



INDIA

[1931]

(Cohen A88) (Woods A38)

This book was proposed by Churchill to Thornton Butterworth, his English publisher, on 21 March 1931. The author offered a package of seven "very good speeches...I have taken much more trouble with them than any book." His object, of course, was to gain support for his campaign against the India Bill, over which he had broken with his party leadership, believing these relatively modest reforms would lead to the loss of India to the Empire. Thornton Butterworth responded enthusiastically, saying he agreed with Churchill's cause. But he was possibly more interested in cementing a relationship that had only just survived Churchill's threat to drop Thornton Butterworth in a dispute about *World Crisis* royalties. To the initial seven speeches Churchill added three earlier addresses and a pithy introduction, and *India* was published in cloth and paperback two months later.

Eminently a product of its time, *India* was fast overtaken by what Churchill called the "Gathering Storm" of World War II. Although our author usually favored republication of his earlier books, he saw no reason to revive *India*. After all, that cause had been lost when the India Bill had passed Parliament in 1935. Churchill even sent Gandhi his best wishes for success, and lent tacit approval to Attlee's plan to grant India Dominion status (thus de facto independence) in 1948. What he did not approve was the sudden rush to quit India under Attlee's Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who arbitrarily moved Britain's departure date up to August 1947. British authority thus ended before boundaries could be worked out between Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs; a vast shift of population occurred, amid bloody attacks by the various sides against each other. Later Churchill would exclaim to Mountbatten, "What you did in India was like striking me across the face with a riding crop."

India remained a forgotten book, inaccessible to many, an unfortunate loss for students of rhetoric and political science. In 1990, this writer was able to publish a new American Edition with a new introduction by Manfred Weidhorn, excerpts of which form our reviewer's notes for this title.

-Richard M. Langworth

From the Reviews

"Setting aside the merits of the substance of these speeches, one must admit that as rhetorical exercises they are impressive. They were made when Churchill was at the height of his oratorical powers and one of the best speakers in the House of Commons. While not always on a level with some of the masterpieces of other phases of his career, they have their moments. There are numerous deft touches of irony and sarcasm, as when he refers to himself and his followers with a climactic, appropriate word: "A few die-hards and reactionaries, and other untouchables." And, on Gandhi: "...a seditious Middle Temple lawyer of the type well-known in the East, now posing as a fakir, striding half naked up the steps of the Viceregal palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor."

"Stanley Baldwin has much to answer for at the bar of history, but in this matter he was right. While Churchill carried on about how the facts were against Indian independence, Baldwin likewise urged people to face up to the truth. The principal fact "today," he concluded, was that "the unchanging East has changed." With that one nugget, the usually pedestrian Baldwin shoots the usually eloquent Churchill, with his romantic, Victorian, imperial rhetoric, right out of the water.

"Of course some of Churchill's prophecies were not so erratic. What would happen to the rest of the British Empire, he asked rhetorically, if it lost its centerpiece?"

That loss, he went on, "would mark and consummate the downfall of the British Empire....[It would be] final and fatal [and] reduce us to the scale of a minor Power." He was also right in warning about sectarian strife and Hindu domination in the wake of the British departure; in fact, several million lives were lost in fighting between Hindus and Moslems during the weeks and months following independence. The Sikhs even today resort to violence against what they consider Hindu oppression. He warned also about balkanization of the sub-continent masquerading as a nation; in fact, Moslem Pakistan broke away from a mainly Hindu India only to have Bangladesh in turn break away from it, and tensions and clashes have long reigned in places like Kashmir.

"Most Pakistanis and Indians, would, of course, say that all this was the price necessary for independence and dignity and that it was well worth paying. A Tory in 1776 might have reasonably argued that Britain's holding on to the American colonies would spare them the fate of undergoing either balkanization or a brutal civil war, and he would have been correct. Yet how many Americans wish to undo the Revolution for that reason?

"We would like genius to be discerning and moderate, to be a little bit more like the rest of us. Few geniuses have been so. Churchill had the vices of his virtues. In judging him we err by unconsciously depending on the wisdom of hindsight. No one could tell at the time how the campaigns of 1931 and 1940 would turn out. If responsible voices across the political spectrum in 1931 told Churchill that the imperial age in India was over, just as many responsible voices in 1940 said that Hitler could not be beaten and should be negotiated with. If Churchill had been amenable to prudence in 1931, he would have spared everyone embarrassment, but that same prudence would have dictated in 1940 negotiations with Hitler. Only the pugnacious mule of 1931 could see his way through the impossibilities of 1940. A more civilized, common-sensical soul like Halifax *did* negotiate with Gandhi. And, had Halifax rather than Churchill been made Prime Minister on 10 May 1940, he would have certainly negotiated with Hitler.

"Genius exacts its high price. If we like the way 1940 turned out, we have to comprehend 1931."

-Manfred Weidhorn, Yeshiva University
(In the Foreword to the First American Edition)

Comments

Softbound copies on the market today outnumber hardbound copies by at least twenty to one, which offers a clue as to their original press runs. The books were printed on pulpy paper, and it is rare to encounter a copy entirely free of spots.

Appraisal

Jacketed hardbacks are extremely rare. Such a copy, with the book underneath in pristine condition, commands very high prices. Unjacketed hardbound copies are not cheap either, but are worth much less in worn condition. Softbound first impressions in excellent condition sell for less, and half as much as hardbacks. Green wrapper second impressions are relative bargains.

Any of the Variants mentioned below are extremely rare and would command a towering premium.

-EDITIONS-

[INDIA]
First Edition: Cohen A88.1 / Woods A38

Publisher: Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London 1931

Hardbound: Orange cloth blocked black with INDIA and CHURCHILL on front cover and spine, publisher's logo debossed on lower right corner of cover, and publisher's imprint on spine bottom. Softbound: Orange paper printed black with SPEECHES BY, THE RT. HON. WINSTON S. and 1'- NET added to front face, INDIA - CHURCHILL and the price (two times) on spine. Inside wrappers are blank; back wrapper contains adverts for *My Early Life*, the *Abridged World Crisis* and *The Aftermath*. Both versions 8vo, 144 pages numbered (1) through (144). Pages (142-44) contain membership information on the Indian Empire Society. Published 27 May 1931 at 1s. (25¢) for the softbound version and 2s. (50¢) for the hardback.

Impressions

Two impressions occurred, each issued both hardbound and softbound, the second impression almost immediately after the first—both are dated May 1931. The second softbound impression was identical to the first softbound except for dark green instead of orange wrappers, although there are **Variants** (see below).

Variants

Hardbound: Bindings are known with two spine variations, one with INDIA, CHURCHILL and THORNTON BUTTERWORTH blocked horizontally, another with INDIA - CHURCHILL (only) blocked vertically down the spine in much larger typeface. The latter is probably the second state binding, because all hardbound second impressions encountered have similar spine lettering. There are no other differences.

Softbound: Copies of the first impression have been spotted in green wrappers and copies of the second impression in orange wrappers, though these are rare. Woods also reports a first impression with the price of 2/6 on its cover, which seems odd, since the hardback itself only cost 2 shillings; the 2/6 variant may have been a prototype copy.

Dust Jackets

The dust jacket for hardbound copies is printed black on orange paper and looks like the softbound wrapper, except that it carries the price "2/- net". The front flap promotes the book, the back flap the 1911-1914, 1915 and 1916-1918 volumes of *The World Crisis*.

[INDIA]

First American Edition: Cohen A88.2; not in Woods

Publisher: Dragonwyck Publishing Inc., Hopkinton N.H. 1990

Orange cloth blocked black with INDIA and CHURCHILL on front cover and spine, publisher's logo debossed on lower right corner of cover, back cover and bottom of spine, two large blind rules across covers and spine. 8vo, 188 pages numbered as follows: front matter (i) through xl; replica wrapper (xli-xlii); text (1-144); replica wrapper (146-7).

Quantities and Impressions

2000 copies were published at \$35 in May 1990, including 100 copies of the limited edition at \$100 (see below).

Variants

A leatherbound limited edition of 100 was published in orange leather blocked gilt in all places blocked black or blind on the standard edition, all edges gilt, with black endpapers and a gold satin page marker.

Dust Jackets

The dust jacket, printed orange and black on white coated stock and unique to this edition, was designed by Charlotte Thiebault. The front face groups portraits of Churchill, Gandhi, Nehru, Britannia, and Indian Rajah and George V around the author's name, title, new subtitle ("Defending The Jewel In The Crown") and cover blurb ("His Rare Book—Out Of Print For 60 Years"). The front flap describes the book, the back flap Churchill and Weidhorn; the back face contains quotes from the text and comments by Robert Pilpel "On Reading Churchill."

Comments

The intent was to publish enough copies to keep this volume in print a long time, but a fire in 2003 destroyed the stock and it has now become scarce. In 1997 it was chosen as the book discussion topic for the International Churchill Conference in Toronto.

Appraisal

The standard edition is beginning to command increasingly high prices. Few limited editions have been sold but are certainly desirable for their scarcity value.

TERMINOLOGY

This guide follows John Carter's *ABC for Book Collectors* commonly used terms:

Edition: "All copies of a book printed at any time or times from one setting-up of type without substantial change, including copies printed from stereotype, electrotype [we must now add 'computer scanning'] or similar plates made from that setting of type."

Impression: "The whole number of copies of that edition printed at *one* time, i.e., without the type or plates being removed from the press." A particular conundrum was posed by the discovery that the stated third impression of the Colonial *Malakand Field Force* (pressed November 1898) carried the same extensive textual corrections of the Silver Library Edition (pressed at the same time—indeed both these books used the same sheets). How then to classify the third Colonial? It is clearly not a new impression. Our solution was to make it part of a new entry, not cited by Woods, the "Second Edition," along with the Silver Library Edition.

State: "When alterations, corrections, additions or excisions are effected in a book during the process of manufacture, so that copies exhibiting variations go on sale on publication day indiscriminately, these variant copies are conveniently classified as belonging to different states of the edition." Example: the two states of the first English *My Early Life*.

Issue: "An exception [to the above] is the regular use of issue for variant title pages, usually in respect of the publisher's imprint...[also] when similar variations can be clearly shown to have originated in some action taken after the book was published, two [or more] *issues* are distinguished." Example: the two issues of *The People's Rights*, one with an index and appendix, the other with two appendices and no index.

We occasionally sidestep Carter's strict definitions for clarity. With *Savrola*, for example, Woods states that the first English "edition" was produced from a set of electroplates made up in Boston, a duplicate set to the First American Edition. The English "edition" might therefore be called an "issue," but we do not do so because no one else does, including Woods, and because this book is quite distinct in appearance.

Offprints: Carter defines this as "a separate printing of a section of a larger publication," which is not exactly how modern publishers use it. To us an offprint is a reprint, sometimes reduced but sometimes same-size, of *all* the pages of an earlier printing (for example the five Canadian offprints of American war speech volumes from *The Unrelenting Struggle through Victory*. In earlier years offprinting was accomplished by using plates from the original (like the Canadian issue of *My African Journey*) or by reproducing the type on negatives (like the Australian issue of *Secret Session Speeches*) In the latter case, the offprint usually exhibits heavy looking type, not as finely printed as the original. Offprints are not usually considered separate editions, but a contretemps arises with modern reprints of long out-of-print works made by photo-reproduction.

Proof copies: From *The World Crisis* on, proof copies bound in paper wrappers are occasionally encountered. This is a task best left to the bibliographer, except to say that in general they tend to lack illustrations, maps and plans that appear in the published volumes. Although not widely collected, proofs do usually command high prices when they are offered for sale.

Dust Jackets = Dust Wrappers: We generally use the term "dust jacket" to refer to what English bibliophiles usually call a "dust wrapper." The two terms are interchangeable, though words that describe the *parts* of the dust jacket, aside from "spine," are common to both countries. These are as follows: *Flap:* The parts of the jacket that fold in around the edge of the boards, front and rear. *Face:* The front or back panel of the jacket that you see with the book lying flat in front of you.

SIZE

Books vary—especially old books—and one finds variations between identical editions. Except where distinct size differences help identify various editions or impressions of the same title, one from another, this guide describes books by the traditional cataloguer's terms:

Folio (Fo.): Very large format, now commonly known as "coffee table" size; among Churchill folio works is the Time-Life two-volume *Second World War*, measuring 14 x 12 inches (365 x 305mm) which deserves this description.

Quarto (4to): Normally lying between folio and octavo in size, though varying considerably in this respect. A telephone directory is quarto; but so is *The Island Race*, A138(c), which measures 12 1/4 x 9 3/4 inches (310 x 248mm), although Woods calls it "octavo" and says it measures 12 x 9 1/2! Other quarto volumes are the Danish and Norwegian translations of *The Great War*, which measure 8 1/2 x 11 1/2."

Octavo (8vo): The commonest size of book since the early 17th century. A large (demy) octavo is about the size of *Frontiers and Wars*, A142/1, which measures 9 1/2 x 6 3/8 inches (232 x 162mm). A small (crown) octavo is about the size of the English *Young Winston's Wars*, A143(a), which measures 8 3/4 x 5 5/8 inches (222 x 143mm), although Woods calls it "16mo" and says it measures 8 1/2 x 5 1/2! (You see the problem...)

Duodecimo (12mo, commonly called "twelvemo"): A bit smaller than 8vo but taller than 16mo: the size of a conventional paperback, say 6 7/8 x 4 1/4 inches (175 x 107mm).

Sextodecimo (16mo, usually pronounced "sixteenmo"): The smallest size of book covered herein, shorter but perhaps wider than a paperback, for example the 1915 edition of *Savrola*, which measures 6 5/8 x 4 1/2 inches (168 x 114mm).

My only other reference to size will be when an obvious difference can be ascertained between related editions or issues: I thought it useful to mention, for example, that the first edition *Malakand* bulks about 1 1/2 inches, while the first Colonial issue bulks only about 1 1/4 inches; or that there's about a half inch difference between the first impression Macmillan *Aftermath* and the later impressions. Even here, the key word is "about," since old books swell or shrink depending on storage conditions, and many were not uniform to begin with.

FOREIGN TRANSLATIONS

Collectors of editions in foreign languages are enjoying a little-known but rewarding branch of Churchill bibliophilia, not the least for the sometimes magnificent bindings of these works (leading examples: the Monaco edition of *Savrola*, Scandinavian editions of *The Great War* and the Belgian French edition of *The Second World War*). Foreign translations also often differ importantly from the English editions, depending on what Churchill wished to emphasize or de-emphasize. For example, Sir Martin Gilbert's official biography records that the Dutch, through Churchill's foreign language impresario Emery Reves, were offended by no mention in *The Grand Alliance* of the activities of Dutch submarines in the Allied cause. Churchill replied that he would make no alteration in his English text but had no objection to an amplifying footnote on this subject in the Dutch edition, which was duly entered. (*Winston S. Churchill*, Vol. VIII, "Never Despair," London: Heinemann 1988 page 549). While we have not gone into great descriptive detail, we have indicated the broad reach of Churchill's foreign translations.

MAJOR WORKS CITED

Three works are commonly referred to in this guide:

Woods is shorthand for *A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Winston Churchill, KG, OM, CH* by the late Frederick Woods, the Second Revised Edition, second issue (Godalming, Surrey: St. Paul's Bibliographies 1975). The late Mr. Woods recognized that his work badly needed updating, and was beginning work on the update before his untimely death in 1994.

Frederick Woods, the pioneer bibliographer of Sir Winston, published his first edition in 1963, astonishing not only bibliophiles but also the Churchill family with the number of items he uncovered. Dissatisfaction with the completeness and accuracy of his work was inevitable as time passed, and Fred, to whom many of us passed our corrections and suggestions, characteristically recognized this. He was hoping to rectify the situation before his death. He can truly be said to have inspired everyone who has researched or seriously collected the works of Churchill.

Cohen is the new Ronald Cohen Bibliography, published by Continuum, a product of more than twenty-five years' labour by the author, aided and abetted by scores of bibliophiles and, through the pages of *Finest Hour*, journal of The Churchill Centre.

Both Frederick Woods, before he died, and Ronald Cohen kindly gave permission to quote their bibliographic numbers here as a cross reference.

ICS refers to a publication of the International Churchill Societies, *Churchill Bibliographic Data, Part 1* ("Works by Churchill"). Pending release of the update, which he did not succeed in publishing, Mr. Woods also permitted the International Churchill Society to publish an "Amplified list" based on his numbers, but with more detailed sub-designations to pinpoint the various editions and issues. For example, *The World Crisis* has assigned three "Woods" numbers: A31(a) through A31(c). The ICS "Amplified Woods list" runs from A31a through A31k (in order to distinguish certain deservingly distinct editions and issues. Except for deleting the parentheses, in no case did ICS alter any basic Woods numbers. For example, even *Blenheim*, which undeservedly holds Woods number A40(c)—it is only an excerpt, and probably should not be among the "A" titles at all—is retained by ICS. Thus, "ICS" numbers are merely an extension of Woods numbers.

END