

Mansfield as ‘Man alone’? Katherine Mansfield’s Wartime Reading Experiences

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Two readers

John Mulgan’s novel *Man Alone* (1939) has perpetuated the iconic Kiwi myth of masculine identity founded on isolation, solitude, and rugged individualism. However, the novel is replete with descriptions of Johnson’s reading practices connecting this man ‘alone’ to the world around him. From his first arrival in Auckland to his departure for Spain, newspapers play a key role, linking Johnson to job opportunities and workers’ rights, informing him of events beyond New Zealand, situating him in the here and now. Reading provides moments of distraction from the stultifying routine on Stenning’s farm and frames his employer’s death. And from a store of old magazines and illustrated papers, reading aloud becomes a defining act of sociability that links Johnson to the old loner Bill Crawley. Johnson may warn his reader against spending too much time alone, but it is a solitude punctuated by print and one that, through print, defines his relationship to others and the world at large.

In February 1918, Katherine Mansfield was convalescing at the Hôtel Beau Rivage in Bandol, France.¹ Her husband, John Middleton Murry, had recently returned to England and Mansfield was anxious to hear from him:

I am only at the moment a person who works comes up to read newspapers, AND to wait for postmen goes down again, drinks tea. Outside the window is the scenic railway - all complete & behind that pretty piece is the war -²

Reading and writing practices such as these helped to define Mansfield’s wartime existence and to shape her literary persona. Her daily rhythms were dominated by the vagaries of local and foreign postal services and transportation systems. Her compulsive reading of newspapers and letters brought news from the war into her life, while keeping her connected to people and events from afar. Her compulsive scribbling – what Martyn Lyons terms ‘epistolary bulimia’ – mediated the familiar and foreign, constructing a world engaged with but buffered from trauma, horror and loss.³

This paper argues that investigating the role of print and reading in the lives of both fictional and historical characters offers a unique perspective on the worlds each inhabits. It introduces a new initiative, the New Zealand Reading Experience Database (RED), and suggests that even for figures as celebrated as Johnson and Katherine Mansfield, an analysis of their respective reading experiences can shed new light on literary, social, and cultural history.

RED background and contexts

The Reading Experience Database is an open-access database that enables users to investigate historic, contemporary and fictional reading practices.⁴ It was established at the Open University in 1995 through generous funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The UK-RED now contains over 30,000 searchable records of reading experiences in Britain from 1450 to 1945 and includes newly designed, interactive research and online teaching spaces. In 2008, the RED team hosted a landmark international conference ‘Evidence of Reading: Reading the Evidence’. The three volumes of essays arising from that event as well as subsequent publications marking the convergence of book history and

reception studies suggests that the history of reading is an exciting, fresh domain of scholarly investigation.

A reading experience is defined as ‘a recorded engagement with a written or printed text — beyond the mere fact of possession.’⁵ Although reading has hitherto been the most empirically elusive of interpretive textual engagements and is often equated with the literary critical activity of interpretation itself, evidence of actual reading practices are found in a wide variety of both published and unpublished sources: diaries, letters, commonplace books, memoirs, sociological surveys, criminal court and prison records, to name but a few. Each reading experience is entered into the RED database using a customized data entry form that includes salient details such as: name of reader and/or listener; demographic information such as age, gender, class, occupation, religion; work being read including title, format, genre, subject, and edition details where known and relevant; place and time of the reading experience; source of the record. Notes fields record any unique aspects of the experience and can point users to additional resources. Searching the database by word or phrase retrieves individual records, each with its unique identifier, and further enhancements enable users to browse by author, title, or reader.

In 2010, the UK team received additional AHRC funding to establish an international network or World-RED, inviting in the first instance, partners from Australia, Canada, the Netherlands and New Zealand. With a shared data structure, researchers can identify and input local reading experiences into a centralized database hosted at the Open University. By using a robust search engine with multiple filters, as well as sophisticated text mining, data analysis and visualization tools, both microhistorical projects and transnational collaborations are possible.⁶ For example, running statistical analyses over the nineteenth-century corpus can reveal the most popular authors and genres for the range of common readers currently represented in the database. This kind of ‘distant reading’ complements close analysis of intertextuality, enables comparisons across writers and readers and, as more records are added, has the potential to support or refute master narratives about historic reading practices. Scholars can probe more deeply into the impact of certain books in specific times or pursue their cultural traces through different modes of reading. Finally, the increasingly global nature of the project affirms the portability of printed matter, its breadth of circulation, and the generalizability (or not) of its reception and use.

The initial focus of the New Zealand project is ‘Reading in Conflict: Reading in World War One.’⁷ This is for several strategic reasons: war provides the single largest corpus of archival evidence related to ordinary New Zealanders; greater access to records through, in part, digitization means such evidence is increasingly available for research and teaching; the project complements the official World War One Centenary Commemorations (WW100) facilitated by the NZ Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH); the theme acts as a relatively contained and easily scorable pilot project for future funding bids and partners; a critical mass of staff and students working specifically on the social and cultural history of war as well as the history of reading is located at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW), the NZ-RED host institution. By revisiting and filtering the substantial archive of letters, diaries, newspapers and published accounts of the Great War through the lens of reading, the project aims to gain new perspectives on this turbulent time and contribute to a global understanding of the spaces and places of reading in the lives of soldiers and civilians alike, both from the theatre of war and from afar.

To date, the NZ-RED has hosted three research projects. In 2011-12, Susann Liebich was Research Associate for a major University Research Fund project: ‘New Zealand Reads: The Great War and trans-local reading cultures.’ This project focused on the New Zealand experience of reading in World War One in order to understand how this very human activity is impacted by a significant moment of dislocation and rupture. Soldiers in the trenches or in

prisoner of war (POW) camps, nurses and chaplains in the relief services, and families on the home front all read for information, comfort, and escape. What did they read, how were reading materials made available, how were various reading communities and reading cultures created and sustained? The project involved resource identification, scoping of specific sub-projects, collection and inputting of data into the NZ-RED, as well as conference papers, research articles, and supporting materials for the World RED's online 'Exploring' pages as well as MCH's WWI00 Commemoration website. In 2010, Perrine Gilkison received a Summer Research Scholarship for a project entitled: 'What did you read in the war, Daddy?' This project aimed to identify, document, and analyse the reading experiences of New Zealand literary authors, writers, journalists, musicians, and artists on the battlefield, at home, or while overseas during the Great War. Eleven figures of note were selected: A.H. Reed, Apirana Ngata, Archibald Baxter, Blanche E. Baughan, Frances Hodgkins, Isabel Maud Peacocke, Jessie Mackay, Katherine Mansfield, Ormond Burton, Walter D'Arcy Cresswell, and William Satchell. In addition to contributing data to the NZ-RED and producing 'reading biographies', Perrine focused on the conscientious objector, Archibald Baxter, father of the celebrated NZ poet, James K. Baxter, for an award-winning 'Summer Gold' poster. In 2011, she was retained as an NZ-RED research assistant for the third VUW project, working on the reading experiences of Katherine Mansfield during WWI.

Mansfield as RED subject

Quite apart from the challenge of revisiting one of New Zealand's most famous literary icons from the perspective of a history of reading, Katherine Mansfield is a fertile testing ground for what we have fondly come to term 'the KM phenomenon.' Like the books she read and wrote, Mansfield is an epitome of the trans-local, grounded simultaneously in both a New Zealand and an international context, the dislocations of war, sickness, and literary ambition exacerbating this tendency to mobility. While we have claimed her as a New Zealander for this project, her reading experiences could also justifiably fit within a UK-RED, or within a French initiative of this kind.

Moreover, while recorded readerly interactions with written texts tend to be rare finds, we acknowledge that this evidence must be subjected to the same forensic scrutiny as any other source. In the case of Mansfield, a literary and professional reader whose cult of personality was shaped as much by her writing as by her husband's posthumous editorial interventions, reading experiences can be a highly constructed reality inflected with the twin imperatives of desire and memory. During the war, for example, Mansfield reported that she received a card from a friend of her brother's who was with him when he was 'blown to bits.' Writing to her friend S.S. Koteliansky, she maintained that the card said Leslie Beauchamp's final words were: 'Lift my head, Katy, I can't breathe.' Although this statement enacts the intensity of the siblings' bond, C.K. Stead sought out the original letter, and discovered that the name 'Katy' was not there at all; Mansfield had literally written herself into the story.⁸ Daniel Allington has raised the issue of embellishment or fabrication of recorded reading experiences, and also of those reading experiences that go unreported.⁹ Readers and writers inhabit worlds of allusion and inference which may or may not be acknowledged, declared or documented. Such intertextuality challenges the very definition of a reading experience. Moreover, the impulse to create an authoritative, critical edition of Mansfield's writing and the assumption that the NZ-RED should only cite from such sources, tells us as much, if not more, about contemporary editorial theory and scholarly practice as it suppresses the equally fascinating dimension of the construction of identity through print over time and across space.

Martyn Lyons has written about the complex processes of selection and destruction that result in the formation of a personal archive and warns that '[s]urviving letters must be treated with prudence.'¹⁰ We might have access to the letters, notebooks, scrapbooks, ephemera,

material artefacts, even homes of Katherine Mansfield, but we may never obtain a full or accurate record of any given individual's reading life.¹¹ In fact, what is absent may be as, if not more, indicative of a life than what remains. Be that as it may, by amassing and analysing extant empirical evidences of reading, by refracting them through various historically-specific lenses, and by triangulating them with a range of reading experiences shared by other historical readers, we can start understanding the ways in which people's lives are constructed through their reading worlds. As David Miall has noted in his landmark essay on the state of the literary discipline, 'If the act of reading is central to our work as scholars, then it appears that important work remains toward clarifying the field.'¹² Looking at the evidence of reading experiences in conflict, we can begin to interrogate the ways in which war, literature, and everyday life intersect.

'Woman alone': absence as a way of life

Absence is a recurring theme in many narratives that relate to the Great War. Joy Damousi has observed that 'on the home front, war had extinguished any certainty, and replaced it with absence as a way of life. Emotional life was determined by the stark columns of casualty and death lists in the daily press, and the arrival of telegrams announcing death had a shattering impact.'¹³ During the Great War, Mansfield spent considerable periods of time alone. She went from England to France several times: once to pursue an affair, other times to pursue her work, to escape unhappiness in England, and to improve her poor health. She was separated – often by choice, sometimes by necessity – from her fiancé, John Middleton Murry; from her family, an ocean away in New Zealand; and from her brother Leslie, first by distance and then by his death. This often-solitary lifestyle meant that she very much felt the absence shared by many in wartime, and was heavily reliant on her reading experiences not just for reading casualty and death lists, but also for news, opinions, companionship, distractions, inspiration, and reassurance.

In an undated journal entry from 1915, Mansfield provides a reading experience of Henry James's *Confidence*. As well as critiquing the book, she identifies with the book's hero, Bernard Longueville, and this leads her to a discussion about spending time alone:

I bought a book by Henry James yesterday and read it, as they say, 'until far into the night.' It was not very interesting or very good, but I can wade through pages and pages of dull, turgid James for the sake of that sudden sweet shock, that violent throb of delight that he gives me at times. I don't doubt this is genius: only there is an extraordinary amount of pan and an amazingly *raffiné* flash --- One thing I want to annotate. His hero, Bernard Longueville, brilliant, rich, dark, agile, etc., though a witty companion, is perhaps wittiest and most amused when he is alone, and preserves his best things for himself. ... All the attributive adjectives apart I am witty, I know, and a good companion — but I feel my case is exactly like his — the amount of minute and delicate joy I get out of watching people and things when I am alone is simply enormous — I really only have 'perfect fun' with myself.¹⁴

Mansfield goes on to say,

I don't miss J. at all now — I don't want to go home, I feel quite content to live here, in a furnished room, and watch ... Life with other people becomes a blur: it does with J., but it's enormously valuable and marvellous when I'm alone, the detail of life, the *life* of life.¹⁵

At this stage in her life and in the war, she was a vibrant woman of the world – or so she portrayed herself in her journal. Professing that she did not miss Murry, her solitude was

depicted as something that she chose for herself, and could easily amend at a moment's notice. However, as her solitary sojourns continued, the joy she experienced in solitude was soon replaced with a feverish appetite for letters as a form of companionship. Indeed, Martha Hanna, in her study of the epistolary tradition in France during the Great War, has characterized letters as the 'consolation and commiseration that made endurance possible'.¹⁶ As Mansfield wrote to Murry in March 1915:

... I came in and read your Monday night letter – I read it and then I read it again – Then I dropped in into my heart and it made ever bigger circles of love – flowing over and over until I was quite healed of that torment of waiting.¹⁷

This 'torment' was something she experienced a great deal. Towards the end of the war, her loneliness and the solace she sought in reading letters – particularly from Murry – were even more pronounced. In January 1918 Mansfield declared to Murry:

The Lord took pity on me today and sent me a letter from you. As it was only written on Wednesday I thought that very good. I had been told that letters took 8 days at least! I read it from beginning to end and then from end to beginning, upside down and then diagonally. I ate it, breathed it and finally, fell out of bed, opened the shutters and saw that the day was blue and the sun shining ... I still have an appalling cold, cough and flat-iron [Mansfield's nickname for her lung], but your letter was the best medicine, poultice, plaster, elixir, draught I could have had. Bless you for it.¹⁸

Sickness and separation may lead to overwrought sentimentality, but Damousi reminds us that such intimacy was characteristic of many letters exchanged between couples during World War One and Hanna suggests it was a method employed to transcend enforced wartime absences.¹⁹ Shared reading experiences and opinions relating to the world of print fulfilled an important function, helping people feel connected, forging and sustaining relationships through correspondence.²⁰ In March 1918 Mansfield wrote to Murry about her respect for the English poets:

I see Wordsworth, par exemple—so *honest* and *living & pure*.
(Here's the courier.)

Good God — Bogy — your Tuesday letter — and I read 'Wordsworth — so honest and so pure.' And remember my letter yesterday, and here is yours in answer — just the same — *We are one*. Well I suppose I ought to accept this — but oh, the sweet sweet shock that goes through my heart each time it happens!²¹

These mutual responses to Wordsworth confirmed that even though the pair were separated physically, they were not separated intellectually, emotionally, or spiritually. Writing and reading provided connection and continuity.

Reading conflict

Edmund King, in his work on transnational reading and the Great War, has written that British readers possessed an almost insatiable appetite for war news, and newspapers and magazines were widely read. Written culture was vital to the experience of World War [One]. Reading allowed people not only to keep in touch with current events, but to keep in touch with each other.²²

Damousi points out the particular importance of the newspaper which, being both cheap and readily available, 'became the primary form of communication during the war and never

before or since have newspapers so dominated public communication.’²³ While Mansfield demonstrates that the comfort and companionship she received from letters were indispensable to her – and to her health – newspapers were an equally vital part of her wartime existence. She bought them, borrowed them, and received them in the post.

During her time in France, Mansfield was understandably anxious for news from England. Near the beginning of 1918, she recounts a reading experience to Murry:

I sit down on a milestone & take out the Daily Mail. I turn my back to the shining sea & the fishers all out in their little boats spearing fish. Air raid in London. Between 9-10 and again at 12.30. Still in Progress. Thats all — He would have had his dinner and be on the way home — Or if he escaped that one he was in bed — Today is Wednesday. It happened on Monday. It is no use wiring. A cart comes up full of chunks of hay. An old man in a blue blouse with great bushy eyebrows holds up his hand & cries ‘Il fait beau au soleil [...]’ and I smile. When he passes I shut my eyes — This must be borne. This must be lived through.²⁴

As she turns away from the world at hand, the London news arrives first through the newspapers, and Mansfield is left to speculate upon the fate of her beloved Murry. The *Daily Mail* was an unashamedly populist and hugely influential tabloid founded by Lord Northcliffe, owner of *The Times*, which, upon outbreak of war, offered to pay for letters sent by serving soldiers to their families.²⁵ Interactions with the press could connect people with distant individuals and communities, but also with those in closer proximity. ‘In receiving their news through personal letters and the daily press, families with a serving soldier were drawn together into a collective experience of anticipating mourning.’²⁶ Though Murry was not a serving soldier and Mansfield was not surrounded by family, her newspaper reading became the conduit through which the act of mourning was rehearsed. Indeed, as this experience reveals, the fact that she was unwilling or unable to share her pain with a friendly passerby makes her solitude all the more pronounced. Only by the time of her posthumously published short story, ‘The Fly,’ was Mansfield able to translate mourning into a shared, if ambivalent, experience.²⁷

Amanda Laugesen has demonstrated that various reading networks during the war existed beyond the act of letter-writing and the dissemination of news media: ‘Many soldiers shared their reading experiences with family and friends back home, not only sharing thoughts, but also the reading of particular texts (which were not only recommended, but might also be physically sent between those family members [or by various aid agencies such as the Red Cross]).’²⁸ Civilians like Katherine Mansfield and her correspondents shared and discussed reading materials at length and even reported back on the reading experiences of others. As Mansfield wrote to Murry in January 1918:

My mother sent us great and little blessings today – to ‘you & Jack’. She has a feeling that ‘a happy future is unfolding for you both’, though of course our letters haven’t arrived yet. She told me a way to make bread which sounds very easy for our farm. She says after the war she is going to do all the cooking in their house & Father is going to do all the washing. Father bought the entire library with that house which sounds a pearl. He has just finished reading Robinson Crusoe. My Grandma Beauchamp is dead. She had a stroke & died.²⁹

This letter illustrates various interactions between readers and texts, and the eclipse of distance through reading networks. Through Mansfield’s narration, it becomes evident how

important was her mother's blessing on her relationship with Murry. Harold Beauchamp's reading of *Robinson Crusoe* was apparently of such great interest that it was reported by Annie Beauchamp to Mansfield who then relayed the 'news' to Murry. And all of this before Mansfield mentioned that her Grandmother had died, or shared with Murry other significant family news. The letter also mentions the sheer quantity of correspondence that characterized Mansfield's stay in France; eleven letters, the amount that she claimed to have received on that day, is not insignificant.³⁰ And receiving letters from Murry – 'Yours were the only ones I really coveted – devoured –' indicates once again that he is clearly the one whose absence she feels most strongly. Hanna concluded that while less intimate ties such as extended family links became increasingly irrelevant during war (a theory that possibly accounts for the low ranking of the news of Grandma Beauchamp's death), close relationships were sustained and even strengthened through practices such as letter writing and the sending of small gifts.³¹

In spite of the solitary nature of reading, Mansfield's reading networks were extensive and complex, and included newspapers, magazines and books sent from New Zealand. While reading the Christmas Annual of the *New Zealand Free Lance*, a weekly paper of social and sporting news, Mansfield remarks on the two short stories published in the 1915 edition written by her cousin, Ethel Beauchamp (referred to by Mansfield as 'little Ethel').³²

Two days ago I received from you a copy of the Free Lance. Like a book which Mother sent me it had been much detained by the censors and it arrived in a perfect wrapping of various labels signifying that it had been "opened and examined". I was very much interested to read the contributions by 'little Ethel'. She must be quite a leading light of Picton City. I remember her as a little pale girl, very thin, with flaxen hair in the charge of Cousin Ethel who always seemed to wear a mackintosh and a sailor hat tied on with a white silk motor veil!³³

Mansfield consumes a text read, presumably, by her father, the censors, and an imagined community of *Free Lance* readers. Not only does this text serve to connect her to her family and home country, it also revives in her memories of her youth in New Zealand. The intrusion of the censors in this experience, even if their examination also included reading this wildly popular periodical, was yet another reminder that one could seldom escape war, even in what would ordinarily be the safest of havens, home. We have not to date uncovered any 'experiences' of Mansfield reading New Zealand literature during World War One, apart from the short stories of Ethel, nor have we been able, as yet, to examine items from her personal library for supplementary physical evidence of reading such as marginalia. As early as 1904, Mansfield kept a record of "Books I have read" in her notebooks; these lists were later supplanted by her 'stray jottings' where the names of authors often encode their works, frequently without commentary at the same writing session.³⁴ She read a great many English classics, as well as French, Russian, and other international titles. According to Laugesen's research, the popularity of classics was a well-established pattern among Australian soldiers, as these works were familiar *and* readily available.³⁵ The civilian Mansfield's focus on the English classics could be influenced by many factors: education and class; familiarity and availability; a lack of interest in New Zealand works; an assertion of her 'British' identity. As she was attempting to develop her own literary voice and genre, more modern works were a problematic arena and generally the object of her critical reviewing, a fascinating dimension of her diverse reading practices.

Edmund King has observed that 'Aside from being a way of maintaining bonds with family, the written word provided another vital component in a soldier's mental armoury – a means of distraction.'³⁶ Yet as a civilian, Mansfield too needed some form of 'mental

armoury.’ Mansfield wrote to Anne Estelle Rice from Chelsea in December 1917, after Rice gave her a copy of French writer Henri Duvernois’s *Nounette*:

A thousand thanks for *Nounette*. My God, after a visit from *well-meaning* relatives and friends who assailed me with:

“Don't you think Lloyd George is *too splendid*?”

“I do think the King has behaved *splendidly* during the war. Don't you? It must be *too splendid* to be a man at a time like this, don't you think?”—

I have simply lain in bed gasping and fanned myself with ce livre charmant. It breathes of France.³⁷

Mansfield read to escape, not just the war, but also the jingoistic refrains of ‘unsplendid’ visitors buying into a dominant masculinist rhetoric, and to escape, symbolically at least, from her life in England. While the war was not physically affecting her at this stage, she clearly needed some intellectual respite. It is ironic, therefore, that of all the reading matter populating everyday life, it is the same Lloyd George’s speech intermediated through another popular newspaper that fixes Mansfield’s attention and shocks us into recognizing a much wider range of reading experience sources. Waste paper reinscribes the waste of war into quite a different register.³⁸

My sticks of rhubarb were wrapped up in a copy of the "Star" containing Lloyd George's last, more than eloquent speech. As I snipped up the rhubarb my eye fell, was fixed and fastened on, that sentence wherein he tells us that we have grasped our niblick and struck out for the open course.³⁹

Conclusion

Mansfield’s life and work predates the publication of *Man Alone* and while her experiences are vastly different from those of the book’s protagonist, their reading experiences are comparable. While Mansfield sometimes sought out a life far from the madding crowd, she also needed this solitude to be of her own choosing. Indeed, the passionate simultaneous rejection of and rejoicing in the company of others that Mansfield’s wartime reading experiences depict, as well as the private spaces that also embodied and negotiated her personal and professional engagement with public worlds create a legacy far removed from Mulgan’s *Man Alone* or wartime masculinity. Collecting additional wartime reading experiences for the NZ-Reading Experience Database from a range of fictional characters and historical figures will enable a further examination of these themes in the wartime reading lives of others. It will give us an indication of how commonplace or atypical Mansfield’s experiences were and whether the literary or professional reader/writer can or should be retained as a category apart in the historiography of reading. Finally, it will help us understand whether or how the reading experiences of soldiers and civilians at the front, close to the theatre of war, or at a far remove were shared, different, or interwoven.

¹ Where Mansfield is quoted in this paper, transcriptions are faithful to the edition from which they were taken. Reading experiences and their interpretations are historically specific as are the range and dynamics of editorial interventions which themselves are also evidence of a certain type of reading practice.

- ² Cherry A. Hankin, ed., *Letters Between Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry*, London, 1988, p.109. ‘To J.M. Murry, [Hôtel Beau Rivage, Bandol], Monday, 4 February [1918]’.
- ³ Martyn Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France*, Toronto, 2008, pp.186-7.
- ⁴ While the focus of this paper is the recorded reading practices of historical New Zealand figures, the RED database can also be used to record and investigate reading experiences found within works of fiction.
- ⁵ ‘The Reading Experience Database (RED), 1450–1945’, available from <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/experience.htm>, accessed 31 October 2011.
- ⁶ See ‘The Orlando Project’ for an example of the role computers and experimental collaborations can play in the study of women’s literary history <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/orlando/>.
- ⁷ <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/wtapress/nz-red>. As of September 2012, a reconfiguration of the UK-RED project into the database host of the World-RED means that the NZ-RED project is not yet in the public domain. A crowdsourcing and crowdtranslation platform is currently being built for the NZ project. In future, the NZ-RED will be expanded to include other periods, places, and projects.
- ⁸ C.K. Stead, ‘Men and Mansfield in *Mansfield*’, in Charles Ferrall and Jane Stafford, eds., *Katherine Mansfield’s Men: Perspectives from the 2004 Katherine Mansfield Birthplace lecture series*, Wellington, 2004, pp.128-9.
- ⁹ Daniel Allington, ‘On the use of anecdotal evidence in reception study and the history of reading’, in Bonnie Gunzenhauser, ed., *Reading in History: New Methodologies from the Anglo-American Tradition*, London, 2010, pp.11-28.
- ¹⁰ Martyn Lyons, ‘Love Letters and Writing Practices: On *Écritures Intimes* in the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Family History*, 24 (1999), p.233. Available from <http://jfh.sagepub.com/content/24/2/232>, accessed 10 July 2011.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.232.
- ¹² David S. Miall, ‘Empirical Approaches to Studying Literary Readers: The State of the Discipline’, *Book History*, 9, 2006, p.296.
- ¹³ Joy Damousi, *The Labour of Loss: Mourning, Memory and Wartime Bereavement in Australia*, Cambridge, 1999, p.18.
- ¹⁴ J. Middleton Murry, ed., *Journal of Katherine Mansfield*, London, 1929, pp.29-30.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Martha Hanna, ‘A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I’, *The American Historical Review*, 108, 5 (2003), p.1361. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/10.1086/529969.pdf?acceptTC=true>, accessed 12 July 2011.
- ¹⁷ Hankin, p.48. ‘To J.M. Murry, [13 quai aux Fleurs, Paris], Saturday – [27 March 1915]’.
- ¹⁸ John Middleton Murry, ed., *Katherine Mansfield’s letters to John Middleton Murry; 1913-1922*, London, 1951, p.119. ‘Letter to J.M. Murry, [Bandol], Monday, [14 January 1918]’.
- ¹⁹ Damousi, p.66. Hanna, p.1348.
- ²⁰ Damousi, p.19.
- ²¹ Vincent O’Sullivan, ed., *Katherine Mansfield; Selected Letters*, Oxford; New York, 1990, p.76. ‘Hôtel Beau Rivage, Bandol], Sunday morning, [3 March 1918], (3 more Sundays only)’.
- ²² Edmund King, ‘Reading and World War I’, *History of Reading: An Introduction to Reading in the Past*. Available from <http://openlearn.open.ac.uk/mod/oucontent/view.php?id=401089§ion=6>, accessed 27 June 2011.
- ²³ Damousi, p.21.
- ²⁴ O’Sullivan, p.68. ‘Letter to J.M.Murry, [Hôtel Beau Rivage, Bandol], Thursday, 31 January 1918’.
- ²⁵ D. George Boyce, ‘Harmsworth, Alfred Charles William, Viscount Northcliffe (1865–1922)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edition, Jan 2011. Available from <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33717>, accessed 1 November 2011.
- ²⁶ Damousi, p.19.
- ²⁷ Joanna Scutts, ‘Battlefield Cemeteries, Pilgrimage, and Literature after the First World War: The Burial of the Dead’, *English Literature in Transition 1820-1920*, 52, 4, (2009), pp.407-9.
- ²⁸ Amanda Laugesen, ‘Australian Soldiers and the World of Print During the Great War’, in Mary Hammond and Shafquat Towheed, eds., *Publishing in the First World War: Essays in Book History*, Hampshire; New York, 2007, p.101.
- ²⁹ Hankin, p.102. ‘To J.M. Murry, [Hôtel Beau Rivage, Bandol], Sunday [20 January 1918]’.
- ³⁰ Martyn Lyons has documented the volume of letters sent to and from the front, noting 4 million pieces of mail handled daily by the French postal service in 1915 alone; one soldier sent 3-4 letters and received 2-3 per day.

‘French Soldiers and their Correspondence: Towards a History of Writing Practices in the First World War’, *French History*, 17, 1 (2003), p.82

³¹ Hanna, p.1357.

³² Vincent O’Sullivan and Margaret Scott, *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield: Volume One; 1903-1917*, Oxford, 1984, p.252, n. 1.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.251. To Harold Beauchamp, ‘6 March 1916; Villa Pauline, Bandol, (Var), France’.

³⁴ Margaret Scott, ed., *The Katherine Mansfield Notebooks*, Volume 1, Wellington, 1997, p.213, n.210.

³⁵ Laugesen, p.99.

³⁶ King.

³⁷ J. Middleton Murry, ed., *The Letters of Katherine Mansfield: Volume I*, London, 1928, pp.87-88. ‘To Anne Estelle Rice, [Chelsea], Saturday, 22 December 1917’. [*Nounette, ou la déesse aux cent bouches* is a French book by Henri Duvernois, first published 1913].

³⁸ Leah Price, ‘Getting the Reading Out of It: Paper Recycling in Mayhew’s London’, in Ina Ferris, Paul Keen, eds., *Bookish Histories: Books, Literature, and Commercial Modernity, 1700-1900*, London, 2009, pp.148-66; see also Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*, Princeton; Oxford, 2012.

³⁹ Katherine Mansfield, J. Middleton Murry, eds., *Journal of Katherine Mansfield*, Hamburg; Paris; Bologna, 1935, p.89. Available from http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/record_details.php?id=3820, accessed 31 October 2011.