



The
KIPLING JOURNAL

Published quarterly by the

KIPLING SOCIETY



JUNE 1979

VOL. XLVI

NO. 210

CONTENTS

NEWS AND NOTES

By Roger Lancelyn Green 2

DID KIPLING WRITE "THE JUBILEE AT LAHORE"?

By Enamul Karim 4

THE INDIAN RAILWAY LIBRARY: Part II

By F. A. Underwood 10

"THE UNFADING GENIUS OF RUDYARD KIPLING".

17

MANY thanks to members who have brought their subscriptions into line with the new rates, either by direct payment or Bankers' Order.

Rates of subscription:	£ per year
Individual Member (U.K.)	4.00
Individual Member (Overseas)	5.00 or USA \$10.00
Junior Member (under 18 years of age)	2.00 or USA \$5.00
Corporate Member (U.K.)	8.00
Corporate Member (Overseas)	10.00 or USA \$20.00

THE KIPLING SOCIETY

Forthcoming Meetings

DISCUSSION MEETINGS 1979

All at 'The Clarence' Whitehall S.W.1. (near Charing Cross Tube Station, on the Bakerloo, Northern and Jubilee Lines) at 17.30 for 18.00 hours.

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.

ANNUAL LUNCHEON

The Annual Luncheon will be held at the Hanover Grand, Hanover Street, London W1R 9HH (near Oxford Circus) on Thursday 25 October 1979 at 12.15 for 13.00 hours. The Guest of Honour will be The Countess of Birkenhead, who will propose the toast of The Unfading Genius of Rudyard Kipling. A booking form is being sent with this Journal. Please come! Please book early and in large numbers!

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

Advertisements. A Supplement containing Members' Advertisements of books and other Kipling items For Sale or Wanted will be included with future Journals. Rates: £1.00 for the first 25 words, 25p for each succeeding 10 words or part thereof. Proposed advertisements should be sent to Shamus O. D. Wade, 37 Davis Road, Acton, London W.3.

THE KIPLING JOURNAL

published quarterly by

THE KIPLING SOCIETY

VOL. XLVI No. 210

JUNE 1979

NEWS AND NOTES

MORE BIRKENHEAD BACKLASH

More thoughtful American Members continue to send interesting reviews of the "Banned Biography"—for which many thanks. As before, the interest lies mainly in the critics' own views of Kipling.

For example, Paul Johnson wrote in *The New York Times Book Review* of 7 January: "Kipling stood not only for Imperialism (which he saw as, on the whole, beneficent) but for a strict and fundamental view of human behaviour that divided the world into civilized and savage, and subdivided even the civilized into good and evil.

"It is difficult to think of any writer who so uncompromisingly rejected the conventional wisdom of the post-1918 world. Hence, for the best part of two generations, critics and educationalists on both sides of the Atlantic have persistently belittled his work and discouraged the young from reading him. In Britain, it is now common for a young person to emerge from state schools at the age of 18 without once having heard Kipling's name mentioned in class. This attempted effacement of a great writer is without parallel, at any rate on this side of the Iron Curtain.

"It is also doomed to failure. Children may not be recommended to read Kipling, but they read him nonetheless. Even under Birkenhead's severities and strictures, he remains an elemental genius, a word magician who could not tell a story without capturing the hearts and minds of his listeners, or write a poem without conjuring up ineffaceable images. Many of his word pictures have passed into the language, so that he is more quoted than any other author except Shakespeare, often by people who have never read him."

Various reasons have been advanced for Mrs. Bambridge's uncompromising condemnation of Lord Birkenhead's Biography, and it has been pointed out that the book now published is a heavily revised—and perhaps cut—version of the original text. But Miss Cecily Nicholson, who was secretary in turn to Kipling, Mrs Kipling and their daughter, has pointed out to me that there still remain some paragraphs that Mrs. Bambridge could not possibly have passed; for example those on pages 298 and 323 attacking Carrie Kipling: "Very few children would have agreed to such disagreeable portraits of their parents." And she adds: "It seemed to me that Lord Birkenhead had gone out of his way to find and quote as many people as possible who disliked R.K. and all his works . . . I could give many examples of kind and humane acts performed by R.K., who was held in great affection by a large

number of people." She also notes that "Mrs. Bambridge told me that Lord Birkenhead had written the book with too much emphasis on politics, as one of her reasons for turning it down. That seems a valid point."

"IN WHICH KIPLING PLAYS POOH-STICKS . . ."

We are given a delightful glimpse of Kipling in old age by Mr. Nigel Morland in a letter to *The Brighton Argus* of 1 Feb: 1979:—

"It was pleasant to learn that Pooh's little bridge at Hartfield has been saved. But I must add another little bridge to share the glory. Back around 1929-30 I spent a day with A. A. Milne, who offered to show me the outside of Rudyard Kipling's house at Burwash, which I wanted to see.

"We made our visit with Christopher Robin, plus Pooh, and, wandering round, we found a small bridge on the road leading to, I believe, Pook's Hill. There I was initiated into the immortal game of Pooh-sticks. We were joined by a fierce-looking, heavily moustached old gentleman who also played Pooh-sticks, and announced it was a great game. He took us back to Bateman's where he and Mrs. Kipling gave us tea and a fascinating tour of the places where Dan and Una had once enjoyed themselves."

ANOTHER "WEE WILLIE WINKIE"

An interesting account of the Kipling Collection at Dalhousie University Nova Scotia by Jack Tracy in *The Halifax Mail—Star* for 24 Nov: 1978 tells us why the late J. McG. Stewart collected it: "I happen to have the feeling that Kipling is the most important man in my lifetime or your lifetime, and I'd like to get together the best Kipling there is."

Mr. Tracy also quotes what is probably Kipling's best known limerick—and quotes it wrongly. As he is by no means alone in this, it seems worthwhile to quote the original text in its original setting, if only to set the record straight.

It appeared in a children's magazine, edited by Lady Marjorie Gordon, called *Wee Willie Winkie*—Volume V, number 8, page 192 in July 1895. The full page gives a facsimile reproduction of Kipling's hand-written letter, which is dated from "The Grafton, Connecticut, Apr. 5 1895."

"My dear Lady Gordon. I write to tell you how pleased I was to receive from you a bound copy of "Wee Willie Winkie"—*your* Wee Willie Winkie—and the January number. Do you know that besides yours and mine there is a third Winkie. It is in a book by Mr. C. G. Leland, called "Johnnikin and the Goblins" where all the Goblins go to a feast in some recess and Friar Bacon, Marjorie Daw, Charlie Cake-and-Ale, and the Church Mouse and a lot of other fairy book characters were in with Wee Willie Winkie. I haven't seen the book for some years but it is rather an interesting one.

"You must find editing a magazine even once a month, is a great deal of work. When I was at school I edited a small paper that only came out three times a year, so I feel as if I know something of the duties of the position. Don't you have trouble with lazy contributors? I did.

"Would you care for this in your puzzle corner? Its an old friend in an East Indian dress:

"Chota Jack Hornah
Baita men kornah
Kartha tha kissmiss nuthai.
Unglee bêck daltur
Aur Kissmiss nikaltur
Bola—"Kaisa khub lurka hum hai!"

"And here is something that you might get a picture made for. I can't draw or I'd try to illustrate it.

"There was a small boy of Quebec
Who was buried in snow to the neck.
When they asked:— "Are you friz?"
He replied:—"Yes I is,
But we don't call this cold in Quebec."

"Wishing you all success in the future issues of your magazine, believe me Yours always sincerely, Rudyard Kipling."

Johnnykin and the Goblins (1877) is by Charles G. Leland, best known for his *Breitmann Ballads* (1871), which Kipling quotes from in various places in his earlier stories. But Leland did not invent *Willie Winkie*. He is the small boy who "runs through the town" in William Miller's *Whistle-Binkie* (1841)—and found himself immediately accepted among the traditional Nursery Rhymes.

THE KIPLING PAPERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Mr John Burt, Assistant Librarian, MSS Section, writes as follows:

"I enclose, at last, a copy of the list of the Kipling papers from the Wimpole Hall archive. I hope it will be of interest to you and to the members of the Society. I expect that within a short time we shall be able to produce copies for sale at a not too inflated price.

"Production of the list and completion of copying of the papers mean that we can now open the archive to researchers and undertake to answer enquiries. Applications should be in writing and should be addressed to "The Librarian, Manuscripts Section, University of Sussex Library, Brighton, BN1 9QL."

The list may be seen at the Kipling Society's office.

R.L.G.

DID KIPLING WRITE "THE JUBILEE IN LAHORE"?

by Enamul Karim

Ninety years before the Silver Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II in 1977, the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, her great-great-grandmother, was celebrated in 1887 in all parts of the British Empire. It was observed in major cities of British India with much festivities and pageantry, as she was also the Empress of India. In the city of Lahore in north-western India, the Jubilee celebrations took place on February 15, 1887. Two articles were published in the *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) on February 18, 1887. One that is unsigned is entitled, "The Celebrations of the Jubilee", printed on the fifth page of the newspaper. In it the writer describes with factual details the parade, the Lieutenant-Governor's *darbar*, the city addresses and the various

celebrations in different parts of the city. The article seems to be written by a reporter with an eye for details but whose writing is untouched by either imagination or emotion. It is, to a large extent, an objective cataloguing of the main events of the Jubilee day in Lahore.

The second article written by 'Our Own Correspondent', dated February 16, 1887, and entitled "The Jubilee in Lahore," is considerably longer, covering several columns of the fourth and fifth pages of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. The contrast with the first article of the same day is quite apparent. The second one is an extraordinary piece of literary writing in which imagination has transformed reality, and emotion has added personal warmth and glow to the scenes recaptured. The descriptions provide a life and form to the events of the Jubilee day, and they assume a three-dimensional shape in readers' imagination even after ninety years. They recreate a world that is temporal and eternal, finite and infinite. Could the writer of the second article be Rudyard Kipling?, the young Assistant Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore?

Kipling recalls the beauty and splendour of the Jubilee night in his article "Home", published about five years later on December 25, 1891, in *Civil and Military Gazette*. "And if he had seen that Jubilee night in '87, when the city of Lahore flamed out of the dusk as a jewelled queen from the door of the palace of night—dome, minaret, bastion, wall, and housefront drawn in dotted fire, what he would have said of extravagance then? But who can show a blind man colour?"² Kipling was in Lahore on the Jubilee night of 1887, and his poetic perceptions of it have been reflected in his writing, "The Jubilee in Lahore".

As a dynamic Assistant Editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, Kipling had reported on major events in Lahore as well as in other towns and states of north-western India. "The Dasera Festival"³ in Lahore, "Proclamation Day at Lahore",⁴ "The City of Two Creeds (1)",⁵ "The City of Two Creeds (2)",⁶ "A Mofussil Exhibition"⁷ in Jullundur, "The Viceregal Tour in Cashmere",⁸ "The Installation at Jammu (1)",⁹ and "The Installation at Jammu (2)"¹⁰ are several examples. The signature of "a Correspondent" appears in the two parts of "The City of Two Creeds", while the signature of "Our Own Correspondent" is used for the two series of "The Installation at Jammu", which, according to Louis Cornell, are authentic Kipling items as attested by the Crofts Collection.¹¹ Hence, the signature of "Our Own Correspondent", which is also used in "The Jubilee in Lahore", might confirm the authorship of this article by Rudyard Kipling. The two parts of "The Installation at Jammu" and "The Jubilee in Lahore", all having the same signature of "Our Own Correspondent", were written within a period of ten months between May, 1886 and February, 1887. The signature of "a Correspondent" was used in his earlier writings, "The City of Two Creeds", October, 1885.

The personal associations of Lahore, which fascinated Kipling with its romance and mystery, inspired the poet to an interweaving of the imagery of light and darkness and an intermingling of shades and spatial perspectives in his descriptions of the age-old city in "The Jubilee in Lahore" as also in "Home", "The City of Two Creeds" and "The City of Dreadful Night". This is the way his poetic imagination perceives the Jubilee night when millions of lamps (*chirags*) decorated

public and private buildings in Lahore, transforming it into a 'fairy palace'—a piece of Pre-Raphaelite painting:

And the effect was superb . . . the myriad twinkling *chirags* transformed it utterly into a fairy palace, a wonder of art and perspective . . . the whole city was changed beyond knowledge by the lines of flame. It rose out of the darkness a thing of wonder and mystery. Little bits of walls, or house-tops, too insignificant to be noticed by day-light, showed, in lines of fire as parts of one great whole; came forward as the last touches in some marvellous perspective drawn in golden lines against the night. The face of the Huzuri Bagh, the Fort, the Ranjeet Singh's tomb . . . and above the walls, towered domes, indicated more than outlined, suggesting a huge city of illimitable distances. If Lahore is to be shown to a King, he should see it, beautiful as it stood last night, between the dusk and the dawn. The harshness of the new buildings, the squalor of the old, and the narrowness of the ways were gone; and in their place was neither a town in Fairyland, for that is trivial, nor a roaring city in the Land of Darkness, for that is terrible; but something between the two, a place to dream of, royal, unapproachable.¹²

Kipling's poetic eye seems to take in the whole, encompassing the land and the sky, and yet, it illuminates evanescent spots of colours and their shades in the background of the immeasurable depth of the whole:

Surely no one of this generation will forget the sight. From the Delhi to the Taksali Gate, from the Taksali to the Delhi Gate, and far away in the Civil Station, the fire-lines ran in and out of the trees, and the domes of the mosques blazed in the still night air. Over the city itself played a pale golden light turning the darkness into deep violet; such a light as one sees at night playing over Brighton from far away on the Lewes Downs.¹³

The pattern of imagery, rich in its evocative power, has both a horizontal and a vertical movement. Beginning on the real and the near, the poetic eye looks upward toward the sky where the "pale golden light" of the city meets "the darkness" of the sky, creating a zone of "deep violet". This type of "self-conscious attention to effects of light", as Louis Cornell points out¹⁴, and evident in "The City of Two Creeds" and "The City of Dreadful Night", is reflected in "The Jubilee in Lahore" as well.

Kipling's descriptions of a *muezzin* (person calling Muslims to prayer) in the perspective of the imagery of light and darkness are unforgettable. In "The Jubilee in Lahore" people are called to prayer at night. "As the fire broke and decayed, and the great city dropped back into itself again, with the falling lights, a *muezzin* from a mosque began the call to prayer."¹⁵ Kipling describes in "The City of Dreadful Night," on hearing a *muezzin* from the minaret of the Mosque of Wazir Khan: "What a splendid cry it is, the proclamation of the creed that brings men out of their beds by scores . . . The east grows gray, and presently saffron; the dawn wind comes up as though the *muezzin* had summoned it; and, as one man, the City of Dreadful Night rises from its bed and turns its face towards the dawning day."¹⁶ One of the most colourful images is in "Home" where the mosque has been transformed into a metaphor: "Below there is the hurry and shouting, the

broken waves of colour, the deep shadows that heighten colour as velvet displays the diamond, and above all, and apart from all, as a prayer from a tortured heart, the mosque of Wazir Khan flings up its four *minars* to heaven. What need to cry rive times a day that God is great?"¹⁷

Kipling's descriptions of men in movement are unforgettable in their vividness and sensation they communicate to readers, making them feel that they are in the very presence of men that Kipling is describing. Whether one considers the crowd scenes in "The Jubilee in Lahore" or "The Proclamation Day at Lahore" or "The City of Two Creeds", the visual effect is powerful. Kipling describes in "The Jubilee in Lahore": "Now the Fifth are a thousand and some odd strong, and allowing for the men in the Fort and contingencies, came in something over eight hundred strong—a long, red-backed, black-legged caterpillar moving its myriad legs with dizzying regularity . . ."¹⁸ And in "The Proclamation Day at Lahore" Kipling, according to Louis Cornell, "caught the sensation of the crowd's pressure"¹⁹ in the following image: "The packed masses advanced slowly but steadily—after the manner of glaciers—perfectly aware of the justice of each execration, but entirely unable to stir hand or foot."²⁰ Consider two shorter but somewhat similar descriptions in which the policeman's baton is a type of magic wand of crowd-control. One is from "The Jubilee in Lahore": "It was among the crowd of natives, melting and reforming at the wave of the constable's *baton*, that one heard the amusing things."²¹ And the other is from "The Proclamation Day at Lahore": "The crowds all that afternoon, with steady, slow pressure, had been encroaching on the lines of baton-waving policemen . . ."²²

No English writer has been able to photograph in words and images the parade of the troops or the trooping of the colours with so much vividness and precision as did Kipling. He not only describes the constantly shifting scenes of the parade, but also recreates the atmosphere in which the readers are transformed into silent spectators of the scenes described. Here is a part of his descriptions :

Then in the middle of the babble the guns swept on to the grounds with a jingle and clatter, white with the dust between Mian Mir and Lahore, and took up their positions on the extreme left. Then the 5th Bengal Cavalry, very dusty, came along the Fort road and filed in two by two, and behind them marched a hundred and twenty of the 1st Punjab Volunteer Rifles, also dusty . . . The Fifth came forward, the Volunteers and Native Infantry forming at right angles on the left and right of the regiment making three sides of a square open at the corners—the Colours on the left of the regiment under sentries, the drums in front of the Colours, the regimental band on the right of the regiment; and the officers for duty standing near the saluting base . . . Then, to avoid being unnecessarily technical, eight non-commissioned officers marched out to near the saluting base, turned inward to the line, and the drums marched from left to right beating the 'assembly' while the officers fell in with the sergeants, and, divers orders being given, marched slowly to their men; the band playing meantime. Here the band and drums moved across the face of the regiment from right to left playing a slow march, till they reached the colours; came back a second time to the right and their original station, when the

drums beat for the escort—one company—for the Colours. That company moved out clear of the line, and preceded by the band, wheeled left and marched to the Colours which they took over in the prescribed form. The ritual of the ceremony, the dead immobility of the troops in front, the plaintive wail of the fifes as they marched and remarched, the slow throb of the band, even the stately step of the drum Major at the head of the band, all combined to impress and even to startle an on-looker.²³

These descriptions have not dated, and ninety years later, they remind one of the Trooping of the Colours in the Buckingham Palace ground in June of 1977, celebrating the Queen's Silver Jubilee.

In several writings, Kipling juxtaposes his historical consciousness of India's past and its strangeness with his profound admiration for the faithful and dedicated servants of Her Majesty, embodied by Private Thomas Atkins, who sacrifice their lives silently for the honour and glory of England. There is an undertone of pathos in this juxtaposition. The multiple images of Private Thomases in various postures and conditions are indicative of Kipling's concern and consciousness of them—people unappreciated and unnoticed by others. In "Home" Kipling writes: "Thomas—a spot of vermilion—was loafing down the sunk way to the gate, his dog at his heels. Thomas with a *chilumchee* and bare-headed . . . Thomas was scuffling from barrack to barrack, and Thomas (fever stricken Thomas) in his great coat was hanging over the balcony of the hospital. . . ."²⁴ "Thomas—of the K.O.S.B.'s—was on guard at the main gate of the Fort,"²⁵ and in an apparent juxtaposition in "Home" Kipling writes: ". . . and the sunlight was splashing the mouldering tile work of the main face—the gay tile-wrought angels and elephants of Akbar. The minars of Shadera where Jehangir lies dead . . . showed above the belt of green by the Ravi."²⁶ A similar pattern of multiple images of Private Thomas Atkins is evident in "The Jubilee in Lahore" as well. Kipling depicts "Private Thomas Atkins—on duty at the Fort,"²⁷ a reminder of a similar phrase in "Home"; later, he adds: "Thomas is Thomas' whether he is hanging his legs out of an *ekka* on a shooting expedition, or spotless, white gloved and pipe clayed, taking his part in the dust and heat of the review; but for that little space while the band wailed, and the slowly, stately marches and salutes were being 'got through'—profane and irreverent expression!—it seemed that Thomas was another and a glorified Thomas and he was, in the presence of the alien, praying to his God and his Queen."²⁸ As in "Home", there is that juxtaposition in Kipling's consciousness of India's past and the predicament of Private Thomas Atkins in "The Jubilee in Lahore". The Jubilee parade took place on "the plain outside the Huzuri Bagh, between the Fort and the river . . . rich in historical associations. It was good that our troops should come there . . . the *maiden* in front of Fort Lahore, between the tomb where the one-eyed Lion of the Punjab sleeps among his eleven wives, and the nobler structure where Jehangir lies under the red minars of Shahdera . . . Beyond that, too, looking at the strange country, with the Shahdera minars behind came an overwhelming sense of the pathos of the whole, and thoughts of the thousands of men, who in two hundred years, had died in the regiment—that immortal 'We' Thomas by the railing referred to, who never dies."²⁹

As in "Home", Kipling laments Englishman's lack of appreciation of bright colours in "The Jubilee in Lahore". "Native States know how to manage *durbars* and to splash colour and gold and brocade with proper lavishness; but the Englishman, in his heart of hearts, takes no delight in these functions. Therefore his carpets are devoid of gold, and his *shamianas* like mess-tents; nor is he particular about the beauty of his chairs."³⁰

Kipling's early writings, particularly "The City of Two Creeds", "The City of Dreadful Night", "Proclamation Day at Lahore", "The Installation at Jammu", "Home" and others, are rich in picturesque phrases and striking metaphors and images. "The Jubilee in Lahore" is no exception; here are some examples: "The huge-thighed Jats in blue turbans", "restrained from flocking like sheep on to the parade ground", "the blown dust was an intrusion on a sumptuously loyal strain of thought bred by the spectacle", "a long, red-backed, black-legged caterpillar moving its myriad legs with dizzying regularity" and "the brigade wheeled into line across the ground".³¹

The style, theme and mood as well as the numerous parallels with his known writings seem to suggest that "The Jubilee in Lahore" might have been written by the young poet-journalist, Rudyard Kipling.

NOTES

- 1: Louis L. Cornell has not referred to "The Jubilee in Lahore" in Appendix I, Chronology of Kipling's Writings, in his book, *Kipling in India* (New York: St. Martin's Press), 1966, p. 175.
- 2: "Home", *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), December 25, 1891.
- 3: "The Dasera Festival", *C&MG*, October 2, 1882.
- 4: "The Proclamation Day at Lahore", *C&MG*, January 3, 1885.
- 5: "The City of Two Creeds (1)", *C&MG*, October 19, 1885.
- 6: "The City of Two Creeds (2)", *C&MG*, October 22, 1885.
- 7: "A Mofussil Exhibition", *C&MG*, January 7, 1885.
- 8: "The Viceregal Tour in Cashmere", *C&MG*, October 16, 1882.
- 9: "The Installation at Jammu (1)", *C&MG* May 13, 1886.
- 10: "The Installation at Jammu (2)", *C&MG*, May 14, 1886.
- 11: Cornell, *Kipling in India*, p. 199.
- 12: "The Jubilee in Lahore", *C&MG*, February 18, 1887.
- 13: *Ibid.*
- 14: Cornell, *Kipling in India*, p. 102.
- 15: "The Jubilee in Lahore"
- 16: Rudyard Kipling, "The City of Dreadful Night", *In Black and White* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1920, pp.42-44.
- 17: "Home"
- 18: "The Jubilee in Lahore".
- 19: Cornell, *Kipling in India*, p. 100.
- 20: "The Proclamation Day at Lahore".
- 21: "The Jubilee in Lahore".
- 22: "The Proclamation Day at Lahore".
- 23: "The Jubilee in Lahore".
- 24: "Home".
- 25: *Ibid.*
- 26: "The Jubilee in Lahore".
- 27: *Ibid.*
- 28: *Ibid.*
- 29: *Ibid.*
- 30: *Ibid.*
- 31: *Ibid.*

THE INDIAN RAILWAY LIBRARY: Part 2

by F. A. Underwood

No 3. IN BLACK AND WHITE

For this volume it has been possible to examine: A—the First Indian edition (Stewart 37), and a Second Indian edition (Stewart 38), which is similar except for the title page, where incidentally *In Black and White* is in fancy type as opposed to the plain type of the First; B—what appears to be a First English edition (Stewart 39) but may be a reprint because it has 'Heavenborn' in the Introduction whilst the bibliographies call for 'Hazur'; confirmation on this point would be useful, but all the copies seen are similar and the text will be taken as B; C—the Third Indian edition printed in Britain (Stewart page 51); this again follows A, although the pages and lines follow B. The First and Second Indian editions had cream paper wrappers, but the later editions reverted to the grey-green of the other volumes in the series, and the cover was re-engraved for C (with the reduced version for B), although the alterations were not so obvious as in some cases.

It is again a cause for regret that a prefatory piece was omitted at stage E. Possibly it was considered to be unnecessary and immature at the time, but it is still amusing to read.

INTRODUCTION

BY

KADIR BAKSH, KHIMATGAR.

HAZUR,

Through your favour this is a book written by my *Sahib*. I know that he wrote it because it was his custom to write far into the night; I greatly desiring to go to my house. But there was no order: therefore it was my fate to sit without the door until the work was accomplished. Then came I and made shut all the papers in the office-box, and these papers, by the peculiar operation of Time and owing to the skilful manner in which I picked them up from the floor, became such a book as you now see. God alone knows what is written therein, for I am a poor man and the *Sahib* is my father and my mother, and I have no concern with his writings until he has left his table and gone to bed.

Nabi Baksh, *daftri*, says that it is a book about the black men—common people. This is a manifest lie—for by what road can my *Sahib* have acquired knowledge of the common people? Have I not, for several years, been perpetually with the *Sahib*: and throughout that time have I not stood between him and the other servants who would persecute him with complaints or vex him with idle tales about my work? Did I not smite Dunnoo, the *sais*, only yesterday in the matter of the badness of the harness-composition which I had procured? I am the head of the *Sahib's* house and hold his purse. Without me he does not know where are his rupees or his clean collars. So great is my power over the *Sahib* and the love that he bears to me! Have I ever told the *Sahib* about the customs of servants or black men? Am I a fool? I have said "very good talk" upon all occasions. I have always cut smooth his wristbands with scissors, and timely warned him of the passing

away of his tobacco that he might not be left smokeless on a Sunday. More than this I have not done. The *Sahib* cannot go out to dinner lacking my aid. How then shall he know aught that I did not tell him? Certainly Nabi Baksh is a Har.

None the less this is a book, and the *Sahib* wrote it, for his name is in it and it is not his washing-book. Now, such is the wisdom of the *Sahib-log* that, upon opening this thing, they will instantly discover the purport. Yet I would of their favour beg them to observe how correct is the order of the pages, which I have counted, from the first to the last. Thus, One is followed by Two and Two by Three, and so forward to the end of the book. Even as I picked the pages one by one with great trouble from the floor, when the *Sahib* had gone to bed, so have they been placed: and there is not a fault in the whole account. And this is *my* work. It was a great burden, but I accomplished it; and if the *Sahib* gains *izzat* by that which he has written—and God knows what he is always writing about—I, Kadir Baksh, his servant, also have a claim to honour.

B had 'Heavenborn' for 'Hazar', 'clerk' for *daftri*, 'groom' for *sais* and 'reputation' for *izzat*, whilst there was a curious inversion 'cut always' in B, C and D. Incidentally Kadir Baksh was the real name of Kipling's Mohammedan servant. He is seldom named in the stories, with the exception of 'Collar-Wallah and the Poison Stick' and 'My Own True Ghost Story'.

The Dedication which originally concluded the volume was not such a loss in E as was the Introduction, although it has some interest as a tribute to Kipling's father. It was in mock old English, and in A the letter f was used for s, except at the end of words, with u for v and so on in all editions. The whole makes heavy going, and extracts will suffice here.

To My Moft Deare Father,

When I was in your Houfe and we went abroade together, in the outkirtes of the Citie, among the Gentoo Wreflours, you had poynted me how in all Empryzes he goeing forth flang backe alwaies a Word to hym that had infruct hym in his Crafte to the better Sneckynge of a Victorie. . . . By what hand, when I wolde have dabbled a Greene and unvfed Pen in all Earthe Heaven and Hell, bicaufe of the pitiful Confidence of Youthe, was I bounde in and refrict to wayte tyl I coulde in fome fort difcerne from the Shadowe, that is not by any peynes to be toucht, the small Kernel and Subftance that mighte conforme to the sclendernefs of my Capacitie. . . . And though I am more rich herein then the richeft, my prefent Pouertie can but make return in this lytal Booke which your owne Toil has nobiliated begon the deferuyng of the Writer your Son.

Changes in the text of the stories were mostly the substitution of English for Indian words, and again it would seem that E was the result of a revision of A rather than of B, since some of the original words were replaced or, more often, translated differently. There is supporting evidence in the use of italics and in the paragraphing. In this volume there were no substantial omissions or alterations in the successive editions.

In 'Dray Wara Yow Dee' the source of the heading (*Prov.* vii, 34)

was omitted in E, and half a dozen Indian words were changed in B, three permanently: 'priest' for *mullah* (233, 18), 'caravans' for *kafilahs* (235, 12 and 13) and 'Hell' for *Hawiyat* (242, 20), but in the other places there were three versions A (and C), B (and D) and E; for example, *rands*—'harlots'—'trulls' (231, 11) and *yabu*—'pony'—'pack-horse' (235, 16 and 16). Some meanings were made plainer for the English reader in B only, for instance the insertion of 'and the raid theron' after 'the business of the Kohat Police Post' (233, 11) and 'river' after 'Uttock' (240, 22), although '(obstacle)' to explain the pun was not inserted until E. A misprint 'lions' for 'loins' (232,12) appeared in B, C and D but was corrected in E. Similar reductions in the number of Indian words were made in 'The Judgment of Dungara', 'At Howli Thana', 'Gemini' and 'At Twenty-Two', the maximum number being about a dozen in a story, some were permanently altered from B onwards, for example *khet* to 'bamboo-brake' (251, 2), *budmash* to 'scamp', *jat* to 'farmer' (both in several places) and *salah* to 'pig' (281, 9), but others had three versions A—B—E, such as *pukka*—'correct'—'complete' and *Sahib-log*—'Sahibs' English people. On page 264 the name Kadir Baksh was substituted for *Sirdar-ji* in B only. In 'The Sending of Dana Da' there were again half a dozen Indian-English changes in B. Some were retained in E—'cat' for 'billee' (312, 10) and 'hillside' for *khud* (313, 11)—but in others E followed A, as in the heading where *chamar* was 'low-caste man' in B and again at page 310, line 18, although there 'of the skin and hide trades', was inserted in E. 'Babies and Exchange' became 'babies and things' in E (309, 27), presumably because an English reader would not appreciate the reference to what seems to have been an endless topic of discussion for Anglo-Indians. 'Rachel mewing for her children' became 'anyone mewing for her children' (313, 9) and 'Shem or Noah' became 'Tum' (314, 20). There were some nine similar changes in 'On the City Wall', including 'jujube-tree' for *bér-tree* and 'fig-tree' for *pipal* ('fig' in B) on page 321. 'Faquirs' (345, 29) became successively 'vagabond priests' and 'fanatics' whilst *shroff* became 'banker' and 'money-lender' (346, 20). *Sirkar* (342, 26) was 'State' in B but 'Sirkar' in F, and *bunnias* (350, 18) was retained in E although it was 'shopkeepers' in B. The three versions of phrases on page 348 and 349 illustrate changes:

- A: *Nickle jao! Age jaa, there!*
 B: Go on! Get forward, there!
 E: Get along! Go forward, there!
 A: Sikhs of the *rissola*, Hazrut
 B: Sikhs of the Line, Father
 E: Sikhs of the Cavalry, Father

No. 4 Under the Deodars

For this number it has been possible to examine: A—First Indian edition (Stewart 46); B—First English edition (Stewart 48) and the Second, in which the text was the same; C—Third Indian edition printed in Aberdeen (Stewart p.51). The text of C again follows A rather than B, and it is again evident from the differences and the use of italics that E follows A or C rather than B.

'The Education of Otis Yeere' in E differs very little from the original printing, A, since most of the ten Indian words altered in B were retained unaltered. One exception was *dhai*, which was succes-

sively 'wet-nurse' and 'nurse' (10, 6). In B *kala juggah(s)* was altered variously to 'places to flirt in', 'shaded nooks', 'corner' or omitted altogether. A few phrases were altered in B only, for example 'talked mysteries' for '*chiffons*, which is French for Mysteries' (4, 11) and 'Jack used to be a clever man' for 'Jack was a clever man' (7, 24). The story shows more signs of revision for E than usual, for example 'his clothes were rather ancestral in appearance' was changed to 'his clothes wore rather the mark of the ages' (21, 8), and 'that there must be no flirtation' was omitted after '. . . be sure he understands' (15, 23), whilst Mrs. Tarcass was altered to Mrs. Tarkass for no very obvious reason. One omission at this stage which requires expert elucidation was 'as Toole says' after '. . . all will yet be well' (15, 21): a quotation from which play? On page 27 of the First Indian edition there was a short additional paragraph below a rule at the end of the story:

Reviewing the matter as an impartial outsider, it strikes me that I'm about the only person who has profited by the education of Otis Yeere. It comes to twenty-seven pages and a bittock.

Oddly enough this paragraph was reprinted exactly in C, although it made no sense there because the story occupied only 24 pages after re-setting; The omission from B and all later editions is quite understandable for the remark inclines to the juvenile and draws attention to the craft of the writer. The fact that the paragraph appears in C is a significant example of the way in which this text follows A rather than B, in this case in more than the retention of Indian words and references.

There were remarkably few changes at any stage in 'At the Pit's Mouth', in fact only 'Private Learoyd's Story' has fewer. In E 'Any' was altered to 'Each' (38, 25) and 'horror' to 'thing' (39, 22). In 'A Wayside Comedy', on the other hand, there were certain Indian words altered in B but not usually in E, for example 'swamps' for *jhils* (43, 11) and 'ride' for *dāk* (48, 19). Except in A and C, '*Sais, gorah ko jane do*' does not appear after 'you . . . man!' (56, 31), 'liaison' (A) became 'affair' (B) and 'thing' (E), whilst in E a sentence after 'opinion' (44, 15) was omitted, presumably to avoid offending the devout, or possibly to eliminate juvenile 'knowingness':

If the Israelites had been only a ten-tent camp of gipsies, their Headman would never have taken the trouble to climb a hill and bring down the lithographed edition of the Decalogue, and a great deal of trouble would have been avoided.

'The Hill of Illusion' was changed very little, so that the text of E is virtually that of A, 'men' being substituted for *jhampanies* in places and *kutchā* omitted (64, 27). 'A Second-Rate Woman' shows the average half-dozen changes from Indian words in B with the originals retained in E; for example 'cheap milliner' for *tikka dhurzie* (85, 22) and 'the verandah' for *kanâts* (89, 6). Even a French phrase *Tête-fêlee* was replaced by 'Insane' (86, 3) in B, and some English ones were altered slightly. In E a sentence after 'acquaintance' (76, 33) was omitted: 'Even then, they always paint themselves à la ('like' in B) Mrs. Gummidge—throwing cold water on *him*.' The last story in the volume, 'Only a Subaltern', had seven alterations of Indian words in both B and E, but the translations differ between the two in some cases; for instance, *maidan*—'open'—'plain' (15, 27) and *shouk*—'gift'—'taste' (106, 6). *Dhoni* was changed to 'country-boat' and 'barge' in B but not

in E. '*Chalo Coachwan!*' was omitted altogether in B and changes to 'Get on, Coachwan!' in E (111, 17). whilst '*Tattoo lao!*' became 'Bring my pony!' and then 'Tattoo lao! Get my pony!' In E 'out here' is changed to 'out in India' (102, 13).

No. 5 The Phantom 'Rickshaw'

The title pages of most editions read '*The Phantom 'Rickshaw and Other Tales'*' although the covers of the paperbacks and the early advertisements have '*. . . and Other Eerie Tales.*' The editions examined were: A—First Indian edition (Stewart 51), Second Indian edition (Stewart 52), which has basically the same text with decorative letters on the title page as with *In Black and White*; B—First English edition (Stewart 53); C—Third Indian edition (Stewart p.62) printed in Aberdeen, in which the text follows A in the main but has more elements of B than the C texts of Nos. 2-4. One example will suffice: B, C and D have 'hooves' (199, 17) whilst A and E have 'footprints'.

The loss of the Preface, which was omitted in E, was not serious, but the remarks on the stories are of some slight interest. In A the Preface read:

This is not exactly a book of downright ghost-stories, as the cover makes belief. It is rather a collection of facts that never quite explained themselves. All that the collector is certain of is, that one man insisted upon dying because he believed himself to be haunted; another man either made up a wonderful lie and stuck to it, or visited a very strange place; while the third man was undubitably crucified by some person or persons unknown, and gave an extraordinary account of himself.

The peculiarity of ghost-stories is that they are never told first-hand. I have managed, with infinite trouble, to secure one exception to this rule. It is not a very good specimen, but you can credit it from beginning to end. The other three stories you must take on trust; as I did.

The Preface was revised for B, and, exceptionally, C follows B rather than A—an example of the tendency already noted. The complete Preface was included in D, in spite of the reference to the cover design, which was absent from this collected edition.

'The Phantom 'Rickshaw' itself had only a few changes in A, B and E respectively such as: *syce(s)*—'groom(s)'—*syce(s) and chaprassi*—'orderly'—'messenger'. One short passage was understandably omitted in E, probably condemned as too smart in an immature way (125, 28): 'When little boys have learned a new bad word they are never happy till they have chalked it up on a door. And this also is Literature.'

There were a few of the usual Indian-English word changes in 'My Own True Ghost Story', but it is chiefly notable for more revision than most of the others, although even here the changes are not extensive. The most important omissions are of references to another writer, here Walter Besant. At the beginning (156, 1) instead of 'this story deals entirely with ghosts' in E the earlier editions had a paragraph:

Somewhere in the Other World, where there are books and pictures and plays and shop-windows to look at, and thousands of men who spend their lives in building up all four, lives a gentleman who writes real stories about the real insides of people; and his name is Mr. Walter Besant. But he will insist on treating his

ghosts—he has published half a workshopful of them—with levity. He makes his ghost-seers talk familiarly, and, in some cases, flirt outrageously with the phantoms. You may treat anything, from a Viceroy to a Vernacular Paper, with levity; but you must behave reverently to a ghost, and particularly an Indian one.

As would be expected B (but not C) had 'England' for 'the Other World'. On the other hand 'India' (156, 2) was not substituted for 'this land' until the text was revised for E. A further reference to Walter Besant was also omitted after 'two of them' (158, 33):

Up till that hour I had sympathised with Mr. Besant's method of handling them, as shown in "*The Strange Case of Mr. Lucraft and other Stories*". I am now in the Opposition.

A sentence omitted in E (166, 29) read: 'If I had encouraged him the khansemah ('butler' in B) would have wandered through Bengal with his corpse'. The other alterations are hardly worth mentioning, particularly as E follows A fairly closely. A trivial example of this occurs almost at the end of the story (167, 4) where A and E both have, 'I could have made *anything* of it'. In E 'stopped at the proper time' was altered to 'ceased investigating at the proper time'.

'The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes'—one of Kipling's more outlandish names—originally began with the sentence: 'There is, as the conjurors say, no deception about this tale', which was replaced in E with: 'There is no invention about this tale'. This was undoubtedly more in keeping with the tone of the story, and the omission of a final paragraph after A was also an improvement for it was a rather school-boyish rounding-off which detracted from the present conclusion:

To cut a long story short, Dunnoo is now my personal servant on a gold mohur a month—a sum which I still think far too little for the services he has rendered. Nothing on earth will induce me to go near that devilish spot again, or reveal its whereabouts more clearly than I have done. Of Gunga Dass I have never found a trace, nor do I wish to do. My sole motive in giving this to be published is the hope that some one may possibly identify, from the details and the inventory which I have given above, the corpse of the man in the olive green *shikár-suit*.

Other changes in the story were small, for example the correction of the spelling 'Martini-Henri' (173, 15) again and of the misprint 'Vishn' for 'Vishnu' (191, 27) in E. *Shikár-suit* in A and C became 'shooting-suit' in B and 'hunting-suit' in E.

There were few changes in 'The Man who would be King', considering its length. In E a sentence was omitted: 'Native States were created by Providence in order to supply picturesque scenery, tigers and tall-writing' (205, 1). One phrase '. . . the copy-boys are whining "*kaapi chay-ha-yeh*" like tired bees' was altered in B and differently in C but remained the same with a bracketed translation in E (207, 29). 'Wherein' was altered to 'when' and 'as with a garment' to 'with a garment', showing that some tightening-up of the English had taken place, and there were a number of the English to Indian alterations of the usual kind. 'Did *poojah*' (A and C) was 'bowed down before him' (B) and 'worshipped' (E). 'He has gone South for the week, you know' was inserted in B, C and D (250, 16) but did not appear in A or E.

No. 6 Wee Willie Winkie

Unfortunately it has not been possible to examine the A and C texts for this volume, but E has been compared with B. Several copies of the latter agreed with Stewart 56, except that the first blank sheet was absent; it is thus possible that they were reprints rather than First English editions.

The Preface to this volume was omitted from the separate English edition (B), but reappeared, curiously enough, in the Sampson Low collected edition (D). It read :

This is the last book of the series, and it naturally ends with the little children who always trot after the tail of any procession. Only women understand children thoroughly, but if a mere man keeps very quiet, and humbles himself properly, and refrains from talking down to his superiors, the children will sometimes be good to him and let him see what they think about the world. But, even after patient investigation and the condescension of the nursery, it is hard to draw babies correctly.

It is impossible to be definite in the circumstances, but it would appear probable that there were the usual changes of Indian words from A to B, since E contains more of these than B. Most of the changes have been given as examples from the other volumes, but 'butler' for *hamal* and 'house boy' for '*Surti* boy' on page 271 may be mentioned. 'The Drums of the Fore and Aft' had the most changes in this number, including *jarnwar*—'beast', *kiswasti*—'why', *khana*—'food' and *kushy*—'content-like'. The few other differences in the text were trivial, for example 'birched' (335, 31) in E was 'flogged' in B. What seems to be a misprint in E persisted in the Uniform Edition on page 353, line 1 : 'quite don't understand it' for 'don't quite understand it' in B.

Summary

In conclusion it may be said that no really fundamental changes were ever made in the stories, but there were numerous minor revisions and their history may be summarised as follows :

- (a) Comparison with the original Indian Wheeler editions, here denoted A, has shown that the texts were revised in the Sampson Low editions, B, for the easier understanding of the English reader. The Sampson Low collected editions, D, of 1892 had the B texts.
- (b) The Third Indian editions printed in Aberdeen, C, tended to follow the earlier Indian rather than the English editions, B, which were printed at the same time; reprints of B and probably the First English editions certainly differ from C. This unexpected finding disagrees with statements made in the bibliographies of Kipling's works.
- (c) Rather unexpectedly also, the Macmillan collected editions, E, of 1895, had fresh revisions of the Indian texts, A or perhaps C, except for *Soldiers Three*. Later editions appear to derive from these collected volumes, so that the standard texts such as Macmillan's Uniform and reprints under other names are generally nearer to the Indian editions than were the earliest English ones.
- (d) Changes may be classified under three headings: (i) As happened with successive editions of *Departmental Ditties* and *Plain*

Tales from the Hills, many 'Indian' words and phrases were translated, omitted or explained in B and E, but this is less evident in E than in B. (ii) The deletion of phrases, sentences, or paragraphs in some of the stories always improved them since they were redundant and often juvenile in manner, although it may be remarked that considerable evidence of immaturity remains. (iii) At various stages of revision the author cut out certain passages referring to other writers or to the practice of his craft, thus supporting the non-literary tone of the narrator and possibly the legend of Kipling's own lack of literary background.

THE UNFADING GENIUS OF RUDYARD KIPLING

by Peter Bellamy

Annual Luncheon—20th October 1978

Mr. Bellamy is the well-known folk-singer whose recordings of Kipling's songs are reported on page 15 of Journal No. 207 of September 1978 and instead of a formal speech he gave us a most interesting and amusing glimpse of his powers, linked by a commentary which included his thoughts on the words and the music he chose to go with them.

He began with *Tommy*, continued with *Frankie's Trade* (tune after the fashion of *Blood Red Roses*), *Poor Honest Men*, *Philadelphia*, with remarks on the Copper family of Sussex, whose singing Kipling surely must have heard, one of whom refused to sing an old song for Kipling on the grounds that ' 'e'd make a mort of money of it by sendin' it up to Lunnon!' and reminded us of Private Copper, the Southdown shepherd.

Then came *A Smuggler's Song* and his own "Stone Age" air to *Song of the Men's Side* (on the record he accompanies himself on a pair of flints) followed by *Danny Deever*—a hair-raiser if there ever were one!

A change of mood brought a seamanlike rendering of *Anchor Song* and finally *Sir Richard's Song* where he changed his concertina for a guitar—merely, as he observed, because he was not too good on the harp!

Following this delightful but all too-short recital, Mr. Bellamy acknowledged his debt to Kipling and proposed the toast of The Unfading Genius . . . which was drunk with acclamation by those present, who also expressed their delight in an unusual and charming tribute to Kipling and his work.

We hope to invite Mr. Bellamy to open a Discussion Meeting in 1979.

J H McG

NEW MEMBERS:

We welcome to membership: Individuals in the UK: Mrs. M. L. Deane; Mrs. D. R. J. Mitchell; Miss M. M. R. Sadler; Miss D. M. Webb; Messrs H. Bullard; P. G. Gardiner; J. E. Gordon; B. Haigh; S. E. M. Hemming; J. Laurence; G. J. Riley; I. J. Riley; G. J. S. Simpson; D. Wallace, and The Libraries of Brighton, Eastbourne and Hastings.

In Australia: Messrs W. Buckley, A. N. Cowen. In the U.S.A.: Messrs R. Boulton, G. Martin, J. G. Raven, D. H. Stewart.

The Kipling Society

Founded in 1927 by J. H. C. Brooking, M.I.E.E.

President

James Cameron, C.B.E.

Vice-Presidents

Lt.-Colonel A. E. Bagwell Purefoy	J. R. Dunlap (U.S.A.)
R./Adml. P. W. Brock, C.B., D.S.O.	Mrs. C. Fairhead (British Columbia, Canada)
J. V. Carlson (Melbourne, Australia)	R. Lancelyn Green, B.LITT., M.A.
C. E. Carrington, M.C.	Joyce M. S. Tompkins, D.LITT.
E. D. W. Chaplin	F. E. Winmill
T. E. Cresswell	

COUNCIL

Elected Members of Council

Anne Shelford, Chairman	The Rev. G. H. McN. Shelford
R. O'Hagan, Deputy Chairman	S. Wade
S. W. Alexander	W. Greenwood
Spencer Maurice	

Ex-officio Members of Council

R. Lancelyn Green, Hon. Editor	Margaret Newsom, Hon. Librarian
P. A. Mortimer, Hon. Treasurer	John Shearman, Hon. Secretary

Honorary Auditors:

Milne Ross, 5 Albermarle Street, Piccadilly, London W1X 4EL.

Meetings Secretary:

J. H. McGivering

Assistant Secretary:

Office:

c/o The Royal Commonwealth Society, 18 Northumberland Avenue,
London WC2N 5BJ. Telephone 01-930 6733.

The office is usually staffed on Mondays and Wednesdays

Melbourne Branch, Australia

President: J. V. Carlson

Honorary Secretary: Mrs. Ivy Morton, Flat 7, 13 Hughendon Road,
East St. Kilda, 3182 Melbourne, Australia

Victoria British Columbia Branch, Canada

President: Mrs. C. Fairhead Vice-President: Capt. D. H. McKay
Honorary Secretary: Miss Isabel Howard, 938 Verdier Avenue,
Brentwood Bay, British Columbia, Canada VOS 1A0

United States of America

Honorary Secretary: Joseph R. Dunlap, 420 Riverside Drive, Apt 12G,
New York, NY 10025