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George MacDonald and Kegan Paul’s “Indian and Colonial Series”

Richard I. Johnson

Raphael Shaberman’s 1990 volume “George MacDonald: A Bibliographical Study” is an essential work of reference for all those interested in MacDonald’s work. Its chief strength lies in its comprehensive description of first editions; but its corresponding weakness lies in the lack of detailed attention given to subsequent editions and reprints. The purpose of this article is to look in detail at one such edition: the “Indian and Colonial Series” (#84 in Shaberman’s), which was published from 1887 onwards by Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., and which included 15 MacDonald titles. To do this we will begin by looking at the colonial context, and the reasons why publishers felt the need to issue special “colonial” editions of some of their titles. We will then look in detail at the volumes which comprised the “Indian and Colonial series,” placing them within as accurate a chronological framework as possible. Along the way we will correct a couple of understandable errors in Shaberman’s description. There are, however, five general points about the series which ought to be made first:

1) Although it is certain that the series began in 1887, there is no agreement as to when it finished or how many titles it included. Shaberman states that there were 35 titles; Priya Joshi writes that “in the two years that Kegan Paul’s Indian and Colonial Library ran (1887-89), it put out forty-three titles (and nineteen authors) of mostly reprints . . .”;2 Leslie Howsam comments “the Colonial Library (sometimes referred to as the Indian and Colonial Library) is a bibliographical morass . . . It amounted to about forty volumes, from 1887 until about 1896.”3 My own research would indicate that there were 36 titles, published from 1887 to 1892, with evidence that certain titles continued to be reprinted beyond that date.

2) It should be noted that, as Shaberman comments, “All items in this series are scarce,” including those by authors other than George MacDonald. Using Worldcat as a starting point for a search (despite its inaccuracies, all of their results must be checked in the catalogues of the individual institutions...
referenced), there are only about 24 copies altogether in libraries around the world: eight in Australia, seven in Canada, and the remainder in North America. Of these 24 copies, 15 are by George MacDonald and nine by other authors. About half the titles in the series exist in no library at all, and no title occurs in more than three libraries. Of course there will be copies in libraries not listed on this site, in collections where the “series” is not recorded on the database, and in private collections, and (as I write) there are currently three for sale on the internet, but even so it is clear that relatively few copies have survived.

3) The series exists in two distinct bindings: the one Shaberman describes as “8vo, cream paper-covered boards with acanthus decoration in red and black, lettering in black.” The back cover has a catalogue of titles in the series, and there are adverts on the front and rear end-papers. The second binding (not mentioned by Shaberman) has a similar design but with black printing on red boards, the back cover having the words “Indian and Colonial Series” in a black square. The end-papers are blank.
It might be thought that the cream cover was used for the initial printing, and the red boards for reprints; but this does not fit the evidence. A reviewer in the *New Zealand Herald* (15 Sept 1888) comments, for example, “We have received from Kegan Paul, Trench and Co, another volume of their red cloth Indian and Colonial series, being “The Elect Lady,” a novel by George MacDonald.” This had been published only a few months before, not giving time for there to have been a reprint, and the tone of the sentence indicates that the “red cloth” binding was normal and to be expected.

From various advertisements it seems certain that the two bindings were produced together, and sold at different prices. Thus, from the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (3 March 1888): “We have received from Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., of London, through Messrs E.S. Wigg and Son, the late (sic; presumably “latest”) issues in their Indian and
Colonial series. The books are produced in two styles—one at 2s 6d, and the other stronger and better bound at 3s 6d.”

Similarly, an advert for “H.I. Jones and Son’s New Books & New Supplies for January” in the Wanganui Herald (18 Jan 1888) agrees: “Kegan Paul Trench and Co’s cheap edition for sale in the colonies only; boards 2s 6d, cloth 3s 6d.”

The “red” cloth bindings are certainly stronger and the books much better preserved than the “cream” paper-covered boards. There may have been some regional variation if some of the company’s book agents only ordered the stronger bindings, but I have no evidence as to the percentage of the edition which was bound in each cover.

4) Internally the books are identical with the domestic edition; only the binding indicates the inclusion of a volume in the series. Technically, this means that the ICS is not a different “edition” but an “issue”: “if basically from the same setting of type the domestic and the colonial copies constitute two issues of the one edition.” However, I have not been pedantic about using this distinction in this article.

Using the pages from the domestic print run could lead to anomalies; for example, the Home Again volume lists titles “By the Same Author” with “price 6s each,” a price applicable to the domestic market but not to the colonies, where the price was considerably less: “A new novel published in England at 6s can be had very soon afterwards in Napier at 3s” (Hawke’s Bay Herald, 1 Feb 1888, p3).

5) For those who are curious about such things, in C19th discourse India was usually separated from “the colonies.” India was an empire, not a colony, and the title of the series reflected this distinction.

The Colonial Context
In reference to India, Priya Joshi writes that in the mid-C19th

“British publishers in London awoke to the realization that there was a lucrative emerging market waiting to be developed among generations of English-educated Indian readers who clamoured after new fiction titles but were unable to pay the exorbitant prices of the day.”

In order to address this problem, over the course of the following decades British publishers such as John Murray, Macmillan, Sampson Low, Bell,
Kegan Paul and others began to produce cheaper editions of books for the overseas market. Macmillan had been very successful in publishing educational books for the Indian market, and, in order to break into the market for fiction, in 1886 the firm “launched its Colonial Library with forty-three titles, initially made up of both new works and reprints of recent works.”

In that same year the International Copyright Act came into force, which “protected the validity of works registered in a colony throughout the empire”; in addition, the extremely popular “Colonial and Indian Exhibition” was held in South Kensington, London. The Prince of Wales was the President of the Royal Commission that organised this event, which had the aim of illustrating “the resources, products and manufactures of the Colonies and the Indian Empire.” In six months over five million people visited the exhibition. In today’s terminology one might say that interest in the colonies was “trending.”

The following year Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. began considering publishing its own colonial series. Trench visited Australasia in May:

“Mr Trench, of the great London publishing firm Kegan, (sic) Paul, and Trench, of Paternoster-row (sic), who is now on a visit to New Zealand, and has been for several days the guest of his Excellency the Governor at Government House, leaves to-day overland for Napier and Auckland on his way to New South Wales and Queensland . . . We understand that Mr Trench has found in New Zealand a very promising field for extending the business operations of his well-known firm.” (New Zealand Times, 20 May 1887)

“Among the passengers by the Rotomahana, which arrived on Sunday from New Zealand, was Mr. Alfred C. Trench . . . Mr. Trench purposes remaining about five weeks in the colony and in Brisbane, and will then return home by way of San Francisco.” (The Telegraph (Brisbane), 7 June 1887)

In Sept 1887 the following advertisement appeared in “The Torch and Colonial Book Circular” (TCBC), a quarterly trade journal listing recently published titles related to the colonies, announcing the new series:
Two of the titles subsequently listed never did appear in the series: *Through a Needle’s Eye*, by Hesba Stretton, and *Life of Charles Kingsley*. This incidentally shows that the original intention was to include some non-fiction works in the series; its eventual non-appearance presumably indicates a change of mind. The other 20 titles were all included in the series over the next couple of years. The news of this new series was welcomed:

“The British colonies cannot complain of any want of attention on the part of London publishers, who are just now vying with each other in the issue of editions of new or recently published works at a reasonable price for the colonial market. Messrs. Macmillan’s *Library* has reached its sixtieth volume; Messrs Sampson Low and Co. are sending out cheap editions of some of their best novels for sale in the colonies exclusively; and now we have a similar enterprise undertaken by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., who are publishing the works of fiction by Dr George MacDonald in a form and at a price which will bring them within the reach of all. This is the “Indian and Colonial Series,” and between the three the reading public in Australia will be provided with an abundance of sound and wholesome literature, on terms much more advantageous than those at which their brethren in the mother country can obtain them. The fact is, at the same time, an impressive attestation of the growing importance of the colonial book markets in the estimation of the great publishing houses in England.” (*The Australasian Supplement*, 26 Nov 1887)

**Dating the series**

Kegan Paul began publishing the series towards the end of 1887, a date which appears at the bottom of the design on the front cover of the cream boards.

Nevertheless, most of the volumes are undated (two exceptions that I
have seen are *Home Again*, dated 1887, and *The Elect Lady*, dated 1888). It is however possible to work out an approximate date for most of the volumes in the series using the following criteria:

a) It is reasonable to assume that the titles were published in the same order as the series volume numbers, allowing for the fact that some of the early titles would have been published together.

b) Advertisements and book reviews help date the appearance of different volumes

   i) In the UK, Kegan Paul advertised the series in the June 1888 and June 1889 issues of TCBC, distinguishing titles already published from those “in the press.” For example, this was the advert from June 1888:

   **Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.’s**
   **INDIAN AND COLONIAL SERIES**
   **OF POPULAR WORKS.**

   *Each Book complete in One Volume. Crown 8vo, Cloth and Boards.*

   1. Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Macaulay.*
   9. Lang, Andrew. *In the Wrong Paradise.*
   10. Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Castle Warlock.*
   15. Macdonald, George, LL.D. *St. George and St. Michael.*
   
   • Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Memoirs of a Quiet Neighbourhood.*
   • Malet, Lucan. *A Counsel of Perfection.*
   • Macdonald, George, LL.D. *The Elect Lady.*
   • Ingelow, Jean. *Off the Beatle.*

   **IN THE PRESS.**
   Macdonald, George, LL.D. *The Saddle Parish. A Sequel to “Arab of a Quiet Neighbourhood.”*
   Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Wildfire Camborne.*
   Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Thomas Wingfold, Curate.*
   Macdonald, George, LL.D. *Paul Fother. Surgeon.*

   ii) On the back of the cream editions there was a similar numbered list of titles already published, followed by an unnumbered list of titles in the process of publication, which gives a useful relative chronology between these two categories at different times.

   iii) In some issues the TCBC has a special section listing titles in “Colonial editions” brought to their attention during the previous three or six months, including a number of ICS titles (although it is not comprehensive). For example, in Dec 1888 the following titles were listed (some, such as *Castle Warlock*, had actually been published more than a year before):
iv) In the colonies, adverts and book reviews give an indication of when different titles arrived. Of course allowance must be made for the time taken to get from publisher to reviewer. This would include waiting for a ship to sail, the time taken for the journey (about 50 days to Australasia),\(^{11}\) distributing the books once they had arrived in the colony, and then writing and publishing a review. Where comparison can be made, reviews in colonial newspapers appear approximately three months after they have been advertised in the UK as being available, but there is considerable variation. Such reviews do, however, provide a useful *terminus ad quem*.

c) Although some volumes were reprints of popular older titles, others were published at the same time as the first domestic edition. This made good commercial sense; for example, with regard to Macmillan’s Colonial Library, Joshi notes, “Most Colonial Library titles were published to coincide with the British publication date . . . Wanting to know a book’s commercial success could take up to a year and deem the mission of the library null and void: any delay in issuing a colonial edition could mean that commercially successful titles might already have appeared in the colony in pirated American reprints . . .”\(^{12}\) The same marketing pressures would have applied to Kegan Paul also.

d) In Nov 1889 the firm of Trübner and Co. joined Kegan Paul, and the publisher’s details on the title page (and on the spine) changed from “Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.” to “Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.”; and in Oct 1891 the publisher’s address changed from “1 Paternoster Square” to “Paternoster House.”

In practice, as 31 of the 36 titles had been published before Nov
1889, and 34 before Oct 1891, this really only helps only to identify later reprints rather than when the book first appeared. My ICS copy of *Wilfrid Cumbermede*, for example, is clearly a reprint, as it includes “Trübner” and “Paternoster House” on the title page, even though this title was first published in the series well before those changes occurred. The fact that there were reprints, however, might be significant in evaluating the popularity or otherwise of a particular title (as might be the fact that I have only seen reprints of copies with the “red” binding).

Of course, these changes may not be immediately reflected on the title page. If the publisher had sheets already printed with information that subsequently became out of date, these would continue to be used. For example, my ICS copy of *The Marquis of Lossie* (and several others) has a binding with “Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.” on the spine, but the title page still reads “Kegan Paul, Trench & Co,” and the address still reads “1 Paternoster Square.”

e) Occasionally a dated inscription can provide another terminus ad quem, although this has to be treated cautiously; the ICS copy of *Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood* in the Wade Centre, Wheaton College, for example, is dated “1878” instead of “1888.”

Here, then, is a complete annotated list of the titles in the series, with George MacDonald titles in bold. In each case I have given the most important evidence concerning their date of publication. For interest, I have also included longer quotations from reviews which provide interesting background information relating to the colonial context, comments about
George MacDonald as a writer, and brief notes on titles not by MacDonald.

Sept-Dec 1887
1 George MacDonald *Malcolm*
2 George MacDonald *The Marquis of Lossie*
3 Lucas Malet *Colonial Enderby’s Wife*
4 George MacDonald *Donal Grant*
5 George MacDonald *Home Again*
6 George MacDonald *What’s Mine’s Mine*
7 Maxwell Gray *The Silence of Dean Maitland*
8 Col Meadows Taylor *The Confessions of a Thug*
9 Andrew Lang *In the Wrong Paradise*
10 George MacDonald *Castle Warlock*

1-2: The first two volumes, *Malcolm* and *The Marquis of Lossie*, arrived in the colonies before the end of November 1887, and were enthusiastically welcomed:

“It will be remembered that some months ago Mr. Trench . . . made a tour of the colonies . . . From what Mr. Trench saw in his tour, he determined that his firm should publish a series of well-known high-class novels at the low price of half-a-crown per vol., for circulation exclusively in India and the colonies. The two first volumes of the series have now reached us . . . They consist of two of George MacDonald’s works—“The Marquis of Lossie” and “Malcolm”—and are admirably printed in good readable type on very nice paper. The cover is rather a novel one in design. We predict that Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co.’s “India (sic) and Colonial Series” will become very popular in the colonies . . .” (*Evening Post* (Wellington), 28 Nov 1887)

“The Marquis of Lossie,’ as every reader of George MacDonald’s books knows, is the sequel of ‘Malcolm,’ and the strong good sense, the noble simplicity, and the masculine sincerity which characterised the youth who performed menial work, not caring for, and in truth not knowing, the dignity of station that awaited him, were prominent in the Marquis. The new edition is well got up, albeit the embellishment of the covers is more striking than elegant.” (*South Australian Register*, 21 Dec 1887)
“English publishers are becoming alive to the fact that in the colonies there is a large field for good literature . . . Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench and Co. have commenced the issue of an “Indian and Colonial series of popular novels” —the first instalment of which we have in Malcolm and The Marquis of Lossie by George MacDonald . . . So well known must they be to the majority of novel readers, it is unnecessary to say more of them than that they ought to be favourites with our Brisbane youth, fond as these are of sailing and the sea, since graphic pictures of the fisher folk of the north-east coast of Scotland and of yachting adventures in the German Ocean are abundant. The ideal of life presented in the moral and spiritual development of Malcolm as fisherman, groom, and marquis is ennobling, and no young man can arise from the perusal of these books without being the better for it.” (The Brisbane Courier, 24 Dec 1887)

3-10: Other volumes followed quickly. About six weeks later an article in the Hawke's Bay Herald states:

“Messrs Kegan, Paul, Trench, and Co., the well-known publishers, are issuing an ‘Indian and Colonial Series’ of popular novels . . . We have just received from Messrs Paul, Trench, and Co., through their Napier agent, Mr Crerar, a bundle of books including George MacDonald’s ‘Malcolm,’ ‘Marquis of Lossie,’ ‘Donal Grant,’ and ‘What’s Mine’s Mine’; Colonel Meadows Taylor’s ‘Confessions of a Thief (sic)’; Maxwell Gray’s ‘Silence of Dean Maitland’; Lucas Malet’s ‘Colonel Endesly’s (sic) Wife,’ and several others.” (1 Feb 1888)

What the “several others” are is not stated; but Home Again, dated 1887, was certainly one of them; being included in a shipment to Australia at this time:

“We recently acknowledged the receipt of two volumes of a new series of stories published by Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. . . under the title of the ‘Indian and Colonial Series.’ We have now received . . . four more volumes, all got up in the same externally striking and internally excellent style. They are ‘Colonel Enderby’s Wife,’ by Lucas Malet, and ‘What’s Mine’s Mine,’ ‘Home Again,’ and ‘Donal Grant,’ by George MacDonald. Some of these works are
old favourites, and all of them deserve to be reproduced in the new
garb now bestowed upon them . . . The series promises to be of an
attractive and high-class character.” (*The Adelaide Observer*, 3 Mar
1888).

However, the “several others” of the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* review
must include more than just *Home Again*. The following longer review, which
includes interesting comments on the colonial context, show that (in this case
at least) the first ten volumes were received together:

“English publishers are awakening to the fact that these colonies
of the Southern hemisphere contain a large and ever-increasing
population of readers of English books, and that it is worth their
while, from a commercial point of view, to cultivate such liberal
customers by providing for their special wants and tastes. They are
also beginning to learn that some, at least, of their old-fashioned
English ways are not exactly suited to the changed circumstances
of residence in these colonies with their comparatively scattered
population and constant change. Take, for instance, the recognised
and long-established three-volume novel, in which form nearly
every work of fiction makes its first appearance at the extravagant
price of a guinea and a half. Of course no one, even in England, ever
thinks of purchasing a novel in this form and at such an absurd price.
They are published solely for the benefit of the circulating libraries
which exist in numbers in nearly every town and village throughout
the Old Country. Here, in these colonies, with such institutions few
and far between, and usually with only one copy in the circulating
library, when hundreds desire to read the book, compact one-
volume editions, published at a few shillings, so that the reader may
possess his own copy, would be a boon indeed; and such a boon has
been conferred on these colonies by three of the leading London
publishing houses, Messrs Macmillan and Co., Messrs S. Low and
Co., and Messrs Kegan, Paul (*sic*) and Co.

The credit of being the pioneer in this liberal movement
belongs to the first-named firm, Messrs Macmillan and Co. It is now
nearly three years since a member of this firm visited the Australian
colonies with the special object of ascertaining the wants of colonial
readers, and devising the means of supplying them, the result being
the issue of “Macmillan’s Colonial Library” in half-a-crown volumes
...
Messrs Kegan, Paul and Co., the holders of the copyright of some of the most noted works of modern fiction, have now followed suit, and we have before us, through the courtesy of their Tasmanian agents, J. Walsh and Sons, the ten volumes which constitute the first issue of their ‘Colonial and Indian Series’ (sic). The ‘get up’ of this series is in every way worthy of the reputation of this publishing house, the paper and print being alike excellent, and bound in a good substantial cloth binding. No less than six of these volumes are by George MacDonald, whose stories are read and re-read wherever the English language is spoken, and being now offered in this cheap form are certain of a widely extended circle of readers . . . To those who know George MacDonald’s writings the simple announcement that they are included in this ‘Colonial Series’ will be sufficient, but to those who know them not we would introduce Mr. MacDonald as a writer of lofty ideals, strong in characterisation and descriptive power, a thoroughly good story teller, and one would have to travel far indeed to find racier humour and sweeter pathos than are to be met with in his writings . . . Taken altogether, we know of no series of books which, for the comparatively small sum of 30s—the price at which these ten volumes are published—afford so much interesting reading of so good a quality, and therefore we commend them as a profitable investment for the approaching winter evenings.” (The Mercury, Tasmania, 14 Mar 1888)

“Racier,” of course, had the older meaning of “lively,” or “spirited”; the connotation of “risqué” only entered the English language in the twentieth century. The series was already becoming popular: “It is not surprising, considering the excellence of the books, and the style in which they are produced, that the Colonial series of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., is such a decided public favorite” (South Australian Weekly Chronicle, 3 Mar 1888).

The four titles not by MacDonald were as follows:

3. “Lucas Malet” was the pseudonym of Mary St. Ledger Kingsley (1852-1931), the daughter of Charles Kingsley. Colonel Enderby’s Wife (first published 1885) was reviewed in the Hawke’s Bay Herald (30 Mar 1888); its theme was “the fate of an English colonel who in his declining age marries a young wife who does not care for him.”
7. “Maxwell Gray” was the pseudonym of Mary Gleed Tuttiett (1846-1923);*The Silence of Dean Maitland* (first published 1886), about a clergyman who seduces a girl, kills her father, and allows a friend to be convicted for the crime, was her biggest success.

“It is an extraordinary book, remarkably well written, and full of dramatic power. No one who reads it will wonder at the sensation the work produced.” (*South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 3 Mar 1888)

8. *The Confessions of a Thug* (first published 1839), a Victorian bestseller, was the first of six novels by Col Philip Meadows Taylor to be included in the ICS, all with an Indian setting. It was one of the most popular titles in the ICS: “Between 1887 and 1897 Kegan, Paul, Trench & Trubner reprinted it four times and sold over 5000 copies as part of their Colonial Series.”

9. In the *Wrong Paradise* (first published 1886) is a collection of short stories by Andrew Lang (1844-1912), best known for his later *Fairy Books*:

“Mr Lang has given free play to a lively imagination and a quaint fancy in the series of stories and essays he has given to the world . . . The aim of the writer is to dissipate the popular notion that man will necessarily be happy in the paradise of their own imaginings.” (*South Australian Register*, 28 Mar 1888)

**Jan-June 1888**

11 Col Meadows Taylor *A Noble Queen: A Romance of Indian History*  
12 Linda Gardiner *His Heritage*  
13 Col Meadows Taylor *Seeta*  
14 Mrs G. Linnaeus Banks *God’s Providence House: A Story of 1791*  
15 George MacDonald *St George and St Michael*  
16 Col Meadows Taylor *Tippoo Sultaun: a Tale of the Mysore War*  
17 George MacDonald *Annals of A Quiet Neighbourhood*  
18 Lucas Malet *A Counsel of Perfection*  
19 George MacDonald *The Elect Lady*  
20 Jean Ingelow *Off the Skelligs*

11. *A Noble Queen* (first published 1878) was set in sixteenth-century India: “. . . once again Taylor centred his work on a strong, idealized Indian heroine, Queen Chand Bibi, who dies defending her state against invasion by Mughal armies.” Whether the ICS edition was printed at the end of 1887 or early in
1888 is impossible to say.

12. Linda Gardiner’s His Heritage was first published in 1888 (according to COPAC), but it must have been very early in the year, arriving in Australia in March:

“Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. continue to add to their Indian and Colonial series volumes of sterling worth. The latest issues include Colonel Meadows Taylor’s well-known Indian Romance ‘A Noble Queen;’ Edna (sic) Gardiner’s ‘His Heritage;’ a volume of charming stories entitled ‘In the Wrong Paradise,’ by Andrew Lang; and Dr. MacDonald’s ‘Castle Warlock,’ a book full of rare humor and sweet pathos.” (The Express and Telegraph (Adelaide), 21 Mar 1888)

13. Seeta (first published 1872) was set around the time of the Indian Mutiny (1857); Seeta is the name of Taylor’s Indian heroine. It was reviewed in the Evening Star (Dunedin) (21 Apr 1888), and in the South Australian Register (11 May 1888):

“The book possesses the chief merits and defects of the author—the principal defect to the general reader being long and rather tedious descriptions of historical periods and places; the principal merit the graphic delineation of Indian character, modes of life, political distractions, individual treacheries, and social customs. Seeta herself is as lovely in character as in person, and the thrilling incidents of her career are effectively told.”

14. God’s Providence House (first published 1849), was also reviewed in the South Australian Register (11 May 1888):

“Mrs Banks shows wonderful ingenuity in working out the plot of ‘God’s Providence House.’ . . . The period of the story is the close of the last century, when haunted houses, political plots, inexorable fathers, and wasp-waisted adventurers were more plentiful than they are now.”

15. St George and St Michael was reviewed in the Hawke’s Bay Herald (16 May 1888), and in the South Australian Register (24 May 1888):

“The Indian and Colonial series of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. has been enriched by many of Dr MacDonald’s books, but none of those books which have found a place in it are more full of
incident and charged with the elements of a stirring work of fiction than the one now added to the list.”

16. *Tippoo Sultaun* (first published 1840), another Meadows Taylor “Indian” novel, was set during the “eighteenth-century British clashes with the Mysorean prince Tipu Sultan.” It was reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (13 June 1888):

“The book before us is not simply a mere biography of the human tiger, who for so many years defied British power and pursued his blood-thirsty and barbarically patriotic course. It presents many striking pictures of life and manners in India . . . There is a never-failing succession of notable events, the affairs of love, intrigue, civil disturbance, and war, each presenting themselves in turn for pictorial representation.”

By the end of June 1888 the first 20 volumes were listed as being available in the Kegan Paul advertisement in TCBC, although it took several months before the later titles were reviewed in the colonies.

17. *Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood* was reviewed in *The New Zealand Herald* (21 July), and in *The South Australian Register* (23 July):

“This is one of the best-known and best-liked of Dr MacDonald’s books, and its reissue in a cheap and attractive form will not only be welcomed by all who have perused it, but will be an incentive to many who have not hitherto made themselves acquainted with its contents to buy and read it for themselves.”

18. *A Counsel of Perfection* (first published 1888) was reviewed in the *New Zealand Herald* (15 Sept), and in the *Adelaide Observer* (22 Sept):

“[It] is the story of a pure-minded, intelligent and unsophisticated woman, who, living under the dominion of a father absorbed in abstruse historical studies, had been deprived of all opportunity for the exercise of the natural affections . . . The book, however, is not satisfactory, either as a love story or an analysis of character.”

The *New Zealand Herald* (15 Sept) goes further:

“At the conclusion, one feels very much inclined to kick the characters all round, and hurl the book into the fire.”

19. *The Elect Lady* was reviewed in *The Adelaide Observer* (22 Sept):
“a powerful and deeply pathetic story. In it Dr MacDonald gives full rein to his broad theological views, and openly avows his disdain for the conventionalisms and superficialities of society.”

20. Jean Ingelow’s *Off the Skelligs* (first published 1872) was reviewed in the *New Zealand Herald* (15 Oct), and in the *South Australian Register* (22 Oct):

“This is one of the latest editions (*sic*; presumably “additions”) to an attractive series. . . . it is full of entertaining incident, and is pleasingly told.”

“To many the most charming part of the book will be that which deals with yachting life on board the Curlew off the Skelligs, which, it may be explained, are pinnacles of rock jutting up out of the ocean off the coast of Kerry.” (*Otago Daily Times*, 1 Dec 1888)

Jean Ingelow (1820-1897), a popular novelist and poet, would have been well-known to George MacDonald; “As The Crow Flies; and other stories” by Jean Ingelow, being the Christmas Number of *Good Words for the Young 1871* was published while he was the editor of that journal.

**July-Dec 1888**

21 George MacDonald *The Seaboard Parish*

22 Florence Severne *The Pillar House*

23 Rosa Mulholland *A Fair Emigrant*

24 Rennell Rodd *Frederick, Crown Prince and Emperor*

25 Col Meadows Taylor *Tara: a Mahratta Tale*

21. *The Seaboard Parish* was reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (13 Dec):

“The book is well-known to the admirers of Dr MacDonald’s novels, and is reckoned by them among his most powerful works. It is a welcome addition to the “Indian and Colonial Series” and is sure of, even as it deserves, a ready sale.”

The *New Zealand Herald* (5 Jan 1889) likewise approves:

“One of the finest pieces of writing in the book is, perhaps, the sermon on the raising of Lazarus, preached on the occasion of some shipwrecked sailors attending the church of the Seaboard Parish on the Sunday succeeding their rescue. In this, as in the other parts of the book, and indeed in all George MacDonald’s writings, there is manifested the very perfection of practical Christian faith that it were
well if more of our teachers presented it to us. Were Christianity thus taught it would be far more widely accepted, lived up to, and trusted in than it is in the present day.”

However, the *Brisbane Courier* (19 Jan 1889) gives a more nuanced review:

“The book is the most plotless of the author’s productions, if we except that to which it is the sequel. It is remarkably devoid even of incident, though it rises to the usual climax of interest near the close, by the introduction of a shipwreck. It contains an unusual amount of the preaching peculiar to the author, some of the chapters being deliberately labelled sermons, and it is written in the first person, which always strikes us as a disadvantage with writers of George MacDonald’s stamp, since it exhibits him as a mild peripatetic egoist who carries in his vest pocket a key to every problem and a panacea for every ill. Yet in spite of disadvantages which would kill ninety-nine authors out of a hundred, the charm of Dr. MacDonald’s philosophy, and the genuineness of the man behind it, compel attention, and place this book, like the entire series of the author’s writings, in the front rank of the literature of the day. It is well for the world that such books should be written, and we can never despair of humanity as long as such books are read.”

22. *The Pillar House* was reviewed in the *Star* (New Zealand) (21 Sept), and in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (10 Oct). A later review in *The Brisbane Courier* comments:

“Probably the call for a new edition lies mainly in the novelty of the central sensation in this story . . . our author has devised a murder which, while containing externally the most tragic elements, yet leave the perpetrator absolutely stainless . . . The book is throughout healthful and well deserves the new edition it has reached. The get up both of this and the volume previously noticed is in the handsome style of the publishers’ Indian and colonial series.” (19 Jan 1889)

The *Evening Star* (Dunadan) commented:

“If novels are, as if often said, moral teachers, sympathy with the good man battling with adverse fortune cannot but have an ennobling effect on human character. To give an outline of the plot would destroy its interest. We therefore leave the reader to unravel its mysteries.” (22 Dec 1888)

It is surprising that *The Pillar House* was not mentioned as being “In the
Press” in Kegan Paul’s June advertisement in TCBC (unlike vols 21 and 25-29), but was being reviewed in New Zealand before the end of September. Kegan Paul must have made a very sudden decision to include it in the series after The Seaboard Parish, presumably publishing it in July 1888.

23. A Fair Emigrant was reviewed in the South Australian Register (25 Dec 1888):

“It is a pleasantly written love story, with a sufficient spice of mystery and variety of striking incident to make it attractive.”

This volume is also not mentioned either in Kegan Paul’s June advertisement or on the back of The Pillar House; but being reviewed in December it must have been published around September.

24. Frederick, Crown Prince and Emperor [i.e. Frederick III, 1831-88] was reviewed in the New Zealand Herald (2 Feb 1889), and in The South Australian Advertiser (12 Feb):

“Mr Rodd, who was for many years secretary of the Embassy at Berlin, tells the story of the late Emperor’s life in such a simple and unaffected way that it cannot fail to impress the reader.”

There is a good reason why this book was not listed on the back of The Pillar House; Frederick (who had married the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria) had only died on 15 June, and the biography must have been published in November. The Adelaide Observer (29 Dec 1888), in their column “British & Foreign. Anglo-Colonial Notes. From our own Correspondent. London, November 7,” notes:

“‘The Life of Frederick, Crown Prince and Emperor,’ by Mr. Rennel Rodd, has been bought by Messrs. Kegan Paul for their colonial library.”

The New Zealand Times (14 Feb 1889) comments:

“We cannot say much in praise of this biography, which is in truth a rather poor piece of mere ‘book-making,’ but while the present keen interest in all that concerned the late Emperor still continues, the work will doubtless find many readers.”

25. Tara (first published 1863), an Indian tale set in 1657, is mentioned in the TCBC for Dec 1888. It was reviewed in The Press (Christchurch) (7 Mar), and in the South Australian Register (12 Mar):

“This is one of the most romantic of the many Indian stories written
by Colonel Meadows Taylor. Like his other novels, it has the merit of being true to the life, his long residence in various parts of India giving him a deep insight into the manners and customs, the social habits and superstitions, the governmental system, and religious practices of the people.”

Jan-June 1889

26 George MacDonald *Wilfrid Cumbermede*
27 Col Meadows Taylor *Ralph Darnell*

28 George MacDonald *Thomas Wingfold, Curate*

29 George MacDonald *Paul Faber, Surgeon*
30 Maxwell Gray *The Reproach of Annesley: a novel*
31 Peter Hay Hunter and Walter Whyte *My Ducats and My Daughter*

26. *Wilfrid Cumbermede* was mentioned in passing in *The Press* (Christchurch) (21 Mar 1889), even though the writer made four errors in a single sentence:

“The latest volume issued by Messrs Paul Kegan and French, of the Indian and Colonial Library is ‘Wilfred Cumbermedge,’ and is it well worth reading.”

The *South Australian Register* (16 April 1889) comments:

“It is certainly one of the most charming novels that he has written, containing more of connected narrative and less moralizing than the majority of his books. The characters are numerous and admirably drawn . . .”

Whether it was published at the end of 1888 or the beginning of 1889 is impossible to say.

27. *Ralph Darnell* (first published 1865) was also reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (16 April). Much of the action is set in England, a response to criticisms that *Tara*, with a cast of exclusively Indian characters, had had no European interest. Unfortunately these sections “showed Taylor at his worst, plodding through uninspired characterisations of eighteenth century English life.”¹⁷

28. *Thomas Wingfold, Curate* was reviewed in the *Evening Star* (Dunadan) (1 June):

“[George MacDonald] has not only related a deeply interesting
narrative, but in tracing the history of the gradual preparation of the curate for the true work of the ministry he has met the theological difficulties so constantly reiterated by unbelievers. It is, in fact, more a treatise on theology in a practical form than a novel regarded as a love story.”

The *Adelaide Observer* (22 June) comments, in similar vein:

“The story is a powerful one, full of dramatic force, and as usual the author closely interweaves his religious views with what is of more strictly human interest in the chronicle of his hero’s life.”

29. *Paul Faber, Surgeon* was mentioned in the *New Zealand Herald* (22 June) and reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (27 June):

“In Dr MacDonald’s story the strings which are so well worn in his writings are harped upon once more, but the characters are powerfully drawn, and the book has much of the strength of the earlier tales which made his reputation as a writer of fiction.”

30. *The Reproach of Annesley* was also reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (27 June 1889), and in *The Australasian* (29 June 1889):

“The reputation which was achieved for the lady who has adopted the *nom de plume* of “Maxwell Gray” will not be diminished, but enhanced, by the publication of *The Reproach of Annesley*, which has just appeared in a cheap form included in the ‘Indian and Colonial Series if Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co, who are providing Australian book buyers with good reading at a price far below that which has to be paid for it in the mother country.”

At the beginning of June all of the volumes up to #30 are listed in a Kegan Paul advert in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (1 June 1889), in strict series order, even though the numbers are not given:
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—MALCOLM
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—THE MARQUIS OF LOSSIE
Malet, Lucas—COLONEL ENDERBY'S WIFE
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—DONAL GRANT
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—HOME AGAIN
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—WHAT'S MINE'S MINE
Gray, Maxwell—THE SILENCE OF DEAN MAITLAND
Taylor, Col. Meadows—THE CONFESSIONS OF A THUG
Lang, Andrew—IN THE WRONG PARADISE
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—CASTLE WARLOCK
Taylor, Col. Meadows—A NOBLE QUEEN: a Romance of
of Indian History
Gardiner, Linda—HIS HERITAGE
Taylor, Col. Meadows—SEETA
Banks, Mrs. G. L.—GOD'S PROVIDENCE HOUSE. A
Story of 1791
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—ST. GEORGE AND ST.
MICHAEL
Taylor, Col. Meadows—TIPPOO SULTAUN: a Tale of the
Mysore War
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—ANNALS OF A QUIET
NEIGHBOURHOOD
Malet, Lucas—A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—THE ELECT LADY
Ingelow, Jean—OFF THE SKELLIGS
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—THE SEABoard PARISH,
A Sequel to "Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood."
Severne, Florence—THE PILLAR HOUSE
Malholland, Rosa—A FAIR EMIGRANT
Rodd, Rennell—FREDERICK, Crown Prince and Emperor
Taylor, Col. Meadows—TARA: a Mahratta Tale
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—WILFRED CUMBERMEDE.
An Autobiographical Story
Taylor, Col. Meadows—RALPH DARNELL
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—THOMAS WINGFOLD,
CURATE
Macdonald, George, LL.D.—PAUL FABER, SURGEON
Gray, Maxwell—THE REPROACH OF ANNESLEY.
1. PATERNOSTER SQUARE. LONDON.
31. In addition *My Ducats and my Daughter* (first published 1884) was included in Kegan Paul’s advert in TCBC for June 1889; it was reviewed in *The Press* (Christchurch) (20 Aug):

“It fully maintains the general high character of the series . . . The book is one which we feel sure will be heartily enjoyed by all who appreciate pungent satire and vivid and humorous descriptions of types of character such as are to be met with in various grades of English and Scottish society at the present day.”

No new volumes were published in the latter part of 1889.

**Jan-June 1890**

32 Tasma *In Her Earliest Youth*

Tasma was the pseudonym of Jessie Catherine Couvreur. This volume was first published in 1890, and noticed in the TCBC (June 1890). It was reviewed in *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (21 Aug):

“In *In Her Earliest Youth* Tasma has shown how thoroughly conversant she is with Australian life, both in the capitals and in the bush . . . we can only recommend everyone to read the book which for accuracy of description, clearness of style, and faithfulness of character painting, must be placed in the very foremost rank of Australian fiction.”

However, opinions differed:

“It is pleasantly written, but we doubt if it will increase the reputation of the writer. The story is a weak one in conception, and the telling of it quite unnecessarily spun out . . . Incidentally we may remark that it would be well when publishing colonial tales in this series to have the proofs revised by someone acquainted with the localities named, and the circumstances of colonial life. In this volume there are a number of palpable errors . . .” (*Evening Post* (Wellington), 3 Jan 1891)

**1891**

33 E.D. Gerard *A Sensitive Plant*

34 Maxwell Gray *In the Heart of the Storm: a tale of modern chivalry*

These two titles were both published for the first time in 1891:
33. E.D. Gerard was the pseudonym of Emily and Dorothea Gerard. *A Sensitive Plant* (the title presumably borrowed from Shelley’s poem) was reviewed in the *South Australian Register* (16 Mar 1891) which described it as being “full of piquant narrative and dramatic situations.”

34. *In the Heart of the Storm*, the third Maxwell Gray novel to appear in the series, was reviewed in *The Evening Journal* (Adelaide) (24 Aug 1891):

“The tale is admirably told, and the interest is powerfully maintained throughout.”

1892

35 George MacDonald *There and Back*

36 George MacDonald *The Flight of the Shadow*

In the domestic market *There and Back* was published as a triple-decker in April 1891. An advert in *Truth* (9 Apr 1891) reads:

It was published as a single volume (the “Second Edition”) later in the year, with 1891 at the foot of the title page.

*The Flight of the Shadow* was also first published in 1891, again with that date printed on the title page.

Despite the earlier comment that colonial editions were often published at the same time as the domestic edition—in this case there may have been a delay. All the ICS copies I have seen, or that are mentioned in library catalogues, have “NEW EDITION” on the title page, and do not have a date. I would assume that the publishers would only remove the date
from the title page if it was no longer applicable for a reprint, so these must have been added to the ICS in 1892. It is of course possible that copies were published in 1891, but have not survived. I have seen no evidence that the “cream” covered volumes were ever reprinted, and, although I have not seen a colonial review of There and Back, all reviews of The Flight of the Shadow come from late in 1892, such as that in the New Zealand Herald (20 Aug 1892):

“This is a new edition of one of George MacDonald’s most powerful and interesting stories, and will be welcomed by the many admirers of that talented and celebrated author.”

It was also reviewed in The Adelaide Observer (31 Dec 1892):

“We gave a notice of this charming story some time ago, and are glad to see that a place has been found for it in the Indian and colonial series.”

The “cream” copies of The Flight of the Shadow have a list of items 1-35 on the back cover, with the exception of #16. This led Shaberman to incorrectly assume that The Flight of the Shadow was #16 in the series. Why #16 (Tippoo Sultaun) is not listed is impossible to say; perhaps it was simply no longer available. I have not seen a list which actually gives The Flight of the Shadow the number 36, but it seems appropriate; I have found no evidence, in lists, adverts or reviews, for any other titles subsequently appearing in the series.

Conclusions

It is clear that Kegan Paul’s enthusiasm for the series, such as it was, quickly declined. Twenty volumes were published in the first 9 months or so, another 11 in the following 12 months, and only five more in the next three years.

Thus overall the series must be judged a failure, although my impression is that it was more successful in “the colonies” than in India, where it never caught the imagination of the Indian reading public. In Joshi’s analysis of the holdings of five nineteenth century public libraries in India, from Kegan Paul’s authors only Colonel Meadows Taylor, whose six titles all have an Indian setting, appears in a list of the 48 most popular novelists (compared with, for example, 16 authors published in Macmillan’s Colonial Library.)

The differing receptions in India and in “the colonies” may be due to “the difficulties confronting Indian readers encountering realism in the nineteenth-century British novel . . . The caste, class, colonial and
gender hierarchies in India left little room for social or economic mobility, individualism, romantic love, or domestic autonomy, all dominant themes in British realist novels.”

However, in the case of the failure of the ICS a good deal of the blame (if such it is) must lie with the publishers. After all, other publishers, facing the same market conditions, made significant profits from their extensive colonial series. Macmillan published 680 titles in their “Colonial Library” from 1886-1916, and Bell published 403 items in their “Indian and Colonial Library” between 1894-1901, and eventually at least 1386. These publishers clearly invested a great deal more energy in their colonial series than Kegan Paul. Joshi suggests that Kegan Paul had only begun the series “out of some sort of copy-cat motive . . . despite having resources and access to knowledge of Indian conditions to match Macmillan’s, Kegan Paul’s heart did not seem to lie fully behind its Indian venture.” This assessment is confirmed in Howsam’s history of the company: “Perhaps Paul and Trench capitulated, in the late eighties, to a form of publishing they had previously eschewed, but which they identified as a source of rich profits to their contemporaries.” There was certainly some uncertainty as to the market they were aiming at (in India, for example, were the books aimed at expatriates or educated Indians?). Overall the firm’s natural preference “was clearly for publishing, in series format, serious original non-fiction works of high quality.” Joshi concludes, “In short, the fiction in the library was simply not where the firm’s publishing heart lay.”

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Endnotes
1. Shaberman, p. 83. All further references to Shaberman are from this page.
2. Joshi, p. 108.
4. Nineteenth century newspaper quotations are all from the following two sites:
   https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz
   I have not given the precise web address of every quotation as they can easily be found on those sites.
5. McMullin, paragraph 3.
13. My thanks to Elaine Hooker for this picture.
14. Finkelstein, in Introduction II.
15. Finkelstein, in Introduction II.
16. Finkelstein, in Introduction II.
17. Finkelstein, in Introduction II.
21. McMullin, no page number.

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McMullin, B.J. *Bell’s Indian and Colonial Library* available at https://bookcollectorsnews.wordpress.com/2013/02/14/bells-indian-and-colonial-library/.