

## The Cause of Humanity and Other Stories



Rudyard Kipling's (1865-1936) work is known and loved the world over by children and adults alike, it has been translated into many languages, and onto the cinema screen. This volume brings together for the first time some 86 uncollected short fictions. Almost all of them will be unfamiliar to readers; some are unrecorded in any bibliography; some are here published for the first time. Most of them come from Kipling's Indian years and show him experimenting with a great variety of forms and tones. We see the young Kipling enjoying the exercise of his craft; yet the voice that emerges throughout is always unmistakably his own, changing the scene every time the curtain is raised.

**Thomas Pinney** is professor of English, emeritus, at Pomona College, Claremont, California. He has edited for the Cambridge University Press Kipling's *Something of Myself* and the Cambridge Edition of the *Poems of Rudyard Kipling* as well as the *Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay*. His *History of Wine in America*, 2 volumes, appeared in 1989 and 2005.

# RUDYARD KIPLING



## THE CAUSE OF HUMANITY AND OTHER STORIES

*Uncollected Prose Fictions*

EDITED BY  
THOMAS PINNEY



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## Editorial Practice



The note at the head of each story gives the date and place of publication, if any, the evidence for attributing the story to Kipling, the source of the text presented, and any notes that seem useful, including the record of reprinting, if any.

In the stories themselves I have aimed to use a light hand in annotating. I try to identify the following things: explicit quotations; individuals whose identity I assume is not common knowledge; allusions to unfamiliar events and things, especially in the stories about Indian affairs. More than that I have not attempted.

A glossary of Indian words appears at the end of the book.



## Abbreviations



The following abbreviations and titles are used in the headnotes, footnotes and endnotes.

Chandler	Lloyd H. Chandler, <i>A Summary of the Work of Rudyard Kipling</i> (New York: Grolier Club, 1930)
CK Diary	Excerpts and summaries made by C. E. Carrington from the diaries kept by Mrs Kipling, 1892–1936; the diaries themselves are understood to have been destroyed. Copy, Special Collections, University of Sussex Library (see also Rees Extracts below)
CMG Diary, 1885	<i>Civil and Military Gazette</i> Rudyard Kipling's diary, 1885, Harvard University. Printed in Thomas Pinney, <i>Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings</i> (Cambridge University Press, 1990)
Harbord	Reginald Harbord, ed., <i>The Readers' Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work</i> , 8 vols. (Canterbury and Bournemouth, 1961–71; privately printed edition of 100)
Hobson-Jobson	Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, <i>Hobson-Jobson: The Anglo-Indian Dictionary</i> (1886; reprinted Ware, 1996)
JLK Kipling Papers	John Lockwood Kipling, Rudyard Kipling's father Personal papers of Rudyard Kipling, now the property of the National Trust and held on deposit in the Special Collections archive, University of Sussex
<i>Kipling's India</i>	<i>Kipling's India: Uncollected Sketches, 1884–88</i> (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986)
<i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of Rudyard Kipling</i> , ed. Thomas Pinney, 6 vols. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990–2004)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Livingston	Flora V. Livingston, <i>Bibliography of the Works of Rudyard Kipling</i> (New York: Edgar H. Wells & Company, 1927; with a <i>Supplement</i> , 1938)
Martindell–Ballard pamphlets	Unauthorised reprints in pamphlet form of uncollected items attributed to Kipling, privately printed by the collectors E. W. Martindell and Ellis Ames Ballard between 1923 and 1937, without place and date of publication
<i>Poems</i>	<i>The Cambridge Edition of the Poems of Rudyard Kipling</i> , ed. Thomas Pinney, 3 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 2013)
Rees extracts	Excerpts from and summaries of passages in Caroline Kipling’s diaries, 1892–1936, made by Douglas Rees for Lord Birkenhead when the latter was at work on his life of Kipling. Copy, Special Collections, University of Sussex
Richards, <i>Bibliography</i>	David Alan Richards, <i>Rudyard Kipling: A Bibliography</i> (New Castle, DE, and London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2010)
RK	Rudyard Kipling
Rosenbaum, <i>Index</i>	Barbara Rosenbaum, <i>Index of English Literary Manuscripts</i> , volume IV, 1800–1900 (London and New York: Mansell, 1990)
Scrapbooks	Scrapbooks of cuttings of his work kept by Kipling, now in the Kipling Papers
<i>Something of Myself</i>	Rudyard Kipling, <i>Something of Myself, for My Friends Known and Unknown</i> (Kipling’s unfinished memoir) (London: Macmillan, 1937)
<i>Something of Myself</i> , 1990	RK’s memoir, edited by Thomas Pinney (Cambridge University Press, 1990) as <i>Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings</i>
Stewart–Yeats, <i>Kipling</i>	James McG. Stewart and A. W. Yeats, <i>Rudyard Kipling: A Bibliographical Catalogue</i> (Toronto: Dalhousie University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1959)
Watt, UNC	A. P. Watt Papers, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina

## Introduction



This edition gathers together for the first time some eighty-six uncollected<sup>1</sup> prose fictions by Rudyard Kipling, including four unpublished items, two of them only fragments; sixteen unreprinted items; twelve of them previously unrecorded in the bibliographies, and three items doubtfully attributed. The remaining items have all been reprinted at one time or another, some in accessible form, but even more in publications so obscure or inaccessible that they hardly provide publication: the *United Services College Chronicle*, for example, or *The Victorian* – the journal of Victoria College, St Helier, Jersey – or Reginald Harbord's *Readers' Guide to the Work of Rudyard Kipling* (8 volumes, privately printed in an edition of 100 copies, 1961–72). The stories are now all made available in accessible form.

By far the greater number of items – fifty-one out of the total of eighty-six – appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, the paper with which Kipling was most closely associated in his Indian years. Another seventeen were published in the *Pioneer*, the paper that Kipling joined in late 1887. Since most of the stories have an Indian origin, a brief account of Kipling's career as a journalist in India may be useful to the reader.

Kipling was not yet 17 years old when, on leaving school, he went to Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, to join the staff of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. The title of the paper refers to the two official communities of British India: one was either in the Army or in the Civil Service. A journalist was not part of the system, and that fact gave the young Kipling a special freedom of movement and understanding that certainly helped his creative work. The *CMG*, as it may be called, was issued from a large printing establishment that held government contracts and also did extensive job printing. But the entire editorial staff of the paper consisted only of Stephen Wheeler, the editor, and of the

<sup>1</sup> By 'uncollected' is meant a story that Kipling himself, for various reasons, never reprinted in any one of his authorised volumes. It does not mean 'unknown' or 'unreprinted' although there are a number of stories in this collection that are unknown (unrecorded in any bibliography) and unreprinted, as well as uncollected.

## INTRODUCTION

teenage Rudyard Kipling, the assistant editor. When one of them was ill or absent, then the other did all the editorial work, often, of course, in blazing hot weather, and always with a staff of compositors and proof-readers, most of whom knew no English.

The offices of the *CMG*, the one daily newspaper in the Punjab, saw a stream of visitors of all kinds; they provided Kipling with a striking education in the diversity of God's creatures. As he wrote in 'The Man Who Would Be King', 'a newspaper office seems to attract every conceivable sort of person', and the long list of examples following that statement no doubt reflected Kipling's own experience. The journals that it was his duty to scan for stories were also of 'every conceivable sort':

Some thirty papers go through my hands daily – Hindu papers, scurrilous and abusive beyond everything, local scandal weeklies, philosophical and literary journals written by Babus in the style of Addison. Native Mahomedan, sleepy little publications, all extracts, Indigo papers, tea and coffee journals and official Gazettes all have to be disemboweled if they are worth it.<sup>2</sup>

In Lahore, where his father was head of the local school of art and curator of the museum, Kipling lived with his parents; they were joined late in 1883 by his sister Alice, always called 'Trix', and the four of them formed a family square, as they called it, of bright individuals – all of them writers – devoted to books and to lively discussion of things in general. The arrangement lasted from Kipling's arrival in Lahore at the end of 1882 until his departure for Allahabad at the end of 1887.

Kipling was at first confined to routine labours on the *CMG* but gradually began to be trusted for more various work – a weekly column of local news, reports of official events in cities around the Punjab, and, sparingly at first but growing more frequent, special reports, poems, and stories. As the capital of the Punjab, Lahore society was thick with official dignitaries, starting with the lieutenant governor and his council. The lesser administrators and officials Kipling knew both through his work and through his membership of the Punjab Club, where, he wrote, 'I met none except picked men at their definite work – Civilians, Army, Education, Canals, Forestry, Engineering, Irrigation, Railways,

<sup>2</sup> To the Reverend George Willes, 17–[18] November 1882 (*Letters*, 1, 24–5).

## INTRODUCTION

Doctors and Lawyers – samples of each branch and each talking his own shop.<sup>3</sup> The Army was also represented by the garrison at Fort Lahore and by the cantonment at Mian Mir, a few miles outside the city. These civil and military folk provided much of the substance of Kipling's daily reporting, and he got to know them as well, intimately enough to supply the stuff of his poems and stories of the English in India.

Then there was Simla. The supreme government, at that time resident in Calcutta, had adopted the practice of abandoning the city in the hot weather – effectively half the year – for the village of Simla, 7,000 feet up in the foothills of the Himalayas. Kipling was not allowed such generous time in Simla as the civil and military people enjoyed, but he was given a month or more there – the ‘hills’ of *Plain Tales from the Hills* – every year from 1883 to 1888, except for one leave spent at Dalhousie in 1884 – five visits in all. He already knew the Punjab set from his life in Lahore: now the superior people of the Calcutta establishment, including the viceroy himself, and others of high political or military rank, were added to that knowledge: Lord Roberts, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir William Hunter, Sir James Lyall, Sir David Wallace, and many others great and small.

Simla was another new world. There the Hierarchy lived, and one saw and heard the machinery of administration stripped bare. There were the heads of the Viceregal and Military staffs and their Aides-de-Camp, and playing whist with Great Ones, who gave him special news, was the Correspondent of our big Sister Paper the *Pioneer*, then a power in the land.<sup>4</sup>

Simla is the setting for several stories in this collection (e.g., ‘The Hill of Illusion’, ‘An Unequal Match’) or it appears as a foil to other places (e.g., ‘From Olympus to Hades’). Many of the high officials visible to Kipling at Simla figure in the stories, very thinly disguised if at all. Their policies, their conflicts, their foibles all were fare for Kipling's newspaper treatments, most of them satires directed by the politics of the paper.

<sup>3</sup> *Something of Myself*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Something of Myself*, p. 57.

## INTRODUCTION

In his years at the *CMG* Kipling found Stephen Wheeler difficult to work for. Wheeler mistrusted ‘creative’ work, preferring that Kipling keep ‘to the sober paths of précis and abstract writing wherein his [Wheeler’s] soul delights.’<sup>5</sup> Wheeler resigned in March 1887, to be replaced by E. K. Robinson, who already knew Kipling’s stories and poems, greatly admired them, and freely admitted them to the paper. The tally of Kipling’s publication of original work zooms under Robinson’s editorship.

In November 1887, Kipling was summoned away from the *CMG* to the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, a paper under the same ownership as the *CMG* but regarded as more powerful and influential. The move, in recognition of Kipling’s growing reputation among the readers of English papers in India, had been long in prospect. The managers of the *Pioneer* made Kipling in effect a special correspondent, regularly assigned to travel and report on whatever he might find to write about in India, old and new. He was, as well, made editor of a new publication, a supplement to the *Pioneer* called the *Week’s News*. This, Kipling said, was ‘but a re-hash of news and views’. It was also the medium for an unlimited quantity of the fiction in Kipling’s head, and this material, Kipling wrote, was ‘infinitely more important’ than a rehash of the week’s news.<sup>6</sup>

Kipling never, at any time in his career, lacked for ideas to write about, but he was now prolific to an astonishing degree: ‘Twas ask and have, Choose for more’s ready,’ as he said of this period in the language of his favourite Fra Lippo Lippi.<sup>7</sup> By my count he published 144 stories, articles, and poems in 1888 in the *Week’s News*, the *Pioneer*, and the *CMG*, to which he continued to contribute. That is a rate of almost three items a week, some of them substantial and all of them showing some originality. This was in addition to his regular miscellaneous, anonymous journalism (though he did less of this while at the *Pioneer*) and a long series of ‘Letters from Simla’.

Because they are fiction, the stories about Indian occasions in this collection can hardly be said to exhibit Kipling’s settled ideas about India. Certain things recur, however. Lord Dufferin, the viceroy from

<sup>5</sup> To Edith Macdonald, 4–5 December 1886 (*Letters*, I, 141).

<sup>6</sup> *Something of Myself*, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> *Something of Myself*, p. 71.

## INTRODUCTION

1884 to 1888, and personally known to Kipling and his family, was a favourite character in the stories here collected, appearing in at least ten of them, in which he is lovingly satirised for his elaborate courtesy and florid speech. Another repeated interest is in the language and style of the educated *babu*. In a politically correct age, Kipling's comic versions of this style will be disapproved, to put it mildly. So it is worth noting that the real object of his treatment is not the *babu* himself (though he is the immediate object) but the authorities who have grafted an alien system of education on to an utterly unrelated tradition with predictably incongruous results. The figure of The East in 'The Burden of Nineveh', dressed in foolish western externals to which she is quietly superior, enforces the idea even more strongly. As the Englishman says of 'Chuckerbutti' at the end of 'A Free Gift', 'What a product!' But the defects of the product are the fault of its designers.<sup>8</sup>

A more pressing subject is the organised political movement behind the then recent creation of the Indian National Congress (see 'In Wonderland'). It was too new for its critics to be sure of themselves, but it challenged most of the ideas that Kipling had formed about India. Those ideas were, in a word, conservative, and in no way differed from the received opinions among the generality of the British in India. Kipling and his father were at one in this matter. The British, they believed, brought peace and justice and prosperity to India; the Indians themselves were not yet ready to maintain these things, and so the official *raison d'être* of the British presence remained unaltered. Increased self-government – leading finally to independence – could only have destructive results. Such beliefs are not explicitly argued in these uncollected stories, but their latent presence may be frequently detected. At the same time, the more imaginative side of Kipling clearly understood that the British rule in India was an anomaly and could not endure (e.g., 'The Burden of Nineveh').

Other topics inevitably associated with stories of India are frequent among these stories: the hot weather and the boredom of the plains ('From Olympus to Hades'); fever ('De Profundis'); the behaviour of native servants ('The Tragedy of Crusoe'). But what must strike a

<sup>8</sup> RK explicitly recognised this: 'Babu English,' he wrote, was the product of 'a ludicrously inappropriate education'; Young India may write 'ill-assorted prose', but 'the fault lies with his teachers, and not with him' (untitled item, *CMG*, 29 January 1886).

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reader going through the sequence is the unpredictable variety of subject and form: every time the curtain goes up the scene is different. It is as though the apprentice Kipling were testing his skill by trying every possible form and mode – narrative, anecdotal, farcical, tragic, historical, fantastic, confessional, parodic, dramatic. Some were dead ends, others full of possibility. What may especially surprise a reader is the prominence of the fantastic and the absurd: the Frenchified monologues of ‘The History of a Crime’ and its fellow pieces, for example, or the grotesque melodrama of ‘An Official Secret’, or the wild nonsense of ‘Susannah and the Elder’, a model, as well, of Kipling’s highly developed skill in parodic imitation. Lewis Carroll’s nonsense inventions are a strong influence in a number of the stories.

Only two of the stories in this collection are identified as juvenilia (a third, ‘Ibbetson Dun’, is placed among the incomplete stories). ‘The Tragedy of Crusoe’, the first item in this collection, was written when Kipling was only 18, but it is a perfectly assured performance, just the sort of literary mimicry that he loved to practice for the rest of his writing life.

After Kipling’s return to England at the end of 1889 the number of uncollected stories drops dramatically: only twelve of the eighty-six, including some unpublished manuscript fragments, come from the post-Indian years. The occasions of the later stories are various, and only one of them (‘The Cause of Humanity’) appears to have been seriously intended for publication.

Why did Kipling leave all of these stories uncollected? Many reasons can be guessed at. Perhaps most of the stories about Indian affairs – the decline of the rupee, the maintenance of the railways, the arguments about financial policies, and so on – are highly topical and remote from the general understanding and interest. Others, such as ‘The Inauthorised Corpses’, derive from situations long since settled and forgotten, or they may reflect anxieties that Kipling felt only briefly (‘The Comet of a Season’). Some of the stories are, it must be admitted, very slight and unimpressive, and so were not, in the writer’s judgement, good enough to preserve. But they can be interesting to us, who see them in the light of later achievement.

Kipling’s uncollected work has long attracted interest, an interest that has led to many hopeful attributions, many of them, in the absence of



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any evidence, wrong. The result has been much confusion and uncertainty until rather recently, when new and reliable information has become available.

To take the confusion and uncertainty first. The problem arises from the fact that much of Kipling's early work, including what he wrote in seven years of journalism in India, is either anonymous or pseudonymous. During his lifetime Kipling himself could have helped the searchers, but this he steadfastly refused to do, holding, as he did, that it lay with the author to choose what he would acknowledge and what should remain unknown. He knew perfectly well that the work of other people was being ascribed to him, but he grimly accepted that annoyance as a condition of giving no help at all. As he wrote, 'I do not think it part of my work to correct or limit the fancies of bibliographers.'<sup>9</sup>

Since the author would not help, the collectors and bibliographers were forced to rely on a number of imperfect aids of various origin: the Crofts Collection (from a list supplied by the young Kipling), the Garth Album, the Denham Letter. Some of the pseudonyms that Kipling used were known, others were guessed at. And if an item exhibited anything Kiplingesque in subject or style, that might be added to the list of attributions.

Kipling himself provided, indirectly, a considerable list of previously unknown work at a time when he was still young and had not yet determined to reveal nothing of his early work. His sister-in-law, Josephine Balestier (afterwards Mrs Theodore Dunham), who had literary ambitions, undertook to compile a *Kipling Birthday Book* in the early 1890s. This was a then popular form, consisting of quotations from an author's work for every day in the year on pages provided with space for notes and comments on each day, including a record of birthdays. To help supply her with material, Kipling had evidently shown her much of his early work, some of which he never otherwise acknowledged.<sup>10</sup> So far as is known, this is the only time that he did such a thing.

<sup>9</sup> To A. S. Watt, 25 June 1928 (*Letters*, v, 439). I have a list of more than 300 items attributed to Kipling wrongly or without evidence. It is certainly not complete.

<sup>10</sup> A full list of the new attributions in the *Birthday Book* is in Richards, *Bibliography*, pp. 95–6.

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Most of the guesses about Kipling's authorship, right and wrong, have been preserved in such lists as that in Rear Admiral Lloyd H. Chandler's *Summary of the Works of Rudyard Kipling* (New York, 1930) or by being reprinted in the long series of limited edition pamphlets privately printed by E. W. Martindell and Ellis Ames Ballard between 1923 and 1937, or by reprinting in R. H. Harbord's privately printed *Reader's Guide to Rudyard Kipling's Work* (8 volumes, 1961–72). Each of these sources is unreliable, mixing as it does authentic with inauthentic attributions. The comprehensive bibliographies, those of Florence Livingston, J. M. Stewart and A. W. Yeats, and, most recently, David Alan Richards, are far more cautious about guessed-at attributions and deliberately err rather on the side of incompleteness. The Richards bibliography, by far the fullest record of Kipling's work, scrupulously avoids conjectural attributions.

In 1976, on the death of Mrs George Bambridge, Kipling's daughter Elsie, the collection of family papers and books in her possession passed to the National Trust and was deposited in the Department of Special Collections in the library at the University of Sussex. This collection, or archive, includes a number of items that have allowed the identification of Kipling's uncollected writings with a confidence not previously possible. They may be briefly enumerated:

1. Three verse notebooks containing ninety-two holograph poems, many uncollected.
2. Separate MS drafts and fair copies of about fifty-eight poems, some uncollected.
3. Eight scrapbooks kept by Kipling containing cuttings of his writings, mostly from newspapers. The first four volumes contain the work from Kipling's years as a journalist in India and are the main source for identifying his anonymous and pseudonymous work. They contain many hundreds of new attributions, from brief notes to long reports.
4. A copy of Rear Admiral Lloyd H. Chandler's *Summary of the Work of Rudyard Kipling* annotated by Kipling himself. Against many entries he has written such responses as 'not mine' or 'none of my work'. In a few cases he has denied authorship of items that are certainly his, but unless there is indisputable evidence for his authorship his denials in this list must be accepted.

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5. A copy of an MS 'Index of 1st Lines of Kipling's Verse and Verses Quoted or Used by Him', by Admiral Chandler, including unsupported or mistaken attributions. This too has been annotated by Kipling.

Other sources of authentic information about uncollected work include a copy annotated by Kipling of Flora Livingston's *Bibliography*, now at Wimpole Hall in Cambridgeshire; a bound volume of the *United Services College Chronicle* with his contributions identified by Kipling, presented to Haileybury College by Mrs Kipling; the diary that Kipling kept in 1885, now at Harvard and reprinted in my edition of *Something of Myself*; and the six volumes of *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*. The collection at Sussex has attracted other family papers containing authentic information, among them the Baldwin papers and the Macdonald papers. The record of Kipling's uncollected work is now on reasonably solid ground. No doubt it remains incomplete, but it no longer need be contaminated by mistaken attributions.

In this collection I have included three doubtfully attributed items: 'Verbatim et Literatim', 'The Minstrel', and 'A Parable'. They have been set apart in an appendix and their status clearly indicated.