

## A. Books, Pamphlets, Leaflets, and Broadsides

Indian, English, American, Canadian, and other first editions of poetry, fiction, and plays; copyright, limited, first unauthorized and/or separate editions; collected journalism, letters of travel, sketches, speeches, history, translations, autobiography, offprints, and public letters

A1

SCHOOLBOY LYRICS

1881

*First (Indian) edition*

*Book/poems*

*Title-page:* (Printed for private circulation only). | SCHOOLBOY LYRICS, | BY RUDYARD KIPLING. | Lahore. | Printed at the "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. | [rule] 1881

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 1, Livingston 2, Stewart 1, Grolier 13, Ballard I; Ashley Vol. III p. 31

*Published:* 1881, distributed privately; 50 (?) copies printed

*Collation:* small 12mo, 25 leaves (trimmed and untrimmed sizes below); π A-D<sup>6</sup>; [i] title-page [ii] blank [1] text 2-46 text [47-48] blank leaf

*Binding:* coarse wrappers, light yellowish brown (Centroid 76/Munsell eq. 8.7yr 6.5 5.0), lettered in black on the front cover in types and format of the title-page, measuring (as trimmed) approximately 143 × 107 mm. (5 5/8 × 4 5/16 in.), or white blank wrappers (untrimmed, 174 × 108 mm., 6 7/8 × 4 5/16 in.), stitched, all edges trimmed

*Front cover:* SCHOOLBOY LYRICS, | BY | RUDYARD KIPLING

*Spine and back cover:* blank

*Contents:* "Lo! as a little child"; 'The Dusky Crew'; 'The Night Before'; 'Two Sides of the Medal'; 'This Side the Styx'; 'Reading the Will'; 'An Echo'; 'Caret'; 'Roses'; 'The Lesson'; 'The Song of the Sufferer'; 'The Front Door'; 'Fragment of a Projected Poem'; 'Conventionality'; 'Envy, Hatred and Malice'; 'A Legend of Devonshire'; 'Illusion, Disillusion, Allusion'; 'Overheard'; 'From the Wings'; 'Credat Judaeus'; 'Solus cum Sola'; 'Missed'; 'Requiescat in Pace'.

*Notes:* This book of poems, produced by the Civil and Military Gazette Press (the Lahore newspaper for which Kipling was later to work), was printed by letterpress with hand-set type. The total number of copies is given in a 24 July 1899 letter (now at HRC) from Kipling's literary agent A. P. Watt to American bookseller Robert Dodd, quoting a letter received from Kipling's mother, Mrs. John Lockwood Kipling: "As to Mr. Dodd's enquiry about the number of copies of *Schoolboy Lyrics* originally printed, neither my husband nor I remember exactly, but we are under the impression that it was 50 and that half that number were put into brown paper covers." (Rudyard Kipling burned his parents' papers after their deaths in 1911, so other family documentary evidence is lacking.) Although some copies appearing at auction have been described as "large paper," there was only one issue, with some copies (generally but not always brown-wrapped) more closely trimmed than others.

As to whether the printed brown paper covers or the plain white wrappers came first, evidence can be adduced for either proposition. If the annotation is correct in the *List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 Now In The British Museum* (1915) regarding the Sotheby's Feilding sale catalogue of February 1900, the author's mother Alice Kipling consigned for auction a copy "in the original light brown wrapper...[with a] slight pen and ink sketch at top of the first leaf" [Feilding 1900 1047]. Yet the year before, in an 1899 letter to Kipling's literary agent A. P. Watt (ALS laid in a brown-covered copy of *Schoolboy Lyrics* formerly in the collection of George Barr McCutcheon [McCutcheon 1925 135/King 1948 327 (quoting transcript of letter; full text copy at HRC)], Mrs. Kipling's mother stated: "There was no cover to these little books, which we had printed for ourselves only. The brown paper covers of a few of the small number originally printed were added as an after thought. You may see by looking at the [white-wrapped] copy I sent that no cover was ever put over the white one."

Unnoted (and almost certainly unknown) by Mrs. Kipling is the apparently contrary evidence of the last text leaf in the brown-wrapped copies (including her presentation copy to M.C. Plowden described below), which final leaf has been sheared off by the binder in virtually all the white-wrapped copies. The collation given above describes a blank leaf after page 46 of the text, which is unmentioned by Martindell, Livingston, or Stewart, in collating the plain-covered copies which they examined (deeming them the first issue). Its presence would seem required, however: the book (a duodecimo printed on two sheets of paper) is composed of four half sheets, each of six leaves, the whole preceded by a single leaf containing the title, making in all 25 leaves which are completed by the blank leaf at the end (agreeing with the collation of the brown-wrapped Morgan, NYPL Berg, HRC, Bancroft Berkeley, Engel Columbia, Friedlich Smith, and Merriman UVA copies and the copy appearing in Heuffer 1928 351, which catalogue description also cites the collation of the white-wrapped copy containing the blank leaf in Thomas J. Wise's Ashley Library). It would appear from the census below in *Locations* that the last leaf was often (but not always, as with the Wise copy and other white-wrapped copies in the Kipling File in the British Library) removed by the binder as superfluous when binding up the remaining text blocks as white-wrapped copies.

Evidence respecting the addition of hand-made decorations to several copies, and the cover of preference for presentation copies, is also suggestive. As printed, there is a single line on the title-page above the date and a line above and below the title of the poem 'Fragment of a Projected Poem.' Red ink rules (or brown, as with Kern 1962 171) are often found under the titles on the title-page, and at the end of each poem, hand drawn and probably made by Kipling or his father; others have drawings and floral ornaments in ink on the title-page, done by Kipling after his return from his English school to India in 1882. The ruled lines and decorations are generally to be found in the white-wrapped copies (to hand after the young Kipling's return home), but seldom in the brown-wrapped copies [*e.g.*, Hueffer 1928 351, with a small figure drawn on the text above p. 1; Sotheby 1936 B 333, a brown-wrapped copy lacking its upper cover with the word "Introduction" added within a scroll; and Kern 1962 171/Martin VIII 1990 2981, with brown ink strokes below the cover title and others at the head and foot of most of the poems in the text]. Furthermore, in the individualized copies described in the census which follows, Kipling's own copy, his mother's copy, the author's inscribed copy to his sister, and seven inscribed presentation copies from his parents (and one probably from Kipling himself), are all in brown wrappers (as against only four inscribed white-wrapped copies, one from his mother being dated 1897).

Taken together, these facts (and bibliographer Ellis Ames Ballard's inference about John Lockwood Kipling, printed in his Introduction to Chandler's *Summary*, that "a fond father would not have put the books out in the first instance without a proper cover") seem persuasive evidence that the brown-wrapped copies were the first completed with a cover for distribution (with the initial publication being coverless before the title-page and completed by the blank leaf); sometime later, this hypothesis continues, white wrappers were added to the untrimmed sets of text which remained, and the final blank leaf removed as superfluous, given the new white lower wrapper. Indeed, it seems probable that Mrs. Alice Kipling's words in her 1899 letter have not been read carefully enough, and are more correctly understood to say that at first there was no cover *at all* [since the title-page already identified the printer, date and place of issue, and the book's "private circulation" limitation], then [before the type was distributed, since the typefaces of the printed brown cover and the title-page are identical] brown paper covers were added [when each brown-bound copy lost an inch or more in the trimming] to a "small" number [but not to all previously-printed copies]; sometime thereafter [this explanation would conclude] plain white covers were added to the remaining untrimmed copies, when a matching printed cover was no longer possible [and when, unnoticed by Mrs. Kipling, the last leaf was removed by the binder when the white wrapper was added].

The author himself, when queried on the cover color priority late in his life, refused to say. In a letter to Ballard (a lawyer) written 8 August 1935 (copy at Sussex), Kipling wrote: "[M]ay I recommend you as a collector *not* to print your deductions as to the relative merits of the brown and white paper covered School-Boy Lyrics. Nothing—as you must have seen often professionally—is more deceptive than 'circumstantial evidence'. In this particular case the knowledge rests with me alone" (emphasis in original). More telling is the fact that, of the five wrapped copies in the British Library's "Kipling File"—Kipling's own personal collection of his works bequeathed by his widow Carrie in 1940—all are in the plain white wrappers (with one titled in the brown-ink capitals of the schoolboy's hand, found on certain other copies described below), and were presumably bound in white after his return home to Lahore, when all of the first issue brown-wrapped copies had been presented or otherwise distributed.

Decorated and/or inscribed copies known include:

1. A brown-wrapped copy, once suggested to have been Kipling's own and inscribed on the front cover with two lines (not in Kipling's hand) from Lord Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*: "It's nice to see one's name in print;/A book's a book, although there's nothing in 't." [Thorold 1899 159, Stewart 1 copy 1, Grolier 17, front cover reproduced in *Grolier Club Catalogue* (Plate IV, 1930), front cover and title-page reproduced in facsimile in Ballard's *Catalogue* (pp. 8, 10, 1935, B98) and again in his auction sale catalogue (Ballard 1942 18), and front cover also reproduced as the frontispiece of volume XXXV of the Outward Bound edition].
2. A plain white cover copy filled with pen-and-ink sketches of four semi-human figures (presumably what Kipling himself called 'devilkins' and reminiscent of illustrations in his schoolboy copy of *Ovid Book VI* [Williamson 1915 103, Grolier 10, now at Bancroft Berkeley]), and floral and foliate designs with 'Poems 1881' on a ribbon-like scroll, with a scalloped-edge square enclosing Kipling's mono-

gram J[oseph].R.K. at bottom [Stewart 1 copy 3, Grolier 15, Sotheby 1928 C 527 with facsimile reproduction of the illustrated cover explicitly permitted by Kipling; reproduced again in the *Grolier Club Catalogue* (Plate III, 1930) when owned by Frank Brewer Bemis; reproduced again in Prescott 1981 187 and in the *Kipling Journal* for September 1981 (p. 43); reproduced again in Young 1992 98; this copy now in a private collection].

3. A copy in brown wrappers (enclosed in a printed cloth cover) with the inscription “Trix Kipling | Lahore 1884” on front cover, signed by Kipling at the top of the verso of the title-page with the lines: “This is the writer’s autograph | Rarer than any ever writ, | Therefore he bids you cherish it.” This copy has numbers written in—100, 150, 200, through 695—marked by Kipling in counting the lines while planning the publication of *Departmental Ditties*, according to an undated letter from his sister Alice (known as “Trix”) to Kipling Society founder J.H.C. Brooking (photocopy at Yeats TA&M); when she protested “Hi! don’t spoil my book,” he replied “I’m enriching it—adding to the interest.” [Stewart 1 copy 6, title-page and verso printed in facsimile in the *Kipling Journal* for October 1950 (p. 7), and the front cover reproduced in Stewart at p. 6; this copy in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University]. A copy in white wrappers lacking its title page appeared at auction in 2006 [Bonhams 2006 197], thought to have been sold by Trix to a collector; the lot included a 1924 letter from Kipling refusing to autograph “the mutilated copy” on the grounds “that it is really ‘faking’ a book to do so,” done only for “the auctioneer, to whose advantage it undoubtedly is...”

4. A copy bound in white vellum with gilt edges, brown wrappers bound in, titled “Ruddy’s | Poems | Lahore | 1881” and said to belong to Kipling’s mother Alice [Livingston *Supplement* p. 97, Ballard 1942 20]; this copy in Tolley Collection at Syracuse University].

5. A copy in plain white wrappers, with red rules above and below the title on the title-page, and at the end of each poem, with a double rule at the very end of the text, inscribed on the front cover by Kipling’s father John Lockwood Kipling “Alice Kipling. | 188” for Kipling’s mother (or sister, whom her father usually called “Trix,” as per copy 3 above) [Stewart 1 copy 7, Sotheby 1936 E 282; this copy in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University].

6. A copy with brown wrappers inscribed in the handwriting of Mrs. J. Lockwood (Alice) Kipling “Mrs. H. Rivett Carnac | from | A. Kipling” [Stewart 1 copy 8, exhibited at the First Edition Club in 1922, auction appearances as Garth 1923 722, Kern 1929 758, and Hogan II 1945 446; this copy in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University].

7. A copy, in the brown wrappers, in which Kipling has stroked out his name on the title-page and has written beneath it “Rudyard Kipling. | Feb. 10: 99,” accompanied by a letter dated June 15, 1899, from Lockwood De Forest to Arthur H. Scribner, stating that Kipling sent this copy to him with instructions to sell it “and use the money for something else for him,” and to offer it first to collector Scribner [Stewart 1 copy 5, Grolier 14, title-page reproduced in Scribner 1936 330; this copy in Engel Collection at Columbia University].

8. A copy, in the brown wrappers, bound over white wrappers but lacking the last leaf, with the Dodd, Mead cataloguer’s note describing it as the largest copy known, with covers measuring 7 1/16 by 4 5/8 in. and text leaves measuring 6 13/16 × 4 1/4 in., and inscribed ‘Jeanie from Alice’ on the upper brown cover, while on the upper white cover is inscribed (erased, but still partly legible) “Jeanie [?] | from | Alice Kipling” (Mrs. J. Lockwood Kipling) [Thorold 1899 157/Rosenbach 1947 364]; this copy in Tolley Collection at Syracuse University, and described in Luther Livingston’s *Rudyard Kipling’s First Book* [1899, A151] as having its brown paper cover, “a half inch taller and a quarter inch wider than the book, loosely fastened on only by a blue thread passing through the book between two leaves and then around the back,” which suggests that a remainder, untrimmed brown cover was belatedly added by hand to a white-wrapped copy to improve its appearance for presentation, and not that the brown-wrapped copies were bound after (or over) the plain-wrapped copies.

9. A copy, in the white wrappers, inscribed “E.M. [Edith Macdonald, Alice Kipling’s unmarried sister] from A.K.” [Sotheby 1928 378; this copy in the Lilly Library at Indiana University].

10. A copy, in the white wrappers, the front cover with the title of the book and his name lettered by Kipling in ink between two ruled lines with a spray of leaves beneath [facsimile reproduced in Benz 1984 224].

11. A copy, in the brown wrappers, with the name of Anglo-Indian Cricket player Rani Singh in ink on the title-page in the handwriting of Kipling’s father [Sotheby 1900 B 931/Standish 1926 284].

12. A copy, in the white wrappers, with Kipling’s signature beneath his title-page name (struck through), with a letter from his wife Carrie Kipling on Bateman’s stationery transmitting the copy [Johnson 1927 78/Auchincloss 1961 337, with facsimile of title-page and Carrie Kipling letter/Christie 1983 196, with title-page facsimile].

13. A copy, in the white wrappers, inscribed on the title-page “Col. Thornton | from J. L. Kipling.” [Folsom 1932 201, next as deSuzannet 1934 96; this copy in Depew Collection at Yale].

14. A copy, in the brown wrappers, inscribed “To F. Haden Cope from J. L. Kipling” [Brandeth 1922 868].

15. A copy, in the brown wrappers, inscribed “M.C. Plowden, from Alice Kipling” [Sotheby 1927 742; this copy in the Friedlich Smith Collection, Smith College].
16. A copy, in the brown wrappers, inscribed “Major A. Harcourt | from J. L. Kipling” [Thorold 1899 158; facsimile in Luther Livingston’s *The Works Of Rudyard Kipling* [1901, A169]; this copy in Morgan].
17. A copy, in the white wrappers, inscribed “To Alice Mander | from Alice Kipling 1897” [Allsop 1947 163; this copy in the Depew Collection, Yale].
18. A copy, in the white wrappers, with “School-Boy Lyrics | RUDYARD KIPLING” between cover-wide rules on the front cover in brown ink, inscribed “Mrs Doubleday | From | Alice Kipling” [this copy in the Doubleday Collection, Princeton].
19. A copy, in the brown wrappers, inscribed “J.H. Murray from old Gip” [catalogue description in Rendlesham 1899 649]; this copy’s whereabouts unknown, but John Henry Murray was at Kipling’s school United Services College (1876-1880), and is mentioned by Kipling in a letter to USC chaplain George Willes as available for a USC school annual dinner in India (24 April 1883, *Letters* 1, p. 31), so perhaps the proper transcription of the giver’s name on this copy is “old Gip,” for “Gig-lamps,” the nickname of the spectacle-wearing USC schoolboy Kipling, used in inscribing for presentation. (An 1884 Kipling presentation copy of *Echoes* to Willes himself is inscribed as being “from ‘Gigs.’”)
20. A copy, in brown wrappers, with short brown ink rules on the front cover, the title-page, and under the titles and at the foot of most of the poems [Kern 1962 171/Martin VIII 1990 2981; this copy in Richards Collection, Yale].
21. A copy with brown back wrapper and white blank leaf, lacking the corresponding front wrapper, with a pen-and-ink scroll with leaf decoration incorporating the word “Introduction,” the lettering, scroll, and leaves all identical to those in copy 2 above, and with embellishments to the poem ‘Lo as a Little Child’ and pen-and-ink rules under each poem throughout the book [Bertram Rota Cat. 89 (1951) 262].
22. A copy, now in the British Library Kipling File (File 292), without wrappers and rebound, measuring 194 × 95 mm, 7 5/8 × 3 3/4 in.) and thus presumably trimmed in width in rebinding, with J.L. Kipling’s name (perhaps not in his hand) in red pencil at the top of the title-page.

Kipling’s parents issued this volume containing twenty-three of his poems for “private circulation only” and without their absent son’s prior knowledge, while the fifteen-year-old poet was attending the United Services College at Westward Ho! in Devon. When he discovered the volume had been published, he was furious, telling his mother sulkily that “she had taken and made use of something he needed and valued” (Alice Fleming, Ts. KP 32/32). Although *Schoolboy Lyrics* is the first book by Kipling, it does not contain his earliest work, which is to be found in a juvenile paper called *The Scribbler* (see Section C, C1 to C3), except for ‘The Dusky Crew’ and ‘The Night Before’. Two of the poems in *Schoolboy Lyrics* were reprinted in the *United Services College Chronicle* (see C4 and C11): ‘A Legend of Devonshire’ in No. 4, June 30, 1881 (containing eleven stanzas instead of *Lyrics*’ six) and ‘The Song of the Sufferer’ in No. 12, December 11, 1882 (retitled ‘Follicular Tonsillitis’). Thirty-two lines of ‘Fragment of a Projected Poem’ were later incorporated into ‘The Seven Nights of Creation,’ published in the April 1886 *Calcutta Review*. The poems were not collected by Kipling until 1900, when twenty-two (all but ‘The Night Before,’ for which authorship is denied in Kipling’s annotated copy of Martindell) were included in *Early Verse* [1900, A154], appearing as Volume XVII of the Outward Bound edition [see D5 and Volume VIII of the Edition de Luxe, D6]. According to Kipling’s sister Alice (“Trix”), when the Kipling family left Lahore in 1884 (according to Carrington p. 71), “heaps of unwanted copies of *Schoolboy Lyrics* were thrown away, as the collectors had not yet got wind of them.” (Given the number of both brown- and white-wrapped copies listed above and others listed below now known to be in institutional collections [35 in all], either the Lockwood Kiplings’ memory of there being only 50 copies is wrong, or the word “heaps” was not an exaggeration by Carrington’s source—as noted above, Kipling himself had five white-wrapped copies in his personal library at his death).

*Locations:* brown wrappers [25 lvs]: HRC (Frank Brewer Bemis copy), Houghton Harvard (Wm. B. Osgood Field and Amy Lowell copies), Bancroft Berkeley (Templeton Crocker/John Jay Paul copy), Richards Yale (Jerome Kern/Bradley Martin copy), Stewart Dalhousie (Trix Kipling copy and Rivett Carnac copy), Yeats TA&M (with second back wrapper), NYPL Berg, Doubleday Princeton, Merriman UVA, Engel Columbia, Friedlich Smith; white wrappers [25 lvs]: BL Kipling File (File nos. 66, 67, 68, 69 and 168); white wrappers [24 lvs]: HRC (with transcript of McCutcheon copy of Alice Kipling letter to A. P. Watt), NYPL Berg (Paul Hyde Bonner/Owen D. Young copy), Stewart Dalhousie (Alice Kipling 1881 copy, with rules), Morgan, Fisher UT, Colt LC (without ink ornaments, rebound), Doubleday Princeton (with hand-written title and ornaments), Paterson Cornell (with ornaments), Rosenbach (with ornaments), Depew Yale, Huntington (rebound), Chicago, Weadock LM; brown wrappers over white [24 lvs]: Tolley Syracuse (Dodd Mead copy); brown wrappers [24 lvs]: Tolley Syracuse (Ballard copy), Merriman UVA

*Manuscripts:* ‘The Reading of the Will’ (2 pp.), ‘Requiescat in Pace’ (2 1/2 pp.), ‘Credat Judaeus’ (1 1/2 pp.), ‘Missed’ (3/4 p.), ‘A Legend of Devonshire’ (1 1/4 pp., eleven stanzas instead of six), and ‘Overheard’ (2 pp. with an extra stanza), written on 4-page sheets of octavo notepaper [Sotheby 1968 778, location unknown]; ‘The Night Before,’ ms in an unidentified hand (autograph?), containing some pencil revisions in a second hand, signed ‘Nickson,’ 3 pages, 6 stanzas [facsimile of last page, Plate VII, Maggs 1915 811], location unknown, and typed manuscript bound with May Morris’s set of *The Scribbler*, British Library, Add. MS 45337, ff. 284-88 (rectos only)

A2

ECHOES

1884

*First (Indian) edition**Book/poems*

*Title-page:* Echoes. | BY TWO WRITERS. | [ornament] | *The Duke:* “A new Song, Sirrah?” | *1st Min-strel:* “New as is New bread, | “Baked with the corn of yester year, my lord: | “These fledglings of the nest will try their pipes, | “And shrill it boldly in the same old tunes | “You hear on every woodland bough.” | *Old Play*. [n.p., n.d., Lahore, 1884]

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 3, Livingston 4, Stewart 5, Ballard V p. 16, Grolier 24

*Published:* August 1884, at Rs. 1; 150 copies printed

*Collation:* square 16mo, 40 leaves (15.3 × 11.1 cm., 6 × 4 1/2 in.); A<sup>4</sup>(-A4) B-C<sup>8</sup>2C<sup>8</sup>(=D<sup>8</sup>) E<sup>8</sup> F<sup>6</sup>(-F6) [\$1 signed (-A1)]; [i-ii] blank [iii] title-page [iv] blank [v] Index [vi]ii Index [1] text 2-72 text [73-74] blank. Signature marks: B, C, E, F on pp. [1], 17, 33, 49, and 65, respectively

*Binding:* glazed wrappers, light yellowish brown (Centroid 76/Munsell eq. 8.7yr 6.5 5.0), lettered, printed, and ornamented in black

*Front cover:* lettered and ornamented, titled within frame rules, diagonal ornamentally bordered strip running from lower left to upper right corner of frame, enclosing ECHOES in gothic lettering separated by printer’s devices; imprint at bottom below lower horizontal frame rule: LAHORE: THE “CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE” PRESS

*Spine and back cover:* blank

*Contents (with the imitated or parodied—“echoed”—author’s name in editorial brackets, and Alice (“Trix”) Kipling’s poems asterisked):* ‘A Vision of India’ [Tennyson], ‘The City of the Heart’ [Longfellow], ‘The Raiyat at Home’ [Burns], ‘Children of Nature’\* [Jean Ingelow], ‘The Bearing of the Vine’\* [Swinburne], ‘Hope Deferred’\* [Christina Rossetti], ‘The Flight of the Bucket’ [R. Browning], ‘Laocoön’ [Arnold], ‘Nursery Rhymes for Little Anglo-Indians’, ‘Tobacco’\*? [Keats], ‘Appropriate Verses on an Elegant Landscape’\*? [Cowper], ‘His Consolation’ [Browning], ‘Egoism’\* [C. Rossetti], ‘The Cursing of Stephen’ [Tennyson], ‘On Sorrow’ [Her- rick], ‘Jane Smith’\* [Wordsworth], ‘Nursery Idyls’ [C. Rossetti’s ‘Sing-Song’], ‘Sonnet’ [Wilfrid Blunt or “Proteus”], ‘Kopra Brahm’ [Emerson], ‘The Sudder Bazar’, ‘Commonplaces’ [Heine], ‘To You, Love’\* [Lawrence Keller], ‘On True Friendship’\* [Elizabethan], ‘Quaeritur’ [Swinburne], ‘London Town’\*? [Impressionist School], ‘Himalayan’ [Joaquin Miller], ‘Our Lady of Many Dreams’, ‘A Murder in the Compound’, “Way down the Ravee River”, ‘Amour de Voyage’ [William Mackworth Praed], ‘Failure’, ‘How the Day Broke’, ‘A Locked Way’, ‘Land Bound’, ‘The Ballad of the King’s Daughter’\*, ‘How the Goddess Awakened’, ‘The Maid of the Meer- schaum’ [Swinburne or Austin Dobson], ‘Estunt the Griff’ [William Morris], ‘Cavaliere Servente’ [spelled ‘Cavaliero Servente’ in the text; D.G. Rossetti]

*Notes:* Although the title-page lacks a printer, place, or date, *Echoes* was printed in Lahore on the press of Kipling’s newspaper employer, named on the book’s cover, in August 1884 (to conclude from both Kipling’s letter to Cormell Price of 10 August 1884 [KP], noting that “certain prematurely delivered copies have been sent out to run the gauntlet of the Indian Press,” and the inscription dates of three presentation copies sent that month to England; Carrington and Cornell and Orel are thus incorrect to say November); the first advertisement for its sale appears in *The Civil and Military Gazette* for 8 September 1884. As with *Schoolboy Lyrics* of 1881, the anonymous publishers were the Kipling family—or more likely Rudyard himself, who later wrote in the blank preliminary pages of his diary for 1885 (MS. Harvard University, reprinted and edited in Pinney SOM): “Year’s work. Published Echoes for which secured right good reviews and the sale of 1st edition of 150 copies.” Apparently the publication expense was nil: in a letter to his aunt Edith Macdonald (28 April 1884, *Letters* 1, pp. 61-62), he wrote that the printer J. C. Chalmers “declares that...the cost to your humble servant will be just nothing while he has the pick of some tons of the newest type [at the *Civil & Military Gazette*]. *Moral.* Be a journalist and you can publish as you please.” The edition sold out and the unanticipated profits enabled Kipling to buy a new horse (*Letters* 1, pp. 78-79). A second edition was long planned (*Letters* 1, p. 105), but never produced.

The contents were largely composed in the summer of 1884 (*Letters* 1, pp. 71-72), and concluded when the family spent a holi- day month together in the hill station of Dalhousie. Their model (and the seeming source for the book’s title) was the American parodist Bayard Taylor’s *The Echo Club, and Other Literary Diversions* (Boston: 1876), of which Rudyard later claimed he knew “whole pages by heart” from a “little limp paper-back pirated copy,” which spurred him “to the joyful labour of writing parodies on every poet between Wordsworth and Whitman” (letter to E.C. Stedman, 21 July 1894, *Letters* 2, p. 140). In a copy of *Echoes* sent to Kipling’s Aunt Louie (Mrs. Louisa Baldwin, copy in Baldwin Papers, 2/39, Sussex), the initials of the father, “J.L.K.” (John Lockwood Kipling), are written beneath the “Old Play” quotation on the title-page, and on this basis Livingston surmises that the elder Kipling was the real author of those lines (although Rudyard collected this title-page epigraph, seemingly as his own, in the 1899 *Outward Bound* and later editions); Lockwood Kipling’s biographer Arthur Ankers (*The Pater*, Oxford: Pond View Books, 1988, p. 120) states that the book’s lithographic cover design was also created by Lockwood.

Kipling’s correspondence (2 October 1884, 19 September 1885, and 28 November 1885, *Letters* 1, pp. 78, 86, and 105) boasts of a demand for a further edition, “bigger, better and bound,” and his diary for 1885 describes negotiations with Thacker, Spink and

Co. for a second edition of between 500 and 1000 copies (entries for 14 and 26 January, Pinney *SOM* pp. 201, 203, 218). While rejecting that publisher's proposal, and intending to enlarge the work with six verses known collectively as the "Bungalow Ballads" and appearing in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad between 15 August and 5 September 1885 (*Letters* 1, p. 86), he apparently never proceeded to fulfill his diary resolution of 27 January 1885 "to work Echoes [in a second edition] in my own place as handsomely as may be."

Of the book's thirty-nine poems by the 18-year-old Kipling and his 16-year-old sister Alice (named for her mother Alice and later Mrs. Alice M. Fleming, but called "Trix" as a child, a name she later expanded to "Beatrice" and adopted as a pen name for her later published poetry), the brother claimed thirty-two as his own in the 1900 collection *Early Verse* [A154] (Outward Bound Edition, New York, Vol. XVII, and Edition de Luxe, London, Vol. XVII). Alice was quoted as having said "And when it came to sorting out the verses in *Echoes*, he claimed several of mine" (KJ December 1938, p. 144). In the rebound volume owned by Kipling's close friend Mrs. S. A. (Edmonia) Hill, containing both *Schoolboy Lyrics* and *Echoes* and presented to her in 1889 (described in her April 1936 *Atlantic Monthly* article "The Young Kipling," p. 408, and in Stewart, copy 22 below), pencil lines have been drawn in the Index (presumably by the presenter) through eleven titles in all, including the seven usually ascribed to Trix in other Rudyard-annotated copies, and the same poems are crossed out by diagonal pencil strokes in the body of the text. However, in the copy presented by the two teenage writers to "The Ladies of Warwick Gardens" in 1884, the Index marked by the brother only ascribed the seven (the same seven noted in the presentation copies to the Common Room of the United Services College and to his cousin Margaret Burne-Jones), although a note in Trix's hand in the same copy claims 'Jane Smith' as well, also attributed to her by Rudyard's 'x' in the George Willes and Mrs. James Walker presentation copies and her father's note in the Ilbert presentation copy—yet it was included as Rudyard's in *Early Verse*, along with what might be Trix's 'Tobacco', 'Appropriate Verses on an Elegant Landscape', 'London Town', and 'The Ballad of the King's Daughter'. Of those last four items, however, 'The Ballad of the King's Daughter' may be found in Rudyard Kipling's Notebook 3, a holograph notebook of poems dated from 1880 to 1882 (KP 24/1, Sussex), and 'Tobacco' has been located in the margin of one of his schoolbooks, so Trix's claim to this group (other than 'Jane Smith') should probably be discounted. Four of the poems by Rudyard ('How the Day Broke', 'A Locked Way', 'Land Bound' and 'How the Goddess Awakened') were written by Kipling while at United Services College, according to his annotations on one known copy.

The names of the poets indicated in the *Contents* as "echoed" are known from several copies in which Kipling has written their names beneath the poems' titles in the 1884 text, and he did this formally for eighteen of them beneath their respective titles as collected in the 1900 *Early Verse* (except that 'Cavaliere Servente' is not again ascribed to Dante Gabriel Rossetti).

Inscribed copies known:

1. A morocco-rebound copy presented to Kipling's United Services College chaplain George Willes (the original of the Padre in *Stalky & Co.*), inscribed on the flyleaf "The Padre | from | "Gigs" | Aug. 29th 1884" and "G.W. from R.K.," [Spoor 1939 484 with facsimile of flyleaf inscription, Stewart 1 copy 2 (misidentified as *Schoolboy Lyrics*); this copy in Paterson Collection at Cornell University].
2. A copy bound in vellum and inscribed "The Mater | from Ruddy. | August. 22nd. 1884.," with an autograph poem of three five-line stanzas commencing 'Who is the Public I write for?' (first stanza published in Martindell's *Bibliography New Edition* [1923, B70], printed in facsimile in Grolier *Catalogue* [B87] Plate V and in Ballard's *Catalogue*, and reprinted in Harbord V p. 5057 and Rutherford). "The Mater" was not Kipling's mother (as misidentified by Martindell, Livingston, Ballard, and Stewart; Mrs. Alice Kipling was at this date still in India). Rather, this copy was sent to England to Mrs. John Tavenor Perry, a kind of local mother substitute whom Kipling addressed as his "Dearest Mater" in his letters from school (e.g., 31 January 1882, *Letters* 1, p. 14). [Ballard *Catalogue* V with facsimile and Ballard 1942 21, Grolier 30, Stewart 4 copy 2; this copy in Tolley Collection at Syracuse University].
3. A copy presented to the Common Room at the United Services College at Westward Ho! in Devon, inscribed on the flyleaf verso "To | 'My very noble and approved good Masters'", followed by an autograph poem of five four-line stanzas beginning "Placetne, Domini? - in far Lahore" (later printed in *The United Services College Chronicle*, No. XLI, March 27, 1889, then collected by Kipling in *Early Verse* [1900, A154], and reprinted in Rutherford and Harbord Verse No. 83B), with a pen-and-ink self-portrait on the flyleaf recto of the spectacled schoolboy Kipling, standing before a master's desk topped by an inkwell, handing in "lines" done as a punishment; on the Index page Kipling wrote "The other writer" (or ditto marks) before each of the seven poems thus ascribed to his sister. [Martindell 3 with facsimile of illustrated flyleaf recto, Hall 1921 299 with frontispiece facsimile of flyleaf verso and recto/Folsom 1932 202 with facsimile of flyleaf recto/Hogan 1945 II 497 with same, Stewart 4 copy 1; this copy in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University].
4. A copy presented "To | The Ladies of Warwick Gardens" (Miss Georgiana Craik, Miss Mary Craik, and their friend Miss Hannah Winnard, with whom the Kipling children had boarded in London), containing on the flyleaf verso an autograph poem of seven stanzas beginning "To our first critics send we these" and signed at the end "Ruddy & Trix" (each signature in the author's own handwriting); in the Index, the poem titles by the brother are unmarked, while those eight claimed here by his sister (including 'Jane Smith') have "Trix" or ditto marks in the margin in her hand. The presentation poem's first and last stanzas are reprinted in the Grolier *Catalogue*, and the whole is reprinted in Rutherford and Harbord V p. 5058. [Red Cross 1915 1728/Johnson 1927 79 (for which sale Kipling denied permission to reproduce the poem)/Folsom 1932 202, Grolier 25, Stewart 4 copy 3; this copy in Berg Collection at the New York Public Library].

5. A copy sent to the Kipling children's cousin Margaret Burne-Jones, containing an autograph poem of three stanzas beginning "The Wop of Asia—that lordly Beast—", on a page headed with the inscription "Margaret Burne-Jones | from Ruddy and Trix—", and bearing pencil marks to seven poems ascribed to Trix in the Index and the text; poem reprinted in full in Rutherford and Harbord V p. 5060. [Mackail 1952 89, with inscription and verses in facsimile, Stewart 4 copy 10; this copy in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University].
6. A copy sent to Evelyn Welford, daughter of the London representative of Charles Scribner's Sons, inscribed "Evelyn | From | R.K. | Sept. 1884" and containing an autograph poem of three four-line stanzas beginning "The Memory of a Maiden's sympathy," first and third stanzas printed in Red Cross 1918 2550, and printed in full in Maggs Bros. catalogue No. 369 [1918, B64], in Martindell's *Fragmenta Condita* in 1922 [A338], and again with a facsimile as a frontispiece in Martindell's *Flies In Amber* (1924, unique copy at Bodleian, Arch. AA d.46), and in Rutherford and Harbord V p. 5058. [Martindell 1922 7/Folsom 1932 203, Stewart 4 copy 5; location unknown].
7. A copy sent to Florence Garrard (Kipling's first love, and a model for Maisie in *The Light That Failed*, 1891), inscribed "F G | from R K | Sept. 1884.," with eight lines of verse beginning 'I wrote you verses two years syne' (first published in with a mistranscription of the last line, Cornell's *Kipling in India* [1966, B113], and reprinted with the same mistake in Rutherford from a typed copy in Flora Livingston's scrapbooks at Houghton Library, Harvard), and annotated in pencil with the names of the poets echoed, his sister's contributions with the subscription "(The other writer)," and those not parodies marked "R.K.," [Sotheby 1975 549/Sotheby 1999 363, with facsimile of inscription and poem, Grolier 26, Stewart 4 copy 4; this copy in Richards Collection at Yale University].
8. A copy sent to Kipling's aunt Edith Macdonald (noted as previously sent in his letter to her of 21 November 1884, *Letters* 1, p. 79), with seven lines of presentation verse beginning "Though the "Englishman" deride it" (printed in full in Rutherford and in *Letters* 1, p. 80), annotated "Trix' beside eight titles [this copy in the Baldwin Papers 2/39, University of Sussex].
9. A copy sent to Kipling's classics and English master William Carr Crofts, the model for King in *Stalky & Co.*, inscribed 'W.C.C. d.d. J.R.K. Aug. 1884 | "And so, like most young poets, in a flush | Of individual life I poured myself | Along the veins of others."' [Williamson 1915 3, Stewart 4 copy 6, location unknown].
10. A copy sent to Cormell Price, Headmaster of United Services College and a close friend of Kipling's mother, inscribed "Uncle Crom | from | Ruddy | Nov. 1884," and annotated on the contents page with the name of each poet imitated and ten poems annotated "R.K." [Stewart 4 copy 7, Stewart Collection, Dalhousie].
11. A copy inscribed "E. Yates Esq. | with the authors' compliments," with pencil annotation of the imitated authors' names ('Cristina Rosetti' and '[D.G.] Rosetti' being misspelled and "Austin Dobson" named for 'The Maid of the Meerschaum'); with the word 'original' written beside the text titles of ten of the poems ('The Sudder Bazar', 'Our Lady of Many Dreams', 'A Murder in the Compound', "'Way down the Ravee River'", 'Failure', 'How the Day Broke', 'A Locked Way', 'Land Bound', 'The Ballad of the King's Daughter', and 'How the Goddess Awakened'); and with various annotations following all of the balance except 'London Town', 'Nursery Rhymes for Little Anglo-Indians' ('Anon.'), 'Egoism' ('Magazine verse'), and 'To You, Love' ('Modern drawing room bal-lad'). According to Kipling's schoolmate George Beresford (the "M'Turk" of *Stalky*), Rudyard had some acquaintance with Yates, the editor of the London newspaper *World*, which had printed Kipling's (anonymous) 'Two Lives' on 8 November 1882, so the presentation inscription is probably in Kipling's hand, and the *World* reviewer (Yates?) called *Echoes* "a clever little book" (22 October 1884). [Havens/Standish 1926 285, with facsimile of inscribed cover and of p. 42's 'To You, Love' with previously described annotation; this copy in Berg Collection at the New York Public Library].
12. A copy inscribed to Colonel Lionel D'Arcy Dunsterville, father of Kipling's USC schoolmate Lionel Charles Dunsterville (the original of "Stalky"), with a covering letter dated October 8, 1884: "I send with this copy of a small booklet, lately published by me, which the Indian Press has been good enough to treat very favorably. It may possibly interest one of your family and serve as a memento of a very pleasant Evening spent in your house three years ago." [This copy in Robert H. Taylor Collection, Princeton University].
13. A copy inscribed "Mrs. Walker from Rudyard Kipling," presented to Mrs. James Walker (Lizzie Marie Hogan), first wife of the owner of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, with twenty-three entries beneath the text titles of the names of the poets being imitated or parodied, with eight entries in the Index labeled "Trix," and with the word "the" added to line 14 on p. 2. [Sotheby 1921 328A/Kern 1929 759/Auchincloss/Bruce 1971 236, Grolier 27, location unknown].
14. A copy inscribed in pencil on the flyleaf "from Ruddy, | Sept 1884," with seven of Trix's poems marked in the Index by an inked cross [Sotheby 1928 D 528, this copy in Friedlich Collection, Smith College].
15. A copy inscribed "D.C.J.J. | d.d. | R.K. | Aug. 22nd 1884," having the titles of the poems annotated in pencil with the names of the poets 'echoed' and with 'R.K.' at the top of pages with poems which are not conscious imitations [Sotheby 1900 B 924, Huntington, HM 30000]

16. A copy inscribed on the flyleaf by Kipling's father: "Mrs. [Sir Courtenay] Ilbert from J.L.K.," with "Trix" written opposite the titles of eight poems in the Index, including 'Jane Smith', and with "R.K." written next to the titles of thirteen poems in the text (seemingly noting them as "originals" or nonimitations) [Sotheby 1899 1777/Wilson 1985 160, with facsimile of Index, location unknown]
17. A copy in which Kipling has pencilled the words "Written at School. R.K." at the end of each of 'How the Day Broke', 'A Locked Way', 'Land Bound', and 'How the Goddess Awakened' [Stewart 4, copy 9, location unknown].
18. A copy, annotated on the front cover in an unidentified hand 'W. Lawrence, Esq.' (Sir William Roper Lawrence, Undersecretary to the Punjab government in Lahore, 1884-86), with the Index annotated (perhaps not by Kipling) with the imitated authors' names (including 'The Maid of the Meerschaum' marked "Austin Dobson" rather than "Swinburne" as in other copies [excepting copy 11 above], and with "Rossetti" correctly spelled, unlike the Yates copy annotations), and with ten poems marked "RK," signifying that such were "originals." [Dutton 1925 2, with facsimile of first Index page/Schweizer 1929 189 with facsimile of second Index page/Prescott 1981 189, location unknown].
19. A copy, said to be autographed on the cover by Mrs. Alice Kipling, with pencil notations at the beginning and end of some of the poems: "J.L.K.," "Swinburne, R.K.," "Amorphous Modern Poetaster, R.K.," "Written at School, R.K." [Sotheby 1900 A 1044/Jones 1919 976, location unknown].
20. A copy, said to be annotated by J. Lockwood Kipling, with twenty-five names of parodied poets written in, and eight Index titles marked with an asterisk to indicate Trix's authorship [Sotheby 1927 743, location unknown].
21. A copy, annotated in pencil with the name of each poet "echoed", bearing a note on p. 37 beside 'The Sudder Bazar' reading "fondly imagined to be original," and with the ten poems following marked either "R.K." or "B.K." [Sotheby 1932 578, location unknown].
22. A copy, bound up with a copy of *Schoolboy Lyrics*, in half black morocco and plum moiré cloth over boards, with the binder's ticket of Lahore bookbinder Shamus Din, inscribed on the front endpaper "Jan/89: | To | Mrs. S.A. Hill | from | Rudyard Kipling | these the first of his | ventures into print." Trix's poems have their titles crossed out in pencil in the Index, and a vertical line in pencil has been drawn from top to bottom of each page bearing her poems [Stewart 4 copy 8, this copy in Weadock LM]. Kipling first met Edmonia Hill and her husband, a professor of science in Muir College, Allahabad, in 1887, and later travelled with them to Japan and America on his way to London in 1889.

The collation above follows Stewart, and departs from Martindell and Livingston, in describing a blank leaf following text page 72 (agreeing with the Bancroft Berkeley and the four Berg Collection copies), although in other copies (e.g., Morgan Library, HRC and Lilly Library), this end sheet seems to have been removed by the binder (as often happened in binding the white-wrapped copies of *Schoolboy Lyrics*).

All thirty-two of the thirty-nine poems traditionally ascribed to Rudyard (including 'Jane Smith', which was almost certainly Trix's on the evidence of several presentation copies) were collected by him in *Early Verse*, Outward Bound Edition, Vol. XVII [A154], and Edition de Luxe, Vol. XVII, 1900. When so collected, 'The Raiyat at Home' was retitled 'Indian Farmer at Home'; "'Way down the Ravee River'" became "'Way down the Ravi River'"; and certain minor changes (noted in Rutherford) were made in the wording of several poems.

*Locations:* NYPL Berg (4 copies), Paterson Cornell, Tolley Syracuse, Stewart Dalhousie (2 copies), Morgan (2 copies), Houghton Harvard (2 copies, one signed 'A.T. Spink 1884'), Depew Yale, Richards Yale, Taylor Princeton, Lilly Indiana, LC, Colt LC, HRC, Yeats TA&M (Esher copy), Chicago, Bancroft Berkeley, Delaware, Rosenbach, Sussex

*Manuscripts:* 'Amour de Voyage', Bodleian MS Eng. poet. e. 43; another fair copy, as 'Les Amours de Voyage', sent to Georgiana Craik May, Sussex 24/3

## A3

## "ECHOES" BY TWO WRITERS.

1884

*First (Indian) edition**Broadside/poem*

*Heading:* "ECHOES" BY TWO WRITERS. | [rule with diamond in center] | [A.M. d.-d. R.K., Oct. 1884.] [n.p., Lahore]

*Prior bibliographies:* Stewart 6 and plate p. 17

*Printed:* October 1884, distributed privately; one copy printed

*Collation:* 1° (14.6 × 10.8 cm., 5 3/4 × 4 1/4 in.), broadside text of three stanzas of four lines each, printed on verso only, on very pale blue paper (Centroid 184/Munsell eq. 1.5pb 8.3 3.3)

*Contents:* "Echoes" By Two Writers

*Notes:* These verses seem to have accompanied a presentation copy of *Echoes* [A2] from Kipling to Andrew Macdonald (1852-1899), the assistant editor of the Allahabad newspaper the *Pioneer*, then serving as acting editor of the Lahore newspaper the *Civil and Military Gazette* while Kipling's usual editor and superior Stephen Wheeler was on leave. This broadside was probably

produced on the CMG press, and laid in the presentation copy to Macdonald. Only one copy is known, from the Arthur H. Scribner Collection auctioned at the American Art Galleries on April 22, 1936 (reproduced in reduced facsimile in Scribner 1936 331), and is said to have been hand-set by Kipling (a minor correction in the last line of the second stanza suggests it was a proof copy). The poem's text (never collected by Kipling) is reprinted in Rutherford p. 255 and Harbord V p. 5060; the same first line—"Between the gum-pot and the shears"—was to be used by Kipling again in a different poem, inscribed in a presentation copy of *Plain Tales From The Hills* given to Mrs. S.A. (Edmonia) Hill in March 1888 [A10, copy 14].

*Location:* Stewart Dalhousie (only known copy); [*Scribner catalogue:*] Grolier, Richards Yale, Stewart Dalhousie

A4

QUARTETTE

1885

*First (Indian) edition**Book/stories and poems*

*Title-page:* [all within red double frame rules:] 1885. | QUARTETTE, | The Christmas Annual | OF THE | CIVIL & MILITARY GAZETTE. | BY | FOUR ANGLO-INDIAN WRITERS. | [double rule] | Lahore: | THE "CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE" PRESS, | MDCCCLXXXV.

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 4, Livingston 5, Stewart 7, Ballard VII, Grolier 18

*Published:* 19 December 1885, sold by subscription at Rs. 1 (1 rupee 4 annas by 'V.P.P.' or Value Payable Post [collect on delivery]); 250 copies printed

*Collation:* 4to, 66 leaves (24.2 × 15 cm., 9 1/2 × 5 7/8 in.);  $\pi^2(\pi 1 + \chi 1)$  A-Q<sup>4</sup> R<sup>4</sup>(-R4); [i-ii] blank endsheet [iii] title-page in red [QUARTETTE and FOUR ANGLO-INDIAN WRITERS and double frame rules] and black [iv] blank [v] Contents [vi] blank [1] text 2-125 text [126] blank i-iv advertisements on pale pink paper v-viii advertisements on gray paper of front cover ix-xiii advertisements on light yellow paper [xiv] blank [xv-xvi] blank endsheet; advertisements not part of the book; without signature marks

*Binding:* wrappers, yellowish gray (Centroid 93/Munsell eq. 3.8y 7.4 1.4), lettered and ornamented in black, side wire-stitched, all edges trimmed

*Front cover:* CHRISTMAS | 1885 | QUARTETTE [twice, in crossed diagonals running from opposite corners, sharing central "T"], LAHORE [at bottom], CIVIL & MILITARY [vertically on left margin and] GAZETTE [vertically on right margin, all lettering within frame rules, interstices filled with intricate patterned design, entirety within heavy black frame rules] | MAYO SCHOOL OF ART LAHORE [in small letters below bottom rule in lower left corner]

*Spine:* blank

*Back cover:* advertisement for West End Watch Company, printed in black within double frame rules

*Contents (with the family member author's name or initials bracketed):* 'The Mirror of Two Worlds' [father, John Lockwood Kipling], 'Divided Allegiance' [Rudyard Kipling], 'An Anglo-Indian Episode' [mother, Alice Macdonald Kipling], 'At the Distance' [RK], 'The Unlimited "Draw" of "Tick" Boileau' [RK], 'A Tragedy of Teeth' [RK], 'The Haunted Cabin' [sister Alice 'Trix' Kipling], 'The Second Wooing' [RK], 'The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes, C.E.' [RK], 'Two Sonnets' [AMK], 'My Christmas at the Ajai-bgaum Exhibition' [JLK], 'Rivals' [AMK], 'The Phantom 'Rickshaw' [RK], 'From the Hills' [RK], 'Mofussil Jurisdiction' [JLK], 'Parted' [AMK]

*Notes:* In his autobiography *Something of Myself* [A434], composed some fifty years later, Kipling wrote: "[I]n the cold weather of '85 we four made up a Christmas annual called *Quartette*, which pleased us a good deal and attracted a certain amount of attention. (Later, much later, it became a 'collector's piece' in the U.S. book-market, and to that extent smudged the memories of its birth.)" The "Four Anglo-Indian Writers," nowhere identified in the book, were Kipling and his father, mother and sister; the publication was initiated by Kipling with the *Civil & Military Gazette* to be sold by subscription (he wrote Cornell Price on 19 September 1885 that he was "under contract to turn out for my own rag a Christmas supplement—the which is a new departure for the average Indian organ" [*Letters* 1, p. 86], and later told his aunt Louisa Baldwin that "if all goes well we shall get another out next year" [24 January 1886, *Letters* 1, p. 113], but no subsequent annuals appeared). The same month Kipling's father John Lockwood wrote Margaret Burne-Jones that he had personally been against *Quartette* as a venture, and had hoped that someone would "rap [Rudyard's] knuckles for the unwholesomeness of the phantom 'Rickshaw & the coarseness of the Tragedy of teeth' ([10 October?] 1885-31 January 1886, KP 1/1).

Of the sixteen works, eight are prose and eight verse, alternating in typeface on the Contents page (prose titles in all capitals, poem titles in upper and lower case), and alternating in sequence through the text. Two of Rudyard's entries, 'The Strange Ride of Morrowbie Jukes, C.E.' and 'The Phantom 'Rickshaw', were reprinted in 1889 in his *The Phantom 'Rickshaw and other Tales* [A18], while his mother Alice's poems, 'The Two Sonnets' and 'Rivals,' were reprinted by her in London in 1903 in *Hand in Hand: Verses by a Mother and Daughter*. Kipling also appropriated 'Rivals' (without author identification) as a heading to 'On Greenhow Hill' in *Life's Handicap* [1891, A57].

The chaotic circumstances of the binding of 250 copies by candlelight in the CMG printing hall on overtime throughout the “mad night” of 17-18 December 1885, with tots of brandy and plugs of free tobacco from Kipling (“*twelve pounds* of the hideous mixture of cow dung and dried grass they delight in”) to encourage the “forty odd men besides binders to keep Quartette going,” are amusingly described by Kipling in a letter to his cousin Margaret Burne-Jones (28 November 1885-11 January 1886, *Letters* 1, pp. 107-109). In his covering letter sending a copy to W. C. Crofts, Kipling described it as “not free from misprints and...badly inked” (*Letters* 1, p. 112). The *Civil and Military Gazette* announced its publication “[t]oday...as the Christmas annual of this paper” on 19 December 1885. The paperbacked book’s front cover was designed, perhaps by John Lockwood Kipling, at the Mayo School of Art in Lahore, where the elder Kipling was serving as the School’s first principal. The tinted leaves of advertisements at the end are not part of the text block, and sometimes vary in number: copies are known with only three leaves [Huntington], or four leaves [Ballard] or six [Berg (copy 4)] or even eight, with a blank final yellow leaf [Berg (copy 2)], instead of the more standard seven. Copies were also bound without advertisements (at Kipling’s direction for family members, four copies, one sent by his father to the *Spectator* for review, all described below). In some copies the last of the seven leaves of advertisements is pink rather than pale yellow [Folsom 1932 204, Ballard VII(A), and Paterson Collection copy at Cornell University]. The rear endsheet has been excised from some copies [e.g., Auchincloss 1961 338, with the stub pasted to the terminal leaf of advertisements], and a copy is known [Kern 1962 172, Morgan] with a corner of the back endsheet torn off, which may be a mark for similar excision, being a standard binder’s practice analogous to the slitting of cancellanda in eighteenth century books.

Attributions of authorship of the stories and poems are made by Rudyard or his father (and perhaps others) in several extant copies. Inscribed or annotated copies known include:

1. A copy, without advertisements, inscribed on the flyleaf in John Lockwood Kipling’s hand, “To The Editor: *Spectator* for the favour of Review” [Jones 1919 977; this copy in Yeats Collection at Texas A&M University].
2. A copy, without advertisements, Rudyard Kipling’s copy, with his autograph on the front wrapper and pencil annotation of each family member author’s initials (“R,” or “JK,” “TK,” or “AK”) by each Contents page listing [this copy in Kipling Papers at Sussex University, 30/17].
3. A copy, without advertisements, with John Lockwood Kipling’s bookplate, the front wrapper inscribed “Mrs. Kipling” and the Contents initialed (by JLK?) as in his son’s copy described above [this copy in Wimpole Hall].
4. A copy, without advertisements, the front wrapper inscribed “Trix Kipling” and the flyleaf inscribed “Trix Kipling | Lahore | December | 1885,” with a correction in ink on p. 125 [Sotheby 1936 E 283, purchased by Rudyard Kipling’s daughter Mrs. Elsie Bambridge; this copy in Kipling Papers at Sussex University, 30/18].
5. A copy inscribed on the flyleaf: “W.C.C. [W.C. Crofts] | d.d. | J.R.K. | Dec.-/85. | ‘There’s a deal o’ fine confused feeding | about a calf’s head.’” This presentation copy to Kipling’s former schoolmaster at United Services College is accompanied by a bound-in letter from Kipling to Crofts dated 20 December 1885 (*Letters* 1, p. 112), in which he states that he is sending a copy of “a Christmas Annual which I have had the misfortune to start and edit,” and notes further: “The *Quartette* is of course my Father, Mother, Sister and Myself. I have marked my share by a dot on the contents table.” The dotted items include ‘My Christmas at the Ajaibgaum Exhibition,’ which all other marked copies (excepting the Garrard copy, no. 7 below, presented the same month) have attributed to John Lockwood Kipling (see Rudyard’s later note regarding the Ralph copy, no. 13 below, identifying his father as the true author) [exhibited at the First Edition Club in 1922; auction appearances as Garth 1923 725/de Suzannet 1934 98/Sotheby 1936 A 268; this copy in Berg Collection (copy 4), New York Public Library].
6. A copy inscribed in Rudyard’s hand on the flyleaf: “To the Ladies of Warwick Gardens [Miss Georgina Craik, Miss Mary Craik, and their friend Miss Hannah Winnard], from the Four K’s, 21/12/85” [Red Cross 1915 1727/Joyce 1973 286, location unknown].
7. A copy inscribed “R. to F. [Florence Garrard, the model for Maisie in *The Light That Failed*] | 21/12/85,” with the various authors’ initials added in Kipling’s hand on the Contents page: “Mr. K.,” “R.” (including ‘Ajaibgaum Exhibition’), “Mrs. K.” and (beside ‘The Haunted Cabin’) “Trix” [this copy in the Berg Collection (copy 3)].
8. A copy, with the names of the four authors on the front wrapper, but not in Rudyard Kipling’s hand: “Rudyard Kipling” in the top margin; “John Lockwood Kipling, pere” in the lower margin, “Alice Kipling (mere)” in the left-hand margin, and “Beatrice Alice Kipling Junr” in the right-hand margin, the name “Alice” and the word “Junr” then struck through with two lines; also, the initials of the authors have been printed in indelible pencil against the titles on the Contents page: “J.L.K.,” “R.K.,” “A.K.,” and (beside ‘The Haunted Cabin’) “Trix K.” [Hughes B 1924 195, with facsimile of annotated front wrapper; this copy in Berg Collection (copy 1)].
9. A copy signed by Rudyard Kipling on the blank leaf, then inscribed by his wife Carrie Kipling in April 1899 to his American publisher F. N. Doubleday, with Doubleday’s note on Kipling’s annotation of each family member’s initials by each Contents page listing; also, all family members have signed some of their respective contributions at the end of each piece [this copy in Doubleday Collection at Princeton University].
10. A copy, apparently for the publisher’s office use, with each advertisement in the seven terminal leaves of advertisements and the back cover marked with the receipted amount paid for each of the insertions; additionally, the contributors’ initials are written on the Contents page in block capitals; the upper right corner of the back endpaper on this copy has been torn off, perhaps as a signal for excision [Kern 1962 172; this copy in Gordon Ray Collection at Morgan Library].

11. A copy with the Contents page annotated in block capitals, not in Rudyard Kipling's hand, but perhaps in his father's: "J.L.K." (including 'Ajaibgaum Exhibition'), "R.K.," "A.K.," and (beside 'The Haunted Cabin') "Trix K." [Rothchild 1924 801; this copy in Berg Collection (copy 2)].

12. A copy with the recto of the blank leaf preceding the title-page inscribed: "Given to me in 1885 by | J.L. Kipling | to Carrie Kipling 1899 | Julia K. deforest" [this copy in BL Kipling File].

13. A copy, presented by Kipling on behalf of himself and his wife Caroline on June 25, 1900, to his fellow Boer War correspondent Julian Ralph, with the inscription, "These notes made by me are I believe | accurate as to authorship of pieces," in which 'The Haunted Cabin' is ascribed to Kipling's mother Alice (instead of his sister Trix, as in the 1885 presentation copy to W.C. Crofts) and 'My Christmas at the Ajaibgaum Exhibition' is ascribed to Kipling's father (instead of to himself, as in the Crofts and Garrard presentation copies of December 1885). In the marked copy of the Livingston *Bibliography* (now at Sussex) presented to the Kiplings by the author, Kipling has annotated Livingston's page 17 note that "in the Ralph copy [Ajaibgaum] is attributed to J.L. Kipling" with the words "This last is correct R.K." [facsimiles of presentation inscription and annotated Contents page in Edgar 1924 291; annotated table of contents reprinted in Martindell's *Bibliography New Edition* [1923, B70, p. 156]; this copy in Carpenter Collection, Library of Congress].

*Locations:* BL Kipling File, NYPL Berg (4 copies), Yeats TA&M, Morgan (2), LC (2), Carpenter LC, Colt LC (2), Houghton Harvard, Depew Yale, Richards Yale (2 copies), Doubleday Princeton, Huntington, Paterson Cornell, Merriman UVA, Chicago, Newberry, Delaware, Weadock LM, Stewart Dalhousie

**A5****THE VISION OF HAMID ALI****1885***First edition**Leaflet/poem*

*First page as title-page:* THE VISION OF HAMID ALI. [Calcutta, 1885]

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 5, Livingston 8, Stewart p. 7, Ballard VI, Grolier 33

*Published:* October 1885, price (if any) and number of copies unknown

*Collation:* 1°, leaf printed on both sides and numbered on verso (22.5 × 14 cm., 8 7/8 × 5 1/2 in.); [1] title and 44 lines of text 2 42 lines of text, signed at end "Rudyard Kipling"

*Notes:* The blank verse poem, first mentioned by Kipling in a letter to his aunt Edith Macdonald of 30 July 1885 (*Letters* 1, pp. 81-4) as intended to be published in August, appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1885 (Vol. LXXXI, No. CLXII, pp. 419-20). This separate issue is printed from the periodical's typefaces. The only known copy is signed at the top of the recto in Kipling's hand 'Calcutta Review. October', and was sent by him to his former classics and English master W.C. Crofts, "King" of the *Stalky* stories, after which it was owned by collectors Sir William Garth [Garth 1923 721], Captain E.W. Martindell, Roscoe Brunner [Brunner 1928 327 [B81], with partial facsimile of recto], and Ellis Ames Ballard [Ballard 1942 24, with facsimile of inscribed recto]. The first seven lines were reprinted by Martindell in his *Bibliography New Edition* [1923, B70]; the poem was first collected in 1922, in Ballard's private printing *Uncollected Verse*, and collected by Kipling in the Sussex (Vol. XXXV, 1939) and Burwash (Vol. XXVIII, 1941) Editions. Facsimile of inscribed recto, Plate VI in Grolier. (Stewart mistakenly says that this copy is simply a leaf of the *Review* bearing the pagination of that journal, which the Morgan copy is not, instead being numbered "2" on the upper left hand corner of the verso.)

*Location:* Morgan (only known copy)

**A6****THE SEVEN NIGHTS OF CREATION****1886***First edition**Pamphlet/poem*

*First page as title-page:* THE SEVEN NIGHTS OF CREATION.

[n.p., n.d., Calcutta, 1886]

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 6, Livingston 9, Stewart 2, Ballard VIII, Grolier 34

*Published:* April 1886, price (if any) and number of copies unknown

*Collation:* 4to, 3 separate leaves (8 5/8 × 5 1/4 in., 21.9 × 13.6 cm.), tied with white thread; [*first leaf:*] [1] front cover blank [2] title and text [*second leaf:*] [3]/2 text [4]/3 text [*third leaf:*] [5]/4 text [signed] Rudyard Kipling [6] back cover blank

*Notes:* This pamphlet was printed from the types of the *Calcutta Review* for April 1886 (Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXIV, pp. 464-7), where the complete poem first appeared that month. Thirty-two lines (less than a third of the 144-line poem) had previously been published in *Schoolboy Lyrics* [A1] as 'Fragment of a Projected Poem', and twenty-five lines were later employed (with alterations) as a heading to Chapter XVII of *Beast and Man in India* by Kipling's father John Lockwood Kipling in 1891 [B4]; the first four lines

were reprinted in Martindell's *Bibliography New Edition* [1923, B70]. Uncollected by Kipling in this full or expanded form; first reprinted in full in Harbord V p. 5032 and Rutherford.

Three copies are known: one formerly in the collection of Ellis Ames Ballard (fragments of pages [1] and [5]/4 reproduced in Ballard p. 23, and facsimile of page [1] in Ballard 1942 p. 15), identified as a proof from the set-up for the magazine and showing an impression [not inked] of the type of a page of Locke's *Philosophy*, with the inner margin of each leaf showing stab-holes, this copy now in Tyler Collection at Yale University; a second in the Garth, Martindell and Brunner Collections (Garth 1923 721/Brunner 1928 332 [B81]), inscribed on the blank recto of the first leaf by Kipling 'Calcutta Review. Ap. 86', and sent by him to his former classics and English master W.C. Crofts—this copy purchased by Owen Young and now in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library; and a third copy, presented by Kipling to F. Haden Cope and inscribed "From the Autho[r] | 20/4/86," and below in a different hand 'Lines written by | Rudyard Kipling | and given by him | to F. Haden Cope | 20-4. 86' (Sotheby 1936 C 734/Mathews 1937 159, accompanied by a letter from Kipling to Mrs. Cope dated 20 August 1899, offering to autograph the pamphlet—this copy now in Stewart Collection at Dalhousie University).

Another copy is known, made up of the leaves of the *Calcutta Review*, the first and third of which pages [463-464] and 467-[468] have been split in order to eliminate the printed matter not by Kipling. The magazine issue signature number 59 is at the bottom of page 465, and page numbers 465-467 appear on the second, third and fourth of the rebacked leaves [Rendlesham 1899 646/Prideaux 1917 2029/McCutcheon 1925 138 with facsimile of first leaf/Schweizer 1929 193/Folsom 1932 208; location unknown].

*Locations:* Tyler Yale, NYPL Berg, Stewart Dalhousie (only known copies)

## A7

## DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES AND OTHER VERSES

1886

*First (Indian) edition*

*Book/poems*

*Front cover as title-page:* No. 1 of 1886. [following underscored and struck through with a wavy line:] ON HER MA[obsured by ornament]S SERVICE ONLY | To | [in script] All Heads of Depa[obsured by ornament] | and all Anglo-Indians | [in script:] Rudyard Kipling [in type:] Assistant. | Department of Public Journalism, | Lahore District. [brace bracket at end of three preceding lines] | DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES | AND OTHER | VERSES [all within diamond 3 inches on each side with four semi-circular ornaments, one "D" serving for "Department" and "Ditties"] | LAHORE | THE | CIVIL | AND | MILITARY | GAZETTE PRESS [on flap overlapping fore-edge, all within two ornamental concentric circles resembling a rupee] [n.p., Lahore]

*Prior bibliographies:* Martindell 7 and plate p. 9, Livingston 10 and plate p. 21, Stewart 8, Grolier 37, Ballard XI(A), Ashley Vol. X p. 141

*Published:* June 1886, at Rs. 1; 500 copies printed

*Collation:* 4to, 29 leaves (16.5 × 10.5 cm., 10 7/16 × 4 1/8 in.); A<sup>4</sup>(A1-A3) B-C<sup>4</sup> χ1 D-G<sup>4</sup> (A4); [1] Contents [2] blank [3] divisional title DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. [between two double rules] [4] blank [5-26] text (each reverse blank) [27] divisional title OTHER VERSES. [between two double rules] [28] blank [29-58] text (each recto blank); no pagination, without signature marks (the book is composed of seven sheets each of four gatherings, with a single leaf placed between the third and fourth sheet; the last leaf of the first sheet is folded over the remaining six sheets, and forms the final leaf of the book)

*Binding:* wrappers, light brown (Centroid 57/Munsell eq. 5.4yr 5.4 4.8), in the form of an official government envelope, with an envelope flap (bearing the imitation Civil and Military Gazette Press seal and imprint in the form of a rupee) folding over the fore-edge and having a slit through which a strip of pink (red) tape is passed; side wire-stitched

*Front cover:* printed in black as above for title-page

*Spine and back cover:* blank

*Contents:* *Departmental Ditties:* 'General Summary', 'Army Head-Quarters', 'Study of an Elevation in India Ink', 'A Legend of the F.O.', 'The Story of Uriah', 'The Post That Fitted', 'Public Waste', 'Pink Dominoes', 'The Man Who Could Write', 'A Code of Morals', 'The Last Department', *Other Verses:* 'To the Unknown Goddess', 'The Rupaiyat of Omar Kal'vin', 'My Rival', 'The Lovers' Litany', 'Divided Destinies', 'The Mare's Nest', 'Possibilities', 'Pagett, M.P.', 'The Plea of the Simla Dancers', 'Certain Maxims of Hafiz', 'The Moon of Other Days', 'The Undertaker's Horse', 'Arithmetic on the Frontier', 'Giffen's Debt', 'In Spring Time'

*Notes:* The "Departmental Ditties" first appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* from February through April 1886, and several of the "Other Verses" had initially been published that year and the year before in the *CMG*, the *Pioneer* and the *Pioneer Mail*. The book was first advertised in the *CMG* on 2 June 1886, inviting orders for the *Ditties*—to be "republished shortly in a convenient and characteristic form"—to be registered with the newspaper's manager; a line in the *CMG* of 18 June 1886 announced that *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses* was "Now Ready...Price. Re. 1."

There is no title-page, and Kipling's name does not appear, except in autograph facsimile on the front wrapper with the faux title "Assistant, Department of Journalism, Lahore District." (The critical notice of this book by Andrew Lang appearing in London in *Longman's* for October 1886 found the verses "quaint and amusing," but Lang failed to realize that the "envelope's" facsimile signature was indeed the name of the author.) Like the earlier Kipling family productions of *Schoolboy Lyrics* [A1], *Echoes* [A2],