sussex solicitor and amateur palaeontologist" whose exposure would apparently have incriminated Sollas, Kipling went one better in the story by making Manallace capable of making the forgery himself.

But the forgeries differ widely in kind, and are of course a common theme in fiction. The unusual similarity between Sollas and Manallace is that, having trapped his victim, neither exposed him.

"BLUE PETER" AT BATEMAN'S

On 14 January BBC Television's "Blue Peter: Special Assignment" showed a delightful visit to Kipling at Bateman's. It gave a brief sketch of Kipling's life, with pictures of various places associated with him: reproductions of Indian scenes (for some reason omitting his birth-place at Bombay, but showing the perennial drawing of Bikaner House at Lahore in rather confusing juxtaposition); recent pictures of the House of Desolation (with little Rudyard, played by John Deering, sprawling on the drawing room sofa reading a book—which "Auntie Rosa" would hardly have allowed!); some splendid sequences at 'Naulahka'; nothing at Rottingdean, but of course a great concentration on Bateman's. Here the adult Kipling was played by Peter Birrel—an uncanny likeness—and Carrie by Angela Morant. There were scenes of Kipling writing in the study; of the family at breakfast; of the Mill, the stream and the boat on the pond (with an eminent visitor duly falling in), and an utterly delightful few minutes of Elsie and John acting a scene from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for their parents on an improvised stage in the quarry—one almost expected *Puck of Pook's Hill* to follow on from it. . . . It is surely time for BBC Television to present these superbly suitable stories as a weekly serial.

KIPLING'S "VULGARITY"

Reviews of the Birkenhead biography continue to give reviewers the chance of expressing their own ideas about Kipling. Among more recent critics is V. S. Pritchett in *The New York Review of Books* (Vol. XXV. No. 19, pp. 24-25) for 7 December 1978. His great theme is Kipling's vulgarity.

"There are two ways", he writes, "of looking at the vulgarity that angered aesthetes like Max Beerbohm and critics of a quite different generation: it is the obverse side of Kipling's precocious ventriloquial gift of becoming things, machines, animals and people alien to himself, an aspect of his bouncing feeling for success, a festive energy. A good deal of it is histrionic. On the other hand, Kipling's vulgarity is connected with a Puritan compulsion to shut the door on his inner life, a refusal to expose himself to self-knowledge. He replaces that with a curt or grandiose assertion of codes, laws, and sentimental fatalism. He is less militant in this than conventional and self-regimented, less an imaginary soldier than an embittered Salvation Army man blowing a sentimental trumpet."

Of the reason for the banning of the biography he suggests that: "Perhaps Mrs. Bambridge disliked the suggestion that Kipling's working-class dialogue was inaccurate and lower-middle-class; that faint social sneer must have irritated." And he decided that: "Lord Birkenhead's account of the hardworking, truculent young man's experiences of low life in India is more explicit than in other biographies. Kipling really did plunge into Indian life, especially the despised life of the bazaars, as no other Englishman seems to have done."

BIRKENHEAD'S LIFE OF KIPLING

By Charles Carrington

The publicity given to Lord Birkenhead's *Life of Kipling* ensures that most readers will now be acquainted with its extraordinary history: the ruthless conduct of Mrs. Bambridge who first commissioned and then suppressed this biography of her father, and the honourable conduct of Lord Birkenhead, who scrupulously kept his word not to publish it. Yet some of the publicity for promoting this book is disingenuous. This is *not* the 'book that was banned' but a substantially new book, re-written in the nineteen-sixties, as we are told in an introduction by the author's son. It is a version from which many of the passages to which Elsie Bambridge objected have been eliminated and in which many references are made to more recent studies of Kipling, with acknowledgment, the latest of them—perhaps an afterthought—to a book of the year 1971. Two of the recommendations by celebrities, printed on the jacket, plainly refer to the first draft of 1948 and not to the book now before us. The scope and character of the revised book present the views of Kipling which were current in the early 'sixties, after the release of the documents from Wimpole which I used in my book (1955), but before the outbreak of scholarly criticism that followed my book in Britain and America.

It would not be proper for me to write a formal review of a book put forward as a rival to mine, and what I now submit is a mere footnote to literary history. Birkenhead and I examined the same archives, visited the same localities, interviewed many of the same witnesses, as may be seen in our lists of acknowledgments which overlap considerably. I welcome the appearance of his book though, of course, it propagates many opinions with which I do not agree. How could we not disagree? Kipling is the most controversial and provoking of writers; he arouses a love-hate reaction in many of his readers, and Kipling-addicts quarrel furiously. No two seem to concur in their likes and dislikes among his works.

But, first, I must face the vexed question: what was it that Elsie Bambridge objected to? She told me plainly that she could never accept Birkenhead's analysis of her father's character nor of her own, especially of her childhood. Here is an obstacle that can at once be cleared away. The account of her childhood was entirely eliminated from the revised book and was replaced (pp. 243-4) by a long extract from "Carrington", politely acknowledged.

On Rudyard's childhood, Birkenhead is strictly conventional accepting without question the highly-coloured account by Rudyard's little sister, 'Trix', who was only eight years old at the crisis of the story. Though he lists several of the modern critics in his bibliography, Birkenhead seems not to use them. When we come to Rudyard's later life we find a few sentences surviving from the first draft, that Elsie could never have approved. No daughter in a closely-knit family would allow a strange young author to write of her own marriage in the terms that Birkenhead employs. In making this judgement I have the strong support of Miss Nicholson, who was private secretary to

Rudyard, to Carrie Kipling, and to Elsie, successively. Lady Milner who was Carrie Kipling's closest friend, assured me with a wealth of evidence that the old Kiplings, having lost their two elder children, lavished all their love and their hopes upon Elsie, dreaming of a great marriage for the one 'ewe-lamb'. Carrie was disappointed when Elsie became engaged to a nice nobody, but we may be pleased to learn that it was a happy though childless marriage.

Modern Kipling studies begin with the publication, in 1937, of *Something of Myself*, which first stimulated me to study his life and times, ten years before Birkenhead picked up the trail. It is a fragmentary unsatisfactory book, more remarkable for what it leaves out than for what it puts in. Yet, such as it was, it enabled Kipling criticism to take a new shape. One result was the appearance in 1941 of T. S. Eliot's *Choice of Kipling's Verse*, a solitary landmark that has had no successor. Criticism was still limited by the fact that such good writers as Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, and George Orwell did not know the plain facts of Kipling's life, the circumstances in which his stories and ballads were composed. No personal book about Kipling could be written until the Wimpole documents were released. Why did I succeed in this delivery where Birkenhead had failed? Through no merit of mine but, simply because Elsie Bambridge took a dislike to young Birkenhead, but formed a friendly working partnership with me. We often argued but we never quarrelled. So far was she from restricting me that I came to know the Wimpole archive better than she did. We remained friends, I am proud to say, until her death.

In the few weeks since Birkenhead's *Kipling* was published, several important reviews have appeared, three of them by eminent scholars, well acquainted with recent Kipling studies; N. Chaudhuri an Indian expatriate, Angus Wilson a novelist and critic. Philip Mason whose early career in the I.C.S. is significant. Like all Kipling critics they differ surprisingly in their preferences, with this exception, that all agree upon *Kim* as Kipling's masterpiece, a book that the *cognoscenti* of the 1900's ignored as a mere adventure-story for boys. Birkenhead is fascinated by some of Kipling's early Indian work, especially the taradiddes he wrote in letters to the family, and agrees that *Kim* is the best English novel on India. But, like the others he has his 'hates' (a favourite expression of Elsie Bambridge). He writes down the Army stories and the *Barrack-Room Ballads*, largely because they were written in cockney dialect. How we Kipling addicts vary! I should say that his subtle use of vocabulary, idiom and intonation to distinguish his characters, though crude in the early 'Mulvaney' stories, became one of the most brilliant factors in his talent. More unusually, Birkenhead dismisses the *Light that Failed* and *Naulahka* in a few lines as unimportant, an opinion that may be tenable as literary criticism but is surely untenable as biography. He does not like soldiers, deplors the whole South African episode, and seems to think that we lost the Boer War. We now begin to see why Elsie disliked the book and the author's point of view; and here another reviewer will help us, Jan Morris, whose thoughtful analysis probes the depth of the Kipling problem, 'the bewilderment of ordinary educated readers about the puzzle that was Kipling'. No puzzle to Elsie and me because the situation came naturally to us.

Here I introduce the factor of the Generation Gap, the cleavage of August 1914 when a red line was ruled across the annals of British History so that 'things' were never the same again. Elsie and I were the same age, nearly, born and brought-up before the catastrophe, in days when the ideas now associated with Kipling's name were the common form of English middle-class society. Freddy Birkenhead and, still more, Jan Morris belong to a different world, the dismal disenchanted world between the Wars, when the poem *If* was regarded as a bad joke, and when children instead of being taught their Duty towards their Neighbour learned how to clamour for their so-called 'rights'.

The liberal intellectuals, as Lionel Trilling put it in 1943, 'hated everything that Kipling loved' and, though I cannot class Lord Birkenhead and Jan Morris as liberal intellectuals, they lived in a world that had moved far away from Kiplingism. It is surprising that 'Freddy' Birkenhead, the son of F. E. Smith, should have taken so strong an anti-imperialist line, but he was a man of his age and could not think back into the world of Elsie Bambridge (and the present writer).

Jan Morris's bewilderment never prevents her from knowing that Kipling is a 'seer'. 'He has the power to make us think twice, even now'. This does not imply that we need revere his naughty juvenilia, nor his imprudent—though rare—'intrusions into active politics, so rare, so off-beam, that one sometimes wonders whether the Kipling of the Beerbohm caricatures really existed. Might we not now, at last, forget Kipling's politics? My last word is that few of the writers I have quoted give due attention to Kipling's verse. Might we not now, at last, take a straight look at Kipling the child-lover, Kipling the humorist, Kipling the artist in words, and finally Kipling the poet?

THE INDIAN RAILWAY LIBRARY

Part I

By F. A. Underwood

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Railway Library paperbacks published at one rupee each by Messrs. A. H. Wheeler & Co. of Allahabad from 1888 onwards are still of great interest to the student of Kipling's works, and especially to the collector who takes pleasure in seeing how they originally appeared, for the stories now collected in *Soldiers Three* and *Wee Willie Winkie* (*Under the Deodars* in America) made up the first six volumes of the series. With these little books in particular fruitless, but enjoyable, speculation is irresistible: was this copy bought at a station book-stall, and where? Did that one actually beguile some tedious journey across India nearly ninety years ago, and what was the impact of Mulvaney, the Gadsbys, Black Sheep or Daniel Dravot on the traveller? Was it a globe trotter, an officer of the Indian Army or a retired Civilian who eventually brought this tattered *Soldiers Three* back to England? Who had Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5 bound together, and why not Nos. 4 and 6? As with Departmental Ditties, the mere survival of such

fragile items makes them more fascinating to handle than a first edition of, say, *Plain Tales from the Hills*, whilst here in addition to textual differences there are variations in the printed wrappers to be studied—a pastime more like stamp collecting than book collecting. It is well known that the first six volumes had front and back cover designs by the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, where John Lockwood Kipling was the Principal, although it is impossible to decide how much he did himself and whether he had a hand in the retouching and re-engraving which took place. It is possibly significant that the charming young lady depicted on the back cover of *Under the Deodars* has been stated to be Kipling's sister Beatrice.¹ Different versions of the designs distinguish between issues of the same edition, but in some cases the same version may be found on different editions, so that there is much scope for the pedantic bibliophile. Only a collector can appreciate the delight of finding the terrier standing on all four legs on the front of *Soldiers Three*, no periods after 'No' and 'Library' and no hatching on the barrack-room doors or sympathise with a disappointing amount of shading around 'No4' (although the parasol is upright) on *Under the Deodars*. Points such as these are recorded with the usual air of omniscience in the standard bibliographies^{2,3,4}; Livingston reproduces the covers of the first editions on suitably-coloured paper, and some differences of detail are illustrated in the Grolier Catalogue⁵.

It is not the purpose of this article to consider such *minutiae*. The intention is rather to trace changes made in the texts, starting with the early Indian editions and proceeding as far as the English collected editions, from which later ones derive with no very significant alterations. Some of the introductions and other passages which were omitted at various stages are sufficiently interesting to be quoted, and smaller changes made for English readers will be summarised with examples. A few of the deleted paragraphs have been included in books on Kipling and in *The Kipling Journal*, but no systematic account of the texts seems to have been published.

'Reprinted in chief from "The Week's News" ' appeared on the verso of the title pages of the Indian editions, and indeed only a few of the stories were first published in book form. Kipling himself described how he supplied 'home-grown fiction on the hoof to fill a page of this weekly edition of the *Pioneer* in place of buying syndicated fiction from agencies at Home⁶. The six volumes contain some of the best of the early stories when Kipling was able to expand from the *Civil and Military Gazette* length, although it must be said that some of the worst were also collected one or two of the child stories in *Wee Willie Winkie* being particularly antipathetic to modern taste, and the greater length did not invariably lead to improvement on the *Plain Tales*.

Emile Moreau, senior partner in Wheeler's, the firm which controlled the Indian railway bookshops, offered to publish the *Week's News* stories in book form, taking all the risk, and paying Kipling £200 and a royalty of £4 a thousand copies after the sale of the first 1500, the contract being dated 7th March 1889⁷. Kipling described Moreau as coming 'of an imaginative race, used to taking chances', and told how he employed the £200 with other payments for *Plain Tales from the Hills* and *Departmental Ditties* to finance his journey back to England by way of the Far East and America. He bought them all back as money came in from his work when he lived in New England for 'The

Committee of Ways and Means passed a resolution, never rescinded, that henceforth, at any price, it must own its collective self⁸. Some copies of the Indian editions were sent to England, and a few reviews had appeared in periodicals by the time that Kipling reached London late in 1889⁹. One of the reviewers was Andrew Lang, and, according to Carrington¹⁰, Lang, who was reader for the firm suggested that Sampson Low should take over the English publication of the books. Kipling negotiated the sale of the rights himself, this being the only occasion on which he dealt directly with an English publisher, although in fact the Wheeler transaction was mentioned in *Something of Myself* as the last of that kind with any publisher.

A seventh Kipling item in the series (No. XIV) consisted of travel pieces published in the *Pioneer* in 1888 collected under the title of *The City of Dreadful Night*. This is of less literary importance, but a comparison with the revised text in *From Sea to Sea* brings out some points of difference, and the number will be the subject of a separate article since it is a special case, being non-fiction and a later addition to the series after Kipling had left India. The very rare, suppressed *Letters of Marque* vol. I (English edition only, Stewart 96) was an unnumbered addition to the series as shown by the cover reproduced by Martindell².

The short titles of the first six numbers are given with descriptions from the publishers' advertisements in brackets :

- No. 1. *Soldiers Three* (Stories of Barrack-Room Life)
- No. 2. *The Story of the Gadsbys* (A Tale without a Plot)
- No. 3. *In Black and White* (Stories of Native Life)
- No. 4. *Under the Deodars* (In Social Byways)

(The above four numbers are illustrative of the four main features of Anglo-Indian life, viz., The Military, Domestic, Native and Social)

- No. 5. *The Phantom Rickshaw* (and other Eerie Tales)
- No. 6. *Wee Willie Winkie* (and other Child Stories)

The contents of the first six volumes have of course been collected, reprinted and anthologised many times over the years since 1888: the stories are still in print, mostly in paperbacks again, whilst radio and television adaptations are made now and then, and 'The Man who would be King' was filmed recently. Even the trivial articles from *The City of Dreadful Night* can be found in *From Sea to Sea* fairly readily. In contrast, the works of other authors listed in the series have totally disappeared, although it would be fascinating to learn exactly what was *The Colonel's Crime* (No. 7, by Ivan O'Beirne) and what happened to *The Subaltern, the Policeman and the Little Girl* or *The One-eyed Forger*. No. 8, *The Heart of a Maid*, is said to have been written by Kipling's sister under the pen name of Beatrice Grange¹, and so would have some interest of its own.

Advertisements in some later editions have a certain appeal for they carry the imaginative reader back to the time when *Soldiers Three* and *The Story of the Gadsbys* were 'now ready and procurable from all Railway Bookstalls' with *In Black and White* and *Under the Deodars* 'in the Press and will be issued shortly and followed by *Wee Willie Winkie* and *The Phantom Rickshaw*, orders for which are now being registered by A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad'—an exciting prospect indeed. The books in the series and also *Plain Tales from the Hills* and

Departmental Ditties were advertised by long 'Opinions of the Press', not only from the *Spectator* and the *Saturday Review* but also from the *Admiralty and Horse Guards Gazette* ('We can only regret that these two books are not published in England') and the *Home and Colonial Mail*. It is perhaps strange that the two books published by Thacker, Spink of Calcutta were advertised in Wheeler's series, but it may be noted that in one First Indian edition a slip stating: From A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, and all Railway Bookstalls' was pasted over the other publisher's name in an advertisement for *Plain Tales from the Hills*. The price was 'Rs.4' incidentally, whilst *Departmental Ditties* was Rs2-8. Pears Soap was not forgotten in some late issues, and 'Wilkinson's essence of fluid extract of Red Jamaica Sarsaparilla is the only Preparation recognized by the Faculty as a wonderful Purifier of the Human Blood . . . The best remedy against "prickly heat" . . .'

This study is not as scholarly as could be wished because it has not been possible to examine every important edition of all the titles, but much may be discovered, even working within the limits of a small private collection, and the actual copies seen will be described for each volume, so that any limitations will be obvious. Letters A to E denote texts which may be grouped as follows:

- A First (1888) and subsequent Indian editions, published by A. H. Wheeler and Co., Allahabad and printed at the *Pioneer Press*.
- B First English editions (1890) and reprints with the imprint of Wheeler and Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington Lt . . . London on title pages and covers. These were printed at the Aberdeen University Press, and are sometimes to be seen bound in threes in the publishers' red cloth with the pagination still separate. The plates on the front covers were reduced to make room for the English imprint. 'Price One Shilling' usually, but not always, appeared above the plates.
- C Indian editions printed by the Aberdeen University Press but with the Wheeler imprint on the title pages and on the covers, the plates for which were re-engraved but not reduced. It is always stated that the texts of these printings are identical with those of the first English editions, but this is doubtful, as will be shown below, and they are certainly not the same as the texts of English reprints, although they follow them almost line for line but with 'Indian' words and phrases from A. According to the bibliographies, 7000 copies of each of the first English editions were printed with 3000 for the Indian editions, but it appears that the type was altered specially between runs. Many of the copies were rubber-stamped: 'To further popularise this celebrated series the price is now reduced to eight annas per volume', so that presumably it was becoming difficult to sell the 3000 additional copies of each title in India.
- D Sampson Low, Marston & Company collected editions (1892) lettered *Soldiers Three Etc* (Stewart 43) and *Wee Willie Winkie Etc* (Stewart 58) on the spines, containing Nos. 1-3 and Nos. 4-6 respectively. The pagination was continuous in each of the two volumes, and the texts were reset but were almost identical with B, so that separate description is not generally required below. The typesetter had a tendency to omit capital letters throughout in

many words such as 'Devil', 'Assistant Commissioner' and 'Civilian' which had capitals in all other editions.

- E The 1895 Macmillan and Co. collected editions (Stewart 44, 59) in which the texts were revised and introductory items were omitted. In the corresponding American editions (Stewart 45, 60) two extra stories were added to each of the collections, 'The Wreck of the Visigoth', for instance being placed incongruously amongst the *Soldiers Three* stories. *Under the Deodars* was used for the collective title of Nos. 4-6 in America instead of *Wee Willie Winkie*. The Macmillan Uniform and the American Trade editions follow these texts closely, and are similar to each other except for the additional stories in the latter. No very important differences were detected in casual examination of the de Luxe, Outward Bound and Sussex editions, although there was considerable rearrangement of the stories.

In the textual comparisons which follow many differences in punctuation and in the use of italics will be ignored, but it is perhaps worth remarking that rows of dots in the Indian printings were generally replaced by dashes and that the number of italicised words tended to decrease with time. Trivial changes such as 'arrayed' to 'clad' and 'attired' to 'dressed' will not normally be included, but again it is worth remarking that there was a tendency to replace rather pretentious words by simpler ones, especially for descriptions of clothing. In addition to the examples of each title listed as compared below, D, E and the Uniform and American Trade editions have been examined for every title. Page and line references are to the Uniform edition. For convenience the general term 'Indian' will be used here to include any words or phrases which should be classified, strictly speaking, as Hindustani, other native language or Anglo-Indian argot.

No. 1 *Soldiers Three*

The editions examined were: A—First Indian (Stewart 28); B—English reprints; C—English edition with Indian title page and cover, 'Third Edition' on title page (Stewart p.45). It does not appear to have been noticed previously that there were evidently two Indian third editions, since Stewart 30 was the third printed in India and also had 'Third Edition' on the title page.

For this number only the publisher's name did not appear on the title page of the First edition which had: 'Allahabad/Printed at the "Pioneer" press': Most of the long full title has been retained even in recent editions, but the phrase 'done into type and edited' was only used in A, whilst as far as D there was a Dedication: 'To/that very strong man,/T. Atkins,/Private of the Line,/this book is dedicated/in all admiration and goodfellowship'. The Preface, which was omitted after D, takes the fanciful reader back to the original purchaser opening the book as a train clanks away from some station in 1888, and will appeal to those who treasure every scrap of the lore of Mulvaney.

This small book contains, for the most part, the further adventures of my esteemed friends and sometimes allies, Privates Mulvaney, Ortheris, and Learoyd, who have already been introduced to the public. Those anxious to know how the three most cruelly maltreated a Member of Parliament; how Ortheris went mad for a space; how Mulvaney and some friends took the town of Lung-

tungpen; and how little Jhansi McKenna helped the regiment when it was smitten with cholera, must refer to a book called Plain Tales from the Hills. I would have reprinted the four stories in this place, but Dinah Shadd says that "tearin' the tripes out av a book wid a pictur' on the back, all to make Terence proud past reasonin' " is wasteful and Mulvaney himself says that he prefers to have his fame "dishpersed most notoriously in sev'ril volumes." I can only hope that his desire will be gratified.

'L'Envoi' ('And they were stronger hands than mine') at the end was also omitted after D but retained in American editions. The verses were collected in *Songs from Books* as 'A Dedication', with a small d for 'Discontent' (1 12) and 'cloaks' for 'clokes' (1 20).

As usual¹¹, the number of Hindustani or Anglo-Indian words and phrases was considerably reduced between A and B, and in this case E and subsequent texts appear to have been derived from B with further modifications. The text of C followed A rather than B, although the layout is obviously that of B. A few examples are given story by story, and it is clear that they were all intended to make the tales more intelligible to the English public. Other changes were small improvements or corrections in the English.

In 'The God from the Machine' *ticca-gharri*, *ticca* (or *tikka*) and *gharri* were replaced throughout by 'carriage' or similar words, *scrab* by 'stuff' (p.4, 11 5 and 6), *bhistis'* *mussicks* by 'Barrack water-butts' (4, 26) *bundobust* by 'arrangement' (10, 8) and *tattu* by 'stallion' (11, 10). About 30 changes of this type were made in the story, and they were grouped closely in certain places; for instance a passage on page 11, line 9, may be compared with the original: "sellin' your master's honour for five rupees—*bund karo* all the Miss Sahib's *asbab* an look slippy'. *Capt'n Sahib ki hookum* !, sez I; '*Eshtation ko. Mallum?*' " One or two further changes were made in E, including the omission of 'who was a Londoner' after Ortheris (4, 4), presumably because this was well known by 1895. 'Private Learoyd's Story' is exceptional in that no significant changes were ever made in the text—the only story in the six numbers for which this is true. There were few alterations in 'The Big Drunk Draf'; a dozen Indian words were changed in B, including '*naygur-log*' to '*naygur-folk*', *pulton* to '*regiment*', *gorah-log* to '*soldiers*' and *dhoti* to '*cloth*'. Changes in E were again minor: '*raiment*' to '*clothing*' (29, 13) and '*nose to correspon*' to '*nose to match*' (37, 31). 'The Solid Muldoon' lost its opening sentence in E: 'This befel in the old days and. as my friend Private Mulvaney was specially careful to make clear, the Unregenerate'. Other lines omitted (44, 24) read: 'But no matther'. I must get to the other ghosts—not the wans in my ould head'. The changes in B were small, and one example will suffice: I gave Father Victor wan eight to say a mass . . .' became: '. . . one rupee to say a mass.' (53, 23), thus losing a convincing detail.

There were more changes of punctuation than usual in 'With the Main Guard' and a few Indian words were eliminated in B and subsequent editions with the substitution of '*skinful*' for *mussuck* (55, 14) and *chagal* full (67, 3), '*bedstead*' for *Charpoy* (57, 5; 61, 4) and '*messman*' for *khansamah* (5, 19). The footnote (page 60) on Captain O'Neill was inserted in E, and at that stage there was one of the remarkably few changes made in dialect speech: 'I was squeezed' for

'Hi was squeeged'. Some small changes show evidence of a fairly careful revision of this story in E, for instance the omission of 'hot' after 'stifling' (55, 5). 'Bobbs' in A became 'the Commander in Chief' (B) and 'the Commander in Chief' (E). *Tikka gharri* was again altered in several places in 'In the Matter of a Private', *maidan* was altered to 'plain' (84, 24) and 'which means swine' was inserted after *so-oor* (80, 2). 'A place which it is not polite to mention' became 'another place' (79, 20) in E, 'offered' was substituted for 'proffered' (86, 6) and a final short sentence after 'the gaping schoolgirl with which this story opens' was omitted: 'That would have been too absurd.' In 'Black Jack' there were the usual changes in B such as *khansamah* to 'mess-man' or 'butler', *Arsty* to 'Easy' (94, 29), *gali* to 'dressing down' (99, 1) *chow-dekar's gunter* to 'guardroom gong' (101, 5) and *jat* to 'bread' (112, 13), whilst 'I looked like a boiled sheep's topi' became: 'I looked a trifle wiser than a boiled sheep's head' (105, 17). 'Five miles from t'Canteen' (94, 15) was originally 'Fower miles . . .', which was presumably altered to be consistent with 'five an' a 'arf miles' on page 112. The mis-spelling Martini-Henri was corrected to Martini-Henry in E and 'tunic' was substituted for 'jackut', but the most important change there was the omission of the opening paragraph:

There is a writer across the seas, called Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson, who makes most delicate inlay-work in black and white, and files out to the fraction of a hair. He has written a story about a Suicide Club, wherein men gambled for Death because other amusements did not bite sufficiently. My friend Private Mulvaney knows nothing about Mr. Stevenson, but he once assisted informally at a meeting of almost such a club as that gentleman has described; and his words are absolutely and literally true, ('absolutely and literally' omitted after A).

The history of *Soldiers Three* thus follows a predictable pattern with a reduction of Indian words and expressions in the early English editions (B and D) and some minor changes and improvements in the Macmillan collected edition (E) on which later editions were based. The Preface was presumably omitted as it was not necessary in 1895 when Kipling was an established writer and the volume was not a novelty; it is in fact, more difficult to understand why the Preface to *Plain Tales from the Hills* was almost always retained, especially as it inaccurately states the numbers of stories previously published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. The paragraph on R. L. Stevenson—perhaps the most quoted omission in the whole series—is a prime example of a general reduction of literary references on revision, perhaps in order to reinforce the tone of the non-literary narrator which caused some early critics to assume that Kipling himself had read little.¹²

No. 2 The Story of the Gadsbys

It has not been possible to examine an early Indian edition (A) of *The Story of the Gadsbys*, but the Third Indian edition (C) printed in Aberdeen (Stewart p.47), which was available, probably follows the same text, judging by the other volumes. It certainly differs from the examples of B examined—an edition which seemed to be a First English (Stewart 34) and a Second English ('Third Edition' on title page; Stewart 35, which has the same type but different pagination from 34).

An amusing Preface in the earlier editions was omitted from E onwards, and this is a pity because it did round off a story which is perhaps rather underrated nowadays—'It wasn't *all* so dam' bad Ruddy'¹³—and told of the fate of Captain Mafflin. The text in C was :

To the address of

CAPTAIN J. MAFFLIN,

Duke of Derry's (Pink) Hussars.

Dear Mafflin,

You will remember that I wrote this story as an Awful Warning. None the less you have seen fit to disregard it, and have followed Gadsby's example—as I betted you would. I acknowledge that you paid the money at once, but you have prejudiced the mind of Mrs. Mafflin against myself; for though I am almost the only respectable friend of your bachelor days, she has been *darwaza band* to me throughout the season. Further, she caused you to invite me to dinner at the Club, where you called me "a wild ass of the desert", and went home at half-past ten, after discoursing for twenty minutes on the responsibilities of house-keeping. You now drive a mail-phaeton and sit under a Church of England clergyman. I am not angry, Jack. It is your *kismet*, as it was Gaddy's, and his *kismet* who can avoid? Do not think that I am moved by a spirit of revenge as I write, thus publicly, that you and I alone are responsible for this book. In other and more expansive days, when you could look at a magnum without flushing and at a cheroot without turning white, you supplied me with most of the material. Take it back again—would that I could have preserved your fetterless speech in the telling—take it back, and by your slippered hearth read it to the late Miss Deercourt. She will not be any the more willing to receive my cards, but she will admire you immensely, and you, I feel sure, will love me. You may even invite me to another very bad dinner—at the Club, which as you and your wife know, is a safe neutral ground for the entertainment of wild asses. Then, my very dear hypocrite, we shall be quits.

Yours always,

RUDYARD KIPLING

P.S.—On second thoughts I should recommend you to keep the book away from Mrs. Mafflin.

In B 'she has been *darwaza band* to me' became 'she has refused my card to me' and 'kismet' was altered to 'fate'.

Comparison of B, C and E reveals numerous small changes all through the book. As an exception to the general rule, the use of italics increased with time in order to accent certain words in the speeches. 'Curtain' was omitted at the end of the scenes from E onwards. Assuming by analogy with some of the other volumes that C does represent the Indian texts A, there was a considerable reduction in the number of Indian words in B and also the removal or alteration of phrases that might have offended a sheltered English reader. In many places, however, the original wording, sometimes with a translation added, was restored in E, so that the revision for that collected edition seems to have been made from an early (A) or later (C) Indian edition rather than from the English editions, B or D, as would be expected

and as appears to have happened with *Soldiers Three*. Detailed comparisons show that alterations in E were made independently of those in B. Some of the latter, incidentally, sound so clumsy that it may be concluded that Kipling made the revision in haste or when he was not at his best, an observation consistent with the enormous quantity of work he undertook in his London period. A few examples are given to illustrate these points.

On page 131 C had '*Hi, khitmatgar! Poora whisky-peg . . .*'. B had '*Hi-boy! Strong whisky-peg . . .*' and *bandobust* and '*cookery*' respectively. C (138, 25) had *chi-chi*, B had '*accent*'. E '*chi-chi anent*' (a misprint), and the Uniform edition '*chi-chi accent*'. In '*The Tents of Kedar*' phrases like :

(*To khitmatgar.*) *Han! Simpkin do*

were altered in B :

(*To butler*) *Yes, Champagne*

but were generally restored to the original in E, and similar examples could be quoted from other scenes.

As a longer example a passage on page 210 may be compared with the C text :

CAPTAIN G (*rising*).—*Doctor Sahib ko salam do.*

AYAH (*still by bedside, with a shriek*). *Ai ! Ai ! Tuta—phuta ! My Memsahib! Not getting—not have got—Pusseena agya!* (Fiercely to G.) TUM *jao Doctor Sahib ko jaldi! Oh, my Memsahib!*

and with the B text :

CAPTAIN (*rising*).—*Ayah, tell the Doctor.*

AYAH (*still by bedside, with a shriek*). *Ai! Ai! My Memsahib!*

Not getting—not have got—broken fever now—sweat have come!

(*Fiercely to G.*) *You go tell Doctor! Oh, my Memsahib!*

It may be seen that the text in E (or in the Uniform edition) is similar to that in C but with translations of some phrases inserted in brackets; it is quite evidently not derived from B. Other temporary changes which were hardly necessary occurred, for example on page 135 'tar brush' was 'dark blood' in B and 'not an anna' was 'not an ounce'.

Some examples of the alteration in B apparently dictated by fear of offending the prudish include the omission of a speech referring to *sambhur-horns* (138, 27) and of most of Blayne's speech at page 132, line 22. This part of '*The World Without*' is one of the few places where the lines of B and C do not run parallel because of differences which could not be accommodated by the typesetter. A puzzling passage on page 136 in the Uniform edition is made only a little clearer by the stage direction in C before Mackesy's speech on line 1 :

(*pointing to notice forbidding dogs in the Club*)—*Ask the Committee.*

CURTISS.—*You irreclaimable ruffian ! . . .*

In B, on the other hand, Mackesy says : '*Give us a little peace. If they followed you here I'd resign—on moral grounds.*' Perhaps an examination of A would make this strange jumble understandable.

There were only a few changes in E which are not the reversions to C or something similar to that text which have been mentioned, and these were trivial. Examples include the insertion of *Simla* in '*New Library*' (129, 17), the alternation of '*hack his chin*' to '*chip his chin*' (164, 21), of '*paternal roof*' to '*house*' (168, 20) and of '*sir!*' to '*please!*' (212, 3). Other small changes in E include the substitution of '*things*'

for 'Chiffons' (117, 3) and 'a healthy gramput' to 'one splashing in the bathroom' (159, 23). A persistent misprint of grove for groove was also corrected in E (192, 33). A rare example of the substitution of an English for Indian word is 'matting' (226, 13) for *chitai* (C); 'floor' was used in B.

'L'Envoi' here—'What is the moral? . . .', collected as 'The Winners'—was retained in all the editions considered. The fact that it was not omitted like the one in *Soldiers Three* is quite understandable as the theme is very appropriate to that of the story.

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4. James McG. Stewart (ed. A. W. Yeats), *Rudyard Kipling a Bibliographical Catalogue*, Dalhousie University and University of Toronto, Toronto, 1959.
5. *Catalogue of the Works of Rudyard Kipling exhibited at the Grolier Club*, New York, 1930.
6. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*, Macmillan, 1937, p71.
7. *The Kipling Journal*, 117, pl5 (1956) [The year 1889 is probably incorrect].
8. *Something of Myself*, pp72, 111.
9. Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *Kipling the Critical Heritage*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, pp41-50.
10. C. Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling his Life and Work*, Macmillan, 1955, p133.
11. F. A. Underwood, *The Kipling Journal*, 172, p24 (1969), 188, p6 (1973).
12. *Something of Myself*, p93.
13. *Ibid.*, p72.

DISCUSSION MEETING

13 September 1978

Kipling and the Bent Copper

Shamus O. D. Wade, A.G.M.A., F.R.S.A.I.

Mr Wade confessed that he never really liked Strickland but felt guilty about it: a feeling akin to not liking games at school.

He attended Mr. Greenwood's examination of *The Return of Imray* in April 1976 and was inspired to look into the question of why, in fact, Imray *did* return and to take a long cool look at what Kipling tells us about Strickland, who is mentioned in connection with twenty specific crimes. Three of them were solved by Strickland—Kipling uses an oddly qualified form of words for two of them; two were solved by Strickland's dog and two were solved by his son but Strickland's incompetence causes many innocent people to be arrested.

Of the remaining thirteen crimes, twelve were committed by Strickland himself while he was an accessory after the fact in the last one.

There is something else that Kipling tells us about Strickland, continued Mr. Wade, natives hated and feared him—not Native Criminals, but natives in general. This point is made in *Miss Youghal's Sais* and *The Return of Imray*, so no wandering puppeteers display Strickland's adventures to cheering Indian crowds and no mothers in the Rukh sing

Sleep safe, my baby,

The great Strickland Sahib is watching over you

And why was he hated and feared? He was a Bent Copper, a crooked policeman whose feet would not have touched the ground under Sir Robert Mark!

His villainy was not so much taking bribes (although some transactions in *The Bronckhorst Divorce-Case* might be construed as such) as being an Unscrupulous Incompetent: rare in literature but all too common in real life and on television. He posed as an expert on things Indian—much to the amusement of McIntosh Jellaludin, who called him 'ignorant West and East'—and got results in that when crimes were committed, people were arrested, guilty or not, which is why he was hated, not only by native villains, but by natives in general. He was a bent copper who twisted the law to obtain convictions.

Kipling uses an oddly qualified form of words when he tells us about the crimes solved by Strickland; in the Nasiban Murder Case (*Miss Youghal's Sais* and *The Son of his Father*) he says "picking up the threads . . ." and "he sat . . . for ten days; whereby a man came to be hanged for the murder of a dancing girl.. ."

Again, in *The Return of Imray*, there is the odd circumlocution "Strickland would take steps at once, and the end of his labours was trouble and fine and imprisonment for other people."

For one so economical with words as Kipling, this is an oddly round-about way of saying "Strickland caught criminals". In the very next sentence Kipling goes on about "Natives . . . hate . . . fear".

There is a telling little incident in *Kim* where the efficient and intelligent players of the Great Game need—as a feint—an innocent man to be arrested for murder without anyone thinking it unusual—who do they choose?

Now, continued Mr. Wade, we come to the problem of why so many people treat this crook as a hero: it would be lovely to think that Kipling treated him as a super *Ballad of the "Clampherdown"* in prose by creating the Unscrupulous Incompetent Villain and that his public took them both seriously and got them both wrong! The *Clampherdown*, set for chorus and orchestra by J. Frederick Bridge and published by Novello & Co., Ltd. in 1899 is, or course, a skit on the reactionary view of naval warfare, and one would like to think that the idea of Strickland as a similar skit is tempting, but the speaker did not believe the answer was as simple as that, and here reminded his audience that he had agreed to give this talk *before* reading Wilson's *The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling*, and agrees that the disguise as a *sais* is unconvincing, seeing the *khitmagar* saying to the Sweeper "That *badmash* Strickland is bumbling about wearing rather odd clothes, but for God's sake don't let him know you recognise him—or he'll have us all arrested for stealing camels or something!"

Mr. Wade then considered Imray, why he returned, and felt that whether the dead return or not, if they do, it would not be for frivolous reasons.

The death of Imray—although murder in law, was in fact an accident: Bahadur Khan genuinely believed that Imray had killed his son, and that he was justified in killing Imray.

The speaker, who had soldiered in Malaya in his time, recalled his

own experiences of snakes in roofs (he always left them alone, taking the view that they ate other harmful creatures) and quoted an old lady in India who regularly and calmly watched snakes on top of the ceiling-cloth above her bed.

He considered Strickland's poking them out with fishing-rods a very strange way to behave, especially when the great detective had been living in the house for some time with the body in the roof and never noticed a thing.

The anonymous Imray—so Kipling makes him, unlike his usual habit of creating a character in a few words—becomes the instrument of justice against Strickland and the mirth that must have covered India at his downfall is heightened by the slightly anachronistic theatrical cliché "The Butler did it! "

J.H.McG.

LETTER BAG

JOHN LOCKWOOD KIPLING AND LAHORE

As Principal of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Lahore Museum, Lockwood Kipling's contributions to the revival and development of Indian arts, archaeology and architecture are well-known. He did the architectural designing of the Gwalior Memorial Hospital and the Aitchison College of Lahore (*Civil and Military Gazette*, January 12, 1887, p.3). In 1876 he co-authored with T. H. Thornton a valuable guide-book on Lahore, published by the Punjab Government. What is less known, however, is his interest in the civic affairs of the city of Lahore. When the Government of the Punjab set up a Committee of Management for the establishment of the Punjab Public Library in January, 1885, Lockwood Kipling was one of the six members nominated by the provincial government (*C&MG*, January 3, 1885, p.5). Two other members of that committee were Dr. Brij Lal Ghose and Sirdar Bikrama Singh (*C&MG*, February 15, 1887, p.3), both members of the Punjab Jubilee Committee and active Masons of Lodge Hope and Perseverance of Lahore.

ENAMUL KARIM

THE LIBRARY

The Library of the Kipling Society is in need of a glass-fronted bookcase which locks. If there is any member who has one which they would be willing to dispose of for a nominal sum to the Society, will they kindly write to the Hon. Librarian (Mrs. Newsom, the Old Vicarage, Bishop's Cannings, Devizes, Wilts.) giving a description of the case and its dimensions.

Members will learn with regret of the death in hospital on 6 March 1979 of Mrs. Roberta Oliver, the Assistant Secretary, who has done much valuable work for the Society.

The Annual Accounts published in Journal No. 208 (December 1978) should have had the name of John Shearman printed in the space for the Honorary Secretary's signature, and the name of Milne Gregg and Turnbull printed in the space for Chartered Accountants. Apologies for this error.

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