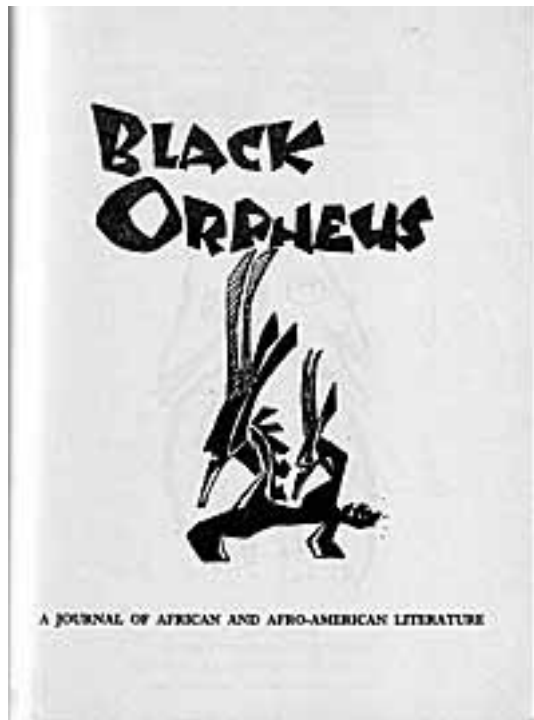


**THE COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL HISTORY
OF THE BOOK, 1765-2005:
*REACHING THE MARGINS***

**An exhibition organised by the Open University in association
with the University of London Institute of English Studies and
the Senate House Library.**

**24th October – 18th November 2005
Admission Free**



**Senate House Library, University of London
Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU
<http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk> tel: 020 7862 8461**

INTRODUCTION

**Dr Robert Fraser, Open University and Institute of English
Studies.**

The exhibition *Reaching the Margins* accompanies a major international conference on this theme which will take place in Senate House during the November of 2005. As with the conference itself, the purpose is to explore and illustrate the internationalisation of print culture within the Anglophone world. We have chosen to concentrate on three geographical areas – Africa, India and Australia – partly because their histories are so different, and partly because all were caught for over a century in an imperial nexus to which they responded in characteristic and contrasted ways. The historical span involved stretches from the year of the establishment of British control in Bengal up to the present day.

At the centre of the display are a number of cases devoted to editions by nineteenth-century British publishers aimed at the colonial market. To either side sit a range of exhibits that question the “export” model of imperial culture thus suggested. To a remarkable extent the innovation and energy within colonial publishing operated locally: through missionary presses in remote locations, through railway editions of novels, though small presses which frequently distributed far and wide.

Exhibition and conference take their sub-title from the idea of a printed page, with a text centrally placed between margins. The purpose, however, is much less to adopt this as a satisfactory metaphor for cultural relations between metropolis and dependency than to query the pertinence of the model. To what extent - to continue the typographic figure – is such a view of publishing relations across these regions and dates “justified”? In the imperial –

and even more so in the post-imperial context - which is the margin, which the text?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

'The Colonial and Postcolonial History of the Book, 1765-2005: *Reaching the Margins*' exhibition was curated by Robert Fraser, John Spiers and Shafquat Towheed. We would like to acknowledge the assistance of the following people: Martin Maw and Helen Rozier, The Secretary to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press; Susannah Rayner, Head of Archives and Special Collections, School of Oriental and African Studies; Christine Wise, Head of Special Collections, Angela Craft, Senior Conservator, Alex Bruce and Elizabeth Afolabi, all of Senate House Library; and Nourdin Bejjit, Open University.

RF/JS/ST

CASE ONE: INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL

Cover of **Rudyard Kipling's** *Under the Deodars* (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler and Co., 1888) 3rd edition.
[private collection]

Cover of *Black Orpheus* (Nigeria: Mbari Club, 1967)
[private collection]

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CASES TWO AND THREE: EARLY COLONIAL PUBLISHING

Dr Shafquat Towheed, Institute of English Studies

These six items, all from the extensive collection at the School of Oriental and African Studies, demonstrate the diversity of early

colonial (and precolonial) printing. The first three items grouped together here show the engagement of printers with non-Latin typefaces in the emerging and increasingly established print culture of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century India (and specifically, Bengal). Prinsep and Trevelyan's *The Application of the Roman alphabet* provides an examination of the problems of setting type and printing in India's many scripts, while at the same time offering itself as a guidebook to compositors, presenting representative examples of printed text in Hindi (Devanagari), Bengali and Urdu, for example. The introduction of moveable type to India brought with it implications for Indian scripts, many of which had been designed for palm leaf manuscripts rather than the compositor's block; the standardisation of modern Bengali, which involved the elimination of several increasingly redundant and abstruse letters, dates from this period. Prinsep and Trevelyan's efforts are the products of the same historical context and social milieu as Macaulay's famous 1835 minute. The Calcutta Baptist Mission Press' Bengali pocket translation of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is a representative example of the proliferation (at the hands of missionary printers) of Bunyan's work in different vernacular Indian languages throughout the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Yates' *Elements of Natural Philosophy*, a series of dialogues presented in a beautiful parallel text edition, displays the appetite for, and engagement with, contemporary European thought amongst Bengal's increasingly bilingually educated elite. The fact that Yates' dialogues were presented as being 'designed for the instruction of Indian youth' shows the extent to which scientific concepts and terms from the European enlightenment were being rapidly assimilated into Bengali.

The other items display the variety of printing, not all of it dependent upon the economic considerations of circulation or sales, found outside India in the same period. John Callaway's beautifully illustrated translation and commentary of the Sinhala verse dance-drama *Yakkuna natannawā*, was printed in London and paid for by

the subscribers of the newly formed Oriental Translation Fund. John Davies' *A grammar of the Tahitian dialect of the Polynesian language* (1823), printed at the behest of the London Missionary Society, is one of the earliest example of printing in Tahiti (and in Tahitian) that I have come across. And finally, C.F. Moss' hagiographical account of the life of James Cameron provides a wonderfully representative example of the depth and richness of missionary printing in Madagascar, which by 1875, was well established in a pre-colonial society on the cusp of mass literacy. Printing was established in Madagascar immediately after the arrival on 11 September 1826 of David Johns of the London Missionary Society; trained as a printer at Serampore in Bengal, he physically hauled the first printing press to the island. With the help of fellow LMS missionaries David Jones and David Griffiths, who had established the first phonetic orthography of Malagasy in the Latin script, they produced no fewer than 1500 catechisms, 800 hymnbooks and 2200 readers and spelling books in their first year. A full history of the book in Madagascar is still to be written.

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1. John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress* [Bengali]

Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press for the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, 1841

SOAS Main Library, CWML D.1/17

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is ubiquitous in missionary printing; it was almost always the first work of 'fiction' printed in the vernacular.

2. William Yates, *Elements of natural philosophy and natural history in a series of familiar dialogues. Designed for the instruction of Indian youth.*

Calcutta: Calcutta School-Book Society's Press, 1825

SOAS Main Library, EB83.354/10165

Founder in 1824 of the Calcutta Schoolbook Society, the educationalist William Yates (1792-1845) trained under William Carey at Serampore and produced Sanskrit and Bengali grammars, manuals in Hindi and Arabic, a Bengali translation of the Bible and 'evidences' for Christianity in several other Indian languages.

3. Messrs Trevelyan, Prinsep and Tytler, Rev. Duff and Mr Prinsep, *The application of the Roman alphabet to all the oriental languages: contained in a series of papers.*

Calcutta: Serampore Press, 1834

SOAS Main Library, CWML B.6/16

Scientist, Oriental scholar and numismatist extraordinaire, James Prinsep (1746-1840) was director of the Calcutta Mint, editor of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (1832-40) and was responsible for the decoding of the early Indian Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts. C.E. Trevelyan, brother-in-law of Lord Macaulay, later became Governor of Madras and Finance Minister of British India.

4. John Callaway, *Yakkun nattannawā: a Cinghalese poem, descriptive of the Ceylon system of demonology, to which is added...*

London: printed for the Oriental Translation Fund by A.J. Valpy, 1829

SOAS Main Library, CWML B.11/4

A representative example of the work of the newly formed Oriental Translation Fund, which published a list of their main subscribers in 1832 (BL, 11852.ff.7). Callaway had previously produced a Sinhala vocabulary (1818), a dictionary (1821) and a spelling book (1825), all either privately published or through the Wesleyan missionary press in Colombo.

5. John Davies, *A grammar of the Tahitian dialect of the Polynesian language*

Tahiti: printed at the Mission Press, 1823

SOAS CWML F196, CWML T52

Another Welshman in the service of the London Missionary Society, John Davies (1772-1855) spent fifty-four years in Tahiti, and translated and printed the Bible (1827), *Pilgrim's Progress* (1847) and an English-Tahitian dictionary (1851) at the Mission Press.

6. Charles Frederick Moss, *The late Mr James Cameron of Madagascar*

Antananarivo: [s.n.], [ca. 1875]

SOAS CWML G337

By 1875, the Bible (1829), Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1866), an English-Malagasy dictionary (1835), primers on grammar (1871), physical geography (1875) and the laws of the state promulgated by King Andrianampoinimerina (*Malagasy Kabary*, 1873) had already been printed in Malagasy. 1874-75 saw the establishment of two journals; *Resaka*, a Catholic monthly, and the *Antananarivo Annual*, edited by James Sibree.

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CASES FOUR, FIVE AND SIX: 'MUST NOT BE SOLD OR IMPORTED...' BRITISH COLONIAL EDITIONS, 1843-1972. Professor John Spiers, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of English Studies, University of London.

Colonial editions were commonly marked as 'for circulation in the colonies and India only, and must not be sold or imported into the United Kingdom'. However, the books reached every part of the Empire - notably, India and Canada - although Australia was the major market. The 'colonial' was itself the form of a historical moment, but one which lasted a surprisingly long time. In various formats it endured as a successful and staple production for more than a century, from 1843 to 1972.

It was a popular art form, which reached a mass audience. The colonial edition was originally a British book produced for the colonies - although American publishers soon joined in. It had a tentative beginning in 1843, and a full launch in its final form from 1886. It was - in changing styles - one of the corner-stones of British-Australian control over production, distribution and the sale of books in the colonies. The books were often viewed as a necessary aspect of imperial influence, and of the powerful emotional fidelity which indeed led many colonials to serve the British colours in both world wars.

This innovative book form enabled mass production, wide distribution, and low prices - all essential to the colonial market. Thus, books came out quickly enough, cheaply enough, and frequently enough to satisfy colonial demand. With no colonial market for the costly three-decker or even the 6s 'cheap' edition, a special form for the colonies was essential. This enabled the British publisher to maintain economic control, and to resist American encroachment - often combining the production of several editions for different markets.

The common characteristics of the form were that the books were issued in series, and marked with appropriate 'colonial' words on covers and title-pages. They were produced only in conjunction with other editions - they were never issued on their own. They were cheaply bound and priced. The books secured the handsomely profitable and essential export market to British publishers. In 1900, of all books exported from Britain, 60 per cent were sold to 'British possessions', and 27 per cent of this total went to Australia, the largest single overseas market. The aspiration was to publish fresh new titles simultaneously with the home edition. The books were intended for a mass audience. Some 90 per cent of all colonial editions were fiction, and fiction made up some 20 per cent of all Australian book imports.

The colonial edition repays study as a physical object and cultural artefact; in relation to the contents ('the text and its implicit and explicit messages from the author and publisher to the distributor and reader, individually and collectively'); in relation to book trade structures; and in relation to symbolic meanings attached to the colonial edition. It tells us much about the complex evolution of both British and Australian print history, the culture and book trades of both countries, and, incidentally, about Anglo-American and Anglo-Canadian book relations, the intricate trading of rights, sheets, and plates, and the many disguises adopted for colonial editions. It is, too, an important story in terms of wider cultural and historical questions, and of the necessity to relate colonized and colonizer together. Colonial editions offer evidence of the cultural and economic development of the publishing trade in the 19th and 20th centuries; of copyright; of the attitude of Australian authors to British and to local publishers; of price, discount, and distribution; of how the wholesale and retail trade functioned; and of the cultural issues seen when we look at the book as an agent of change - a talisman both of profit and of patriotism, of entrepreneurship and of Empire, an exemplar of successful, adaptive change.

Whilst the British publisher enjoyed a run-on at marginal cost Australian booksellers powerfully influenced what was published, leveraged (and sustained for a century) 50% discounts, secured 6 months credit, published where possible on the same day as the original edition, and fixed their own prices beyond the reach of the Net Book Agreement of 1899. They held onto these arrangements long after the physical and cultural condition of the colonial edition had entirely changed, and long after many intended markets ceased to be colonies. Trade outlived politics: even when the Australian government banned resale price maintenance in 1972 local booksellers held onto high discounts. The final curtain came down on the residual colonial edition when Australia came to be taken seriously as a large and special market in its own right. The landmarks of change were the closing of the Australian market in

the 1960s, the advent of full publishing house branches there, the ending both of resale price maintenance and the outlawing of the British Traditional Market Agreement. The rise of Australian publishing, the greater penetration of American books, and the final break-up of the protectionist British Traditional Market Agreement in 1976 saw the highly adaptable overseas edition finally slip away into history.

Note: The most informative study of the colonial edition (on which I have drawn) is Graeme Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia, 1843-1972*, Wellington, Elibank Press, 'Sources for the History of the Book in Australia, No.2', 2000. All of the items in these three cases are from my private collection.

1. Murray's Colonial and Home Library:

* This was the first series of British books intended to appeal primarily to the British colonies. Although initially titled 'Murray's Colonial and Home Library' it did not succeed overseas, and the key words in the series title were reversed in 1844. The series, of 49 titles (bound as 37 volumes), ran between October 1843 and December 1849. In the 20th century the firm issued its distinctive 'Murray's Imperial Library' from 1900 and continued with it, anachronistically, until 1945.

John H. Drummond Hay, Esq., *Western Barbary: Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals*. London, John Murray, 1844. Murray's Colonial and Home Library, Vol. V.

The Rev. T. Acland, *A Popular Account of the Manners and Customs of India, Illustrated with Numerous Anecdotes*. London, John Murray, 1847. Murray's Home and Colonial Library. No. L.

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2. Bentley's Empire Library:

* This series - intended, like Murray's first venture, for purchase both at home and throughout the Empire - ran from 1878 to 1881. Only 16 titles were issued. In 1885 Bentley began again, issuing a successful second series of editions intended especially for the colonies.

Charles Dickens, *The Mudfog Papers Etc.*, Now First Collected. Second Edition, London, Richard Bentley And Son, 1880. Bentley's Empire Library, Volume XIII.

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3. Macmillan's Colonial Library:

* Macmillan launched its Colonial Library on 1 March 1886, and became the dominant force in the field. The firm is estimated to have issued 1,738 titles between 1886 and 1960. Two of the chief binding styles are shown.

Frederic W. Farrar, *Seekers After God*, London, Macmillan And Co., 1886. Macmillan's Colonial Library. No.10.

Rolf Boldrewood, *Robbery Under arms. A Story of Life and Adventure in the Bush and in The Goldfields of Australia*, London, Macmillan And Co., Limited, Macmillan's Colonial Library, 1898. No. 94. The colonial edition was first issued in 1889.

* Boldrewood was a spectacularly successful example of the colonial author who reached both the Australian and the global market by publishing in London

Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, London Macmillan And Co., Limited, 1901. Macmillan's Colonial Library. No.414.

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4. Macmillan's Empire Library:

* In 1913 Macmillan re-titled their colonial library 'Macmillan's Empire Library'.

Thomas Hardy, *A Changed Man The Waiting Supper and Other Tales Concluding With The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid*, London, Macmillan And Co., Limited, 1913. Macmillan's Empire Library. Green paper-covers. No.635.

Florence Montgomery, *Behind The Scenes in The Schoolroom. Being The Experiences of a Young Governess*, London, Macmillan And Co., Limited. 1913. Macmillan's Empire Library. No.636.

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5. Macmillan's Overseas Library:

* In 1937 the series name was changed again, to the politically innocuous 'Overseas Library'. The firm then also merged its 'Continental Editions' with the series.

Books sold for distribution in the colonies and home productions gradually became indistinguishable, save for being stamped on title-pages or jackets as 'Overseas' editions.

Bryan McMahon, *Children of the Rainbow*, London, Macmillan, 1952 - stamped on its front jacket flap "Macmillan's Overseas Library. This Library must not be circulated in the British Isles, the United States of America, or Canada." Not numbered.

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6. E.A. Petherick's editions:

* Edward Augustus Petherick (1847-1917), born in Burnham, Somerset, innovated with the idea of the continuous release in a colonial library of new British novels. He was the first colonial publisher to buy up sheets from other houses and bind them up in distinctive covers for the colonies. Macmillan and others copied him. He published in cloth and in soft-covers. His firm went bankrupt in July 1894. His book stocks were taken over by E.W.Cole, and his colonial editions were taken over by George Bell & Sons. Petherick went on to become the first archivist to the Australian government, being awarded the CMG in 1916.

W. Carlton Dawe, *The Golden Lake, Or The Marvellous History of a Journey Through the Great Lone Land of Australia*.

Melbourne, Sydney & Adelaide, E.A.Petherick & Co. Trischler & Company, London, 1891. 'Collection of Favourite and Approved Authors for Circulation in The Colonies Only'. No.62.

Thomas Hardy, *A Group of Noble Dames*, Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide. E.A.Petherick & Co. James R.Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. London, 1891. 'Collection of Favourite and Approved Authors for Circulation in The Colonies Only'. No.84.

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7. Sampson Low:

* Sampson Low published jointly with Australian booksellers - notably, George Robertson (1825-1898), the leading Melbourne bookseller, publisher, and nation-wide wholesaler who was a key figure in the distribution of all colonial editions from all publishers. Robertson also issued titles under his colonial imprint, with production done in London. Sampson Low were distinctive for issuing colonial versions of novels as 'yellow backs' under Robertson's imprint for the Australasian colonies.

Mary Cecil Hay, *Bid Me Discourse*, Melbourne, Sydney, & Adelaide, George Robertson & Company, 1891. Yellowback edition.

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8. Bells' Indian and Colonial Library:

* Bell's were the second largest supplier of colonial editions. They adopted Petherick's approach of buying other people's sheets, binding these for the colonies. When Petherick went bankrupt in July 1894 they also took over his book and sheet stocks. Bell's issued 1,386 titles between 1894 and 1918.

George du Maurier, *The Martian*, London and Bombay, George Bell and Sons, 1897. Bell's Indian and Colonial Library. No.180.

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9. Colonial libraries from other major British publishers:

* Some seventeen major British publishers issued colonial libraries. Examples from five leading firms are shown.

Beatrice Harraden, *The Fowler*, Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, n.d., Blackwood's Colonial Library.

Sir Frank A. Swettenham, *Unaddressed Letters*, London and New York, John Lane, 1901. John Lane's Indian and Colonial Library.

A. Conan Doyle, *Adventures of Gerard*, London and Bombay, Longmans, Green, And 1903. Longmans' Colonial Library.

Frederick Palmer, *The Old Blood*, London, John Murray, 1916. Murray's Imperial Library.

Lawrence L. Lynch, *A Dead Man's Step. A Detective Story*. London, Ward, Lock & Bowden, Limited, n.d. Ward & Lock's Colonial Library.

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10. Paper-covered editions:

* Initially, many colonial library editions were issued simultaneously in paper-covers. The crisis of book production of the 1914-18 Great War brought these editions to an end.

H.G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia*, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. Unwin's Colonial Library New Set. No.239. Light red paper-covers.

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11. Indian 'colonial' edition.

* The Scottish firm of Blackie & Son had separate branches in Canada and in India. For the latter market they issued some special reprint editions, which, although not marked as colonial editions, were intended as such and for this specific market.

George Gissing, *Charles Dickens, A Critical Study*, Bombay: Calcutta and Madras, n.d. [1928]. The book was first published by Blackie in the UK and printed in Glasgow, in February 1898.

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12. Publisher's advertising leaflet:

Cassell's Colonial Library advertising brochure, ink stamped by Thacker & Co. Ltd, Bombay, Booksellers, Engravers, Stationers, Scientific Instruments, Etc.

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13. Macmillan series announced:

Walch's Literary Intelligencer, Hobart, Tasmania, July 1886, Letter from Macmillan & Co. dated January 1886, announcing the intention to launch their Colonial Library.

* * *

CASE SEVEN: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS IN INDIA Dr Robert Fraser, Open University and Institute of English Studies

These items are all drawn from the archives of the Oxford University Press, and illustrate the press's involvement in India from 1871 to the present day.

Laws of Manu

The Laws of Manu form the basis of the ancient Hindu legal code. They attracted considerable scholarly interest in the nineteenth century, since several jurists, notably Sir Henry Sumner Maine in

his influential treatise *Ancient Law* (1861), believed they could discern in them the roots of Roman jurisprudence. This translation and edition by G. Buhler was included in Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East* in 1886.

Kim's Prize: Charles Umpherston Aitchison, Lord Lawrence

In Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901) the eponymous protagonist is enrolled by his deceased father's regiment at St Xavier's, a Roman Catholic boarding school in Lucknow, where he receives a prize for Mathematics and map-making. It is *The Life of Lord Lawrence*, one of a series of imperial Indian biographies issued by OUP as part of their Rulers of India series. Kim would have had to look after it on his travels, since the indigo-stained cover cloth of volumes in the series, as the press's Publisher Henry Frowde wrote to Bombay in February 1895, tended to be 'attacked by moths'.

Prospectus for Sacred Books of the East.

The German philologist and orientalist Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900) came to Oxford in 1851, attracted by the availability of Devanagari type at the university press. During a long university career he served both as Professor of Comparative Philology and Delegate to the press, for whom he masterminded this fifty-one volume series of translations from ancient Eastern texts. The original prospectus was printed on 'Oxford India Paper' (an innovation of the time which typically had little connection with India) in 1871. Müller's proposal to add the Old Testament to the series later gave rise to some controversy.

***The Rig-Veda* edited by Friedrich Max-Müller (Oxford, Second Edition, 1892).**

Soon after arriving in England, Müller travelled to London, where he persuaded the Directors of the East Company to finance a definitive edition of the great *Rig-Veda* that he had in hand. Several copies went to the company and others were distributed to various, largely princely, libraries in India. The second edition was financed

by the Maharaja of Vizianagram, disastrously since having guaranteed a deposit of £2,600, he then forgot all about it. The litigious Frowde pursued him with lawyers, to the disgust of Müller who wrote in mitigation "He (the Maharaja) did not realise what a Deposit meant...But the legal mind is above such things".

Frowde's letter book Vol. 13, f. 267.

This inventory was prepared by Dr William Markby of the Oxford University Press for the firm's Publisher Henry Frowde in December 1884. It shows the geographical reach and financial worth of Oxford's distribution network in India during the last-but-one decade of the nineteenth century

Appeal by the Publisher's Association to the Secretary of State for India, July 1901.

Copyright had been of major concern to all publishers in or to India since the early nineteenth century. British publishing houses in particular felt that they were not protected adequately from piracy, and that translation rights in this sub-continent of diverse tongues were not guaranteed. The matter came to a head in 1901, the year of the publication of *Kim*, with this appeal from the Publisher's Association to the Secretary of State pleading for a uniform, empire-wide law. But the problem rumbled on until the dawn of Independence in 1947, when a sub-committee of India PEN took the question up.

Frowde's letter book Vol 87 f. 152.

In 1912 E.V.Rieu of Balliol College was dispatched to India by the firm's then publisher Henry Frowde to investigate the possibility of establishing a branch in Bombay. The present letter was delivered to him on board ship. Though sickness would cause Rieu to leave his post within a very few years, publishing by OUP has been continuous in India to the present day, and several of the press's most senior officers once trained there. Rieu himself went on to a

distinguished career as scholar and translator, eventually becoming the first editor of the Penguin Classics.

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CASE EIGHT: CENTRES AND MARGINS – KIPLING IN INDIA

Dr Shafquat Towheed

From provincial Indian cantonment journalist to lionised London literary celebrity – the trajectory of Rudyard Kipling’s meteoric career appears to be almost too paradigmatic a colonial narrative to be true; and yet, the lack of critical recognition and legal protection of creative writing at the ‘margins’ of the British Empire would have a discernible impact on the literary life of its centre, London. By the time that he left India for good in April 1889, Kipling has written several slim volumes of verse, no fewer than six books for A.H. Wheeler’s Indian Railway Library Series (Wheeler, like W.H. Smith’s in England, maintained a monopoly over railway station bookstalls), and innumerable pieces of journalism for the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the *Allahabad Pioneer*. His literary reputation had spread all across the British Empire, and yet, not a single word that he had written in India was legally protected from piracy in what was clearly going to become the world’s biggest market for English language books, the United States of America. Indeed, Kipling was uniquely ill-served by international copyright law at a time when both the scope and the effectiveness of the author’s right to copy was allegedly being improved. As it stood in 1890, neither the United Kingdom (and its territories) nor the United States had acceded to the Berne Convention of 1886 (the world’s first attempt at a comprehensive international copyright law); indeed, there was no reciprocal arrangement between the two countries until the passing of the Platt-Symonds Act in July 1891. In India, the patchily enforced 1867 Press and Registration of Books Act suggested that the deposition of copy should be at the prerogative (and cost) of the

author or publisher. To make matters worse, Kipling had sold the copyright of all of his Indian books outright for cash before he arrived in England. Kipling’s unauthorised American publishers were both quick and enterprising, and the harassed author was forced to resort to unorthodox methods; his first novel *The Light that Failed* (1890-1) for example, was circulated with two completely different endings, the first ‘happy ending’ text designed deliberately to tempt piracy, the second ‘tragic ending’ text for literary posterity.

All of Kipling’s work written after July 1891 was protected by the new US copyright law, but this did not apply retrospectively. As Kipling’s fame continued to increase through the 1890s, so did the volume, number, and audacity of unauthorised material from his Indian career emanating from America. While India had provided Kipling with the creative material for fiction that he would continue to mine, the lack of legal equality between the rights of the author in India and in England would haunt him for the rest of his life. In Kipling’s case, the sociology of text of the perceived margin marked and shaped the lives (and afterlives) of his books at the centre of the Empire. All the examples displayed here are from Senate House library’s own collection.

Suggested reading:

- James McG. Stewart, *Rudyard Kipling: A Bibliographical Catalogue* (Toronto: Dalhousie University Press, 1959)
- Thomas Pinney and David Alan Richards (eds), *Kipling and His First Publisher: Correspondence of Rudyard Kipling with Thacker, Spink and Co., 1886-1890* (High Wycombe: Rivendale Press, 2001).
- David Alan Richards, ‘Kipling and the Pirates’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 96:1 (March 2002), 59-109.
- Shafquat Towheed, ‘Rudyard Kipling’s Literary Property, International Copyright Law and *The Naulahka* (1891-2)’,

English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920 48:4
(September 2005), 420-435.

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Plain Tales from the Hills (New York: J.W. Lovell, 1889)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1890] Sterling Library, I, 533.
Inscribed by Kipling. Technically unauthorised edition by the New York house that would become Kipling's 'authorised' American publisher. Kipling mistakenly claimed to have seen a pirated copy of *Plain Tales* for sale in Yokohama in April 1889, just a few months after first publication in India.

The Story of the Gadsbys: a tale without a plot (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler, 1890)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1890] Sterling Library.
Number 2 of A.H. Wheeler's Indian Railway Library series, priced uniformly at Rs.1.

In Black and White (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler, 1888)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1888] Sterling Library
Number 3 of A.H. Wheeler's Indian Railway Library Series.

Under the Deodars (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler, 1889)
Main Library: Call mark T.-H.] YO/K55G
Second edition, Number 4 of A.H. Wheeler's Indian Railway Library series, paperbound and priced uniformly at Rs.1.

The Phantom 'rickshaw, and other tales (Allahabad: A.H. Wheeler, 1888)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1890] Sterling Library, I, 531
Number 5 of A.H. Wheeler's Indian Railway Library series.

Soldiers Three: a collection of stories setting forth certain passages in the lives and adventures of Privates... (New York: Lovell, c.1890)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1890] Sterling Library, I, 534
An early unauthorised US Lovell text. Kipling had sold the rights to all six of the Indian Railway on 7 March 1889 for the paltry sum of Rs.2910 (c. £206). He would later instruct his literary agent A.P. Watt to buy the rights back for £1,200.

The Light that Failed (London: Macmillan, 1891)
Special Collections, [S.L.] I [Kipling-1891] Sterling Library, I, 535
Official Macmillan publisher's catalogue for February 1891 bound at the end of the volume. This is the definitive 15 chapter 'tragic ending' text, prefaced with Kipling's bald statement – 'this is the story of *The Light that Failed* as originally conceived by the Author'. Kipling's presentation of his first novel with two completely different endings was clearly a ruse to thwart potential American piracy.

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CASES NINE AND TEN: TWENTIETH CENTURY AFRICAN WRITERS AND THEIR PUBLISHERS Dr Robert Fraser

Singer-Baldrige, *White Africans and Black* (Methodist Book Depot, Ghana, 1949).
Much publishing in Africa in the years before and after the Second World War was carried out by missionary presses. This beautifully produced example of travel writing was issued by the Methodist Book Depot in Cape Coast in the then Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1949. [Private Collection]

Black Orpheus (Mbari Club, Ibadan, 1961).

Perhaps the most influential cultural journal in the twentieth-century cultural history of West Africa, *Black Orpheus* was founded in 1957 and initially co-edited by the German impresario Ulli Beier, Wole Soyinka of Nigeria and Ezekiel Mphahlele of South Africa. Later associated with the Mbari Club in Ibadan and Oshogbo, it served as an indispensable showcase for a generation of the continent's writers and artists. [Private Collection]

Okot p'Bitek, *The Song of Lawino* (East African Publishing House, 1966).

The Ugandan author Okot p'Bitek first wrote his wifely lament *The Song of Lawino* in his mother-tongue Acholi. Translated into English by its author, it first appeared in this fine art edition with illustrative woodcuts, issued - as were all of Okot's edgy but humorous poems - by the East African Publishing House, whose offices were in Koinange Street, Nairobi. [Private Collection]

Corrected proof page from Ngugi wa Thiongo's *A Grain of Wheat* (Heinemann, 1968), A4.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o's (then James Ngugi's) first published novel *Weep Not Child* (1964) was published as No. 7 of the Heinemann African Writer's Series on the advice of Chinua Achebe. For several years, before being forced into political exile, Ngugi himself acted as an editorial advisor to Heinemann's branch in Nairobi. This typescript extract from his third novel, the thirty-sixth title in the series, demonstrates his meticulous attention to detail as he put its text through successive drafts and then editions. [SOAS Archive]

First edition of Dambudzo Marechera's *The House of Hunger* (Heinemann, 1980).

Marechera's volume of short stories, with its central account of growing up in an impoverished Shona township in Rhodesia in the 1950s, was published as the 207th title in the Heinemann African Writers Series in 1978. The following year it was joint-winner of the Guardian Fiction Prize, allowing its author a few years of fame and

notoriety before his early death in Harare, Zimbabwe in August 1987. [Private Collection]

Athol Fugard, *The Blood Knot* (Johannesburg: Mundium, 1963). Athol Fugard's plays were frequently devised in conjunction with local acting groups in South Africa in the Apartheid era. Though Fugard was later to publish with OUP in England, this is an early and rare example of an edition from a Johannesburg press of one of his best-known plays. [Private Collection]

The African Writers Series on Line

The African Writers series was launched by Heinemann Educational Books in 1962 with the paperback edition of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* as the foundation text. Initially Achebe was Chief Editorial Advisor, though after 1972 publishing decisions were reached jointly in Nairobi, Lagos and London. The series ceased issuing new titles in 2003, but in the forty-one years of its existence it issued 365 works from all parts of the continent. The on-line version of the series, which is free to African subscribers, is to be issued in stages from May 2005. [courtesy of Proquest]

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Details of all the Senate House Library's collections may be found on the Library website at <http://www.shl.lon.ac.uk>

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