Brian Southam

Kipling and Jane Austen: A Curious Match?

Article published in The Kipling Journal, volume 85
June 2011

[It is with great regret that I have to record the death of Brian Southam on 7 October 2010, aged 79. Although a relatively recent member of the Society, he was very interested in its work, and had contributed a scholarly set of notes for "My Boy Jack" to the New Readers' Guide.

He was a publisher, lecturer, and much more than this, he was an authority on the work of Jane Austen, being Chairman of the Jane Austen Society for 15 years. He was the author of many significant books about Jane Austen, most recently *Jane Austen and the Navy. – Ed.*]

This question of Kipling's affection for Jane Austen and his two well-known tributes – "Jane's Marriage" and the short story "The Janeites"– has been a minor preoccupation both for Austenites and followers of Kipling. Many articles and discussions are on record in the *Kipling Journal;* equally, some of the most important critical studies of Jane Austen, both in this country and the United States, discuss Kipling's story at some length.[1]

On the face of it, this is 'a curious match': Kipling the world traveller, a journalist and fabulist, his imagination as a writer seized by remote places, strange personages and exotic creatures: celebrating adventure, endeavour and endurance across Asia, Africa, the Americas and Europe; telling of wars fought on the frontiers of Empire, in Afghanistan, the North-West Frontier, Burma, South Africa and the Sudan. A public figure and a public voice, Kipling was acknowledged as the spokesman of Empire, the champion of the common man and a vocal jingoist in the call for a nation ready for war.

Jane Austen, it hardly needs saying, was quite the opposite. Whereas Kipling won instant celebrity with the publication of *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888) and swiftly emerged as a man of letters, Jane Austen was a strictly private person, her authorship concealed until after her death. Again, quite unlike Kipling, she was narrowly Anglo-centric. Her stories, like their author, stay at home. For the most part, her characters pass their days at a leisurely pace in the country-houses and the towns and villages of Southern England. And if there is heroism, it is the heroism of women's endurance in love and, in a world dominated by men, their heroism in the struggle for self-determination.

So different in his life, in his literary character and outlook, how was it that Kipling felt sufficiently moved to set down these two tributes to Jane Austen? – tributes which suggest imaginative engagement; and, in the case of "The Janeites", an engagement that inspired him to a work of high originality. For the idea of dramatising a military devotion to Jane Austen in the midst of the Great War, is as novel, challenging and effective as anything he ever set his hand to.

***

First, "The Janeites" and its title. The title Kipling probably borrowed from an old friend, the sage-like George Saintsbury, formerly Professor of English Literature at Edinburgh. The two men shared a mutual admiration and respect. In Kipling, Saintsbury saw 'the best poet and taleteller of his generation';[2] in turn, Kipling found Saintsbury 'a solid rock of learning and geniality whom I revered all my days', a scholar upon whose 'judgement in the weightier matters of the Laws of Literature' he came to rely;[3] and both were Austen devotees. In his Preface to an edition of *Pride and Prejudice* (1894), Saintsbury placed Jane Austen among those few authors 'who are the objects of the personal affection'; and in the case of Jane Austen, he saw these affectionate admirers as forming a 'sect – fairly large and yet unusually choice – of Austenians or Janites'.[4] In later life, Saintsbury retired to Bath and in February 1923 Kipling took the opportunity to visit him to talk over his idea for a new story, a work which would bring together three separate strands: service in the Great War, Freemasonry, and intimacy with the Austen novels, each of these elements touching on shared experience and the sense of camaraderie that this engenders. Like Kipling, Saintsbury prized Austen above all other novelists and again, like Kipling, recognised her irony, pervasive and powerful yet delicately applied, lighting on its 'Swiftian quality'.[5] Kipling's meeting with Saintsbury was duly encouraging and productive. He set to work and by early May had completed "The Janeites", his first new story for five years.[6]

The setting is a Masonic lodge on a Saturday afternoon in the Autumn of 1920. The lodge members, the Brethren, are busy at their weekly cleaning and polishing the fabric and furnishings of the lodge – the floor, columns and silverware. Among them is Humberstall, the central figure and raconteur, a war veteran now working as a hairdresser. Serving in a heavy artillery battery in France at the time of the Somme offensive of March 1918, Humberstall, injured and shell-shocked in an explosion, was invalided out of the army. However, as he tells his fellow-Masons, he managed to re-enlist and get back to his old unit. Unfit for active duties, he was employed as a waiter in the officers' mess under the command of Sergeant Macklin, a schoolmaster in civilian life.

Humberstall overhears the battery officers discussing someone called 'Jane'. Later on, Macklin, who is very drunk, breaks in and lectures the officers at length, telling them that far from being barren and without offspring, Jane left – as Humberstall puts it – " 'direct an' lawful prog'ny . . . in the shape o' one son; an' 'is name was 'Enery James'".

Humberstall is puzzled. Far from punishing Macklin for insubordination – the insubordination of a sergeant contradicting his superiors – the officers allow Macklin to lecture them. Humberstall is intrigued both by the officers' tolerance and also by the mention of this mysterious Jane, around whom there seems to have formed a secret society. For a pound, Macklin, agrees to give him the password for what he calls the First Degree in the Society of the Janeites. The password, as Humberstall remembers it, is 'Tilniz an' trap-doors'; the actual phrase, 'Tilneys and trap-doors', comes in Chapter 11 of *Northanger Abbey,* when Catherine Morland is first assailed by gothic fantasies.

Macklin continues his instruction of Humberstall, tells him to read the novels, quizzes him on them, and gets him to learn passages by heart. Humberstall enters fully into the spirit of this initiation, in the belief that he's being coached for membership of this secret society and he gives the name of an Austen character to each of the battery's three guns – 'The Reverend Collins . . . General Tilney' and 'Lady Catherine De Bugg'.

Eventually, during the German offensive, the battery is caught in a barrage. Of the little band of Janeites, only Humberstall survives, badly wounded. When he tries to board an already overcrowded hospital train, a voluble nurse, talking at great length, tries to bar his way. Humberstall appeals to the Matron, asking her if she can't stop Miss Bates from yapping on. The reference to *Emma* works as another password: on hearing the name of this Austen character, the Matron herself finds room for Humberstall on the train, so saving his life.

When Humberstall finishes his story and prepares to leave the lodge, he turns to the other Brethren, explaining that 'Jane', who once served him as a kind of talisman, a saviour, he now reads for pleasure:

> 'Well, as pore Macklin said, it's a very select Society, an' you've got to be a Janeite in your 'eart, or you won't have any success. An' yet he made *me* a Janeite! I read all her six books now for pleasure 'tween times in the shop; an' it brings it all back— . . . You take it from me, Brethren, there's no one to touch Jane when you're in a tight place. Gawd bless 'er, whoever she was.'

This is a remarkable story, a daring concept, a work of outrageous originality: the very idea of setting the classic gentility of Jane Austen within the bloodshed and destruction of war, this unexpected combination rendered through the experiences of a shell-shocked cockney.[7] One would say that only someone with Kipling's particular strength of imagination could possibly envisage such a feat, and only a writer armed with Kipling's great gifts as a story-teller, a story-teller of genius, could bring this off successfully.

"The Janeites" was first published in May 1924 in three magazines covering the U.K., U.S.A. and Canada.: *The Story-Teller, Hearst's International* and *Maclean's.* Two years later, Kipling included the story, slightly changed, in *Debits and Credits, a* collection of his recent verse and prose. Here, the story comes within a sub-section entitled "The Janeites" made up of three components. First comes not the story itself but an introductory poem, "The Survival", one of Kipling's most effective exercises in Horatian style, whose spoof source is given as "Horace, Ode 22, Bk. V". The poem's message is that while the great events and personages of history are overtaken, vanquished and lost with the passage of time, the frailest and seemingly most transient of sights and sounds and human gestures endure. This is a theme continued in "The Janeites": while the Great War was already past, already history, what survives in Humberstall's experience are his recollection of fictional characters, the comfort he once found in being a Janeite amongst Janeites and now the renewal of camaraderie and support he finds as a Mason amongst his fellow-Brethren. Following this, at the head of the story, the second component, Kipling placed an epigraph, four lines from "Jane's Marriage" –

> Jane lies in Winchester—blessed be her shade!
> Praise the Lord for making her, and her for all she made!
> And while the stones of Winchester, or Milsom Street, remain,
> Glory, love, and honour unto England's Jane!

– lines we are more used to seeing printed at the end of the poem, as a kind of anthem or chorus. Then, following the story – in *Debits and Credits* thirty pages later – comes the last of the three components, the remainder of the poem, published here for the first time. As the poem was written in February 1924, only two months before the first publication of "The Janeites", it seems likely to have been composed with this very arrangement in view, the poem serving as an immediate frame, or adjunct, to the story. At all events, in placing the two together, as he did in *Debits and Credits,* Kipling created a visible link. The nature of the linkage, in terms of meaning or relationship, Kipling leaves us to discover – a question I shall return to later.

***

Kipling's admiration for Jane Austen can be traced back across thirty years, into the late 1880's, when he was still working as a journalist in India. At this time, he passed a slight yet appreciative remark on Jane Austen's turn of phrase and comedy.[8] After his return to England in 1896, it became his custom, whenever in the vicinity of Winchester, to visit Jane Austen's grave in the Cathedral; for the sake of Jane Austen and Izaak Walton, he declared Winchester, after Stratford, to be the holiest place in England. But it was not until April 1915 that Kipling set out the grounds of his admiration. While his wife Carrie took the waters at the Spa Hotel, Bath, Kipling re-read the Austen novels and afterwards wrote appreciatively to a friend: 'the more I read the more I admire and respect and do reverence. . . . When she looks straight at a man or a woman she is greater than those who were alive with her – by a whole head. . . . Greater than Charles [Dickens]: greater than Walter [Scott] – with a more delicate hand and a keener scalpel.'[9] Alongside the delicacy of her art, Kipling recognised Jane Austen's steeliness, the hard cutting edge, as it were, of her satire and subversive humour. Kipling also valued the directness of Jane Austen's gaze; as he puts it, the achievement of her looking 'straight at a man or a woman', the perceptiveness and penetration which he found at the heart of her achievement.

Two years later, in January 1917, we learn from Carrie's diary that 'to our great delight' Kipling was reading Jane Austen aloud to her and their daughter.[10] However, beyond this relaxation, there was little enough to delight the family in these years. Their lives were darkened by the death of their only son John, a lieutenant in the Irish Guards who died in Flanders in September 1915. Aged barely eighteen and no more than a raw subaltern, he lost his life in the Battle of Loos on his first day in action. The grief suffered by the Kipling family was prolonged by uncertainty. John was last seen wandering the battlefield, whether lightly or seriously wounded was unclear. The official communications reported him 'missing' or 'missing and wounded'. A year later, in September 1916, Kipling heard from the War Office that in the absence of any further information his son must be presumed dead, a verdict that he refused to accept, and by 1917 he was already raising a memorial to John. In January, he was invited to undertake the Regimental History of the Irish Guards. It was explained to him that this was not to be regarded 'as a business matter, but as a memento of your son's service in the Regiment.'[11] Kipling replied promptly, ignoring the reference to his son, but expressing enthusiasm for the project, which he took up immediately, drawing upon battalion diaries and personal accounts and memoirs, and taking technical advice on matters of military detail. The writing of the *History,* a work in two volumes, engaged him for over five-and-a-half years, until the end of July 1922. It was a solemn undertaking which he approached with due gravity, envisaging that 'This will be my great work'; and it cost him dearly, with the endurance, as he later said, of 'agony and bloody sweat'.[12] Yet, for the most part, Kipling held his emotional armour in place. In his account of the Battle of Loos he allowed himself some critical remarks on the blunders of the high command. But the distressed father is not on view. John's name is only mentioned in passing, routinely, as 'wounded and missing' along with the names of the other officers

wounded or killed. Nonetheless, John Buchan, the reviewer for *The Times,* pointed to the truth of the matter, remarking that 'we can be deeply grateful to Mr Kipling for this monument he has raised to his son's memory'.[13]

***

The Irish Guards in the Great War was published on the 16 April 1923. Was it mere coincidence that only a few days earlier Kipling finished "The Janeites"? Or could it be that having raised a memorial to his son, Kipling now tasted the energy of liberation, a freeing of his imagination? I raise this question because since 1917 so much of his life had been dedicated to the record of war, in prose and verse, much of it carrying his sadness, sometimes bitterness, at the loss of his son. Yet, alongside this, we recall the 'great delight' with which the family was reading Jane Austen in 1917, and it is this flow of feeling that seems to re-emerge with the writing of "The Janeites", a war-time story carrying the tragic-comic Janeite motif.

During the Great War, Kipling was not alone in finding Jane Austen a source of comfort. According to *The War Illustrated*, a weekly magazine popular with the troops, the soldier in the trenches wanted 'books that will distract his mind completely from his immediate environment. What he does not want is fiction about war…. He will thank you for pure unadulterated humour' (W.W. Jacobs is named). 'He likes tales of strong domestic interest, and it is worth noting that Jane Austen has taken her fragrant way into a surprising number of dug-outs….A desirable quality in a book that is that it is available for the spare five minutes….Jane Austen [satisfies this test], though not so completely'. In the same article, *The War Illustrated* commented favourably on a publishing initiative taken in 1915 by *The Times* in publishing sets of 'broadsheets' specifically designed 'for the men in the trenches', the 'broadsheets' being pocket-sized, printed on light-weight paper and the passages short enough to be dipped into. The selection included classic passages from English literature celebrating heroism, nobility and patriotism, together with scenes of high comedy. Among these, from *Pride and Prejudice,* came what was described as 'the immortal description of how the Rev. Mr. Collins proposed to Elizabeth Bennet'.[14] On the receiving end, we can quote the words of W.B. Henderson, a Glaswegian schoolmaster attached to a Siege Battery of the Royal Garrison Artillery, coincidentally the very type of gun battery to which Humberstall belongs. According to Henderson, even amidst the horrors of the trenches one could taste the joys of reading. It provided 'an escape from reality into the pleasures of another world'; an escape from a life '"of sergeant majors and bayonet fighting, and trench digging and lorry cleaning and caterpillar greasing" into the fantasy of the novelist – and none,' in Henderson's opinion, 'was better at it than Jane Austen'.[15] These sentiments were echoed in *The Times*. Reporting on a lecture given at the Royal Institution at the end of March 1921, it quoted the speaker's description of the Austen novels as 'more than mere novels, more than mere yarn-spinning to pass away an idle hour. They belong to the literature of consolation. They are a refuge. . .'. They compose 'a house of rest' – views which were judged worth repeating, on the same day, in *The Times* lead editorial.[16]

Closer still to "The Janeites" is the remarkable circumstance that during the war an Oxford don, H.F.B. Brett-Smith of Corpus Christi College, was employed by military hospitals to advise on suitable reading matter for the war-wounded, grading novels and poetry according to the 'Fever-Chart'. For the severely shell-shocked, Brett-Smith recommended Jane Austen.[17] Through his wide military connections, Kipling might well have encountered this Austenian therapy. If so, could this have supplied him with one of the central ideas for his story, the restorative power of her writing?

Likewise, the cockney slant of "The Janeites" may derive from external factors. Cockneyism had long expressed Kipling's regard for the common man. We can trace this back over thirty years, to the *Barrack-Room Ballads* of 1892, poems in which the voices of Kipling's soldiers are cast in London's distinctive vernacular.[18] Nonetheless, during the war years and quite independently of Kipling, cockney humour came to epitomise the stubborn morale and grit of the ordinary soldier, a determination to make the best of things – a spirit of mirth in adversity captured in the person of Old Bill, a middle-aged cockney solder and his comrades Alf and Bert. These figures were the creation of Bruce Bairnsfather, a soldier himself, familiar with the horrors of no-man's-land and the front line.[19]

Nonetheless, the image of the comic Londoner, armed with a ready wit and a store of street repartee, could be insidiously slanted. For example, in November 1917, *The Times* ran an article headed 'Health in the Field. Medical Tribute to "Shell-Proof Cockneys'. This reported a lecture on "Hygiene in the War". It covered a wide range of illnesses, led by pneumonia and T.B., and included an optimistic account of shell-shock: 'Modern nerves had stood the fearful strain of this war superbly. None so well as those of the highly civilized white races. Among the steadiest, sta[u]nchest, and most "shell-proof of all stood the highly "citified" and "neurotic" Cockney'.[20] It is as if Kipling set out to counter the clap-trap of this sentimental propaganda. The truth of the matter was, of course, that cockneys suffered the afflictions of shell-shock as deeply as any other group. This is exactly what Kipling shows us in "The Janeites" and in other of his stories involv-ing soldiers returning traumatised from the war.

In 1921 the London *Evening News* published a collection entitled *The Best 500 Cockney War Stories* with illustrations by Bert Thomas – alongside Bairnsfather, Thomas was the other leading wartime cartoonist of the common man. In the words of the publisher, these *Cockney War Stories* provided a 'remembering' and 'a retelling of those war days when laughter sometimes saved men's reason. . .'.[21] It hardly needs saying that Kipling goes so much further than this. He knew that laughter on its own was no cure for shattered nerves and shattered minds; and in "The Janeites", as in other stories, the Masonic lodge is valued as a 'healing community',[22] whose ritual is not 'an esoteric mystery but a human, and humane fellowship'. Here, in such 'fellowship', Humberstall finds support, and a path, not necessarily to full recovery, but at least to some semblance of balance in a comradeship of mutual understanding and mutual aid. Kipling portrays Humberstall as a 'shell-shocker' (a term of his own coining[23]) with some of the classic symptoms: blown up twice, he was slow and forgetful, 'liable to a sort o' quiet fits', 'apt to miss 'is gears at times'; and, reliant on his mother's and his sister's care, he is able to work as a hairdresser only because his mother has set up the business for him

The other restorative force is Humberstall's sense of belonging to the 'secret society' of Janeites. Like the Masons, the Janeites too have their sacred texts, their rituals and their passwords, their mutual understanding and their mutual support. To quote Kathryn Sutherland, in both worlds, these 'special jargon and rituals . . . imply unity and sense, a world that makes sense, obeys rules, and protects those inside it'[24] – this last point neatly dramatised in Humberstall's recollection that his mentioning the name of Miss Bates is the password that gains him the matron's protection and his place on the hospital train.

***

In conclusion, I want to return to the two questions remaining unanswered.

Firstly, what I have called 'the curious match' between Jane Austen, the very private novelist of a circumscribed Anglo-centric world and Kipling, the wide-ranging, far-travelling Imperial propagandist and public figure. What was it on Kipling's side that composed the engagement between them? One element is the very fact of Jane Austen's Englishness, her celebration, as we see it in *Emma,* of English values and the English scene: 'It was a sweet view sweet to the eye and the mind. English verdure, English culture, English comfort, seen under a sun bright, without being oppressive'.[25] Kipling's own celebration of these values and this precious view is evident in his devotion to Bateman's and, as Janet Montefiore reminds us, 'he explains in fascinating detail, directly inspired the stories of *Puck of Pook's Hill* and *Rewards and Fairies'*.[26] Austen's Anglo-centricity was more than matched by – to borrow Kipling's term for *Punch* – his own 'utter Englishdom'.[27]

Yet there is a further explanation. For Kipling, the literary craftsman, Jane Austen stood as a benchmark of high achievement. Kipling identified in the work of Austen a pre-eminence in the exactness and elegance of her language and in the economy and design with which her novels are shaped – qualities which he eulogises in the closing pages of *Something of Myself.* As T.S. Eliot remarked, '. . . no writer has ever cared more for the craft of words than Kipling; a passion which gives him a prodigious respect for the artist of any art, and the craftsman of any craft '.[28] In the words of Professor Renwick, this takes us directly to Jane Austen: 'Kipling's trade was story-telling. He was interested in the making of things because he was a maker himself, a talesmith, a technician. It is through that unity of spirit . . . he could appreciate Jane Austen'[29] – the very point carried in Macklin's comment, a technical observation, that Jane Austen's offspring was 'Enery James, a recognition on Kipling's part of the narrative method, so essentially dramatic in form, that James learned from his great predecessor in the art of fiction.

There remains the question of the connection between "Jane's Marriage" and the story it frames. My own understanding is that Kipling uses the one to highlight the other, setting the unclouded and joyful fantasy of the poem as a backdrop to the all-too-real tragedy of war; in short, one offsets and complements the other.

There is a deeper level of engagement too. The poem and the story share a common theme of setting things right, of fulfilment and completion. In the Masonic lodge, Humberstall at last finds his harbour, his place of comradeship, security and support. Similarly, in the poem, the world is set right for Jane Austen. She emerges from her concealment, her fictionalisation as Anne Elliot, and finds her own destiny, under her own name, in her marriage to Captain Wentworth, a delightful fantasy that Kipling spun out of *Persuasion.* The priority that Kipling gives to this novel is amusingly echoed in Humberstall's racing metaphor: as he tells his fellow-Brethren, he had 'only six books to remember. I learned the names by 'eart as Macklin placed 'em. There was one called Persuasion, first; an' the rest in a bunch, except another about some Abbey or other—last by three lengths'.

***

In these literary creations, Kipling could achieve in art what he was unable to achieve in his own life, namely closure. Humberstall and Jane Austen were safely home, with the same sense of completeness that Kipling found in her novels. In 1922, and editorial in The Times lighted on his idea, seeing in the novels ‘a world which is complete and self-existent, on a different level of consciousness from the world of effort and incompleteness, of broken beginnings and dropped ends, of noise and jolt and fury ….’[30] Momentarily, at least, in “The

Janeites" and its accompanying poem, Kipling was able to escape from the grief of his son's death, a consuming and inconsolable grief, that suffuses so much of his later writing.

Acknowledgements

In the writing of this paper, I have made use of Rudyard Kipling the biography by Andrew Lycett and *'My Boy Jack?': The Search for Kipling's Only Son* by Tonie and Valmai Holt. I have also drawn extensively upon the archive of the *Kipling Journal* and the introductions and detailed notes to Kipling's works prepared by members of The Kipling Society and available through the Society's web site.

I would like to thank those who wrote to me, including Sarah Burn (University of London Library), Professor Edgar Jones (King's College, London) Antonia Southern and George Simmers. I have also to thank the many medical and military historians and institutions, too many to list by name, whom I contacted in pursuit of evidence for the claim that Jane Austen was prescribed for the shellshocked in the First World War (see not 17 below) My particular thanks go to Professor Janet Montefiore (University of Kent) who read and commented an earlier version of this paper.

Bibliography

The Best 500 Cockney War Stories [jacket title], (London: Associated Newspapers, [1921]).

Edward Copeland & Juliet McMaster edd., *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

T.S.Eliot, 'Rudyard Kipling', in *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* (London: Faber, 1941, 1963).

Sandra M. Gilbert & Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, 2nd edn 2000).

Claire Harman, *Jane's Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009).

Tonie & Valmai Holt, *'My Boy Jack?': The Search for Kipling's Only Son* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 1998, 2007).

Claudia Johnson, "The Divine Miss Jane: Jane Austen, Janeites and the Discipline of Novel Studies", in ed. Deirdre Lynch, *Janeites: Austen's Disciples and Devotees* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Rudyard Kipling, *The Irish Guards in the Great War* (2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1923).

Debits and Credits (London: Macmillan, 1926).

ed. Sandra Kemp, *Debits and Credits* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).

ed. Janet Montefiore, *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself* (Ware: Wordsworth, 2008).

Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1999). Jan Montefiore, *Rudyard Kipling* (Tavistock, Northcote House, 2007).

George Orwell, "Rudyard Kipling" (a review of T.S. Eliot's *A Choice of Kipling's Verse*

(London: Faber, 1941), in *Horizon,* February 1942.

Thomas Pinney *ed.,The Letters of Rudyard Kipling* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 6 vols., 1990-2004).

W.L.Renwick' "Rudyard Kipling" (lecture King's College, Newcastle, 1936), *Durham University Journal,* vol. 32 (1939-49). Reprinted in Rutherford (1964).

Andrew Rutherford ed., *Kipling's Mind and Art* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1964). George Saintsbury, Dedication, *Notes on a Cellar-Book* (London: Macmillan, 1920).

John Simons,"The Times Broadsheets: A Canon for the Front", *Literature and History*

(Autumn 2002, vol. 11, no. 2).

Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood,*

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

The War Illustrated: A Pictorial Record of the Conflict of the Nations, ed. J. A. Hammerton (London: Amalgamated Press, 1914-19).

Notes

[1] See for example Gilbert & Gubar (1979, 2000), pp. 110-13; Copeland & McMaster (1997), pp. 214-17; Johnson (2000), pp. 31-35; Sutherland (2005), pp.16-23; Harman (2009), pp. 183-85.

[2] Saintsbury (Macmillan, 1920), Dedication.

[3] Kipling (2008), p.45.

[4] Preface to *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894), p.ix.

[5] *ibid.,* p.xvi.

[6] Pinney (2004) dates the writing between 6 April and 4 May 1923 (vol.5, p. 140).

[7] Humberstall was born in Leicestershire but he can be described as a cockney by virtue of his now living and working in London and for his speech, to which Kipling gives a strongly cockney flavour.

[8] Commenting on *Pretty Miss Neville* (1883) by Bithia Mary Croker, Kipling remarked that 'Somehow the turning of the phrases irresistably reminded me of Jane Austen or Harriet Beecher Stowe and I laughed', letter 7 October 1888 (Pinney, 1990, vol.1, p.260). Mrs Croker came to India in 1877, remained there for fourteen years, and wrote no less than twenty novels treating Anglo-European society, including *Pretty Miss Neville.*

[9] Letter to C.R.L. Fletcher, 10 April 1915 (Pinney, 1999, vol.4, p.296). Charles Fletcher, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, then teaching at Eton, was a historian to whose *School History of England* (1911) Kipling contributed twenty-three sections of verse. Kipling also collaborated with Fletcher in the volume of spoof Horace odes published in 1920 as the long-lost, newly-discovered *Q. Horatii Flacci Carminum Liber Quintus.*

[10] 'Mrs Kipling's diary records that in January 1917 Kipling was reading Jane Austen's novels aloud to his wife and daughter "to our great delight" [Carrington's notes from Mrs Kipling's diaries]', see The Kipling Society's notes on "The Janeites".

[11] Letter from Colonel Douglas Proby (then commanding the Irish Guard Headquarters at Buckingham Gate), 8 January 1917, Holt (2007), p. 132.

[12] Holt (2007), p.134.

[13] Kipling (1923), ii.20; Holt (2007), p.137.

[14] "The Solace of Literature in the Trenches", *The War Illustrated,* 11 December 1915, p.lxvi. The article, signed C.M., was 'gathered from conversation with a considerable number of men who have been in the trenches...'. (Ibid.). The magazine was a sensationalist patriotic weekly. Designed to boost morale, it was very popular amongst servicemen and by the end of the war achieved a circulation of 750,000. *The Times* broadsheets, however, were short-lived, their publication running from 30 August 1915 until the end of December.

[15] Imogen Gassert, quoting from the papers of W.B. Henderson, "In a foreign field: What soldiers in the trenches liked to read", *Times Literary Supplement,* 10 May 2002, pp. 17-19. As Professor Montefiore points out, 'Kipling seems to have been right about the appeal of these novels to soldiers in danger. My father Hugh Montefiore who served in Burma in World War II used to read Jane Austen when time permitted during the Battle of Kohima (April-June 1944)' (Montefiore (2007), p.175, n.16).

[16] *The Times,* 1 April 1922, pp.7, 13. The lecturer was A.B. Walkley, the paper's theatre critic.

[17] Reported by Fr Martin Jarrett-Kerr, a pupil of Brett-Smith: letter to *The Times Literary Supplement,* 3 February 1984, p. 111. I have searched widely for evidence to support this claim and amongst many replies I received the following helpful letter (7 December 2007) from Edgar Jones, Professor of the History of Medicine and Psychiatry, Programme Leader of MSc in War and Psychiatry, King's Centre for Military Health Research, King's College, London: ' I have thought about this one but cannot think of any records where you might find this information. Each hospital tended to have their own rules in terms of treatment and it depended on the interests of particular doctors. I have never seen mention of a grading of literature in the hospitals that I have studied in detail. This suggests that the advice was applied to one or two specific hospitals, possibly those in the Oxford area. If the documentary evidence survives it would either be in the papers of Brett-Smith or the records relating to these particular hospitals. Sadly 90% of hospital records were destroyed in the aftermath of WW1, 10% being kept for the official historian. I apologies for not being more helpful.'

[18] Rightly or wrongly, George Orwell termed Kipling's rendering as 'stage cockney' (Orwell, 1942). Kipling's version, however, is quite in line with the standard literary representation of cockney speech. Kipling's use of 'Demotic vernacular' is illuminatingly discussed in Montefiore (2007), ch.2.

[19] In 1919, Bairnsfather made a lecture tour, reaching Bath on 13 February. Kipling was in the audience and, after the lecture, greeted Bairnsfather with the words 'Bloody good!' (internet source).

[20] *The Times,* "Health in the Field", 9 November 1917, p.2.

[21] *Cockney War Stories* [1921], [p.5]. These stories originally appeared in the London *Evening News* and a selection of five hundred was included in the book.

[22] I owe this term to the title of the paper "Kipling and Shell-Shock: The Healing Community" given by George Simmers at the Kent Conference of the Kipling Society (7-8 September 2007); Karlin (1998), p.340.

[23] "In the Interests of the Brethren", *Debits and Credits* (1926): 'It appeared that the silent Brother was a "shell-shocker"' (p. 65); I cured a shell-shocker this spring by giving him our jewels to look after. He pretty well polished the numbers off 'em, but—it kept him from fighting Huns in his sleep' (p. 71). "The Janeites" can be regarded as a companion piece as both stories are set in the same masonic lodge, 'Faith and Works 5837', and Burges, one of the Brethren, appears in both. "A Madonna of the Trenches" is the third story in *Debits and Credits* to be set in this same lodge.

[24] Sutherland (2005), p.20.

[25] *Emma,* vol.iii, ch.6.

[26] Kipling (2008), p.xii.

[27] *ibid.,p.118.*

[28] T.S.Eliot (1963), p.14.

[29] W.L. Renwick (1936), in Rutherford (1964), p.16.

[30] *The Times,* 1922, 'Jane Austen' (lead editorial), p.13.