The Jane Austen Society

Deirdre Le Faye
1933 – 2020

Report for 2020

Contents

Chairman's Report for 2020

The pandemic has brought with it the viral spread of new variant clichés: 'unprecedented times', 'a year like no other' – the phrases have become all too familiar. And of course the Jane Austen Society has been affected like every other part of our lives. 2020 was to have been our northern year, with a Study Day in Newcastle (in addition to the annual event in London) and the Conference in York, both organised by Marilyn Joice and the Northern Branch. It is a bitter disappointment that these had to be cancelled. Study days are not practicable by Zoom, so we expect to hold the postponed York Conference in September 2021.

The AGM too had to be cancelled, and thanks to the inspiration and leadership of Emma Clery, the Society provided an online programme of lectures, discussions and other items. A version of Emma's own contribution, on the founding of the Society, appears in this *Report*, in place of the usual live lecture delivered at the AGM. An extract from Alison Daniell's presentation on Elizabeth Knight of Chawton House is also included. The Society has just marked its eightieth birthday; its foundation in 1940, at a time of much graver crisis even than now, puts our present troubles in perspective. Chawton House hosted the event, and contributed much of the content; we are very grateful to them. Especially remarkable were the greetings from Jane Austen societies all over the world. We hope that with the pandemic past we may be able to maintain and develop international links.

A slide from Professor Cleary's online presentation

The Society's Groups and Branches have already proved instrumental in promoting world-wide connections throughout 2020 by way of Zoom events. Their vigour and resourcefulness in adversity have been splendid. The London Group, with its impressive range of events and activities, has returned to being a Branch.

We have completed the transfer of the objects previously owned by the Society into the ownership of the Jane Austen House and made an agreement for the permanent loan of Edward Knight's portrait to Chawton House. Your President and I signed the agreements at the museum, and Chawton House treated us, your Secretary and the Chairs and Directors of the House and Museum to a socially distanced lunch on the House's lawn on a beautiful late summer day. It would be more accurate to say that it was physically distanced but socially close, as we discussed ways in which the three charities might collaborate. Even Mrs Elton would have been hard put to it to fault the hospitality, and Mr Woodhouse could not have persuaded us to fret about getting cold.

Lunch on the lawn at Chawton House

Under the leadership of David Richardson and Fiona Ainsworth, we have commissioned a new website. The present site is excellent in content but now dated in presentation, and the new site will have enhanced functionality as well as a more stylish appearance. The plan is for the site to go live ahead of the 2021 AGM.

Deirdre le Faye, a Vice-President of the Society, died in August. I wrote a tribute for the autumn *News Letter* and some more memories are due to appear in the spring 2021 *News Letter*. Maureen Stiller's full obituary appears in this report, together with four longer tributes from the wider Austen community. It is unlikely that there will ever again be anyone with so universal a knowledge of all things Austen. In her letter of farewell, the last email that I (and many others) received from her, she wrote that she was 'squealing with rage' because her previous email had bounced back to her, with the message 'too many recipients'. That testifies to her forthrightness, her courage and vigour to the end, and to the great number of those who admired and were helped by her.

Richard Jenkyns

Transfer Of Society Assets

At the Society's Annual General Meeting in July 2019, members were advised that the Society's Board of Trustees had taken the decision to transfer ownership of all its assets to Jane Austen's House. This was achieved on a beautiful sunny day on 14 September 2020 by a Deed of Gift signed by the Society's President, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles and Chairman, Richard Jenkyns, and the House's Director, Elizabeth Dunford, and Chair of the Trustees, Isabel Hughes. The list of assets is set out below.

Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, Richard Jenkyns, Isabel Hughes and Lizzie Dunford at Jane Austen's House

The aim of the Society on its inception in 1940 was not only to secure ownership of the House but also to source as many original Austen artefacts as possible. The Society's Trustees managed the House in the early days, so any asset was immediately placed in the House, without too much documentation. The House then became an independent entity, but on its recent accession to museum status, it has been necessary to catalogue all of its assets. Since the Society's artefacts had always been in their care, it was agreed to grant the House possession of them in perpetuity, but this could not be done until the Society had placed legal notices seeking the original owners. None responded to those notices, so the Society was able to carry out the formal transfer in time to celebrate its 80th anniversary in 2020 and the 70th anniversary of the House.

The Society also owns the portrait of Edward Austen Knight, which hangs in Chawton House (formerly Library), but the condition of its acquisition does not

allow the Society to relinquish ownership. So, on the same day, a formal Loan Agreement was signed by Sir Sherard and Richard Jenkyns, and Chawton's Chief Executive, Katie Childs, and Chair of Trustees, Louise Ansdell, which provides for its continued presence there under specific conditions.

Katie Childs, Richard Jenkyns, Louise Ansdell and Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles at Chawton House

Object	**Description, date or period**
1. Topaz Cross (Jane Austen's)	George III
2. Topaz Cross (Cassandra Austen's)	George III
3. Gold chain (Jane Austen's)	
4. Letter – Jane Austen to Cassandra E. Austen	26 May 1801
5. Tripod table (Jane Austen's)	Walnut, early 18th century
6. Patchwork cover	Made by Jane Austen and her family
7. Miniature portrait of Thomas Brodnax-May-Knight	Oil on ivory with gold rim mount and eye clasp
8. Watercolour of Fanny Catherine Knight	By Cassandra Austen; early 19th C
9. Watercolour of The Old Post Office Chawton	Signed with monogram and dated 1920
10. Textile	A piece of muslin with sprig and feather design donated by Dr R.W. Chapman
11. Dress	Blue / maroon stripe c 1830s
12. Oil portrait of John Austen III	
13. Oil portrait of Jane, daughter of John Austen	

14. Embroidery	Framed with bird design late 18th C
15. Embroidery	Framed with flower design late 18th C
16. Silhouette of William Knight, nephew of Jane Austen	Framed copy of a life-size original
17. Silhouette of Elizabeth Caroline Knight, daughter of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
18. Silhouette of Gertrude Knight, daughter of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
19. Silhouette of Edward Bridges Knight, son of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
20. Silhouette of Richard Knight, son of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
21. Silhouette of Arthur Charles Knight, son of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
22. Silhouette of Frances Louisa Knight, daughter of William Knight	Framed copy of a life-size original
23. M Keynes bibliography of Jane Austen	Book owned by Dr Chapman
24. Book of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen Vol 1	First edition 1814
25. Book of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen Vol 2	First edition 1814
26. Book of *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen Vol 3	First edition 1814
27. Book of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* by Jane Austen Vol 1	First edition 1818
28. Book of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* by Jane Austen Vol 2	First edition 1818
29. Book of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* by Jane Austen Vol 3	First edition 1818
30. Book of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* by Jane Austen Vol 4	First edition 1818
31. Book of *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen Vol 1	Second edition 1813
32. Book of *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen Vol 2	Second edition 1813
33. Book of *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen Vol 3	Second edition 1813
34. Book of *T'Other Miss Austen* by Freeman, K.	Published 1957

Deirdre Le Faye
26 October 1933 – 16 August 2020

Many members might not know that our former Vice-President was christened Deirdre Gillian Gina Smith, or that her mother's maiden surname was Lucovich. That she disliked *Pride and Prejudice* when reading it as a set text at school might come as an even greater surprise and hardly a promising start for someone who became renowned throughout the Jane Austen world as the 'go-to' scholar possessing an incomparable knowledge of the author's life, family, friends and acquaintances.

Deirdre was born in Bournemouth, her mother having been sent home from Burma by her father, who was working there for the Indian Forestry Service. When Deirdre was two years old, her father rejoined the family but died six years later, leaving the family in financial straits – a somewhat Austenian trope. Deirdre was subsequently educated on a scholarship at the Reading High School on the London Road, at that time called the Abbey School. Despite an enthusiasm for learning and close study, Deirdre found school lessons boring and she left before her sixteenth birthday to take up another scholarship at a secretarial college in South Kensington. She occupied two administrative posts in London before working in the Department of Medieval Antiquities at the British Museum. By now, Deirdre was no longer Smith, but Le Faye, the anglicised maiden name of her maternal grandmother, adopted by Deirdre's mother Anne in 1952, because she felt Smith to be too ordinary.

In the 1970s Deirdre joined the Camden History Society and began cataloguing the graves in St John's Churchyard, Hampstead. There she stumbled upon the joint burials of Jane Austen's paternal aunt Philadelphia Hancock, her daughter Eliza and Eliza's son Hastings. Many years later, in *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin': The Life and Letters of Eliza de Feuillide* (2002), Deirdre speculated why the graves were there – perhaps Eliza and her mother had gone to Hampstead to consult a doctor about Philadelphia's last illness. She never found the definitive answer, but the intriguing location of the burials kindled a determination to discover more about the wider Austen family. What fully ignited the flame was a visit to the former Austen house in Chawton, now known as Jane Austen's House, which was then only partially open to the public for an admission fee of sixpence (2½ pence). She spent the rest of her life in diligent research, neatly combining it in the early

years with what she called "cheerful holidays" on archaeological digs.

Subsequent to James Edward Austen-Leigh's original biography *A Memoir of Jane Austen*, published in 1870, the 20th century produced other offerings by Jane Austen's collateral descendants, by scholars such as R.W. Chapman and by lovers of her fictional works, like Elizabeth Jenkins, Constance Hill and David Cecil. Deirdre added extensively to their findings, tracking down surviving Austen family members, particularly the Austen-Leighs in Winchester, who held a massive archive which she waded through over a five-year period. This initial research was the basis for ever deeper delvings into widely-scattered Austen papers, including diaries, journals, wills, tax receipts, birth, marriage and death certificates. The accumulated material together with the extensive archive of Edward Impey, an Austen-Leigh nephew, fed into the first edition of *Jane Austen: A Family Record* in 1989 (revised and reprinted 2004).

Over the years, many illustrious authors, academics, researchers and family members have served on the Jane Austen Society's Committee. In her early years as a member, Deirdre became acquainted with Elizabeth Jenkins, a founder member of the Society, and co-edited a publication of Jane Austen's letters with David Gilson (*A Bibliography of Jane Austen*). She also produced the slim *Reminiscences of Caroline Austen* (reissued 2004) for the Society. It was, therefore, fitting that she was invited to address the Society's Annual General Meeting on 15 July 1989, attended by over 400 members, her title being '"To dwell together in unity": Jane Austen's family background'. She was subsequently invited to join the Society's Committee and attended her first meeting on 9 January 1991, under the chairmanship of Brian Southam. She served on the Committee under the subsequent chairmanships of Patrick Stokes, David Selwyn and Elizabeth Proudman until July 2014. After standing down, she accepted the role of Vice-President of the Society.

During this period, Deirdre published *The Jane Austen Cookbook* with Maggie Black (1995 reprinted 2011), *Fanny Knight's Diaries* (2000), *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin'* (2002), *Jane Austen; the World of her Novels* (2002), *So You Think You Know Jane Austen* with John Sutherland (2005), *Jane Austen's Steventon* (2007), and *Jane Austen's Country Life* (2014). Of most value to scholars is her magnus opus, the magisterial *Chronology* (2008) which incorporates over 15,000 entries detailing events in the life of the Austen family, their relations and acquaintances from 1600 to 2003, incorporating an almost weekly record between 1770 and 1872. It also provides thirty-two family trees with their interconnections. This was followed in 2011 by the comprehensive *Jane Austen's Letters*, currently in its 4th edition. In addition to these, she also produced a range of articles for the Society's *Annual Reports*, and monographs for other organisations such as the British Library, *The Times Literary Supplement* and the *Review of English Studies*, among many others. A list she made of her ninety-two publications up to 2020 covers six closely-typed pages.

In 2012, Deirdre's scholarship was recognized with an honorary doctorate from Southampton University and in 2014 the Royal Society of Literature awarded her

the Benson Medal, an honour granted to an elite range of writers including Lytton Strachey, E.M. Forster, Philip Larkin and Carmen Calil. Deirdre was a member of the editorial board of the Cambridge University Press which brought out comprehensive annotated editions of *The Works of Jane Austen* in eight volumes (2005-08), and became a Patron of Chawton House (Library), where her personal Austen archive is deposited for the use of future scholars.

Deirdre dealt only in solid, evidence-based facts. She was memorably forthright, pouncing on spurious claims and exploding the many myths that continue to proliferate around Jane Austen – such as where she supposedly slept, ate, danced, or stopped on her way between one location and another. Deirdre expended much time and energy in refuting as many errors as she could, calling in the support of numerous reputable organisations such as the National Portrait Gallery. But she was unvaryingly generous in sharing her expertise and information whenever and wherever required and this extended to the Society's two major sister organisations in Australia and North America, as well as to the many individual scholars and academics who, metaphorically, beat a path to her door.

Such was her reach and her generosity that her last brave email to friends, colleagues and correspondents, telling them that she was dying, was returned to her inbox with the message 'Too many recipients'. Deirdre's last months bear testimony to Dylan Thomas's 'rage against the dying of the light'. She knew that although her mind would remain as sharp as ever, motor neurone disease would rob her of the physical ability to complete unfinished business. Since her death, tributes have poured in from all over the Jane Austen world. We will not see her like again.

Deirdre Le Faye is buried in the quiet rural churchyard of St Peter's, Portishead. RIP Deirdre.

Maureen Stiller

St Peter's Church, Portishead, Somerset

A personal tribute to Deirdre Le Faye by Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles

President of the Jane Austen Society

Like so many Janeites, I knew Deirdre Le Faye for *what* she was long before I knew either *who* she was or the full scale of her achievement.

Deirdre bestrode the commanding heights of Austen scholarship. For an enthusiastic but relatively ignorant schoolboy, undergraduate and adult student of Jane Austen, Deirdre's reputation was that of a – at times *the* – high priestess of our extraordinary cult of human sensibility: her books on my mother's and grandmother's shelves, and now mine; her notes and articles in the Society's proceedings; one of the giants in the front row in the marquee for the annual meeting.

Deirdre Le Faye's very name connoted that larger and undying universe of Jane Austen, a universe in which the characters in Jane's novels, together with her family and friends spread two hundred years ago across Southern England, seem to mix and mingle two centuries on with the ever-growing legion of her devotees, who move with effortless ease between worlds real and imagined, past and present. After a life spent crossing and re-crossing that porous frontier, Deirdre's work showed that Jane Austen's artful fabrications are a truer guide to the underlying realities of human existence than our own poor perceptions.

Deirdre Le Faye not only could have been invented by Jane Austen, as she, at her little writing table, wondered how best to turn the walkers in the Winchester Road into art; in a sense, the Deirdre we knew *was* invented by Jane Austen, or, more precisely, by all she brought to the study of Jane Austen over so many years and in so many ways and places. And so, as I sat beside Deirdre in the Chawton House kitchen, at the lunch which the Society gives for the speaker at the AGM each year, in my mind's ear the words she spoke moved imperceptibly from being about Jane Austen to being in Jane Austen.

Only in the last few years as the Society's President did I come to know Deirdre well. For no obvious reason, we seemed to end up sitting next to each other at those AGM lunches, and we talked, or rather Deirdre talked, and I listened. She revealed so much about her childhood; how she came first to love and then to know Jane Austen; her rigorous and robust approach to scholarship; and, surprisingly, her life in Portishead. Unforgiving in her intolerance of intellectual sloppiness, she had – I thought – a softer, shyer, side, as well as an only half-concealed sense of humour and of the absurd.

What brought all this together was the way in which Deirdre, quietly and courteously, punctured my pompous delusions about my family's only connexion with Jane Austen: the brief engagement in the summer of 1796 between Henry Austen and my three times great-aunt Mary Pearson. The reality, Deirdre explained with a mischievous twinkle in her eye, was that Miss Pearson had not

been attractive enough for Henry, and the fact that Mary, rather than Henry, had ended the engagement was no more than polite convention. That was Deirdre: deep learning lightly worn, tenacious attachment to the truth, and the best of conversationalists on a subject we both adored.

And that is how I shall remember Deirdre Le Faye, and remain forever grateful to someone who, as Richard Jenkyns has so rightly written, was and is, at once and literally, unique and irreplaceable: the perfect companion in exploring the writing and world of one of the greatest authors history has known.

Tribute to Deirdre Le Faye by Gillian Dow

> The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars or pestilences, in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all – it is very tiresome: and yet I often think it odd that it should be so dull, for a great deal of it must be invention.
> *Northanger Abbey*, Volume 1, Chapter 14.

I cannot remember exactly when I talked about this passage with Deirdre Le Fay. It must have been after the publication of the Cambridge University Press edition of *Northanger Abbey*, which she co-edited with Barbara Benedict, and which appeared in 2006, because we were talking about her work on that. It was certainly before her honorary Doctorate, awarded at the University of Southampton in 2011. No matter: I remember our discussion vividly. We were sitting in the Great Hall at Chawton House, and I was quizzing Deirdre about her rejection of what she always called 'lit crit' (she could load the phrase with a great deal of disdain). Surely, I said, there's a great deal of invention in biography, and perhaps even in editing? Leaving aside the destruction of Austen's letters, and the necessary account that must be made of what's missing, what's there still needs to be interpreted. What of the gaps, the omissions, what of providing a reading of tone and style? 'I deal in facts,' Deirdre said. And that was the end of that. The phrase 'facts as crisp as lettuce leaves' was one she herself used, on many occasions. It was cited in the conferment speech made at the graduation ceremony for her honorary Doctorate.

I knew not how to reconcile Deirdre's very different account of what she did to what I felt was the work of biography. But on this, as on many, many other things, she and I agreed to differ.

I first met Deirdre in 2005, when I took up my position as postdoctoral research fellow at Chawton House and the University of Southampton. I got to know her well because of her constant devotion to the Chawton House Library project, and support of me, personally, in a variety of my roles there. She was thrilled that the house had been saved for the benefit of the public, and that it was a centre for the study of women's writing, and she was delighted to be a Patron. She gave many talks at conferences and study days at Chawton House over the years, frequently

causing some anxiety to the Chair of her panel because of her relaxed approach to keeping to her allotted time. When she launched her book *Jane Austen's Country Life* at Chawton House in 2014, she spoke entirely without notes, and insisted on taking her watch off for the evening. I managed to coax her into finishing, but only so that we had time for questions.

Deirdre's theme, in her talks, never really changed, and could be summed up by the keynote that she gave at the New Directions in Austen Studies conference hosted at Chawton House in 2009, the bicentenary of Jane Austen's move to the village. Although she was saddened that new Austen letters would almost certainly never come to light, she felt convinced that new evidence about the lives of the Austen family could be found via the papers of neighbours and relations in Steventon, Chawton, Godmersham, Southampton and Bath. The conclusion to that paper was in effect a call to arms for other researchers to pick up in the archives where she had left off.

I am certain that one of the reasons that Deirdre made this call to arms was because she had thoroughly enjoyed her own research trips over the years, and wanted others to have that same thrill of the chase. She was a committed archival researcher, hunting down information about the extended Austen family and their acquaintances in local record offices, and in the homes of Austen family descendants, many of whom she befriended. One of her descriptions of a research trip to a family archive in the 1980s that she sent me gave a hilariously Gothic account of the visit: green mould on the flag stones, and 'lavatory paper so damp it might almost have been previously used'. She certainly relished locating her visit in the steps of Catherine Morland, as well as Austen herself.

Even after her travelling days were over, and Deirdre called on the next generation to take up the reins, one of the things that always impressed me about her was her enormous appetite for work and research from her own home. She was always working on some new article, or note, or helping another scholar with their own endeavours. Indeed, her generosity to other researchers could be remarkable – she was a great one for sending little cards and relevant anecdotes, unprompted, and she was always quick to reply to direct pleas for her assistance. But one disagreed with her at one's peril. She was extremely stern, if, for example, one raised any questions about a certain Austen portrait. That, for Deirdre, was an unmentionable topic, and it shall go unmentioned here. In my years editing the Chawton House Library newsletter *The Female Spectator*, I was on the receiving end of many emails which began 'Gillian! No! It is quite incorrect to…' Nor did I ever manage to convince her that the French women writers I was interested in myself were *worth* reading, although she had – in the interests of completeness, and with a grim sense of duty – read a great many that the Austen women themselves would have read.

Deirdre's industry put most of us to shame. She was a true independent scholar, in the best sense of the words. She amused me with her accounts of her idleness too. In April 2015 – when she was, it must be remembered, already in her eighties – she wrote that it was so sunny that

> I have lolled in the back garden doing nothing except read and think, instead of sitting at my desk and working! This morning so far is rather overcast, hence dolce far niente must be put aside and stern Puritan work ethic return.

We had very different ideas about what leisure was! I valued Deirdre's friendship, and especially her correspondence, which could be full of gossip, scandal, and not-to-be-repeated comments about Austenian scholarship and Janeite devotees. She frequently had me laughing out loud at her descriptions of mutual acquaintances, and indeed her doctors in her final years. She rejoiced in being a 'Puzzling Case' for her medical team, turning accounts of what must have been extremely wearing and worrying appointments into amusing and carefully-crafted emails. She took being a correspondent seriously, and never forgot what my own family had been, or were due to be, doing. She never met my son, but she never failed to ask after him, or to send advice for books he might enjoy.

Deirdre's exhaustive approach to Jane Austen's life and work, and her devotion to those she met through her scholarship, meant that she was industrious to the very end. Although frustrated that motor neurone disease had robbed her of the power of speech, and what she called 'the ability to appear in polite society', she was typing until the last days of her life. Her last email to me expressed frustration with her computer system, and she turned it off to 'let the wretched thing regain some degree of normality'. Her 'more anon', and 'Love and Freindship' are left hanging in my inbox. Cassandra-like, I censor Deirdre's missives, while knowing that the Le Faye correspondence – scattered around her friends and colleagues across the world, in drawers and computers – must be prolific and contain a great many gems. It is, however, something of a comfort that her own books and papers – with their extensive marginalia, notes and 'corrections' – are to be held at Chawton House for the scholars of the future to deduce their own 'facts'. Deirdre made this donation with a strong sense of her own legacy, and an even stronger wish to further the Austenian scholarship of the future. I hope that many will travel to Chawton House in her steps, and, in doing so remember a scholar whose 'Love and Freindship' for the library were generous to the end.

Tribute to Deirdre Le Faye by Liz Philosophos Cooper

President of the Jane Austen Society North America

Liz Philosophos Cooper and Deirdre Le Faye at Winchester Cathedral in 2015

Deirdre's research has illuminated what we know about Jane Austen. Documenting Austen's life was her life's work, and we have all benefited.

On a more personal note, Deirdre sent a farewell email to many of her friends and acquaintances in May. I am happy to share a portion of it with you here:

> Someone asked me recently if I wrote poetry; no I don't, but I have always read a great deal of it; so here is a short verse that I hope will appeal to you as much as it does to me, written by that prolific gentleman Mr Anon in the seventeenth century:
>
> Life! I know not what thou art, but know, that thou and I must part;
> And when, or how, or where we met, I own to me's a mystery yet.
> Life! We've been long together, through pleasant and through cloudy weather–
> 'Tis hard to part when friends are dear –perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
> Then steal away, give little warning, choose thine own time–
> Say not Good Night–but in some brighter clime, bid me Good Morning!

In a follow-up email Deirdre wrote: 'I stand corrected – the poem is not by Mr Anon but by Anna Letitia Barbauld, posthumously published in 1825. That's what scholarship's all about, and I am grateful for the correction.'

Ever the teacher, when it was finally time, Deirdre showed us how to say goodbye with spirit and grace. Memory eternal.

Tribute to Deirdre Le Faye by Susannah Fullerton

President of the Jane Austen Society Australia

I'm writing an article about Jane Austen and am stuck for a date – so what do I do? I turn to Deirdre! I'm needing to get the exact wording for a quote from one of Austen's letters – who do I turn to? Deirdre, of course! I want to check the names of some neighbours of the Austen family, I need to know which houses Jane Austen might have had in mind for fictional homes, I am lacking information on her ancestors or the descendants of her brothers – in every case, I turn to Deirdre. I am not alone – all of us who write about Jane Austen, prepare talks about Jane Austen, take people on tour to places connected with Jane Austen, will now be aware of a vast gap that nobody else can fill. Deirdre Le Faye enriched the world of Jane Austen scholarship hugely; her death has left a void and we will all miss her.

I only ever had the pleasure of meeting Deirdre once. I took her for lunch in the Pump Room in Bath, a suitably Jane Austenish place for our first and only meeting. However, we have corresponded for many years and formed a good friendship via email. Some scholars are highly protective of their 'patch', but Deirdre was always delighted to see others come along and research new areas. She was full of praise for my book *Jane Austen and Crime* and consulted it when writing her *Jane Austen's Country Life*. She kindly wrote a Foreword for my book *A Dance with Jane Austen*, and she happily answered queries, sent encouragement and then let me know of any tiny errors in the finished product. She told me during that lunch that she was convinced that the departed shade of Jane Austen, not being keen on all these books being written about her, made sure, somehow, that one small error would creep into every book. Deirdre admitted that, no matter how many times she checked and proof read her own works, some little mistake would inevitably slip through. I found it comforting to know that even the great Deirdre Le Faye could make mistakes (though I can't say I've noticed what they were!).

So many other scholars in Australia have received her willing help. Jon Spence, when writing *Becoming Jane Austen,* had a vast deal of correspondence with her; Jan Merriman, currently working on a book about Philadelphia Austen, was given huge encouragement; Judy Stove had her queries answered when she prepared her book on Anne Lefoy; and a friend who consulted Deirdre about the Austens' silver, was also sent useful and courteous replies.

Deirdre was a wonderful friend to JASA. She sent us articles that we could include in our own journal *Sensibilities*, she admired our publications and encouraged our efforts to make Jane Austen known and loved in this part of the world. I will always regret that I never persuaded her to come to Sydney and give talks at one of our conferences, but I think that Deirdre was with us in spirit, as she was 'present' at all Jane Austen gatherings around the world.

Her presence is strongly felt in my home – her volume of *Jane Austen's*

Letters is much worn from frequent consultation. I especially love her gorgeously illustrated and beautifully written *Jane Austen: The World of Her Novels*, and Deirdre's other publications –*Fanny Knight's Diaries, Reminiscences of Caroline Austen, Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin', Writers' Lives: Jane Austen, Jane Austen's Steventon, Jane Austen: A Family Record* and the invaluable *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* – are all on my shelves and are consulted often.

I so admired Deirdre's meticulous scholarship and quest for accuracy. She had no patience with slipshod work, when she herself spent so much time and energy chasing after the correct facts. She was a true scholar, generous of spirit, and a wonderful friend. Deirdre contacted many of us when her illness was severe – she wanted to say goodbye and thank you to friends she had worked with for many years. Her email was deeply moving and dignified – it told us so much about what sort of woman she was.

Farewell, Deirdre Le Faye. Thanks for all you have given to those of us who read and reread the novels of Jane Austen, thanks for enriching our knowledge about Austen's life, world and family, and thanks for warm and witty friendship over many years. To conclude with words written by Jane Austen about a good friend which apply nicely to Deirdre herself: 'Thou friend and ornament of Humankind!'

Reports for 2020

Bath and Bristol Group

Members: Open membership. *Subscription*: None. *Cost of Events*: £10 for talk and tea with sandwiches.

Our first event in 2020 featured the Reverend Paula Hollingsworth talking about 'Jane Austen's Spirituality'. Paula is a life long admirer of Austen's works and gave a really lovely talk which was thoroughly enjoyed by the audience. She stayed for tea afterwards, with cake provided by the magic hands of Keith Porter-Snell, one of our committee. Sadly, it was the last event we held as a live meeting.

However, all was not lost, as Jane Austen at the Bath Royal Literary & Scientific Institution was really very busy last year. Although we couldn't have further live events, which of course, meant no cake and sandwiches, we still managed, like most other groups, to reach out to people as our technological skills improved.

We had our first talk via zoom in May, when Sabine Purhouse spoke on 'Marriage Matters in Georgian Times'. This had been planned as a live talk in April; fortunately, Sabine is computer literate so we were able to do it online – quite exciting as we had people who'd never have made it to Bath!

This was followed in July by Dr Georgina Newton talking on 'Jane Austen & Feminism' which was even more exciting as we had over 100 people from around the world. We could hardly believe it. Spurred on by this success, we planned a week of events in a festival 'Rediscovering Jane Austen at BRLSI'. It was hard work and some things we wanted to do just weren't possible in so short a time. It also required specialist skills and photography which we didn't have: I now know why films take such a long time to make, as setting up a shot can take hours! This was a very steep learning curve.

The festival was much enjoyed and having the world able to tune in was amazing. It is definitely a way forward, offering huge opportunities for us as a group. We are planning to do something similar later this year, but giving ourselves more time to organize it. However, although zooming is wonderful as a means of contact, we do realize nothing beats human contact. So roll on the vaccination programme, and here's to life less on hold.

Diana White

Cambridge Group

Members: 33. *Subscription*: £12 individual, £15 family. *Cost of Events*: No charge for meetings but £4 for guests. *Newsletter*: one per year.

With the pandemic having hit immediately after our first meeting in 2020, we have almost nothing to report. We are a small group, although we continue to

hope for future growth. We plan to address the issue of our membership at our first committee meeting to be held on 19 February. Our one and only meeting was held on 3 March 2020, featuring a PowerPoint presentation and interactive talk on Jane Austen's lesser known works, including *Sanditon*. It was not very well attended, but those who were able to come along enjoyed it very much, especially the fellowship we have after the talk with our coffee and biscuits. We had hoped that our patron, Dr Janet Todd, would be able to do a presentation at our May meeting, but Covid-19 had other ideas! Chesterton is a nice venue and we will be holding not only our Group meetings, but also our committee meetings there, whenever we are allowed to meet in person once again. In the meantime, we are going forward, using the medium of Zoom.

2020 was a disappointment to us all, not least because fairly early on in the summer, Queens' College told us that they would not be able to host our Birthday Lunch in December. The space would be required for socially distanced students. We are hoping that 2021 will be able to go ahead, but we may have to come up with more creative ideas for future meetings. We extended our financial year to April 2021, thus giving our members a free three months extension to their current membership, although that has meant very little in light of the restriction surrounding travel and meetings. We will be discussing how our subscriptions may have to alter in the future.

While 2021 may prove challenging in many ways, we hope that new ideas and new ways of meeting and working, may prove of benefit to our Group and that the Jane Austen Cambridge Group will go from strength to strength, despite the pandemic and its effects.

Vicki Smith

Hampshire Group

Members: 94. *Subscription*: £5 individual, £8 per couple. *Newsletter*: two per year. *Publications*: 'Occasional Papers'.

During the challenging times of last year due to the restrictions imposed on us all we were unable to meet as a Group and kept in touch with our members through News Sheets and emails. Our usual Autumn Newsletter was a bumper edition and was very well received. The committee are keeping in touch via emails and Zoom meetings.

We have lost a few members since last year due to age or moving away. We try to ensure that our meetings and outings are self-sufficient and this has meant that we have not charged for online events.

Much of our 2020 programme was affected by Covid 19 and we didn't manage any meetings which was a huge shame. However, in time for Christmas we produced an Occasional Paper, 'Jane Austen and the Music of the French Revolution'. This is an illustrated, very well researched and referenced text of a talk given to our Group in 2018 by Dr Gillian Dooley from Flinders University, Australia. All members received a copy in time for Christmas, with a seasonally cheerful red cover together with a greetings card from the committee.

It is hoped that the Pear Tree 400 celebrations, cancelled in June, will take place in the summer of 2021.

Lesley Wilson

Kent Branch

Members: 92. *Subscription*: £12 individual, £18 per household (£1 reduction if receiving newsletters online). *Publication*: three per year. *Periodical*: *Austentations'*, one per year.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the Branch had a very different year, with most events having to be held virtually. The Branch was able to hold two live events, the 2020 AGM and the annual Austen ramble, and five online events by Zoom, three Novel Views meetings and two lectures. Three newsletters and the twentieth issue of *Austentations* were issued during the year.

Our AGM in March was held at Hadlow Manor near Tonbridge before the start of lockdown, although with a reduced attendance of members. Following the meeting and a delicious buffet lunch, we were treated to a scholarly and entertaining afternoon lecture, a semi-dramatised presentation of an excursion to Sanditon entitled *Seaside Follies*. Emeritus Professor Michael Biddiss provided the historical background and Louise Dilloway performed the spirited readings, which were much enjoyed by all.

Although we were unable to hold any further live Branch meetings due to the pandemic, we did host three Novel Views discussions by Zoom, which were well attended. Members really appreciated being able to greet each other and chat as well as discussing their favourite novels. In May we discussed different aspects of *Pride and Prejudice*, beginning with a discussion on lockdown at Longbourn, which we agreed would have been resisted by Lydia. The meeting proved so popular that we held a second in June, on the date when we would have been enjoying our Summer Event at Godmersham, this time on the topic 'What's Wrong at Mansfield Park'. Those present found much that was wrong at Mansfield, underlined by the slavery at Sir Thomas's plantations in Antigua. The third Novel Views was in October when there was a stimulating discussion on 'Guilt and Suffering in *Emma*', emotions felt by many of the characters at different levels, including the heroine. All three topics gave rise to lively conversations. Zoom meant that Hugh and Sheila Kindred were able to join us from their winter home in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

In August twelve members assembled for the annual Jane Austen Kent Ramble, which this year was based at Wrotham. Jane Austen, accompanied by her brother Edward, stayed at Court House in 1813, then the very lavish Rectory occupied by the Revd George Moore and his wife Harriot (née Bridges). Our party split into two groups, the more active walkers exploring a section of the North Downs and the less active participants taking a circular stroll through the picturesque village with its many period houses, including the previous Archbishop's Palace.

As we were unable to meet for our Annual Winter Lunch at Broome Park

in November, forty-five members joined by Zoom to enjoy a lecture given by Professor John Mullan, 'Is Emma ever right about anything?' Given in his traditional trenchant and lively style, his conclusion was that although Emma was wrong about many things, when it came to matters of affection her judgement was right. In December the Annual Birthday Lecture in Tonbridge organised by Vivian Branson was also delivered by Zoom, 'Jane Austen's Christmas', given by Dr Claire Walsh. Dr Walsh had given this excellent lecture with its splendid illustrations to the Kent Branch at the Winter Lunch in 2019. 160 people from across the world registered to join the meeting and 120 were present. Sadly, there were none of Vivian's delicious cakes this year.

We continued to keep in touch with our members through our annual publications, the *Newsletter* and *Austentations*. Three issues of the Newsletter appeared, edited by Dianne Brick, containing reports on our events, quizzes, interviews with committee members and Dianne's own News from the Auctions. Paul Morris produced a bumper 52-page edition of *Austentations* to mark its twentieth year of publication, with eight well-researched essays written by Branch members. Vivian Branson's Twitter Account 'Jane Austen's Zest' (Jane Austen's Zest@JaneAustenKent) recorded 1696 followers. A daily quote from her early works or her letters as near as possible to the day's date is posted. The Branch also maintained a Facebook page.

We enjoyed the virtual programme offered by the JAS in lieu of the cancelled July AGM at Chawton. The Branch supported the future of Jane Austen's House by making a donation of £500.

In such a difficult year we tried in Kent to keep in touch with our members and to offer them regular virtual Austen-related entertainment in the form of lectures and discussions, as well as one live meeting and our annual Austen ramble. Our members much appreciated our efforts, and we were only sorry that some were not able to join us at our online events. We do so hope that we will be able to meet again in 2021 to celebrate the Branch and our wonderful Jane Austen.

Jill Webster

London Branch

Members: 106. *Subscription*: £10. *Cost of events*: talks are £8 and guests are welcome with prior notice. *Newsletters*: two per year.

January 2020 kicked off our season with Sue Dell talking about the fascinating project of the Community Quilt. We had heard from Sue before about the skill and mathematical precision which went into the construction of the quilt by Jane Austen. Now we saw that such skills of artistry and embroidery are still very much with us. The slides showed the imagination and superb skill of the makers of these individual squares, which were pieced together to make a truly artistic and beautiful quilt to be displayed as a great tribute to Jane Austen and the personal responses she engenders.

In February we welcomed Fiona Stafford who spoke to us on Jane Austen

and trees. This is surely one of the most original connections with Austen and her novels we have considered. Fiona was not to know that she was our last face to face speaker for the foreseeable future.

The April meeting was cancelled, but the AGM business of becoming a Branch was officially conducted via our newsletter and the speaker for the day was postponed. Heather Wills Sandford, our long standing Chairman, handed over the role to Hellen Blackwell, formerly the Secretary and we are hopeful that we will find a person to take on that role. The flexibility of the committee and their willingness to adapt has been very helpful during this period.

However, nothing daunted, the committee experimented by meeting via Zoom, and for this service and its consequent deployment for our subsequent sessions, we are greatly indebted to Sara Hebblethwaite who hosts for us.

In October we heard Professor John Mullan, our Patron, speak on *Emma*. No matter how well you think you know the novel, Professor Mullan always opens your eyes to much, much more. His premise of approaching the novel as if your readers were eighteen year old, possibly in another country, was a cracking introduction to explaining many subtle and nuanced ideas. Professor Mullan has been a very loyal and generous supporter and again, we were deeply thankful for his willingness to talk at our inaugural Zoom meeting.

This was a very well attended session and the subsequent meeting in December, in lieu of the Birthday Lunch, proved just as popular. For this the committee performed various readings from the novels. We focused on music, Christmas and humour to lighten the dark days of another lockdown. Professor Mullan made the toast and we felt that we had honoured Jane in the best possible way in the circumstances. We were around fifty participating members at this session and conviviality was the order of the day.

In January 2020 we welcomed David Richardson, via Zoom again, on 'Fanny Price: Who or what is she?' I must pay credit to our speakers for the wonderful way they pack so much interesting detail and thought into the allotted time slot and the use of actual text as a touchstone, often helpfully displayed on the screen. David was no exception.

Our trips were postponed as a result of Covid-19. These were to be to Lyme Regis plus another day trip, for which considerable preparations had already been made. We intend to roll these over until permission is given by the Government for such activities to resume.

This has been a difficult year to keep the connections and the vibrancy of the London Branch alive and well – apart from missing our tea and cake and seeing each other in person, we feel that the impetus and vision to celebrate and learn about Jane Austen and utilise 'our inner resources' has been successfully maintained.

We look forward to resuming 'normal service' at some stage in 2021 and have already booked the Birthday Lunch in anticipation.

Hellen Blackwell

Midlands Group

Members: 54. *Subscription*: £12 concession, £15 other. *Newsletters*: four per year. *Publication*: *Transactions*, one per year.

We were very fortunate to be able to hold our Annual Meeting and Study Day in early March, just before lockdown. Following the AGM, Marilyn Joice spoke on Jane Austen's role in the development of the novel, Dr Trevor James discussed the politics of the time and Chris Sandrawich stepped in to give a talk on 'Dining in the time of Jane Austen' when our third speaker cancelled at the last minute.

The visit to Ingestre Hall and church for our summer Strawberry Tea was cancelled and our October meeting followed suit. This was particularly disappointing as the outing would have marked our 30th Anniversary.

A series of newsletters was produced to help members while away the hours of lockdown and the 2020 edition of *Transactions* came out as usual, although this issue features only two papers from outside speakers. However, committee members contributed a variety of imaginative articles to fill the space usually occupied by written versions of the talks presented across the whole year. Our thanks go to Dawn Thomas for ensuring the journal's reputation as a respected literary publication for over thirty years.

We are sad to report the deaths of three members: life member Norman Bebbington and founding members Janet Barber, also long time treasurer, and Gill Bradnock / Marchment, sometime Chair of our group.

Chris Sandrawich has resigned his post, but will manage the accounts until we can elect a replacement.

Jennifer Walton

Northern Branch

Members: 169. *Subscription*: £5 per person, £8 for two people at one address. *Publication*: *Impressions*, three per year.

Foiled by the restrictions, doubts and worries of Covid-19 the Northern Branch had to postpone its planned calendar for 2020. Alongside the Branch events the postponement also included the Northern Study Day, co-hosted with the Scottish Branch, to be held in Newcastle, and the York Conference, planned and hosted by the Northern Branch. Further information about these two events is given elsewhere in this publication.

In lieu of the AGM a written report covering all business aspects has been prepared for circulation to members by email where possible and by Royal Mail for the rest.

The lack of events and outings caused a shortfall of topics for reports in *Impressions*. Nonetheless three full issues of our *newsletter* were again published despite problems and delays caused by the printers having been closed during lockdown.

The committee held one socially-distanced meeting when restrictions were eased in the summer and then set up a Zoom account for further meetings. Zoom

was also used for a social event to replace the committee's usual Christmas lunch.

All good wishes for health and safety – and a quick jab for everyone – are extended to all members.

Julia Taylor

Scottish Branch

Members: 65. *Subscription*: individual £15, two people living at the same address £20, institution £20. *Newsletter*: two per year.

Along with everyone else, this past year has been one we could never have anticipated. Initially, our committee remained optimistic that the coronavirus would be easily overcome and were reluctant to cancel events. Eventually, we had to cancel our May and June meetings. Because the committee were meeting regularly on Zoom, it was decided to trial holding a Branch meeting using this platform. We were delighted when David Richardson agreed to give his talk 'Father of the Bride' to us in August. This was a highly entertaining exploration of the fathers of heroines in Austen's six novels and provided lots of food for thought. The virtual format meant we were able to be joined by audience members from Vancouver, New York and Amsterdam – surely one of the main advantages of living online in 2020. Unfortunately, several of our members are not able to participate online, and we have been conscious of the need to cater for them as well. They have been kept informed of events via the usual mailings.

Richard Cronin felt that it would be too difficult to lead a novel study and discussion online, so we cancelled our October meeting and instead sent out a *Lockdown Special*, a newsletter comprising the varying lockdown experiences of the committee members. This was well received by our members.

As an alternative to the traditional Birthday Lunch at the Garvock House Hotel, we held another successful Zoom meeting, again with an international audience. Sharron Bassett delivered a lovely birthday toast and Maureen Kelly treated us to a Christmas-themed talk, titled 'Did the Victorians invent Christmas?'. This was another fascinating topic, with some truly outrageous facts about our well-known Christmas traditions. Some of the Christmas cards were particularly amusing!

Apart from the *Lockdown Special,* we had a bumper newsletter in the summer, with another planned for the near future.

Marlene Lloyd-Evans

Southern Circle Group

Members: 21. *Subscription*: £5. *Newsletter*: two per year.

The Southern Circle is a friendly and informal discussion group which explores Jane Austen's works and aspects of her life. In normal times, the Southern Circle meets in March and October, so we were very fortunate indeed to be able to squeeze in our March 2020 meeting in person at Jane Austen's House, just ahead of the first lockdown. The topic we discussed was 'Something you admire or don't admire about one of Jane Austen's characters'. Elinor Dashwood, Fanny

Price and Anne Elliott not too surprisingly were all admired, but less obvious perhaps was the admiration felt for Mrs Bennet, who was regarded as taking her responsibilities seriously (unlike her husband).

Our October meeting took place online and, rather than try to have a discussion, we opted to have a talk. Most fortuitously, member Joy Pibworth happened to have a talk ready to go and very generously agreed to present it to the Group. Joy's talk – 'Scrambling into a little education' – explored Jane Austen's schooling. Joy has been a volunteer at Reading Abbey Quarter for five years, so her talk included the history of the school and the kind of education girls like Cassandra and Jane would have received there.

Our 2021 meetings have moved online at least for the foreseeable future and all are welcome. When in-person meetings are once again possible, we are lucky to be able to meet in at Jane Austen's House so please contact me at southcircle@jasoc.org.uk if you are interested in coming along either virtually or in person.

Fiona Ainsworth

South West Branch

Members: 81. *Subscription*: £10. *Cost of events*: meetings (two lectures, morning coffee and biscuits plus a buffet lunch) £20 members, £24 non-members. *News Letter*: *Pleasant Intelligence*, two per year.

Little did we imagine, as we gathered for our regular January meeting, that this would be the last time we would meet for more than a year. It was a particularly enjoyable meeting, with two excellent guest speakers. Professor Anne Toner came from Cambridge to take the morning slot, with her talk on dialogue in *Pride and Prejudice*. After a convivial lunch, Dr Amy Frost, an architectural historian, treated us to an illustrated presentation on the locations used in film and TV adaptations of the novels – and how they were so often wrong.

At this meeting, founder member of the branch Penelope Townsend, who had expressed a wish to step back from the committee, accepted our invitation to become Vice-Patron of the branch (Patrick Stokes remains our honoured Patron). To take Penny's place on the committee we were delighted to welcome not one but two writers, married couple Roy and Lesley Adkins, whose books on naval history and Georgian life are well-known to JAS members beyond our local branch.

Roy took on the editorship of the JASSW News Letter, *Pleasant Intelligence*. When the March meeting had to be cancelled at the last minute, it was some compensation for members to receive a bumper issue of *Pleasant Intelligence*, and this was followed up by two further issues in 2020.

Much that we had planned for the year of course had to be cancelled, but Hazel Jones our membership secretary kept us together in spirit if not in person, with regular emails and links to news and online events in all parts of the Jane Austen world.

Maggie Lane

Elizabeth Knight of Chawton (1674-1737): a Woman to be Reckoned With

Alison Daniell

Elizabeth Knight d.1737. Permission of Chawton House

In the mid-1720s, in a country house deep in the south of England, a woman sat down and reached for her pen. She selected a sheet of paper and began to write to her lawyer, Mr Horsman, who had chambers in Lincoln's Inn, London. She was getting married and she wanted to make sure that certain provisions were in place before she did. It was her second taste of matrimony and, whether because of her previous experience, or simply because she liked to be in control of her own affairs, she had decided on a number of legally-binding arrangements necessary to safeguard her interests. The most important of these was that her husband, and anyone who might inherit her lands, should change their name to hers – Knight. Also, that her estate in Hampshire and its rents and profits should be reserved to her sole use and finally, if she outlived her new husband, that she would receive a fitting settlement.[1]

This woman was Elizabeth Knight, a wealthy landowner, whose income from

her estates alone stood at well over three thousand pounds per annum.[2] The letter she drafted set out her wishes very clearly: she knew what she was seeking, she used the correct legal terminology to request it and did not require either her steward, the long serving Mr Munford, or any other male advisor to write it for her.

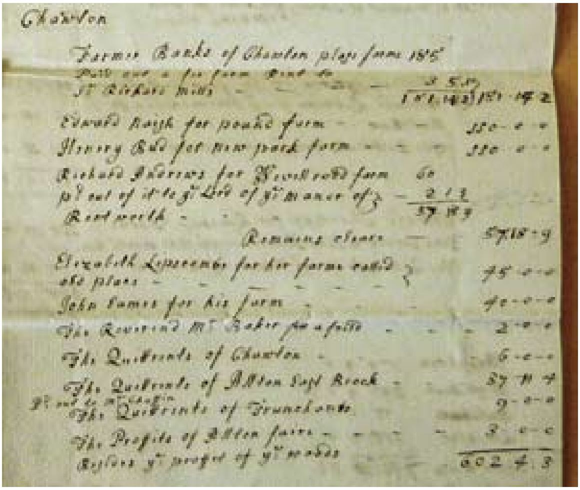
What she was asking Mr Horsman of Lincoln's Inn to create sounds similar to what today might be called a 'pre-nuptial settlement': a formal agreement between two people, about to marry, setting out how they wish to divide their assets if their marriage ends in divorce. However, Elizabeth Knight's settlement was not to decide what would happen in the case of a divorce. Instead, it was to regulate what happened to her property while she was married. The reason she needed to do this was because she, as an autonomous individual with a legal and economic personality, was about to disappear.

From the Middle Ages through to the nineteenth century, all women who married automatically entered into a legal state known as coverture. It was a doctrine – a set of rules and procedures – of English common law. It removed the legal and economic personality of all married women and gave control of much of their property and economic activities to their husbands. The provisions were wide ranging and had a profound real-world impact upon women's day-to-day lives. Upon marriage, for example, ownership of a wife's moveable goods passed absolutely to her husband. With a very limited number of exemptions he could sell them, give them away or even leave them to a third party in his will. He was also entitled to any rents and profits from her land (a provision Elizabeth Knight was keen to avoid) although he could not dispose of the land itself without her permission. Wives were also unable to make contracts, including debts, except while acting as their husband's agent. In return, for coverture was presented by the legal establishment as a *quid pro quo* arrangement, husbands would maintain their wives and be responsible for any contracts, debts or purchases made by them during the duration of the marriage. Husbands also had powers over their wives' bodies, although a husband's power physically to abuse his wife was not unlimited. Coverture was an unavoidable fact of life for every married woman in England – and beyond: its reach included the North American colonies to which English common law had been exported. As Tim Stretton and Krista Kesselring put it: 'a typical wife in New England in 1750 had much in common with a typical wife in England in 1250'.[3]

The social class into which Elizabeth Knight was born was relatively stable and remained so beyond the long eighteenth century. H.J. Habakkuk's analysis of the so-called 'squirearchy' in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire over the period found that most of the non-aristocratic families who enjoyed rental incomes of 'more than £1000 per annum in 1640, survived intact into the eighteenth century and [were] in many cases still the leading families of the county' in the 1940s.[4] By comparison, those on the lower fringes of the gentry classes were more likely to lose land between 1680 and 1740, than remain stable or expand their holdings.[5]

Elizabeth Knight inherited the estate at Chawton in Hampshire in 1702

following the deaths of her brothers Richard and Christopher.[6] She also held estates that came to her through the Lewkenor side of her family. Following his death in 1721, she gained her first husband William Woodward's estate in Egham and she owned houses in London and Southwark.[7] Some of these properties she enjoyed only as a life interest but others, such as Chawton, were hers outright. Their combined value was quite considerable and, from the evidence, Knight appears to have kept a close, personal eye on them. Written in her own hand, 'An Estimate of my Hole Estates Michaelmas 1737' gave her total income from her properties as £3,256 10s 7½ d (net). Of these, it was those in Hampshire which provide the largest single tranche, amounting to £1,851 0s 4d.[8]


Chawton
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Extract from 'A Perticular of My Estate taken Michaelmas 1737'
Courtesy of Hampshire Record Office.

It appears from the surviving records that Elizabeth Knight actively managed her land herself, albeit with the help of Mr Munford.[9] She kept an eye on her tenants and her servants and there are even receipts for deliveries of alcohol bound up with the documentation. She was addressed as 'Honoured Madam' and 'your Ladyship' and letters received by her were annotated in her own hand (presumably before being filed), indicating the date and whether or not a reply had been sent. The evidence suggests strongly that she was a woman who was not only capable of running a large number of estates but who did so successfully and with a close personal involvement in the process.

By the time of her second marriage, to Bulstrode Peachey in 1725, Elizabeth Knight controlled a great deal of land.[10] She also owned the contents of a number of substantial houses as well as other items, including rich clothes and jewels. As she was a woman who took a close personal interest in the running of her affairs, it should come as no surprise to discover that she decided to take steps to preserve some of her autonomy while she was under coverture. What is noteworthy

about the negotiations for her marriage settlement, though, is the level of legal knowledge and awareness she demonstrates throughout both with regard to the technicalities of the law and an understanding of the negotiation process.[11]

Bulstrode Peachey Knight (d.1735). Permission of Chawton House

That Knight was aware of the legal implications of her coverture can be seen in the letter of instruction to her lawyers referred to in the introduction.[12] Here she outlines the terms she wishes to see incorporated into her marriage settlement. These are: to insist on the 'Sirname' of Knight for herself; to settle Sir Richard Knight's lands as 'valuable consideration' for Peachey changing his name also to Knight; to reserve her estate in Hampshire to her own use during their joint lives and to reserve its rents and profits likewise; to draw up a settlement in case of her widowhood and a further settlement on any children of the marriage. She concludes by recommending 'Mr Horsman A Counseller In Lincoln's Inn a good conveyancer'.

The striking thing about this document is not merely the fact that it was written by a woman but that it has a confident, easy use of technical legal terminology: she uses 'no consideration' and 'valuable consideration' correctly; she is clear about the consequences of coverture and equally clear about reserving her Hampshire estates, together with the rents and profits thereof, for her 'owne use'. Further, she

appears to understand and engage with the negotiating process and offers to settle Sir Richard Knight's estate in return for the assurance that the Knight name will be used by all the heirs to those lands. She clearly thought through the legal and practical consequences of a number of eventualities and decided what the desired outcome should be in each case. Finally, she recommends her chosen draftsman by name.

There is also evidence from her papers that she understood land usage and its economic potential. Following Peachey's death, she had a choice to make as to which pieces of land she should keep and which she should pass to his heir. A letter from Munford to Knight dated February 1735, contains Munford's thoughts on which estates it would be advantageous for Knight to own – but it is clearly a response to an earlier letter from Knight herself.[13]

> As to Neatham Farm your choice of that instead of Gates Farm and Shirley tithes, I think your Ladyship judges right the former is preferable as being near your other Estate in Hampshire and collected with more ease and less expense than the latter can possibly be done.

This is obviously a response to Knight's earlier thoughts upon the subject and demonstrate that she has already considered the estate-management choices Peachey's death necessitated in a detailed and business-like manner. It is also notable for the complete lack of any explanation from Munford regarding the law or the procedures surrounding probate. One could perhaps attribute this to her having been through the process previously on the death of her first husband; however, the straightforward manner of the letter suggests that Munford is fully confident in Knight's ability to digest and respond to its contents.

Another example of the close attention Knight gave to her estates and other business matters comes from a letter dated 9 December 1703.[14] It concerns a wood, ownership of which appears to be in dispute. Knight instructs the recipient to 'go immediately to Chawton and cut [the wood] out and carry it off the ground'. If Farmer Pryor, the man claiming ownership, 'opposes it lett it be at his perrill'. The letter ends with a P.S.: 'I hope now you have a good market for my bricks'. It is necessary to point out that Knight's active control of her interests was by no means inevitable. She could have handed over estate operations to a trusted steward (Munford) or to either of her husbands. However, she made an active decision to do neither of these things and the evidence – particularly the hand-written accounts and notes of expenses – suggests that she was fully in control.

Who should inherit the Knight lands was less straightforward than staking her claim to them. Knight had no children from her first marriage to Woodward and, when she married for the second time in 1725, she was forty-nine years old. Although she may have hoped to conceive an heir, she must have realised that it was unlikely this would ever happen. As has been well-documented, not least because of the trouble it would eventually cause Edward Austen Knight, Elizabeth Knight used her will to settle her land in 'tail male' entail.[15] However,

it appears this was not always her intention. Indeed, she seems open to having women inherit her estates. Her draft marriage settlement provides for the 'son and sons of the said BP on the body of the said EK his intended wife lawfully to be begotten severally and successively…according to their priority of birth in tayle male'.[16] However, in the event that there were no sons to inherit the estates, the document allocates the remainder:

> to all and every the Daughters of the said BP on the body of the said EK his intended wife lawfully to be begotten and the several and respective heirs of the body and bodies of all and every such daughter lawfully issuing equally to be divided between them…but if there shall be but one such daughter then to the use of such only daughter and the heirs of her body lawfully issuing.[17]

For Knight, it would appear that while she was not willing to overturn convention and disinherit any sons in favour of daughters, in the absence of male children she was content to leave her estates to her female offspring. This was to be done in preference to an entail that would transfer her land to collateral heirs. While it was a requirement that anyone inheriting should take the surname 'Knight', the draft marriage settlement shows a distinct openness on Knight's part to consider a direct female heir.

Through the documentation left by Elizabeth Knight, a picture emerges of a woman very much at ease with the power she commanded as a landowner. However, this was not necessarily representative. Briony McDonagh in *Elite Women and the Agricultural Landscape* notes a tendency among landowning women to 'represent their estate management as an act of familial duty rather than a disruption to traditional gender roles, although this discourse could on occasion be subverted and reworked for their own benefit'.[18] There is no evidence from her papers that Knight mediated the management of her estates through such a filter of duty or that she saw her role as a landowner in any way unsuited to her gender.

Ultimately, Elizabeth Knight may well not have been typical of women living at the end of the Early Modern period, including those who owned substantial amounts of land. However, the records she left behind cast an illuminating and intriguing light on the possibilities open to women of her class who were prepared to utilise their power in a strategic and agentic manner.

Notes

1. Hampshire Record Office (HRO) Knight of Chawton papers 39M89/E/B887
2. HRO/E/B/587/14
3. Stretton and Kesselring, 'Introduction' *Married Women and the Law: Coverture in England and the Common Law World* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013) pp.3-23 <www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt32b7jq> [accessed 28th July 2020] ProQuest Ebook Central p.5.
4. H.J. Habakkuk 'English Landownership 1680-1740' *The Economic History*

Review 10.1 February (1940) 2-17 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2590281> [accessed 14th August 2020] p.4.

5. Habakkuk pp.4-5.
6. The intricacies of Knight's inheritance are traced by Christine Grover in 'Edward Knight's Inheritance: The Chawton, Godmersham, and Winchester Estates' *Persuasions* 34.1 Winter (2013) <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol34no1/grover.html> [accessed 25th June2020].
7. Grover and also HRO/39M89/E/T18/6 and HRO/39M89/E/T18/4
8. HRO/39M89/E/B587/
9. HRO/39M89/E/B587/18 and HRO/39M89/E/B587/15, for example.
10. Bulstrode Peachey (1681-1735). In order to avoid confusion, he will be referred to in this article as 'Peachey' even though he changed his name to Knight as a condition of his marriage.
11. Briony McDonagh also discusses the settlement and the fact that Peachey took Knight's profits, reserved by Knight to herself on pp.22-3 of *Elite Women and the Agricultural Landscape 1700-1830* (London: Routledge, 2017).
12. HRO 39M89/E/B887
13. HRO/39M89/E/B587/4
14. HRO/39M89/E/B613
15. See, for example, Christine Grover 'Pride, Prejudice and the Threat to Edward Knight's Inheritance' *Persuasions* 35.1 Winter (2014) <http://jasna.org/persuasions/on-line/vol35no1/grover.html?> [accessed 14th August 2020].
16. HRO 39M89/E/T16. BP = Bulstrode Peachey; EK = Elizabeth Knight.
17. HRO 39M89/E/T16
18. McDonagh, p.140.

The Érard Harp Ledgers: a correction, new Austen connections, and resource description

Janine Barchas

For a project on objects for hire during the late-Georgian period, I spent The Lockdown leafing electronically through antique ledgers and account books, including those for the London business of Sébastien Érard (1752-1831), the fashionable harp manufacturer whose brand was synonymous during the Regency with elegance, modernity, and luxury. While the Érard ledgers failed to contain the name of Jane Austen's brother Edward Knight (as promised by David Gilson in 1994), they did offer up hitherto untrumpeted connections to the Jane Austen family. In the following short article, I would therefore like to correct the old misidentification, share two new discoveries, and alert the wider Janeite community to the Érard ledgers.[1]

In 1792, French instrument maker Sébastian Érard moved part of an elite Parisian enterprise to 18 Great Marlborough Street in London. The Érard ledgers document the serial numbers of harps made there from 1798 onwards, along with the names of corresponding customers and their addresses. The trio of ledger volumes were acquired by the Royal College of Music at auction in 1994 and have been consulted by musicologists, historians, dealers, and curators interested in everything from trade practices to the provenance of surviving instruments. In 2015 a two-volume bilingual study of the larger Érard archive, which includes correspondence with famous composers and patrons, documented the firm's importance in musical culture.[2] In February of 2020, the Royal College of Music made the three antique Érard ledgers accessible online.[3]

Even for non-musicologists like myself, the Érard ledgers provide a superfluity of information about late-Georgian consumer culture and the Regency elite. The sales ledgers are the ultimate brag sheet, identifying by name and address the cultured super-rich who bought Érard's rarified instruments. Because most of the listed clients are women, the Érard registers offer a unique record of the economic impact of one luxury product along gender lines. The ledgers have yet to be fully mined by Austen scholars.

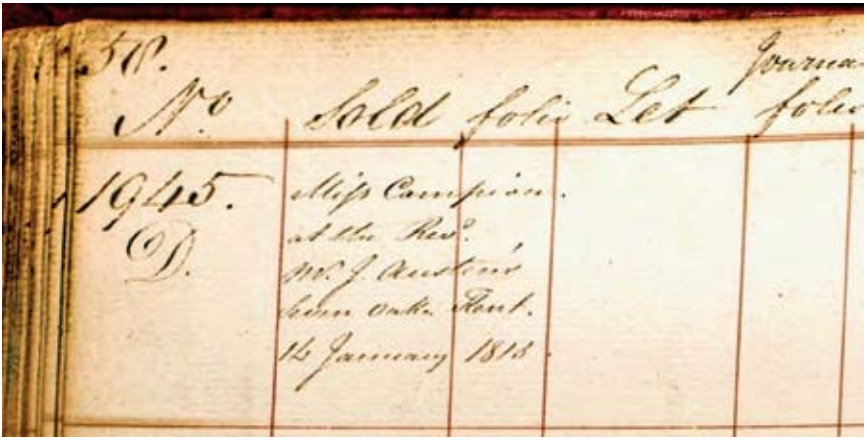
First, a correction. My own passing search through the ledgers was animated by David Gilson's enthusiastic mention in the Jane Austen Society of the UK's *Annual Report* for 1994 that 'the name of Jane Austen's brother Edward Knight appears among the firm's customers'.[4] Gilson was then reporting on the Sotheby's auction of the Érard records in early December of that year, and I suspect that the auction house relayed the bare name from the manuscript's index. Upon examining the corresponding entries in the ledger, however, I was disappointed to discover this was a case of simple misidentification. The one ledger entry for an 'Edward Knight' was made circa 1805 and lists an address at '52 Portland Place', making that customer not Jane Austen's brother but an altogether different Edward

Knight (1734-1812).[5] In addition to a mismatch of address, Edward Austen would not adopt the Knight surname until 1812, a good seven years later.

Since 1994, a number of publications appeared about Jane Austen and music, including at least three articles devoted to the significance of harp playing in her fictions.[6] Yet I cannot find that any Austen scholar has consulted the Érard sales ledgers. Perhaps they did, soon discovered the misidentification, and quietly turned away in disappointment. Cousin Eliza de Feuillide was, of course, the most accomplished harpist in the Austen family circle, and yet the Érard ledgers do not record her name as a client either.[7]

I can repair the loss of connection by providing not one but two different Austen family members recorded as clients in the Érard ledgers. On page 58 in volume two, the entry for harp No. 1945 (not a date but serial number) reads:

Miss Campion
at the Rev^d^.
Mr. J. Austen's
Seven Oaks. Kent.
14 January 1815



Detail from the Érard ledgers.
Reproduced with permission of the Royal College of Music, London.

Miss Mary Anne Campion (1797-1825) was the eldest daughter of Jane Austen of Kippington and William John Campion of Danny in Sussex.[8] Sevenoaks is the town where, in the summer of 1788, the Reverend George Austen and his wife took their young daughters, Jane and Cassandra, to meet their cousins and introduce them to old Uncle Francis, George Austen's rich uncle and benefactor. In January of 1815, cousin Mary Anne is presumably staying at Sevenoaks with her uncle the Reverend Mr John Austen (1777-1851).

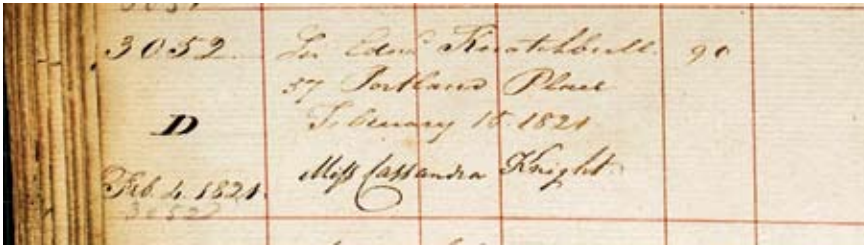
Born on 3 November 1797, Mary Anne was seventeen when she purchased

this fashionable and elite instrument. Mary Anne's harp, No. 1945, is recorded as a '*D*.' model, one of the double-action harps that Érard patented in 1810.[9] Priced in fashionable guineas rather than plebian pounds, most new Érard harps by that date approached 100 guineas, more than twice the cost of a top-end piano. Mary Anne's harp conveys a palpable difference between the elegant economy practised in Chawton, where Jane Austen could rejoice at the prospect of 'a Pianoforte, as good a one as can be got for 30 Guineas', and the flowing chocolate-fountain-style wealth of the Sevenoaks relatives, direct descendants of old Francis, in Kent.[10]

Miraculously, Mary Anne's harp survives and can still be heard to play. The ledger page for No. 1945 also records how the harp was returned to Érard's, most likely after the death of its young owner in 1825. On July 1, 1834, it was sold to 'M[rs]. Fraser Baker / Hospital Field. Arbroath', where it remains today. Hospitalfield, now a center for the arts, restored the instrument a couple of years ago and recently loaned it for a recording session at Dalkeith Palace in preparation for a 2019 exhibition in Sydney on the sounds of domestic performances during the Georgian period.[11] Mary Anne's harp does not feature in all the tracks, but you can hear it best in the 'Logie O'Buchan' video.

The ledgers record a still closer family connection to Jane Austen, although it occurs after her death. Page 168 in the same ledger notes the details for harp No. 3052, finished on February 4, 1821, and purchased by:

Sir Edw.[d] Knatchbull
57 Portland Place
February 15. 1821



Detail from the Érard ledgers.
Reproduced with permission of the Royal College of Music, London.

In October 1820, Fanny Knight, the eldest daughter of Jane Austen's brother Edward, had married Sir Edward Knatchbull, 9th Baronet, a widower with six children. Fanny would give Sir Edward another nine children. Might this new harp have been Sir Edward's first Valentine's Day present to his new wife?

The name 'Miss Cassandra Knight' was added to the entry at an unspecified later date—in a different hand and darker ink. The Érard firm kept track of many of their instruments across years or even decades, recording swaps as well as shifts in ownership of specific instruments, when these were made known to them through repairs or sales. It looks then as if Fanny eventually gave the harp to her

younger sister. Both the timing of the original gift as well at the later re-gifting bespeaks all manner of family affection.

Apart from two names of persons connected to the family of Jane Austen (and there may be others waiting to be spotted), the ledger entries identify the Regency elite by means of a shared luxury purchase. I hope the following taste of the Érard harp ledgers will entice others to consult this resource during the course of their own historical investigations.

Surprisingly, the Érard client list may qualify as the most 'female' financial records of the Georgian period, barring surviving ledgers of dressmakers. The bulk of Érard's clientele consisted of elite women, whose payments are recorded under their own names. The market for deluxe harps spontaneously segmented, or self-sorted, along gender lines for an instrument so choice and expensive that Érard apparently could not bear, like Sir Walter in *Persuasion*, to hear mention of 'the word 'advertise'.[12] Instead, the firm relied upon customer recommendations and teacher referrals. Many teachers are listed in the ledger, including the Mr Meyer who gave Fanny Knight her first harp lesson in 1815.[13] For those who lament that the economic impact of women often goes unrecorded, this resource offers a refreshing amount of information about the spending of an exclusive female network of economic actors.

Unsurprisingly, a large number of the surnames plucked by Austen from the peerage for her fictional characters appear in the Érard ledgers as clients, including Mrs Wentworth, Mrs Middleton, Miss Crawford, Mrs Woodhouse, Mrs Vernon, Miss Yates and Miss Dashwood. The handwritten Érard list confirms the daring of Austen's namedropping by showing us real-world namesakes in a manner perhaps more viscerally affecting than a printed subscription list or dusty copies of the *Peerage* or *Baronetage*.

The Érard firm enjoyed an impressive geographical reach. The ledgers list harps sent to clients in East India, Gibraltar, Bengal, and Charleston, South Carolina. On 17 May 1814, a new double action harp (No. 1812) was destined for 'Countess Stroganoff, St. Petersburgh' whereas on 22 October 1813 a smaller single-action harp (No. 1870) made its way to the 'Prince of Butera, Palermo'. The harp entries for multiple owners can present as boomerang travel narratives that return instruments to London for repair many years after their initial send-off. Take for example, the double-action yellow harp that was sent under the direction of 'Capt. Russell, Bombay Artillery, Bombay' in October of 1815, which by November of 1831 had made it back to be 'thoroughly repaired' for 'Major Burrowes / 4 Columbia Place / Cheltenham'. If Edward Said had taken one look at the Érard harp ledgers, he could never have made his silly claims about the hermetically sealed innocence of Jane Austen's domestic life, for it is not just the shawls in *Mansfield Park* that prove woven out of the threads of empire.

Every type of historian might find something of interest in the Érard ledgers. On February 6, 1816, harp No. 2127, a single-action model in 'yellow', was purchased by 'Sir Thomas Lawrence / 65 Russell Square'. The address confirms that the purchaser was indeed the famous portrait painter. Perhaps a search through

his canvases painted after February 1816 might reveal whether the yellow Érard harp served Lawrence, a bachelor who rarely entertained, as a prop for some of his clients. Or perhaps he hired someone to play the elegant instrument during long portrait sittings.

Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte *(1801) by Sir Thomas Lawrence*. *Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020.*

In 1801, Lawrence painted Princess Caroline, recently separated from her husband, tuning a towering Érard harp. A sheet of music held aloft by her young daughter Princess Charlotte completes the angelic allusion with a paper wing to match the one also formed by her flowing shawl. The painting did perhaps protest too much, becoming the subject of scrutiny during 1806 in the Delicate Investigation into the conduct of artist and sitter. The Érard ledgers embellish with rich detail the story of his controversial royal portrait, whose product placement must have helped to make newspaper advertisement so entirely unnecessary.

The ledgers identify the harp in this portrait as Caroline's own Érard No. 357, for which 'Her Roy.[l] High.[ss] the Pre.[ss] of Wales' had paid £75.12, including case, on 11 November 1800.[14] The ledgers also show how, thirteen years later, this same harp was traded up by 'Her Royal Highness/ The Princess of Wales' for a new double-action model (No. 1705) in 'Ultramarine'—the colour most strongly associated with the Virgin Mary. Perhaps by 1813 Princess Charlotte had begun to play. Among the many exchanges of instruments recorded in the ledgers, this upgrade humanized the famous royal portrait and, well, made me smile.

The ledgers record several thousand names, including hundreds of Regency clients. For those interested in Jane Austen's world and works, this historical list of instruments and their owners is a treasure trove that anyone can now examine from home.

Notes

1. I am grateful to music historian Jeanice Brooks of Southampton University for pointing me to this remarkable resource.
2. See Robert Adelson, et al., *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents*, *1785-1959*, 2 volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
3. The Érard ledgers [MS 10110] can be accessed online at the Royal College of Music Library: https://archive.org/details/Royal-College-of-Music-Library-London?and%5B%5D=erard&sin=
4. JAS *Annual Report* (1994), p.32.
5. See the entry in RCM MS 10110, Ledger 1, p.93.
6. See, for example, Gillian Dooley, '"No moral effect on the mind": Music and Education in *Mansfield Park*', The Jane Austen Society *Report* (2014): pp.67-72; Jeffrey A. Nigro, '"Favourable to Tenderness and Sentiment": The Many Meanings of Mary Crawford's Harp', *Persuasions* Online 35.1 (2014); and Juliette Wells, 'A Harpist Arrives at Mansfield Park: Music and the Moral Ambiguity of Mary Crawford,' *Persuasions* 28 (2006): pp.101-114.
7. We do know that when it came to harpsichords and pianos, Eliza preferred a Kirkman instrument. As early as February 1772, Tysoe Saul Hancock advises Eliza's mother Philadelphia to buy a Kirkman harpsichord for Betsy. On 17 October 1800, Eliza pays Abraham Kirkman £52.10s.0d. for what was probably a new instrument. See Le Faye, *Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), pp.52 and 245.

8. According to Deirdre Le Faye, Mary Anne Campion is the sitter in the Rice Portrait, which she dates to 1804-5. The article that makes this argument contains much useful information about that family: Deirdre Le Faye, 'A Literary Portrait Re-examined: Jane Austen and Mary Anne Campion', *The Book Collector* 45.4 (Winter 1996): pp.508-25.
9. His 'double movement' seven-pedal action for the harp (Patent no 3332) proved such a popular innovation that Érard sold £25,000-worth of harps in the year after the innovation's release in summer 1810. The mechanism that allows each string to be shortened by one or two semitones remains in use today.
10. Jane Austen to Cassandra Austen, 27-28 December 1809, in *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Faye, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p.168.
11. The directors for 'Songs of Home at Dalkeith Palace' were Jeanice Brooks and David McGuinness, who discovered the harp was still in existence as part of this project. https://sound-heritage.ac.uk/content/songs-home-dalkeith-palace
12. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, eds. Janet Todd and Antje Blank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.16.
13. On 20 November 1815, Fanny reports in a letter from London: 'A harp arrived fm. Chapels & Mr. Meyer gave me my first lesson' (Le Faye, *Chronology*, 520). Chappell & Co. along Bond Street boasted a large showroom of pianos and other musical instruments for sale as well as hire. Chappell had a standing arrangement with Érard and received a professional discount. Le Faye identifies 'Mr. Meyer' as the harpist and teacher Philippe Jacques (aka Philip James) Meyer (1737-1819), but his sons Philippe Jacques (d. 1841) or Frédéric Charles also taught harp lessons by 1815.
14. The website for the Royal Collection Trust mentions Lawrence's preparatory drawing as showing Princess Caroline unpacking her harp from its case.

The Correspondence of Mr T. Edward Carpenter

Stephanie Emo

In the attic of Jane Austen's House were several boxes containing the correspondence of Mr T. Edward Carpenter. Mr Carpenter, aided by the Jane Austen Society (in particular its founder Miss Dorothy Darnell), founded the museum in the late 1940s. The correspondence dates from his first expression of interest in purchasing the house in early 1947, to shortly before his death in March 1969. Totalling over 5,500 items, the letters provide a valuable insight into the early days of the museum.

On 7 December 1946, a letter from leading members of the Jane Austen Society appeared in *The Times* appealing for help to raise £5,000 towards the purchase and repair of Chawton Cottage. The letter was seen by Mr T. Edward Carpenter, a recently retired solicitor and JP of Mill Hill in North London. He wrote to the Society offering to purchase the Cottage; the Society passed the letter to a local Alton solicitor, Mr W. Bradly Trimmer, for response.

This Mr Trimmer was the great-grandson of Robert Trimmer, Edward Austen Knight's Hampshire lawyer, of whom Jane wrote in September 1813:

> Poor Mr Trimmer is lately dead, a sad loss to his family & occasioning some anxiety to our Brother; for the present he continues his affairs in the son's hands, a matter of great consequence to them—I hope he will have no reason to remove his business.[1]

Three generations later the law firm was still thriving and the museum's archive of Mr Carpenter's correspondence begins with Bradly Trimmer's response to him dated 16 January 1947. The Cottage was owned by Major Edward Knight, the great-great-grandson of Jane's brother Edward, and at the time was divided into four portions, three let to tenants at two shillings and sixpence per week, the other part let to the village library for a nominal rent of fifteen shillings per year. The solicitor advised Mr Carpenter that the tenants could not be made to vacate the property despite paying only a very small rent, but vacant possession of the portion let to the village library, based in the drawing room, could be obtained in less than six months.

As the funds raised by *The Times* appeal were insufficient, Mr Carpenter agreed to proceed with the purchase of the Cottage himself as a memorial to the life and works of Jane Austen but also in memory of his younger son, Lieutenant Philip Carpenter, who had been killed in action in Italy in 1944 aged just twenty-two.

There then followed over a year of negotiations, delays and frustrations. A deal seemed to have been reached in May 1947, when a price of £2,100 was agreed. However, when in late June the vendor's solicitors submitted the plan showing the property included in the sale, it became clear that it covered only

the house itself – the outhouses, bakehouse and all of the garden were excluded. On Mr Carpenter's instructions, Trimmer returned the plan to Major Knight's solicitors informing them he was not prepared to pay the price requested for just the house. Agreement could not be reached and on 12 July, Edward Knight declared the negotiations at an end.

Despite that, they continued to rumble on. In mid-August a price of £3,000 was finally agreed for the house, part of the land that formed the original garden and the outbuildings, excluding the part used by local resident Mr Ford for his bakery business, which remained in Major Knight's hands. However due to the interminable legal delays that followed, a frustrating process familiar to property purchasers today, it wasn't until 26 May 1948, more than sixteen months after Mr Carpenter's initial approach, that the sale was finally completed. Dorothy Darnell was delighted. In a letter sent to Mr Carpenter when it was finally certain the sale would go ahead, her thanks were effusive:

> I feel so very excited and can hardly believe it!! It is wonderful, and we are all so thrilled. Mr Curtis is delighted. I can't thank you enough for having made my cherished scheme a reality.[2]

The immediate concern was to make essential repairs, particularly to the roof. A relative of one of the tenants describes in a letter how, for many years, they had had to put basins out in the bedrooms to catch the water whenever it rained.[3] The eminent architect William Curtis Green was engaged and the £1,400 raised by *The Times* appeal put to good use with, among other repairs, £750 spent on the roof and chimney stacks, £65 for repairing outside walls and windows, £20 on treating dry rot in the cellar and £45 on external painting.

Mr Carpenter and Miss Darnell were keen to secure as many Austen artefacts as they could to display in the new museum. Miss Darnell used her local connections, securing a Pembroke table that had belonged to the Austens from the neighbouring Clinker family, the flagstones that had been removed from the Austens' kitchen and Jane's donkey cart. She regularly wrote to Mr Carpenter to update him on her progress, her letters unfailingly charming and full of enthusiasm.

While Miss Darnell concentrated her efforts locally, Mr Carpenter cast his net wider. He was disappointed to have missed the sale of the Lovering collection of Jane Austen artefacts at Sotheby's in the spring of 1948. Frederick Lovering, a wealthy China Clay merchant of St Austell, Cornwall, was one of the earliest collectors of Jane Austen artefacts and in the 1920s had bought pieces from Jane and Emma Florence Austen, the impoverished spinster grand-daughters of Jane's brother Charles. The posthumous sale of his collection at Sotheby's included the portrait of Jane by Cassandra purchased by the National Gallery, the lock of her hair bought by Mrs Henry G. Burke of Baltimore, Jane's worktable and several letters from Jane to Cassandra.

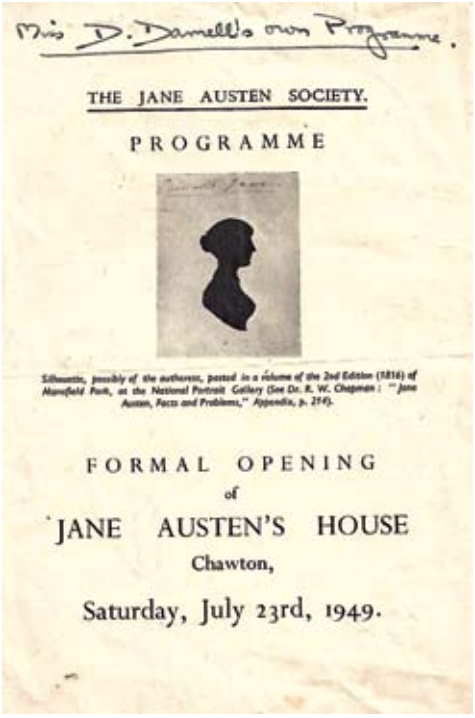
Undeterred, Mr Carpenter wrote to Sotheby's and asked them to put him in

touch with the purchasers to see if they would be prepared to re-sell the items to him. As a result he acquired for the museum the Winchester verses, Jane's Chinese lacquer worktable and several of her letters. Mrs Burke famously donated the lock of Jane's hair in 1949 after hearing a speech by Mr Carpenter in which he lamented the loss of so many artefacts to America.

Mr Carpenter also worked hard to establish contact with descendants of Jane's brothers; The Swan in Alton hosted many a lunch for Mr Carpenter and guests! Through these contacts he unearthed such items as Martha Lloyd's recipe book, Cassandra's fair copy of *Sanditon* and Mary Jane Austen's worktable. He also gained generous financial donations from, in particular, Mrs Purvis, the widow of a great-grandson of Frank Austen. An elderly lady who was often bedridden, she clearly enjoyed her correspondence with Mr Carpenter – and the gifts of crystallised fruits, books and clotted cream he regularly sent her.

In May 1949, Mr Carpenter even approached Winchester College with an offer to buy 8 College Street where Jane had died. The College politely declined.[4]

The museum – comprising just the drawing room at this point – opened on 23 July 1949. The correspondence in the weeks leading up to the event shows a flurry of activity, arranging press coverage of the event, discussing catering arrangements for the day, holding meetings to discuss the programme and commemorative brochure and securing insurance cover for the opening ceremony.


Miss D. Darnell's own Programme.

THE JANE AUSTEN SOCIETY.

PROGRAMME

Silhouette, possibly of the authoress, pasted in a volume of the 2nd Edition (1816) of Mansfield Park, at the National Portrait Gallery (See Dr. R. W. Chapman: "Jane Austen, Facts and Problems," Appendix, p. 214).

FORMAL OPENING
of
JANE AUSTEN'S HOUSE
Chawton,
Saturday, July 23rd, 1949.

Dorothy Darnell's copy of the opening ceremony programme. Permission of JAH.

The most difficult issue that had yet to be addressed was that of the tenants. In particular, Mr Carpenter was very keen to take possession of the dining parlour and Jane's bedroom which were occupied by Miss Annie Stevens and her widowed sister Mrs Wootton. However, the tenants were protected by legislation introduced at the start of the war and could not be forced to move, neither could their rents be increased. Miss Darnell's tact and diplomacy were called upon to find a way forward, but progress was patchy and slow.

It is easy to empathise with both parties. Mr Carpenter having made such a large personal financial commitment needed to get the museum on a footing where it could be self-sufficient and to do that, he needed more to offer visitors than just the drawing room. For Miss Stevens, the house had been her home for many years and the concern she felt is palpable in her letters, particularly given the housing shortage in the aftermath of the war. In response to a solicitor's letter sent to her in April 1950 on Mr Carpenter's instructions, Miss Stevens complains that she and her sister 'get no peace through Miss Darnell continually worrying for two of the rooms, which, if given up, allows just one bedroom and a very small back kitchen for our use'.[5]

There was some division between members of the Society and Mr Carpenter concerning the best way to handle the situation. In a letter to Mr Carpenter of March 1951, Elizabeth Jenkins wrote to tell him that Miss Darnell had telephoned to say she

> could not face any step which might mean disagreeableness between her and the tenants, and that if any such step were enforced, she would feel obliged to resign and also said that Colonel Satterthwaite had said that if she resigned he would resign also. I do not for a moment think that either of them intended this to be taken as a threat but since its effect would be that, I felt it necessary to write to her saying it would be indescribably painful if they were to leave … but as this was a matter in which the public was concerned, once such a possibility had been mentioned the rest of us were obliged to consider how such an emergency could be met if it did arise and that I felt in that case I could undertake for an interim period to do the necessary minimum which would keep us above water … I felt it should be understood as soon as possible that we should not be amenable to pressure of that kind.[6]

Happily it never came to that and the sisters were eventually won round; Mrs Wootton would move out, along with the copious furniture she had stored in the attics, providing Mr Carpenter could assist in finding her suitable alternative accommodation. Miss Stevens would give up the two rooms at that juncture, receive a payment of £50 from Mr Carpenter for doing so and gain the use of two renovated attic rooms. She would also take on the role of caretaker alongside Mrs Ethel Newman, another tenant of the Cottage.

Finding alternative accommodation in this post-war period was a daunting task, even for someone with Mr Carpenter's financial reserves. Hopes were raised when Major Knight put most of the cottages he owned in Chawton village up for sale by auction in July 1951. There were, however, no suitable cottages available

with vacant possession. Hopes were raised again when Clinkers, the cottage immediately neighbouring Chawton Cottage, was put up for sale in the autumn of 1951 after the death of old Mrs Clinker. The Clinkers had for generations owned the forge in Chawton; Edward Knight's Chawton account book lists several payments to James Clinker during the period July to September 1809 for work done at Chawton Cottage when the Austen ladies first moved in. Unfortunately, the cost of the work needed to make Clinkers habitable proved prohibitive and Mr Carpenter decided not to bid. In May 1952 however, he purchased 39, Mount Pleasant Road in Alton and Mrs Wootton took up the tenancy.

The situation with Miss Stevens and her sister resolved and Mrs Newman appointed as a live-in caretaker, that just left the King family. According to Elizabeth Jenkins, Mrs Carpenter had forbidden her husband to purchase any more properties, but finding suitable alternative accommodation for the Kings proved so difficult that, ignoring her own advice, she herself purchased a property for them to rent. In March 1953, Elizabeth Jenkins wrote of the property purchase:

> What wonderful news and how very, very generous you and Mrs Carpenter have been! It is almost awe-inspiring! I did so sympathise with Mrs Carpenter when she forbade you to buy any more properties but since she is buying this one herself, I suppose that is a different matter![7]

The dining parlour and Jane's bedroom were finally opened to the public on 14 May 1953. Sadly by this stage, Dorothy Darnell was too ill to attend; she died a few months later in October 1953.

Ceremony to mark the opening of the dining parlour & Jane's bedroom, 14th May 1953. Left to right: Francis Carpenter, Mrs Carpenter, Lady Scott, Lady Smiley, Miss Beatrix Darnell, Miss Elizabeth Jenkins, Mr Hugh Curtis, Mr T. Edward Carpenter.

It is clear from the correspondence that Mr Carpenter was heavily involved in all aspects of the museum, personally dealing with issues ranging from setting up the Memorial Trust with all its legal technicalities and making financial investments to build an endowment fund for the Trust right through to replying to school and college pupils requesting information about Jane Austen for essays and projects. Mr Carpenter was in general very supportive of these requests; from the responses he received it's obvious he wrote encouraging letters to these budding Janeites. Recuperating from a bout of 'flu in February 1964, however, it seems he sent an irascible reply to one such correspondent whose indignant response reads:

> Thank you for your reply to my letter. I find myself unable to understand the tone of your letter. I am fully aware you must be 'troubled' by schoolgirls requiring information about Jane Austen. You should not however assume that requests for information are confined to schoolgirls. I am not a schoolgirl and resent your assumption in this respect.[8]

The writer goes on to sign himself firmly 'A.B. Sharpe (Mr)'.

Throughout the correspondence, it is obvious that Mr Carpenter was a professional man of business with a determination to achieve his aims. He also comes across as a sociable man, keen to pass on his love and enthusiasm for Jane Austen, generous and thoughtful with his gifts and a fair – if sometimes firm – employer.

There are numerous letters from the caretakers thanking him for gifts sent each year for Christmas and Easter. In a letter from 1951, Mrs Newman wrote to thank him for

> the very generous gift you sent us and for your kindly thoughts of us. It is a great pleasure to me to work for you all. Everyone is so thoughtfull (sic) and kind, and I'm afraid I am getting a great Janeite. It is surprising how it grows on you hearing all the people's views. I am now trying to get Emma and Persuasion as I hear so much they are the best of her books.[9]

Both ladies were thrilled with his gift of a mohair shawl in the icy winter of 1962/63 to help keep them warm – a sentiment anyone who has worked in the Cottage would appreciate. The house is beautiful, but very cold and draughty in winter.

Nevertheless, Mr Carpenter did not hesitate to put his foot down when he felt it necessary. In a letter from April 1960 to Mrs Newman's niece he made it clear she – or at least her dog – had outstayed their welcome. He expressed

> the strongest possible objection to your prolonged residence with Mr and Mrs Newman in their rooms at Jane Austen's House with your dog. I had expected that such stay would have been short, or at any rate temporary, and it is with regret that we must now ask that you leave without further delay. The presence of the dog is a nuisance and must be abated.[10]

In October 1961, he complained to Miss Stevens about a niece parking her car in the yard for a number of weeks writing that

> The Trustees very properly took the view that this was a trespass on their property and a possible interruption of Mr Ford's rights over the yard. Their instructions are that this car is to be removed at once and that no further parking at any time can be allowed … I wish in the future you would think of my feelings and of the uncomfortable position in which you have placed me … I have nothing but admiration for the manner in which you perform your duties. They reflect the greatest credit on you; but on the other hand kindly remember that your future position depends on strict compliance with the Trustees wishes.[11]

These incidents reflect the understandably different perspectives of the caretakers and Mr Carpenter. His actions could be viewed unsympathetically, but the archive as a whole provides a real sense of his struggle over several years to make the museum at least break even so that it could survive, and his attempt to make provision by way of an endowment fund to give it the best chance of surviving after his death. The dichotomy of that need for a business focus and the daily life of the tenants who had lived at the House for years before it became a museum was clearly very hard to negotiate. To the caretakers it was of course their place of work, but first and foremost it was their home and had been for many years before it became a museum. Despite these differences, there seems to have been genuine regard between the parties. Mr Carpenter helped Miss Stevens with her finances after she retired, for which she was very grateful. Touchingly, he kept several postcards the caretakers had sent him from their holidays, including one from Mrs Newman, sent from Southsea in June 1953, where she had gone rather reluctantly. In a letter requesting the time off, she confided to Mr Carpenter, 'My husband thinks a week by the sea will do me good, but for myself I would rather stay here.'[12] The postcard claims she was having a nice time nevertheless and in spite of the awful weather.

The letters also offer fleeting glimpses of history: the death of George VI and the celebrations for the coronation of Elizabeth II, worries about the Persian and Korean wars of the early 1950s, concern in 1956 about the petrol shortage caused by the Suez crisis which affected visitor numbers and the impact of the harsh winter of 1962/63. The number of times the various correspondents report that they are suffering from influenza is quite startling, a topical reminder of life without the widespread availability of an effective vaccine.

Some of the letters contain important information about the museum's history or the provenance of items in the collection. Many more are mundane – the caretakers updating Mr Carpenter on work in the house and garden, problems with frozen pipes or broken locks, invoices that needed paying, a group booking that didn't turn up, the reordering of postcards and guidebooks – but in their entirety they provide a compelling insight into the lives, efforts and industry of the small group of people who created the museum.

Notes

1. Letter from Jane Austen to Frank Austen 25 September 1813.
   (Individual letters below are from the correspondence of Mr T. Edward Carpenter, January 1947 – December 1968, held in the archives of Jane Austen's House):
2. Letter from Miss Dorothy Darnell to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 23 February 1948.
3. Letter from Mrs E. Stevens to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 22 December 1948.
4. Letter from Walter Oakshott, Headmaster Winchester College, to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 3 March 1949; Letter from C.A. Merriman, Bursar Winchester College, to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 18 May 1949.
5. Letter from Miss Annie Stevens to Mr W. Bradly Trimmer 29 April 1950.
6. Letter from Miss Elizabeth Jenkins to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 4 March 1951.
7. Letter from Miss Elizabeth Jenkins to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 8 March 1953.
8. Letter from Mr A.B. Sharpe to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 3 February 1964.
9. Letter from Mrs Ethel Newman to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 14 September 1951.
10. Letter from Mr T. Edward Carpenter to Mrs Warne 13 April 1960.
11. Letter from Mr T. Edward Carpenter to Miss Annie Stevens 4 October 1961.
12. Letter from Mrs Ethel Newman to Mr T. Edward Carpenter 27 May 1953.

William Hugh Curtis and Colonel Clement Richard Satterthwaite - two of the originals

Jane Hurst

In the line-up for the 1949 Grand Opening of Jane Austen's House (pictured on page 98 of the *Annual Report* for 2019) there are two men who are not mentioned in the caption. The first (in the centre with a walking stick) was William Hugh Curtis, Chairman since the formation of the Jane Austen Society in 1940 and a direct descendant of Jane Austen's 'Alton Apothy'.

Born in 1880 at 6 High Street in Alton, next door to the family home, William Hugh was an only child. He was a member of the sixth generation to live in the town, the first generation of Curtises to produce no medical practitioner. William Hugh was educated at Charterhouse and then took up farming at Froyle, a village between Alton and Bentley. When WWI started, he fought with the 19th Royal Fusiliers and the Sherwood Foresters and was wounded twice. While in hospital in Ireland, he met his future wife Avesia Wolfe.

On returning to Alton, William Hugh entered fully into the life of the town. He helped found the Alton Art Society and the Alton Area Group of the Council for The Preservation of Rural England. He also held key positions in these and in the Alton Natural History Society and the local League of Nations Union as well as being on the Urban District Council. His main interest though was Alton's Curtis Museum which bears the name of his grandfather – another William Curtis. William Hugh took over as Honorary Curator when his father died in 1924 and, with help, rearranged all the exhibits.

William Hugh Curtis

It was due to his having this latter post that Dorothy Darnell consulted him when she rescued the cast-iron grate which had been in Jane Austen's House. It had been on a scrap heap and William Hugh looked after it until it could be reinstated. When Dorothy Darnell had the idea of founding a Jane Austen Society she immediately pronounced, "We must get hold of Mr Curtis". In William Hugh's obituary, Elizabeth Jenkins recalled, 'I saw that it was taken for granted, by someone who lived in the neighbourhood, that nothing of the kind we wanted to do could be undertaken without his help. When I was introduced to him I saw why.'[1]

As the first Society Chairman, William Hugh was an important member of the Committee – 'His knowledge, and tact, and humour, made him invaluable as a chairman who not only conducted meetings but was consulted on the smallest detail as a friend and a fellow-enthusiast'. As Elizabeth Jenkins reported in 1957, 'The Jane Austen Society has met with many pieces of good fortune in the sixteen years of its existence, and that we were able to "get hold of Mr Curtis" was one of the best of them'.[2]

Every Society needs not only a good Chairman but also an effective Vice-Chairman and Honorary Treasurer. Those posts were filled by Lieutenant Colonel Clement Richard [Dick] Satterthwaite and he can be seen on the far left of the picture on page 44 of the 1953 *Annual Report*, on page 100 of the *Annual Report* for 2019 and on page 13 of the Autumn 2020 *News Letter*. (The two latter have captions which wrongly identify him as Richard Austen-Leigh.)

Colonel Satterthwaite

Dick's father, Colonel Edward Satterthwaite, was a Territorial Force officer, stockbroker and local politician active in the Bromley area of Kent.[3] Born in 1884, Dick joined the Royal Engineers and was made a Captain in 1913. A year before, he had married Phyllis Helen Carr, a tennis player who had participated in the Wimbledon Championships in 1911.

Having served in Hong Kong, Dick was appointed Instructor at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham until August 1914 and the start of WWI. He then went to Ireland to train troops before being ordered to Gallipoli, where he was wounded. After being invalided home, he worked for the War Office on anti-aircraft searchlights. In 1919, he was awarded the OBE in the Birthday Honours for helping transfer many large munitions factories to the War Department. His organising skills were already being recognised. He retired in 1922 having been in charge of the Architectural Design Branch of the War Office and was then appointed Advisor on Buildings to the Director-General of the Territorial Army. It was soon after this that, sadly, Dick and his wife divorced.

In 1925, he joined an organisation for whom he worked for over 20 years – the Royal National Lifeboat Institute [RNLI]. Starting as Deputy-Secretary, he became Secretary in 1931 – a time when 'the country was passing through a severe financial crisis' with the Institution's revenue falling by over £55,000 from its record revenue of £319,434 the year before. Dick was then 'in command of the Life-boat Service during those six busiest and most dangerous years which it has ever had, when its work increased threefold' in WWII. During his fifteen years as Secretary, 'the life-boats of the Institution rescued over 10,000 lives'.[4]

On retiring from the RNLI in 1946, Dick moved to Lansdowne House, 74 High Street, Alton, the home of the Mr Newnham who was visited by Miss Beckford and Jane Austen in February 1811. Here Dick settled with his widowed sister, Lucy Annette Ilott, and quickly got to know the Darnells. Then, according to his obituary 'he was soon welcomed as a member of the Committee and became Joint Hon. Treasurer and Vice-Chairman' of the Jane Austen Society.[5]

Alton High Street

Dick was said to have 'brought to the work of the Society not only boundless enthusiasm and energy, but a considerable organising ability ... He also undertook the supervision of the house at Chawton, which entailed at least one visit each week'. In 1952, Dick and Dorothy Darnell even took part in an early radio broadcast from Jane Austen's House.

In December of the same year,

> a number of pictures from Chawton House, the property of Major Edward Knight, were sold at Sotheby's Auction Rooms in London. All but one were 18th Century portraits of members and ancestors of the Knight family ... With them however was the large portrait of Edward Austen which is illustrated in Constance Hill's book, 'Jane Austen, her Homes and her Friends', and there stated to have been painted in Rome while Edward was on the "Grand Tour" at the age of twenty-one (which would have been in the year 1789). This picture has been acquired by the Society, but as it is too large – 8 feet high and 5 feet 6 inches wide – to be placed in Jane Austen's house, the Committee have accepted Colonel Satterthwaite's offer to hang it over the stairs at Lansdowne House in Alton High Street. It does not look its best, of course, in a small house, but it can be seen fairly well, and is in Georgian surroundings. Colonel Satterthwaite will always be glad to show it to members who would like to see it after visiting Chawton.[6]

Within five months, Dick had died, only days before the formal opening of two additional rooms at Jane Austen's House which he had planned. He was sixty-nine. His obituary in the Society *Report* for 1953 ended:

> Although Dick Satterthwaite took part in several of the town's activities, he never tired of pointing out that the Jane Austen Society was of national importance, and as far as he was concerned, came first. He must have devoted much time to all matters connected with Chawton and the Austen family, and could converse or correspond with members and others with some authority.

Although neither William Hugh Curtis nor Dick Satterthwaite had been lifelong lovers of Jane Austen, they both answered the call of Dorothy Darnell to help the Society in its formative years. They took on important roles on the Committee and helped oversee the early transformation of Jane Austen's House from three dwellings and a village club into the world famous attraction that it is today. Their work should not be forgotten.

Notes

1. Jane Austen Society *Annual Report* 1957
2. Ibid.
3. https://london.wikia.org/wiki/Edward-Satterthwaite.
4. *Lifeboat Magazine*, June 1947, Spring 1953.
5. Jane Austen Society *Annual Report* 1953.
6. *Alton Post Gazette*, 4 January 2011.

The Debarys: A Different View

Tony French

Anyone familiar with Jane Austen's letters to her sister will know of her dislike of the Debary family. She summed up her feelings in a letter to Cassandra in September, 1816: 'The Debaries are indeed odious!'[1] Did she mean some, or all eight of them? They were the Revd Peter Debary, incumbent of St Peter's, Hurstbourne Tarrant and Burbage, his wife Ann, and their six children: Ann, the eldest, then Peter, Mary, Richard, Susannah and Sarah.

Jane Austen's first mention of a Debary was in a letter to Cassandra in November 1798, when she wrote 'Miss Debary comes', referring to the imminent arrival of the eldest daughter at Deane Rectory, to manage the household while Mrs James Austen recovered following the birth of her son. In the following letter, Jane dismissed her in few words: 'She looks much as she used to do, is netting herself a gown in worsteds, and wears what Mrs. Birch would call a pot hat. A short and compendious history of Miss Debary!' After that, little is reported of the Debarys until 20 November 1800, when Jane met Ann and two of her sisters at a ball: 'Miss Debary, Susan & Sally all in black … made their appearance, & I was as civil to them as their bad breath would allow me'. Quite apart from their questionable dental hygiene, Jane appears to have suspected them of a deliberate prolongation of grief on the death of a relative. 'The Debaries persist in being afflicted at the death of their Uncle, of whom they now say they saw a great deal in London', she had reported to Cassandra earlier in November, and here they were at the ball, still draped in black.

The Debary sisters were probably in attendance when Jane's brother James married Mary Lloyd at St. Peter's, Hurstbourne Tarrant in January 1797. Mary and her sister Martha lived at nearby Ibthorpe. Jane became great friends with Martha, and often stayed with her, but she resented the frequent intrusions of the Debarys. 'Three of the Miss Debaries called here the morning after my arrival', she wrote to her sister in December 1800, 'but I have not yet been able to return their civility'. In the same letter, she refers to them as 'The Endless Debaries' – evidence that she viewed their visits as unwanted interference rather than social politeness. The acquaintance, however, could not be escaped. The nearest church to Ibthorpe was St. Peter's and Martha and Jane would hardly have been able to avoid the family on leaving Sunday service. It may have been this sort of occasion that Irene Collins had in mind when she wrote that 'the four gossipy daughters of the Rev. Peter Debary fell upon them as if they were visitors from another planet'.[2]

Jane appears to have felt a particular antipathy for Peter Debary. Declining her father's offer of the Deane curacy in 1801 went against him – what was good enough for an Austen should have been good enough for a Debary. She complained to Cassandra that 'Mr Debary has shewn himself a Peter in the blackest sense of the Word' by his refusal. She was nonplussed by the 'foolish reason' he gave,

which was that he wished to be settled nearer London. 'Take the whole World through,' she continued, '& he will find many more places at a greater distance from London than Deane, than he will at a less.—What does he think of Glencoe or Lake Katherine? —I feel rather indignant,' she concluded, ' that any possible objection should be raised against so valuable a peice of preferment, so delightful a situation!'

Mary, the fourth Debary sister, is never mentioned in Jane's letters; Susannah (Susan) and Sarah (Sally) appear by name only once. Despite practically nothing being known about them outside Jane Austen's letters, the Debary sisters have become stereotypes, a quartet of gossipy country spinsters dressed in black, eagerly intruding into other people's lives. But this was not everyone's opinion of them. Here is one view from 1827: 'The Misses Debary are so gay being either abroad or at watering places that I do not see them sometimes for a long time but I have had the pleasure of dining with them lately & also spending a pleasant evening there at a card party'. Two years earlier the same writer reported, 'I had the pleasure of being at a Ball at the Misses Debary's last Monday, where we spent a delightful night and morning, keeping up the dance till day-break'.

John Curtis (1791 - 1862)

The party-goer was the entomologist John Curtis of Norwich, no relation to the Curtis family of Alton. He included these snippets in letters to his friend James Charles Dale (1791-1872), who knew the Debarys well.[3] They were occasional visitors to the Dale family home, the Manor House in Glanvilles Wootton, in Dorset. Curtis first met at least two of the Debary sisters there in 1821, when the 'Misses Debary' were visiting Dale's mother at the same time.[4] By then the four sisters had moved to 24, Newman Street, off Goodge Street and Tottenham Court Road in London. Curtis lived just round the corner on what was then Charles Street[5] and often went to see them. Of the four, Curtis would have known Sarah Debary, the youngest sister, for only a short time, as she died on the 7 January 1823, before he became a regular visitor. He wrote to Dale in February that year, 'Miss DeBary requests me to say that her Sister's health is better but that her spirits are still very low', which may refer to one of them having fallen into bad health and low spirits following Sarah's death. He came to know the other three extremely well. In August 1824 he wrote, 'Pray give my respects to Mr & Mrs Dale & tell them that the Misses Debarys & their brother are at Little Hampton on the coast of Sussex, that I had the pleasure of dining with them about a month back when they were all well'. In the spring of 1825, when another sister fell ill, Curtis asked Dale to tell his parents that 'one of the Misses Debary has been very ill but is better. Miss Mary I think the one that has an impediment in her speech'. This is the first, and only, time that he fully names a sister; the one not mentioned by Jane Austen.

One of Mary's correspondents, an old school friend, Elizabeth LeMesurier of Guernsey, also expressed delight in being acquainted with the Debary family. Elizabeth – Betsy to friends and family – wrote to Mary from London on 11 August 1793, addressing the letter to 'Miss Dubary, Odiham, Hants. By favour of Mr Dubary':

> My Dear Miss Dubary – I have been most happy with an incident that has taught me that the brother of my old friend & school fellow has settled so near me. I have improved the opportunity of cultivating such a valuable acquaintance – as I do that of returning myself to your memory after the space of so many years.[6]

'Mr. Dubary' is Richard, Mary's brother, a lawyer who lived in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He was a good friend of Betsy and her husband, Havilland.[7] Betsy wrote fondly of Susannah, whom she remembers having 'pretty intelligent little eyes', and on another occasion 'I cannot pass one day more without telling you the pleasure both Mr LeMesurier and myself have in the expectation of seeing you and one of your dear sisters'. In this same letter Betsy referred to Peter: 'your good Brs. patience which has for so many [years] been exercised by small boys is at last pleasantly rewarded'. Peter had been an usher at Westminster School since 1788, and his pleasant reward lay in leaving the school to accompany one of his pupils, Lord Henry Petty, during his continuing studies in Edinburgh. Maybe this exposure to bustling city life had an influence on Peter Debary's reluctance to settle at Deane in 1801.

Richard Debary has previously gone unnoticed. Jane Austen did not mention him and maybe never met him, so he is somewhat outside the scope of this narrative, but he has a bearing upon it. Richard left Hurstbourne for London to study law; maybe under the auspices of the uncle for whom mourning was observed by the Debary sisters in November 1800. He married Anne Phoebe Downman in 1810 when he was forty-three, she thirty-four. She was the favourite niece of the artist John Downman (1740-1824) who painted several portraits of her and at least one of her husband. *Portrait of Richard Debary in a Blue Coat and White Cravat,* a pencil and watercolour drawing of 1810, probably executed on the occasion of the marriage, shows a narrow-shouldered, spare man. His face is narrow, too, his nose long but not prominent and his mouth small. He has a high forehead, curly, brushed back greying hair, thick eyebrows over blue, rather dreamy eyes, and a light complexion.[9] He may have been blonde; if so, perhaps his sisters were, too.

There is another Debary portrait. In 1806 Thomas Phillips (1770-1845) exhibited at the Royal Academy his *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Debary*. The couple are seated at a chessboard, he watching his wife's move to capture one of his pieces. It is a genre picture; the elderly, affectionate couple enjoying each other's company in comfortable, homely surroundings. It was reproduced as a mezzotint by S.W. Reynolds (1773-1835) and published in 1808 with the title *A Game at Chess*. The British Museum has three examples of this print, catalogued as *A Game at Chess. The Rev. and Mrs Debary*. Extensive searching has revealed no couple of that name, of that age and at that time other than the Revd Debary and Mrs Debary of Hurstbourne.

A Game at Chess. The Rev. and Mrs Debary

Betsy LeMesurier knew the Debary parents. She wrote to Mary that she had seen a couple who reminded her of them: 'the lady is 72 and one of the most agreeable ladies I know and [resembles] your dear mother in that respect'. They appear to be the kind of people Jane Austen would have described as neat and respectable, but they make no appearance in her letters.

It was probably not long after the death of their father in 1814 that the Debarys went to live in London and Peter's wish for a closer link to the city was granted. On Christmas day, 1827, John Curtis had dinner with them. By then he himself had moved to Grove Place, Lisson Grove, in St. John's Wood, but was still in close touch. He told Dale,

> I had the pleasure of dining on Xstmas day with the Misses Debary who desired me to make their best remembrances to yourself & your family. They have all got colds excepting Miss Mary, Mr. Peter Debary is with them & Mr Lance was there.

Three years later, in February, 1830, Curtis asked Dale 'Where are the Misses Debary? Near Winchester?' Dale pencilled in 'Itchen Abbas'. Jane Austen knew the Lances, too. The Revd William Lance (1742-1848) lived in the rectory at Netherton, near Hurstbourne Tarrant. He was the brother of the wealthy David Lance (d. 1819) whose Chessel House, Jane Austen knew. She told Cassandra in her letter of 7 January 1807 that the only reason for their being noticed by this rich family was because 'Mr. Lance of Netherton' had suggested it. There was also a deaf Mr Lance whom Jane visited in Southampton.

Curtis visited the Debarys regularly during 1828. He told Dale in February that they all had colds yet again. In April he himself had caught one, which prevented him from 'going to a party at the Misses Debary's' and in July he had been so busy that he had not been able to accept an invitation to dine with them. After that he did not report meeting the sisters until December 1830. He had dined with 'Mr & 2 Miss Debarys' on Boxing Day. He does not say which two, but 'they were all well & if I mistake not the Turkey & Bacon were from Glanvilles Wootton'; so the Dales had sent the Debarys their Christmas fare. He went again in March 1831, when they were all well, and again in May, when he met Sir John and Lady Cope.

Sir John had inherited a large estate at Bramshill in Hampshire, which included the parish of Eversley, where Peter Debary had been granted the living in 1804. At the Debarys' party in 1831, Sir John was accompanied by a friend, an admiral, but Curtis had forgotten his name. He wrote 'Admiral— —' in his letter to Dale. The latter filled in the gap with 'Austen?' and it may indeed have been Rear-Admiral Francis Austen. That the name Austen sprang to mind as Dale read the letter indicates that he thought it perfectly feasible that Jane Austen's brother would be dining at the Debarys' house in Newman Street.

Ann Debary died there on 11 September 1834, aged 71. In November, Curtis forwarded a letter from 'Miss Debary' to Mrs. Dale. This would be Susannah, now the elder sister. In her will, drawn up in 1830, Ann left most of her property

to Susannah 'for her own maintenance and support and that of my sister Mary during their respective lives and after that I bequeath twelve hundred and fifty pounds in the three and a half per cent reduced stock to my niece Anne Emilia Debary'. She left the residue of her property to her four nephews. They and Anne Emilia were the children of her brother Richard.

Curtis dined there again, as he reported to Dale, towards the end of 1835. A few months later Susannah and Mary, perhaps with Peter, were to visit the Dales at Glanvilles Wootton. Curtis was 'very glad to hear the Debarys will visit you, it will be an agreeable change, they are very cheerful at present & being such old friends of Mrs Dale you must reckon very much of their coming'. Curtis's only reference to Susannah as an individual, though not naming her, is in May, 1838 when he told Dale that he was enclosing 'a little parcel from Miss S. Debary'.

Peter Debary died unmarried, aged 77, at 24, Newman Street, on 9 October 1841. 'I was not aware of Debary's death', Curtis told Dale. 'I esteemed him very much. He was a liberal minded, honourable & gentlemanly man'. His remains were taken to Hurstbourne Tarrant for burial. His will stated that he was of Weston in Arden in the county of Warwick and of Newman Street in London. He bequeathed 'rings or some other token of remembrance' to several people, including the Marquis of Landsdowne, his ex-pupil with whom he must have kept in touch as a friend. To Susannah and Mary jointly he gave any carriage and horses in his possession, and all his personal effects in the Newman Street house. Money was to be invested in the public funds for the benefit of his brother Richard's children: Anne Emilia and her three younger brothers, Peter Francis, William and Thomas. Richard's eldest son, Richard Brome Debary, was not included because on Peter's death he succeeded to the family estates at Weston in Arden. Richard himself had died in 1826, so his eldest son was next in line. Presumably Peter thought his nephew's expectations were sufficient. Richard Brome Debary's life came to centre upon the Weston estate, and he seems to have had little to do with his aunts. Anne Emilia, and her husband Henry Boyle Lee were to become closest to them.

Susannah and Mary lived on together in Newman Street and kept up their connection with Curtis, who dined with them in November 1842. The occasion was marked by the main course, a pheasant which Dale had sent, being undercooked. Curtis told Dale that 'it was a splendid Bird, which I carved but it was not done enough unluckily'. There may have been no other guests present, as one pheasant does not go very far, however well cooked. But when he visited the Debarys in January, 1843 there *was* company:

> I called on the Debarys on Sunday & saw the whole of them excepting the married one. They were all pretty well & the one who has a curacy by Chipping Norton is a clever pleasant young man. Peter seems to be very sturdy & Anna is very cheerful, I therefore hope that the Misses Debary are as happy as they were during their brother's life, as they deserve to be.

They were all the children, now adults, of Richard and Anne Phoebe Debary. The absent 'married one' was presumably Richard Brome, who married in 1839. 'Anna' would be Anne Emilia, there with her three younger brothers. Curtis continued to call over the next few years, but as time went on he began to feel that his visits were not as welcome as they once had been. By 1850 he was feeling decidedly uncomfortable. He thanked Dale for reminding him of the Debarys and promised he would call on them, but with reservations: 'They were always very friendly to me but when Anna married I thought my calls were mere interruptions & the young men are so strange'.

There may have been a reason for the restrained atmosphere in the house. On 2 July 1847, Susannnah paid 80 guineas to Harpenden Lunatic Asylum. The receipt states that she was the sister of Mary Debary.[10] On 8 November 1848, an inspection to assess the progress of patients at the asylum was recorded in the visitor's book. One of the patients was Mary. The inspectors observed a Divine Service which 'Miss Debary now occasionally attends'. The inmates had 'occupations and amusements as before … each patient has a separate apartment …'[11] So by the time that Curtis was visiting the Debarys in the late 1840s, Mary Debary was in a lunatic asylum. She was to stay there for six years until 'discharged therefrom relieved by the Authority of Her Trustees Peter Debary and the Revd. Thos. Debary' on 8 April 1854.[12]

Mary died a few months later on 5 October 1854, aged eighty-nine, in Church Street, Ewell, at the house of Henry Boyle Lee, the husband of her niece Anne Emilia. Mary had made a will in 1827 and never altered it. She directed that her gold watch should be given to her sister Ann, who of course never received it, and her diamond brooch to her niece Anne Emilia, which she would not inherit until nearly thirty years later. Susannah had predeceased Mary, on 15 November 1852, aged eighty-four at the house in Newman Street, where she kept up appearances to the end, served by a footman, a cook and a maid.[13] Curtis had visited her there in February 1850, reporting to Dale, 'I called on Miss Debary and was happy to find her as cheerful and well as usual she seemed anxious to hear from Mrs Dale'. This is the last known personal reference to a Debary sister by a contemporary. In her will, made in 1849, she bequeathed all the money she had in the funds to pay for Mary's care as long as she lived. Responsibility for Mary's supervision fell to Anne Emilia, at whose home the last of the Debary sisters spent her final months. The rest of Susannah's property was divided among the family. An interesting bequest was a large picture of her parents, probably *A Game at Chess*, to her nephew Richard Brome Debary. Her 'apparel and trinkets' were to be divided between Anne Emilia and Richard Brome's wife Elizabeth. A memorial inscription in St Peter's at Hurstbourne Tarrant commemorates all four of the Debary sisters.

This account of the Debarys may have ended here if it had not been for a discovery made by Oxford Archaeology. In June 2003, the team began an investigation of the crypt of St George's Church, Bloomsbury. The aim was to

Debary Memorial Tablet at St Peter's, Hurstbourne Tarrant.

record details of the 781 lead coffins placed there between 1804 and 1856. As work progressed, many individuals in the coffins were identified from plates fixed to the lids. One coffin bore a plate which was inscribed *Mrs Anne Phoebe Debary Died 15th Feb 1829 Aged 52 Years*. Another stacked nearby contained the remains of *Richard Debary Esqr Died 8th January 1826 In his 59th Year.* The discovery confirmed an elegant memorial on the wall of the church itself. [13]

Debary Memorial at St George's, Bloomsbury. © Noel Gordon.

This monument seemed to have been lost to research, unlike those to the Debarys in the church at Hurstbourne Tarrant. It no longer relates to the coffins 'in the vault beneath' because they, along with others, have been re-interred elsewhere. The report of the Oxford Archaeology team suggests that 'There remains a considerable potential for more detailed analysis of families and individuals' and this has certainly proved true of the Debarys, whose place in history has been defined by a few disparaging remarks made by Jane Austen. They led far richer lives than has been recognized. They had many friends, even admirers, and were part of a circle which included county families, London society and people of rank and fortune. The sisters were of independent means and chose to live in a house in a bustling part of London where they held balls and parties. Rather than gossipy old spinsters leading humdrum village lives, they were Londoners who led a life of some gaiety and, it seems, fun.

Betsy LeMesurier closed one of her letters to Mary thus: 'My dear Mary with affnt. greetings from this family to you (we most affly. talk of you for as Havd. often says such people are not every day folks)'. Perhaps the Debarys were not so odious after all.

Notes

1. All quotations from Jane Austen's letters are from Le Faye, D. (Ed). 2011. *Jane Austen's Letters*. 4th Edition. Oxford.

2. Collins, I. 1994. *Jane Austen And The Clergy*. London, p.6
3. All quotations from letters from John Curtis are from his correspondence with J.C.Dale in the Hope Collection, J.C. Dale Archive/C/Curtis Oxford University Museum of Natural History. Curtis was an entomologist, engraver, flower painter and book illustrator. His *British Entomology* (1824-39) is considered to be one of the finest entomological works ever published. It appeared in monthly parts. Every month he sent one to Dale, with a letter and sundry other items.
4. Mary Kellaway Dale (1767-1858). Her memorial is in St Mary's Church, Glanvilles Wootton.
5. Now renamed Mortimer Street.
6. British Library Add MS 45907 f.42
7. Elizabeth Dobree married her husband, Havilland LeMesurier, in 1783. He had a distinguished career with British Army as Commissary General. EL's letters to Mary Debary contain much fascinating information about military matters. She refers to Prussian and English troop movements in preparation for engaging, or not, with Napoleon, with astonishing freedom.
8. It appeared as lot 44 at Christie's sale *Oils, Watercolours & Drawings from 18th-20th Centuries* on 21 June, 1998. Its present whereabouts are unknown.
9. Hampshire Record Office: Misc. Hampshire Deeds ref. 57016 no. 16M57/55
10. Notice of Admission of Mary Debary to Harpenden Lunatic Asylum. July 1847. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies Centre. QS/Misc/B/10/4
11. Notice of Discharge of Mary Debary from Harpenden Lunatic Asylum. April 1854. *Ibid,* QS/Misc/B/10/68
12. UK Census 1851
13. I am indebted to Noel Gordon, caretaker at St George's Church, Bloomsbury, who very kindly forwarded the photograph of the Debary memorial and by whose permission it is reproduced.

Mr Austen's Carriage Revisited

John Avery Jones

In the Report for 1999 Robin Vick[1] pointed to the unlikely sequence of events that, according to Anna Lefroy's recollection, the Revd George Austen purchased a carriage around the time of the marriage of Henry Austen to his cousin Eliza de Feuillide on 31 December 1797, only to lay it down within a year according to Jane's letter to Cassandra of 17 November 1798 which stated, 'Our assemblies have very kindly declined ever since we laid down the carriage, so that dis-convenience and dis-inclination to go have kept pace together'.[2] This led Robin Vick to suggest that Anna Lefroy's recollection about the date of purchase might have been wrong, that the carriage was actually purchased in 1784 and perhaps replaced in 1793 to 1795, evidence for which existed in bank account entries that might be to a coachmaker. One other relevant indication is that in another of Jane Austen's letters to Cassandra of 9 January 1796[3] she refers to taking their brother James to an exceedingly good ball in 'our carriage' although there were already three passengers in it, but this could refer to the carriage taking her and her party without implying ownership. Robin Vick suggested that the new tax in 1798 on armorial bearings painted on carriages was the reason for George Austen laying down the carriage.

I should like to suggest that the laying down of the carriage was caused by other unexpected tax changes that occurred at this time, which were far larger than the armorial bearings tax. These also make it plausible that the purchase date of 1797 was correct, and I shall assume that it is correct, without having investigated it myself whereas Robin Vick studied the bank statements.[4]

In his Budget on 24 November 1797[5] Pitt the Younger proposed what became known as the Triple Assessment.[6] It was so called because the assessed taxes (see below) to be paid for the following year (1798-99) were at least triple (and depending on the amount, up to quintuple[7]) the assessed taxes that were paid in the current year (1797-98), subject to a maximum of 10% of one's income as determined in accordance with the Act. The restriction to 10% of income marks the position of Triple Assessment as the transition from assessed taxes, which one could choose not to pay by not incurring that type of expenditure, to income tax, which removed any element of choice, although income tax did not replace assessed taxes as these continued at their normal rates alongside income tax. Because nearly eight months of the current tax year had already passed, Pitt was being extremely cunning, because the current year's tax was already known and so the following year's triple tax could not be evaded. The weak point was that people could claim that the triple tax was more than 10% of their income, which the authorities had no means of checking, and this was exploited by taxpayers.[8] Needless to say the tax was extremely unpopular but funds were desperately needed to fight Napoleon and the Act was duly passed after an all-night Parliamentary sitting.[9]

The assessed taxes were charged on windows, inhabited houses, male servants (the tax on female servants having been abolished in 1792), carriages, horses, dogs, clocks and watches. There were separate scales under Triple Assessment for male servants, carriages and horses, the items more likely to be owned by the rich, from the other items. The assessed taxes were already highly progressive, so that, for example, if you owned 20 horses in 1798-99 the tax of £3 15s per horse was 121% greater than if you owned one horse (£1 14s); and if you owned nine four-wheeled carriages the tax per carriage of £11 14s) was 22% greater than if you owned one carriage (£9 12s), and they became more progressive later. By 1812 the equivalent percentages had become 145% and 51%. It is interesting that progressive income tax did not start until 1910.

Assuming Anna Lefroy's recollection—although as she was only four years old at the time of Henry's wedding perhaps 'family recollection' would be a better expression—about the date of purchase of the carriage, a chariot,[10] to be specific, presumably George Austen bought it before the Budget on 24 November 1797, or at least before hearing about the Budget, news of which might take time to reach him in rural Hampshire. He would certainly not have bought it after knowing about the Budget. He would have expected to pay £8 pa in assessed tax[11] on the carriage each year. Instead, from 6 April 1798 he was now faced with a wholly unexpected tax of £24, or more in the event of his current year's assessed taxes exceeding £25. (The 6 April to 5 April tax year for assessed taxes pre-dates income tax; the ending of the tax year on 5 April is the 25 March quarter day adjusted for the lost 11 days on the calendar change in 1752.) The assessed tax on his male servants and horses depended on the numbers of each. While the number of male servants is not known to me, and he may even have acquired an additional male servant as coachman,[12] it appears that he had three horses[13] on which the expected tax was £4 9s and the triple tax £13 7s.[14] So by April 1798 George Austen would be facing not only the unexpected £37 7s for the carriage and horses but also three times what he was expecting to pay on his male servants.

By June of that year he would also know about the armorial bearings stamp duty of £2 2s pa, to which Robin Vick referred, in respect of the coat of arms painted on the side of the carriage, imposed by an Act passed on 21 June 1798 and commencing on 24 June 1798.[15] He would also know that the tax rate on carriages was also increased for 1798-99 to £9 12s, and there were in addition increases in the tax rate on male servants and three horses to £9 6s, by an Act passed on 10 May 1798,[16] although the effect of this is likely to have been postponed for a year assuming that the Triple Assessment had already been assessed before 6 April 1798.[17] It is not surprising therefore that he decided that he could not afford the carriage even if it was soon after purchasing it.

A clergyman with only one horse was exempt from Triple Assessment on a horse or on a taxed cart,[18] but not other carriages, although this was subject to an income limit of only £60, far lower than George Austen's income;[19] the medical profession fared better, being charged only once (rather than three times) the normal rate without any income limit if they kept only one carriage and two horses.[20]

One possible transitional provision[21] could have relieved him from some of this tax. It applied if he had not used the carriage before the Act was passed (12 January 1798) but did use it before 6 April 1798 in which case he would have been liable in 1798-99 for only one (rather than three) times the full duty for 1797-98[22] even though the duty for that year would have been limited to the period of ownership.[23] I strongly suspect that this relief was not applicable because if he bought the carriage before the Budget on 24 November 1797 he would surely have used it immediately. It seems that he did not attend Henry Austen's wedding in London on 31 December 1797 so this was not an occasion for using it.

We can note in passing another connection between Henry Austen and the assessed taxes. He was subsequently appointed Receiver-General of Taxes for Oxfordshire in 1813 which included land and assessed taxes and income tax (then known as property tax[24]). On his bankruptcy in March 1816 caused by the failure of the bank of which he was a partner having not paid to the exchequer £44,445 in taxes collected by him in the current quarter,[25] at least £5,000 of which would have been assessed taxes.[26]

In fact the Triple Assessment was only in force for one year until 5 April 1799 because it failed to raise the money that Pitt had expected.[27] George Austen may have assumed, as the Act provided,[28] that the triple taxes would continue which would have meant that he could not afford the carriage in the future. While the triple aspect did not continue, the normal rates of assessed taxes did and, as has been mentioned, increased in 1798-99 to £9 12s for one 4-wheeled carriage.[29] But there was worse to come in the form of Pitt's income tax at 10% starting in 1799-1800, the first income tax in this country,[30] which was in addition to the normal rates of assessed taxes. By then George Austen's income was about £1,000 pa[31] and so the tax was £100 (there was no personal allowance but merely an exemption for incomes of less than £60 pa with a taper above that until £200 pa when the full rate applied to his whole income). If George Austen could not afford the carriage under Triple Assessment, he certainly could not afford it under income tax.[32]

The wording of Jane Austen's letter of 17 November 1798 ('our assemblies have very kindly declined ever since we laid down the carriage') suggests that there was a time when the carriage had been used before it was laid down. I am puzzled by two aspects. First, why did he lay down the carriage at some date before that letter when he was already committed to paying the Triple Assessment (or possibly the single additional assessment in the unlikely event that he had not used it before 12 January 1798[33]) for the whole year up to 5 April 1799 by six instalments?[34] Secondly, would laying it down (perhaps storing it in a barn or even removing the wheels) have been sufficient to avoid the Triple Assessment in the future, assuming that the tax had continued? My reading of the legislation is that merely keeping the carriage was sufficient to make him liable for the current year's assessed tax, and Triple Assessment if it had continued, so laying it down and not using it would have had no effect (note the distinction between using and owning the carriage in the text at n 21). Indeed, even if he had sold it rather than

laid it down during 1798-99 so that he was assessed at the normal rate for part of the year, the triple tax would have been on the whole amount.[35]

Thus, regardless of when he bought the carriage, the Triple Assessment was more likely to have been the cause of George Austen laying down the carriage than merely the tax on armorial bearings.

Notes

1. Vol 5 at p.226.
2. *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed Deirdre Le Faye, 4th ed (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011) Letter 11.
3. *Ibid*. (n 2) Letter 1.
4. It seems that the bank entries in Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) are a selection only.
5. The Speeches of the Right Honourable Pitt the Younger, (2nd ed London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1808, vol 2) p.338, available on https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ELwsAAAAMAAJ. Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, vol 33, col 1036, available on https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=eJs9AAAAcAAJ (this is the forerunner of Hansard). Woodfall's Parliamentary Reports, vol 1, 1798, p.202, available on https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=-F4xAAAAIAAJ.
6. (1798) 38 Geo 3 c 16, passed on 12 January 1798 ('Triple Assessment'). Its title was actually 'An Act for granting to His Majesty an Aid and Contribution for the Prosecution of the War.'
7. The scale was 3 times if the previous year's assessed taxes on horses, carriages and male servants were under £25; 3.5 times up to £30; 4 times up to £40; 4.5 times up to £50 and 5 times above £50. The other assessed taxes had a different scale starting at 25% if the previous year's taxes were between £1 to £2, and rising in stages to 5 times above £50.
8. Apparently many people declared income of just under the exemption limit of £60. They were caught out when the limit was reduced to £50 in 1806.
9. It was recorded by the wife of the local MP William-John Chute at the Vyne, Sherborne St John (who are both mentioned several times in Jane Austen's letters) on 5 January 1798 that 'The House sat till near five on the 3rd reading of the Assessed Tax Bill. Passed 210 to 75.' Le Faye, *Chronology* (see n 4) p.204. This was 5 *am*. However, Cobbett (n 5) col 1274 records the vote as 196 to 71 (Mr Chute voted in favour).
10. This is confirmed by the auction sale when he left Steventon which lists a 'well made Chariot (with box to take off) and Harness' see Robin Vick, 'The Sale at Steventon Parsonage' in *Jane Austen Society Collected Reports 1986-1995,* p.295. See Ed Ratcliffe, Transports of Delight: How Jane Austen's Characters Got About, *The Inkwell* (Journal of the Northern California region of the Jane Austen Society of North America) https://www.jasnanorcal.org/inkwell/ink9 for an illustrated survey of the then types of carriage and their

ownership by Jane Austen characters. Mrs Rushworth (senior) and Mr and Mrs John Dashwood owned chariots, and Mrs Jennings owned a chaise as well.

11. (1785) 25 Geo 3 c 47 (£7) and (1789) 29 Geo 3 c 49 (additional £1).
12. The duty on one male servant in 1797-98 was £1 5s ((1785) 25 Geo 3 c 43 s 3). This was increased to £1 10s in 1798-99.
13. Robin Vick 'The Sale at Steventon Parsonage' (n 10) p.297, two horses being retained for James and one being in the sale (in addition to the five cart horses on the farm which were not liable to assessed taxes). This suggests that the chariot was drawn by two horses although larger chariots required four.
14. The duty on 3 horses in 1797-98 was £4 9s ((1784) 24 Geo 3 sess 2 c 31, (1789) 29 Geo 3 c 49 and (1795) 36 Geo 3 c 16). This was increased to £9 6s in 1798-99.
15. (1798) 38 Geo 3 c 53.
16. (1798) 38 Geo 3 c 41. See nn 12 and 14 for the increases for male servants and horses.
17. Triple Assessment s 6.
18. A carriage drawn by one horse for the purpose of carrying goods and only used occasionally for conveying persons, made of wood or iron without any covering other than a tilted covering, or any lining, and without springs with the words "A Taxed Cart" and the owner's name painted on it ((1795) 35 Geo 3 c 109 ss 3 and 5) which qualified for a reduced rate of carriage duty of 10s and an exemption from Triple Assessment (s 32). Jane Austen rode in one (Le Faye (n 2), Letter 78) with two others which must have been not only uncomfortable but cramped: 'I went with her [Mrs Clement] & her Husband in their Tax-cart;–civility on both sides; I would rather have walked, no doubt they must have wished I had.'
19. See n 31.
20. Triple Assessment s 16 applying to physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and midwives.
21. The only other transitional provisions are clearly inapplicable if the purchase date is correct: that he had ceased to *use* the carriage before 6 April 1797 (Triple Assessment s 23), which would be long before he bought it, or ceased to *own* it before 1 November 1797 (s 22), which is about the time he bought it.
22. Triple Assessment s 31.
23. Triple Assessment s 1.
24. While Pitt's income tax (see n 30) granted 'certain duties upon income,' Addington's 1803 tax (43 Geo 3 c 122) was a 'Contribution… from Property, Professions, Trades, and Offices' partly to distance it from Pitt's unsuccessful tax, and was therefore known as property tax.
25. The £44,445 figure is after paying £13,270 to the Exchequer just before the collapse so he collected nearly £58,000 in that quarter representing tax paid at the beginning of the quarter to the Collectors throughout Oxfordshire, being

taxes for 1813 to 1815 some of which represents tax paid late by taxpayers. Some commentators have misunderstood this as being taxes paid to Henry Austen in earlier years which he still held. This is not the case. If he had not paid over all the taxes collected in the quarter in which he collected them the Exchequer would have immediately served a Writ of Extent on him seizing all his assets, as indeed occurred at the time of the collapse.

26. Naturally the figures for the quarter in which the collapse occurred are confused but in the equivalent quarter of the previous year £5,323 of assessed taxes were paid by Henry Austen to the Exchequer out of a total of £38,413 (the others being £31,090 income tax and £2,000 land tax) (figures extracted from TNA E 181/39 to /43).
27. It raised about £4m (Pitt's speeches, n 5, p.429, caused by 'shameful evasion' and 'scandalous frauds') compared to the original estimate of £7m and the revised (April 1798) estimate of £4.5m, although in addition £2.8 of voluntary contributions were received.
28. Triple Assessment s 101.
29. (1798) 38 Geo 3 c 41 Sch B.
30. (1799) 39 Geo 3 c 13, Schedule retrospectively substituted by c 22.
31. Le Faye (n 2) Letter 24 (1 November 1800, farm cleared £300 last year), and Letter 29 (5 January 1801, tithes very nearly £600). The farming profits would be taxed on the basis of the annual value with different proportions depending on whether this was under £300 or not, and the tithes on a three-year average: (1799) 39 Geo 3 c 13, Schedule, Ninth and Eleventh Cases. His investment income in 1799-1800 was over £105 (entries in Le Faye, *Chronology* (see n 4).
32. Pitt's income tax continued until 1802 when it was repealed on the Peace of Amiens, but by then George Austen had left Steventon for Bath and the carriage was sold in the sale of his possessions at that time. Pitt's tax was replaced a year later with Addington's far more successful income tax (see n 24) that still forms the basis of income tax today. This is part of the tax that Henry Austen defaulted paying over when Receiver-General for Oxfordshire (see text at n 26).
33. See text at n 22.
34. Triple Assessment s 74. The £9 12s duty for 1798-99 was payable quarterly (38 Geo 3 c 41 s 3).
35. Triple Assessment s 1.

What became of Col Powlett?: 'This Wonderful Affair'

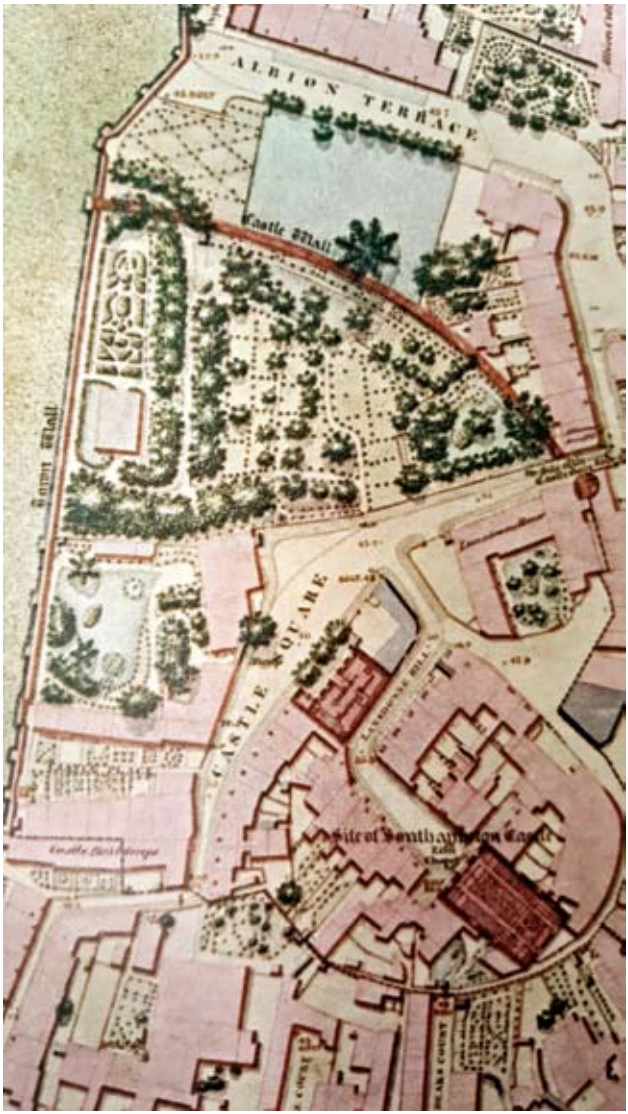
Cheryl Butler

In 1808 the private life of Col Thomas Norton Powlett was spread across the national press as the scandal involving his wife and Lord Sackville became public knowledge. Although Col Powlett 'won' the case of criminal conversation being awarded £3000 in damages, he was not successful in his attempt to divorce his wife of ten years.[1] Laetitia Powlett was finally released from her marriage on the death of her husband and went on to marry Thomas Lisle Follett, thereby restoring her reputation. What, however, became of Col Powlett, deserted by his wife in 1808 but who lived on as a married man until his death in 1824. It appears he may have sought solace elsewhere.

The Powletts lived in Albion Place, Southampton, about two minutes' walk away from Jane Austen and her family in Castle Square. Albion Place was a new development on gardens formerly belonging to John Hoadly, the rector of St Mary's Church. The land had been sold in 1794 to John Plaw, a London architect who had recently moved to Southampton to develop his practice in the popular bathing resort. The area of land had originally been part of the precincts of Southampton Castle, and like the Austens' home looked over the medieval walls with views across to the New Forest. Plaw intended to build eight house in the Grecian fashion and ten more in the Venetian style.[2] The development had an air of exclusivity due to having the Castle bailey wall on one side, the town wall to the west and Arundel and Catchcold towers to the north. It was in the fashion of the time described as 'picturesque'. The *Universal British Directory* commented in 1795 that the development was 'rus in urbe', and a second phase was planned to be called Albion Terrace. Plaw's master plan was interrupted when he had to flee to Canada to escape his creditors, and four lots in Albion Place were auctioned in April 1807.[3] The tenants of his properties benefited from the architect's own house, built on a plot which had access to a garden and greenhouse owned by the Corporation. The neighbours were allowed, for a fee of two shillings and sixpence, a key to the garden. This was the fashionable home of the Powletts, and the place where Col Powlett returned after the breakdown of his marriage.

Powlett probably felt he had to stay in Southampton because of the needs of his military career, a career that was not however distinguished by military campaigns and actions. He had joined the short-lived 95th Regiment of Foot, which was raised as a response to the Napoleonic War in 1793. The unit had served in the Isle of Man, Dublin and the Cape of Good Hope, but was disbanded in 1796, by which time Powlett had achieved the rank of Major. Powlett moved on to a new role as Inspecting Field Officer for the Recruiting District of Southampton and became a Lt Colonel in 1802, a full Colonel in 1811 and finally achieved the rank of Major General in 1814.[4] In his new role he received £257 5s as a regimental officer, £182 10s as an inspecting field officer and £109 4s for his lodging allowance.[5] His

main activity, as appears by his correspondence in 1806, was to cover the areas of Hampshire, Dorset and Sussex, co-ordinating the Parish Officers to respond to legislation such as the Defence Act, providing recruits for the army.[6]



Map of Castle Square and Albion Terrace in 1807

The Colonel was still in residence in Albion Place in 1813 when he became embroiled in a situation that could have become a second scandal, and which Powlett called 'this wonderful affair'. A small cache of documents survive, correspondence between Powlett and his attorney, the town clerk of Southampton,

Thomas Ridding. Most of the documents date from October 1813.[7] On the 13 October Mr Ridding called on Mr King the overseer of the poor of Nursling, where a woman in the care of the institution had threatened the reputation of 'a Gentleman of fortune'.[8] The young woman was 'big' with a bastard child which she swore was the child of the said gentleman. The gentleman however thought the charge unfounded, but as he did not wish the trouble of being apprehended to go the Assize at Winchester, said if she swore to him that he was the father, he would pledge to give Mr King security to come before two justices and submit to an order of filiation after the child was born. He also agreed to 'compound' with the parish if they were willing to take a sum of money. At the same time the gentleman wanted to make it clear that he did not admit the charge and considered it false but, if the woman did swear it to be the truth then he wished to prevent any unpleasant consequences. It is obvious that the gentleman's main concern was not to have the subject of paternity aired in open court, and that the potential of impending fatherhood was at least considered possible. The gentleman in question was Col Thomas Powlett.

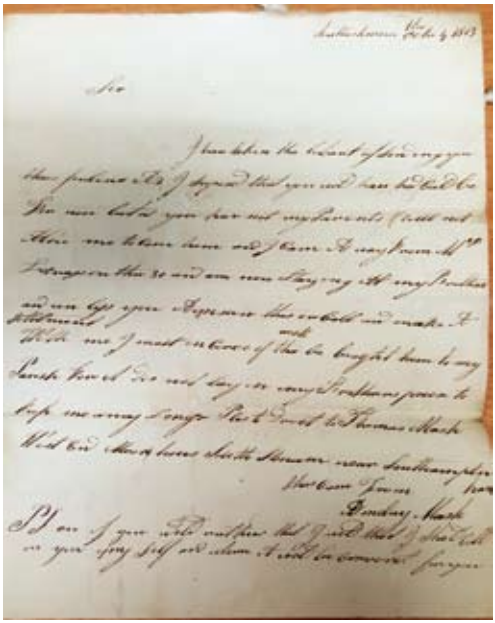
About a week earlier Powlett had confided in his attorney that a 'person' had called at his house with a missive for which the said person would call the next day for an answer. Powlett thought it best that his attorney should call upon the subject of the letter, a young woman, or her friends on Powlett's behalf and he asks Ridding to call on him the next day before twelve to discuss the matter.

The messenger had delivered a letter from the young woman, Amelay Mash, explaining her circumstances and in which she complained that she had expected to have received a call from Powlett, but he had not contacted her. Her situation was now becoming desperate as she had left her lodgings with Mrs Leeways but her parents had refused to allow her to come home. As a result she was currently staying with her brother, but believed that unless Powlett answered her or called on her to discuss a financial settlement she would be forced to go back to her parish as her brother could not keep her much longer. This meant that she would have to go into the poor house which had recently been built in Moorgreen, thanks to the generosity of the local landowner Nathaniel Middleton.[9] She asks Powlett to contact her via Thomas Mash (probably her brother) of West End, Moor House, South Stoneham, near Southampton, and ends with a postscript offering to visit Powlett in person, if it was convenient.

The young lady, unmarried and pregnant, did shortly find herself in the care of the parish, in the poor house at West End, a rural district just outside of Southampton. That a liaison had taken place between Powlett and Amelay was not disputed, as can be seen from the note Powlett sent to his attorney after the child was born. On the 29 of December Powlett wrote to Thomas Ridding (the underlining is Powletts): *'*The Lady I understand is brought to Bed not before her time but it seems considerably before mine and the child is sworn to some married man; but whom, I know not, thus ends this wonderful affair.'

It may have been to recover from this near escape and potential scandal that Powlett took himself off to Bath in February 1814 when he was listed among the

recent arrivals in the town. He was alone but it was unlikely that he had been living the life of a bachelor while separated from his wife and had had in the person of young Amelay at least one acknowledged lover.



Amelay Mash's letter to Colonel Powlett

Notes

1. Sackville Tufton Earl of Thanet, Thomas Norton Powlett, *The trial of Lord Sackville, for crim. Con with the wife of Colonel Powlett: Winchester Assizes, July 28 1808, before Sir Robert Graham and a special jury* Smeeton's edition, London 1808. Around the time of his impending nuptials Powlett had been a subscriber to the romantic poetry of Charlotte Turner Smith, whose *Elegian Sonnets & Other Poems Vol 2* were published in 1797.
2. Peter Barfoot & John Wilkes *The Universal British Directory* Vol 4 1795/6.
3. *The Salisbury Journal* 23 March & 6 April 1807.
4. John Philippart ed *The Royal Military Calander Vol 3* London 1820 p.341.
5. Eleventh Report of the Commission of Military Enquiry Parliamentary Papers 1809 Appendix 9 p.72
6. Parliamentary Reports 1808 Vol 4 pp47/64
7. Southampton Archives D/PM Box791.
8. The Poor House, later to become a Workhouse had been established in the parish of South Stoneham at West End, on the north side of what is now Botley Road in around 1800.
9. Eric Raffo *Half a Loaf, The Care of the Sick and Poor of South Stoneham 1664-1948* p. 8

'Such Days as These': Fitzwilliam Darcy in the Age of Bibliomania

Joseph Rosenblum

In an early chapter of *Pride and Prejudice* Caroline Bingley, attempting to ingratiate herself with Mr Darcy, praises his fine library at Pemberley. He denies credit for it, claiming, '"it has been the work of many generations."' But Caroline is not to be deterred: '"[Y]ou have added so much yourself, you are always buying books."' Darcy concedes, '"I cannot comprehend the neglect of a family library in such days as these."'[1]

An aspect of the late 18th and early 19th century to which Austen alludes in the conversation above is the rage for book collecting. John Ferriar in 1809 referred to it as bibliomania.[2] Richard Landon observes, 'The reign of George III initiated a new phase of British book collecting, led by the king himself'.[3] Mark Purcell writes that in this period the 'Collecting of rare and ancient books had become one of the favourite pursuits of the aristocracy and gentry'. At the same time, 'rare books were in ready supply, including trophies from the private libraries of previous generations of British collectors, as well as books from private and ecclesiastical libraries in Continental Europe, tipped onto the market as a result of post-Revolutionary wars, confiscation and secularization'.[4] To cite one more authority, Seymour de Ricci notes that in the early 19th century 'the collecting of rare books became, once more, as in Harley's and Sunderland's days [the early 18th century] the favourite pastime of the wealthy nobleman'.[5]

Darcy was thus joining a large group of wealthy men and the occasional woman, building or adding to impressive libraries. Richard Heber, to whom Ferriar addressed his 1809 pamphlet, filled eight houses – four in Britain and another four on the continent – with between 150,000 and 200,000 volumes, on which he spent over £100,000. Darcy's neighbour in Derbyshire, William Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, assembled a fine collection at Chatsworth. It once included one of only two known copies of the 1603 edition of *Hamlet*. By 1819, according to William Clarke, he owned eleven books printed by William Caxton, England's proto-printer.[6] A year after gaining his title in 1811, he was a major purchaser at the sale of the books of John Ker, 3rd Duke of Roxburghe, a sale discussed in more detail below. Among his purchases was *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* by Raoul le Fèvre, translated and printed by Caxton at Cologne in 1474, the first book printed in English. The translation was commissioned by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister-in-law of Elizabeth Lady Grey, wife of Edward IV. It includes a frontispiece showing Caxton presenting the book to the Duchess. This copy, now at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, had belonged to Elizabeth herself.[7] The Duke paid £1,060 10s for the book, acting through the Bond Street bookseller John Nornaville.[8] Nornaville bid such high prices that many suspected he was buying for Napoleon; only afterwards was it revealed

that the books were for Cavendish. Two other important collectors vied for the volumes – Sir Mark Masterman Sykes dropped out of the bidding at £500 and the Marquis of Blandford continued to £1,000. "Let it be guineas," said Nornaville, and the book went to the Duke.

Libraries built to hold such prestigious collections were vast. The Sykes library at Sledmere in Yorkshire was 100 feet long and 25 feet wide and modelled on the Baths of Diocletian. Sir Mark Masterman Sykes filled this space mainly between 1801 and 1823. Among his treasures was Cardinal Jules Mazarin's copy of the Gutenberg Bible, also known as the Mazarin Bible because his copy was the first recognized as the earliest extant book printed in the West from movable type. Another jewel in Sykes's collection was a Livy printed on vellum in Rome by Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz in 1469, for which Sykes paid £903 in 1815. In *The Bibliographical Decameron*, Thomas Frognall Dibdin, librarian and factotum to George John, 2nd Earl Spencer, described various Sykes purchases at sales, such as that in 1813 of Stanesby Alchorne's library, where Sykes acquired inter alia Cicero's *De Oratore* (c 1470) for £14,[9] the sale of the Merly library also in 1813,[10] and that of the London bookseller and collector James Edwards between 1815 and 1816, where he bought a Livy on vellum.[11] Dibdin described the Sledmere library as 'express and choice',[12] and in the third volume of his *Bibliographical Decameron* he listed some of the gems of early English literature to be found there.[13] Sykes died in 1823, and his library was sold the following year, giving collectors the opportunity to secure his treasures.

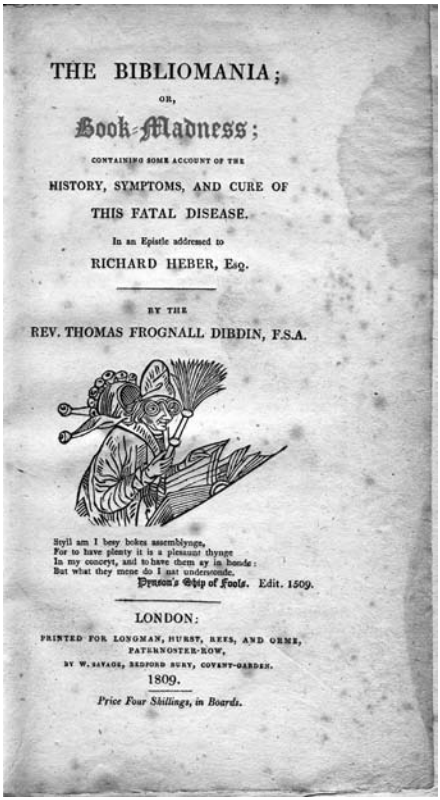
George Spencer, Marquis of Blandford, later 5th Duke of Marlborough, was so severely afflicted with bibliomania that in 1819 he was forced to sell his entire library at White Knights in Berkshire for financial reasons. In his listing of Blandford's collection William Clarke noted eight Caxtons, seven Wynkyn de Worde imprints, and a fine 15th-century missal on vellum, once the property of Margaret of Valois, Queen of Navarre. Another rarity here was the *Bedford Hours,* created for John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France under Henry VI. It contains thirty-eight large miniatures and 1250 smaller miniatures set in medallions as well as profuse marginal decoration; the Marquis acquired it at the sale of James Edwards's library for £687 15s. Dibdin called it 'the JUPITER PLANET of [Blandford's] Collection'.[14]

The Marquis's distant cousin, the 2nd Earl Spencer, built one of the most magnificent collections of the period at Althorp. His five libraries extended 220 feet, prompting a servant to suggest a Shetland pony for accessing the area. Like Darcy's library, the Althorp collection was the work of generations; the second Earl inherited some 20,000 volumes and between 1788 and 1820 he more than doubled that number. Seymour de Ricci wrote of him:

> No other collector owned all the first editions of the classics, both the Mayence Bibles (42-line and 36-line editions), both the Fust and Schoeffer Psalters (1457 and 1459), nearly all the rarest incunabula, including . . . fifty-six Caxtons . . . , the rarest English Bibles, fourteen block books, about 100 books printed on vellum [actually 108],

beautiful Elzevirs, and the choicest collection of Aldines existing in any library.[15]

Clare A. Simmons notes that he 'owned the only known copy of the second edition of Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* printed by Wynkyn de Worde'.[16] Spencer bought not only single volumes but whole battalions, acquiring the library of Count Charles Emanuel Alexander Reviczky in 1790 and that of the Duke of Cassano Serra in about 1820. After the Earl's death in 1834, the books remained at Althorp until 1892, when Enriqueta Augustina Rylands bought them and presented them to Manchester as a tribute to her husband, John. The collection now belongs to Manchester University.


THE BIBLIOMANIA;

OR,

Book-Madness;

CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

HISTORY, SYMPTOMS, AND CURE OF

THIS FATAL DISEASE.

In an Epistle addressed to

RICHARD HEBER, Esq.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS FROGNALL DIBDIN, F.S.A.

Styll am I beny bokes assemblynge,
For to have plenty it is a pleasaunt thynge
In my conceyt, and to have them sy in houde:
But what they mene do I nat understonde.
Barclay's Ship of Fools. Edit. 1509.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,
PATERNOSTER-ROW,
BY W. SAVAGE, BEDFORD BURY, COVENT-GARDEN.

1809.

Price Four Shillings, in Boards.

Frontispiece of Thomas Dibdin's 1809 The Biblomania; or Book Madness

In his 1809 *Bibliomania* Dibdin notes the contemporary 'passion for I. Large Paper Copies: II. Uncut Copies: III. Illustrated Copies: IV. Unique Copies: V. Copies printed upon Vellum: VI. First Editions: VII. True Editions: VIII. A general desire for the Black Letter'.[17] Dibdin goes on to define each of these desiderata. The only obscure one is 'True Editions', by which Dibdin means editions with what collectors call 'points', such as a page wrongly numbered or a misspelling that

characterizes the true first printing. Despite the desire for uncut copies with wide margins, collectors invariably bound or rebound their acquisitions to make them look attractive on the shelf, with morocco (goatskin) being particularly popular in this period.[18] Whereas a modern version of *Bibliomania* would note a desire for books in boards or original wrappers, 19th century collectors had no interest in preserving books in their original condition.

All of the collections above were enriched in 1812 by England's greatest book sale, that of the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe. Like other collectors discussed here, the Duke inherited a well-stocked library that included the volume that would prove the most expensive when his books were sold, the 1471 *Decameron* printed in Venice by Christopher Valdarfer. Sir Walter Scott claimed in 1831 that this particular book stimulated the 3rd Duke's book buying:

> Lord Oxford and Lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of Robert the second Duke of Roxburghe, when their conversation chanced to turn upon the edition princeps of Boccaccio, printed at Venice, in 1471, and so rare that its existence was doubted of.

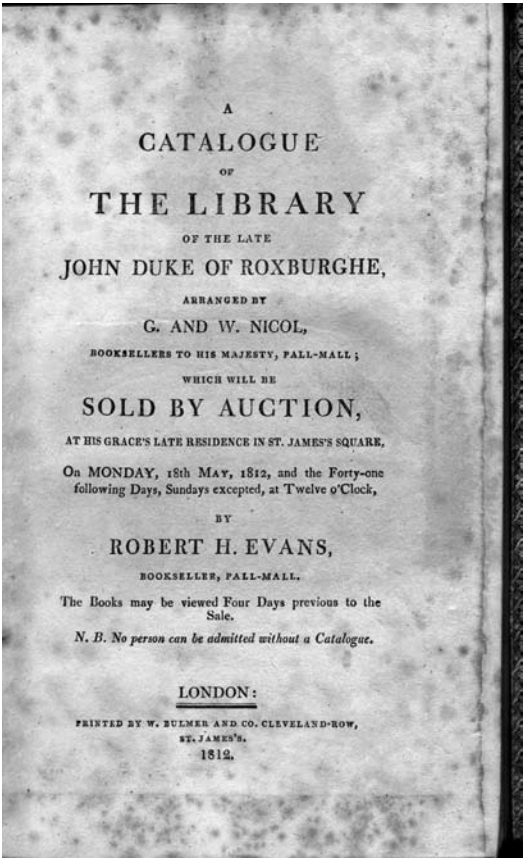
Roxburghe produced the book in question and the 3rd Duke, who was present on this occasion, 'used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions'.[19]

The 3rd Duke's commitment to collecting is exemplified by his purchase of a Shakespeare First Folio at the John Watson Reed sale on 1 March 1790, for which he paid a then record price for this work. At the sale of the library of Dr. Richard Wright on 2 May 1787, a First Folio brought £10. On 5 October 1790, Shakespeare scholar George Steevens wrote to his fellow Shakespearean Isaac Reed, 'I am in treaty with Mr. [James] Edwards of Pall-mall for a first Folio, which he is soon to receive. Provided it answers his description, he thinks he shall do me a favour by letting me have it at the small charge of twenty guineas'.[20] Roxburghe attended the John Watson Reed sale in person, but was bidding through George Nicol. When the price reached twenty guineas Nicol passed a note to the Duke asking whether he should continue to try to get the book. At the bottom of the note Roxburghe replied, 'Lay on, Macduff, / And d—d be he who first cries, "Hold, enough!"' He left with the Folio under his arm, having paid £35 14s.[21] By the time of his death the Duke owned all four of the 17th century Shakespeare Folios as well as twenty-five of the much rarer Shakespeare Quartos printed before 1630 and a copy of the 1609 Sonnets, of which only thirteen copies are known.

The Duke's true passion lay in ballads and romances; the latter made up lots 6066-6420 in the 1812 sale of his library. As the preface to the sale catalogue states, he bought not only printed editions but also richly illustrated manuscripts. The capstone of the ballad collection was a three-volume set of some 1,500 ballads now in the British Library. Richard Landon calls this 'the greatest collection of their kind', even more impressive than the collection assembled by Samuel Pepys housed at Magdalene College, Cambridge, although the Pepys

collection is larger, with over 1,800 items.[22]

The Roxburghe library sale of almost 30,000 volumes was much anticipated. It was originally scheduled for 1807, and George Nicol, bookseller to George III, and his brother William prepared the catalogue. Legal complications delayed the auction for five years, but during that period copies of the catalogue circulated, exciting interest among collectors.



A

CATALOGUE

OF

THE LIBRARY

OF THE LATE

JOHN DUKE OF ROXBURGHE,

ARRANGED BY

G. AND W. NICOL,

BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY, PALL-MALL;

WHICH WILL BE

SOLD BY AUCTION,

AT HIS GRACE'S LATE RESIDENCE IN ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

On MONDAY, 18th MAY, 1812, and the Forty-one following Days, Sundays excepted, at Twelve o'Clock,

BY

ROBERT H. EVANS,

BOOKSELLER, PALL-MALL.

The Books may be viewed Four Days previous to the Sale.

N. B. No person can be admitted without a Catalogue.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.

1812.

Catalogue of the Duke of Roxburgh's library sale in 1812

The auction ran for forty-two days, Sundays excepted, from 18 May to 4 July. Most highly anticipated was the sale on 17 June 1812 of the Valdarfer Boccaccio. Knowing the book would be hotly contested, crowds gathered to observe the bidding and Dibdin, like others, had to stand on a bench to avoid being crushed by onlookers. According to Dibdin, 'The honour of firing the first shot was due to a gentleman from Shropshire, unused to this species of warfare, and who seemed to recoil from the reverberations of the report himself had made! "One hundred guineas," he exclaimed'.

The contest soon came down to three people: William Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire; the 2nd Earl Spencer and his cousin George Spencer, the Marquis of Blandford.[23] Cavendish dropped out at 500 guineas. Earl Spencer bid 1,000 guineas, to which the Marquis responded, "and ten". The price rose to 2,000 guineas, bid by the Marquis. The Earl responded with a bid for £2,250. The Marquis again replied, "and ten". Earl Spencer declared, "I bow to you", and the Boccaccio went to Blandford for £2,260. According to Dibdin, 'The price electrified the bystanders, and astounded the public!' He reported that at the end of the bidding 'the Marquis's triumph was marked by a plaudit of hands'.

> The Marquis offered his hand to Lord Spencer, asking, "We are good friends still?" Spencer replied, "Perfectly – indeed I am obliged to you." To which the marquis responded, "So am I to you, therefore the obligation is mutual." [24]

This price remained a record for a book sold at auction for over sixty years, until a Gutenberg Bible printed on vellum brought £3,400 at the 1873 Henry Perkins sale in London.[25] Spencer was more obliged to the Marquis than he could know at the time. When in 1819 Blandford had to sell his library, Earl Spencer secured the Valdarfer Boccaccio for £918 15s. He had the book rebound by Charles Lewis with the coat of arms of the Duke of Roxburghe inside and his own on the cover. This volume is now in the John Rylands Library. Summing up the entire sale, Dibdin wrote in his *Bibliographical Decameron*:

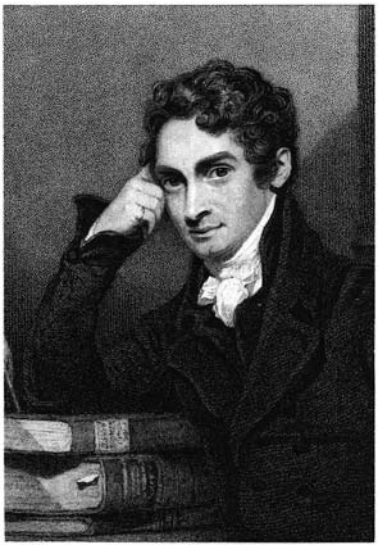
> For two and forty successive days – with the exception only of Sundays – were the voice and hammer of Mr. Evans heard, with equal efficacy in the dining room of the late Duke, which had been appropriated to the vendition of the books: and within that same space (some thirty-five feet by twenty) were such deeds of valour performed, and such feats of book-heroism achieved, as had never been previously beheld: and of the like will probably never be seen again.[26]

A year after the auction the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 13 July 1813 proclaimed:

> Amongst the important events of latter times, there are few that have excited a greater degree of interest than the transactions which took place at ROXBURGHE-HOUSE in July 1812. The warfare in St. James-Square was equalled only by the courage and gallantry displayed on the plains of Salamanca about the same period; and History will doubtless relate these celebrated feats in the same volume, for the information and astonishment of posterity. As a Pillar, or other similar memorial could not be conveniently erected to mark the spot where so many Bibliographical Champions fought and conquered, another method was adopted, to record their fame, and perpetuate this brilliant epoch in literary annals. Accordingly, a phalanx of the most hardy veterans has been enrolled, under the banner of the far-famed Valdarfer's Boccaccio of 1471, bearing the title of the ROXBURGHE CLUB.

Recognizing the significance of the upcoming sale of the Valdarfer Boccaccio, on 4 June 1812, the birthday of George III, Dibdin proposed a gathering of

bibliophiles at the St Albans Tavern, St Albans Street, now Waterloo Place, near the site of the auction. Eighteen collectors assembled on the evening of the 17th after the sale of the Boccaccio and agreed to meet annually thereafter, thus creating the Roxburghe Club, the oldest and most prestigious book-collecting organization in the world. At its first annual meeting in 1813, the club agreed that each member would print a rare work for the others. The first work produced, in 1815, was the Earl of Surrey's translation of part of the Aeneid. In 1827 the club resolved to print manuscripts at the group's expense as well, the first being a scholarly edition of *Havelock the Dane* in 1828. The club, which is limited to forty members, continues to produce important facsimiles of manuscripts of historical and literary works. Since its inception it has published some 300 titles.



The Revd Thomas Dibdin

While subsequent auctions realized more money than the Roxburghe sale – the 9,353 lots brought a total of £23,321 10s 6d – no other sale ever caused so much excitement or had such lasting effects. Not only did it lead to the creation of the Roxburghe Club, it also increased bibliomaniacal tendencies. Richard Landon writes, 'For those collectors who possessed valuable books but few liquid assets, the success of the Roxburghe sale served as an even greater incentive to put their books on the market'. He notes that the British Library records thirty-three auction sales for 1813, fifty-two for 1815.[27] To some extent the Roxburghe sale prices reflected the inflation resulting from the Napoleonic Wars. Once the war ended, prices declined, as indicated by the sharp drop in the cost of the Valdarfer Boccaccio.

Both the *Morning Herald* and *British Press* carried notices of the Roxburghe sale and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1812 included an account of the

auction. Jane Austen subscribed to various circulating libraries that might have carried this popular journal. She was herself a great lover of books as well as a reader. She famously subscribed to Frances Burney's *Camilla*, and Josephine Ross claims, 'Despite the relatively high cost of books . . . in paper covers, which would then need binding at the owner's expense, . . . [Austen] evidently acquired as many of her favourites as she could afford'. Though she sold some of her own books at the time of the Austens' move from Steventon, including her copy of Dodsley's *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, which fetched 10 shillings, other works bearing her signature range from Goldsmith's *Animated Nature* [1771 ed.] to William Hayley's *Poems and Plays*'.[28] Austen was involved in the sale of her father's library of some 500 books. She tried to interest her brother James in buying them for half a guinea a volume but he probably got the volumes he wanted for much less. Two hundred of the books were sold to a bookseller for £70, a sum she found disappointing.[29] Her bibliophilia is evident from the numerous literary allusions in her letters.[30] On 24 January 1813, she wrote happily to Cassandra, 'We are quite run over with books'.[31]

She found her brother Edward's extensive library at Godmersham particularly delightful.[32] It was housed in the east wing, which, along with the west wing, was added to the Palladian mansion in 1780. In 1793 Zechariah Cozens, in *A Tour through the Isle of Thanet* called it a 'most excellent library'. According to David Nokes, 'This had long been one of [Jane Austen's] favourite rooms, and she was content to remain there most of the day while the men of the house went about the grounds shooting pheasants or netting rabbits'.[33] In a letter to her sister in September 1813, Jane wrote, 'We live in the library, except at meals & have a fire every eveng'. Later she noted with satisfaction, 'I am alone in the library, Mistress of all I survey'.[34]

Mark Purcell observes that 'For most country house owners, the family library was not a place for incunables and medieval manuscripts, but a repository of everyday reading matter,'[35] and the 1818 catalogue of the books at Godmersham supports this claim. Like Darcy's, the collection was the work of many generations. Among the books in English, which make up the majority of the holdings – fifty-three of the catalogue's eighty pages are devoted to them – none were printed before the early 17th century. Even among the classical works the earliest are from the later 16th century, and most date from the 17th and 18th centuries. The catalogue reflects no interest in editio princeps, black letter, or large paper copies. The collection is nonetheless rich in many areas. Surprising as it may seem today, sermons were read for pleasure as well as religious instruction, and the Godmersham library held many, including those of James Fordyce, Hugh Blair and Thomas Gisborne. Other well-represented categories included travel, classics in English as well as in Latin, history and literature, and the dates of the imprints show an ongoing interest in book buying. Jane Austen may have influenced the addition of Frances Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814). She reported to Cassandra in June 1808 that James Austen, who was visiting, was reading Sir Walter Scott's recently published *Marmion* aloud in the evenings.[36] While Edward was not as

seriously infected with the bibliomania as other large house owners, he would have agreed with Darcy that one should not neglect the family library, especially in 'such days as these'.

Notes

1. *Pride and Prejudice*, I, p.8.
2. *The Bibliomania, an Epistle, To Richard Heber, Esq*. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1809). According to Arnold Hunt in 'Private Libraries in the Age of Bibliomania' (in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, Volume 2 1640-1850, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and K. A. Manley [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006], pp.438-458) antiquarian Thomas Hearne used the word in 1734 (p.438). *The Oxford English Dictionary* cites Lord Chesterfield's 1750 warning 'Beware of the Bibliomania' in a letter to his son. (Chesterfield also urged him 'not to understand editions and title pages too well'.) But Ferriar and especially Thomas Frognall Dibdin popularized the term, which is associated with the rage for book collecting in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.
3. 'Collecting and the Antiquarian Book Trade' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* 1695-1830, eds. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), pp.711-722, 713.
4. *The Country House Library* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2017), p.163.
5. *English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts and Their Marks of Ownership* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1960), p.71.
6. *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London: William Clarke, 1819), p.251.
7. Henry Huntington bought a number of books from the Devonshire library, but unlike many other great collections, Devonshire's remains largely intact.
8. William Laing of Edinburgh sold the book to the Duke of Roxburghe in about 1792 for £50.
9. 'Collecting and the Antiquarian Book Trade', pp.83-88. Alchorne's library was small—about 200 books—but included nine Caxtons. It was offered as a whole to the 2nd Earl Spencer in 1806. He declined to buy it then, but seven years later he relented and secured it from its then owner, Colonel Thomas Johnes of Hafod, Wales. The Earl owned most of the books in Alchorne's collection, so after selecting some of the Caxtons he sold the rest (187 lots) through Robert H. Evans of Pall Mall in 1813. The sale brought £1769.
10. *Ibid*. pp.94-96. Ralph Willet's Merly House is near Canford, Dorset.
11. When Edwards retired he moved to a mansion at Harrow on the Hill, where he died in 1816.
12. *The Bibliographical Decameron*, p.81.
13. 'Collecting and the Antiquarian Book Trade', p.405.
14. *Bibliographical Decameron*, 3, 126. Clarke lists some the Marquis's treasures on pp.231-238.
15. De Ricci, p.76.
16. 'George John Spencer, Second Earl Spencer,' in *Nineteenth-Century British Book-Collectors and Bibliographers*, eds. William Baker and Kenneth

Womack (Detroit: Gale, 1997), pp.413-418, 417.

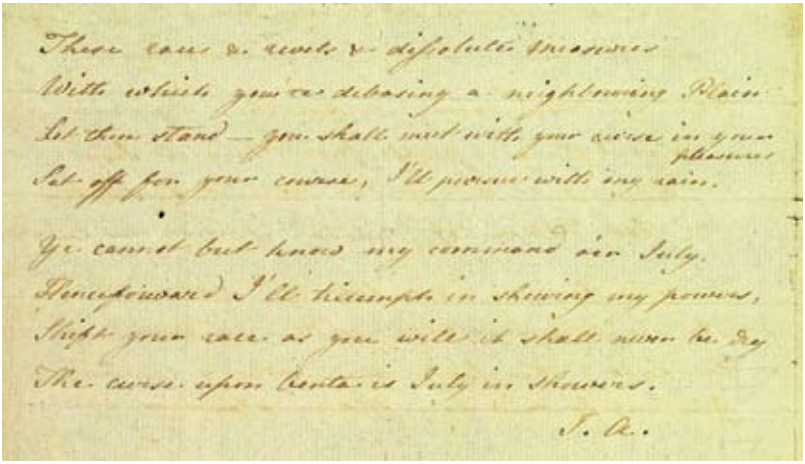
17. Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, p.38.
18. My copy of the sale catalogue of the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe's library is appropriately so bound. In binding, margins often are trimmed.
19. Quoted in Brian Hillyard, 'John Ker, third Duke of Roxburghe' in *Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, eds. William Baker and Kenneth Womack (Detroit: Gale, 1999), pp.196-206, 197-198.
20. Quoted in Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 27. This Folio was acquired by the 2nd Earl Spencer and is now at the University of Manchester.
21. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliomania or, Book Madness* (Boston: The Bibliophile Society, 1903), Vol 1, pp.259-260.
22. Landon, p.715.
23. The Duke of Devonshire did not attend the auction in person but acted through an agent.
24. The *Ipswich Journal* for 27 June 1812 claimed at the end of the bidding 'there was a general "Huzza!"'
25. Perkins owned two copies of the Gutenberg Bible. The one on vellum is now at the Huntington. The paper copy is at the Morgan Library, New York. This paper copy sold at the Perkins auction for £2,690.
26. Dibdin's colourful account of the Roxburghe sale and formation of the Roxburghe Club appears in volume 3 of his *Bibliographical Decameron*, pp.45-75. He relates the sale of the Valdarfer Boccaccio on pp.64-67. The Duke's London house was located at 13 St James Square, next to the present location of the London Library (founded 1841). The auctioneer, Robert H. Evans was a Pall Mall bookseller; this was his first auction.
27. Landon, p.716.
28. *Jane Austen: A Companion* (London: John Murray, 2002), p.123
29. On 21-22 May 1801 she wrote to Cassandra, 'Mr. Bent seems bent upon being very detestable, for he values the books at only 70£' (*Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Faye, 4th ed. [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), p.92.
30. At the end of his edition of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (Oxford: OUP, 1933), R. W. Chapman lists thirteen pages of such references in her works (pp.317-329).
31. *Jane Austen's Letters*, p.207. In a subsequent letter, dated 9 February, 1813, Austen claimed, 'I detest a Quarto' indicating she was a connoisseur of the physical book, not just its contents.
32. This figure was kindly provided by Emma Yandle, Curator & Collections Manager at Chawton House, in an email of 15 November 2020.
33. *Jane Austen: A Life* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), p.422.
34. *Letters*, pp.236, 238.
35. *The Country House Library,* p.112.
36. *Letters*, 36. The book is listed in the 1818 Godmersham Library catalogue

A Day at the Races: The Austens and Horse Racing

Alanah Buck and Helen Atkinson

The last recorded work of Jane Austen is a poem about a saint, a curse and horse racing. Entitled *When Winchester Races*, the piece was composed the day before Jane's death. These six verses first came to the public's attention through Henry Austen's 1818 *Biographical Notice of the Author,*[1] where he stated, 'the day preceding her death she composed some stanzas replete with fancy and vigour'. His bibliographic revision in 1832, now entitled *Memoir of Miss Austen*[2] made no mention of the poem, which remained unpublished until 1906, when it was included in the Hubbacks' book *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers*.[3] The delay in making it generally available appears to have been the result of some anxiety regarding the appropriateness of its subject matter and quality.

Two manuscripts of the verses survived; one in Cassandra Austen's hand and the other an edited copy from an unidentified source. The former, sent to Charles Austen after Jane's death, was the version reprinted in *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers*. Apparently, not every member of the Austen family agreed that the poem should be published and there was some resistance from James Edward Austen-Leigh, Anna Lefroy and Caroline Austen. The latter was particularly distressed at the idea of Jane Austen's final composition becoming public property.[4] Her chief objection seems to have been based on the notion that the poem would be considered too frivolous for a death-bed contemplation and the incongruous combination of a saint and horse racing offensive to religious sensibilities. Caroline's reluctance can have had nothing to do with racing as a sporting activity in itself, since her own mother was a keen follower of the sport and Caroline herself had attended race meetings.



The final two stanzas, in Cassandra's hand, of When Winchester Races
© Jane Austen's House

The Winchester race meeting to which Jane alludes would have taken place on the now defunct Worthy Down race track, an oval shaped course approximately four and half miles from Jane's lodgings in College Street. Races had been held there from as early as the 1760s. Although the track was not as prestigious as the more famous Newmarket, Epsom or Ascot courses, it was a popular meeting on the yearly racing calendar. Horse racing royalty such as Lord Palmerston and Lord Rous, and real royalty such as the Prince of Wales, all raced horses at the Winchester course. Even the legendary racehorse Eclipse galloped on the Worthy Down turf. The Winchester meeting was held over three days, the dates ranging between 24 – 26 June in 1801 to 7 – 9 August in 1804[5]. The majority of the meetings, however, were held in mid to late July. Although Jane's last written words were about the races at Worthy Down, there is no evidence she ever attended a race meeting at the course.

In July 1817, the Winchester race meeting did not occur on St Swithin's Day, but was held after Jane was buried in Winchester Cathedral.[6] Nowhere in Jane's verses is it implied that St Swithin is annoyed with the people of Winchester because they were planning to hold the race meeting on his actual feast day. In fact, the only time the Winchester meeting was ever held on the 15 July was in 1794.[7] Jane's choice of the Winchester races as a subject for her poem might have been inspired by reading of the upcoming meeting in the local press.[8] On Monday 14 July, an announcement regarding the Winchester race programme, to be held between the 29 – 31 July, was published in both *The Hampshire Chronicle*[9] and *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*.[10] Mr Thomas Freeman Heathcote, brother-in-law of the Austens' close friend and regular visitor Elizabeth Heathcote, was recorded as a subscriber to the meeting, although he didn't have horses racing. Charles Dundas, an MP for Berkshire well known to the Austens through the Lloyds – Jane had also recorded his daughter's comments on her novels – did have horses entered on the programme. Both of these names might have caught the interest of the inhabitants of 8 College Street and proved enough of a catalyst to provoke the whimsical verses that were to be the last recorded work of Jane Austen.

The Austens at the Races

By the time Jane Austen entered the world in 1775, horse racing was a well-established sport. Royal patronage gave rise to the term 'the sport of kings', which lent prestige to the pastime. Many of the nobility and gentry followed suit and all of the so-called Classic races, which included the Derby, the 2,000 and 1,000 Guineas, the Oaks and the St Leger were inaugurated during Jane's lifetime. Eclipse and Highflyer, champion racehorses, would have been familiar names to the Austens, as would those of John, Sam and Bill Arnull, famous jockeys who appeared regularly in the sporting magazines and newspapers, along with the most celebrated trainer of the age, Robert Robson. Although generally considered a male dominated sport, women also played a part. Lady Craven and Lady Powlett, both of whom were known to the Austens, owned race horses and female jockeys

competed in races. The best known was Alicia Meynell, or Mrs Thornton as she was alternatively known, who won a famous race in 1805 against Frank Buckle, one of the leading jockeys of the time. Alicia's triumph was celebrated in almost every newspaper of the day, including those read by the Austens.[11]

Racing was particularly popular among country gentlemen, who generally loved hunting and horses. This was also true of the Austen clan. Brian Southam notes that George Austen encouraged all his sons to enjoy field sports of every kind.[12] James became what was colloquially known as a 'sporting parson'; he kept hunters and was a keen rider. According to his daughter Caroline, four of her uncles had 'a strong taste for field sports' but although Uncle Edward certainly had the means to pursue such activities, he 'cared for them not at all'.[13] Edward's indifference clearly did not discourage him, or his children, from enjoying the social activities associated with racing events, such as the race balls held during the Canterbury meetings. He and his wife, accompanied by Jane and Cassandra, attended a race ball on 15 August 1805. The following evening, Jane and Elizabeth returned to Canterbury for another.[14]

The Canterbury Races *by Thomas Rowlandson © National Portrait Gallery*

The earliest mention of horse racing in Jane's correspondence occurs in 1796, when she notes that her brother Henry had not attended the August race meeting at Canterbury.[15] Henry's interest in that year's races was possibly linked to the horses on the programme that belonged to acquaintances – Sir Edward Knatchbull and Colonel John Brydges. Sir Edward, neighbour and future son-in-law of Edward Austen Knight, had raced horses at the course as early as 1790 and names familiar to the Austens such as Honywood, Powlett, Fowle, Hallet, Heathcote, Dundas, Curtis, Deeds, Lushington and Chute all appeared regularly in the pages of the

important sporting journals and magazines, such as the *Racing Calendar* and the *Sporting Magazine*. Henry Austen did eventually make it to the Canterbury races in 1814 and was possibly witness to an unfortunate incident, where a young lad named Southee, was kicked in the groin by a frightened horse and later died of his injuries,[16] although in a letter to Jane describing his day, Henry seems to have had a pleasant enough time and apparently made no mention of the accident.[17]

James Austen and his wife Mary, along with their three children, also enjoyed a day at the races. In 1813, Mary recorded in her pocketbook a trip to the Basingstoke course with her sister Martha.[18] They also attended the race ball. In 1811, Francis Lucius Austen, son of Francis Motley Austen, was named as Steward at the Canterbury races[19] as was family friend Thomas Powlett, who was nominated Steward at the Basingstoke races in 1812.[20] Thomas Freeman Heathcote served in the same capacity at Basingstoke, as did Edward Knight, eldest son of Jane's brother Edward, who also accepted a stewardship at Winchester in 1822 and 1824. Evidently, his father's disinclination for horse racing was no deterrent.[21]

In a letter dated 26 June 1808, Jane sympathised with Cassandra's inability to attend the races at Newbury in August,[22] a race meeting that her sister-in-law Mary did go to.[23] Jane consoled her sister with the thought that she herself was 'withstanding' the meeting at Canterbury in July, where horses owned by Sir Edward Knatchbull were racing. Cassandra would have been doubly disappointed at missing the Newbury meeting, as Mr Fulwar Craven's horse Curricle won a sweepstake of 50 guineas.[24] Craven was the cousin of Mary Austen, Martha Lloyd and the Fowles at Kintbury. His sister and mother were known to have read *Emma* and Jane kept a copy of their positive comments.[25] Fulwar Craven was a significant racehorse owner from a family rich in racing history. A lithograph in the National Portrait Gallery by Richard Dighton entitled 'The Craven', shows a well-dressed man, sporting large black whiskers and a ruddy complexion. He was, apparently, full of eccentricities, the quintessential 'country gentleman' who engaged in most field sports but was especially passionate about the turf.[26] By 1808 he was racing horses at the highest levels, at Doncaster, Newmarket and Ascot. With Craven's importance in the world of racing, it is natural that his relatives, the Lloyds and the Fowles, would also have developed a keen interest in the sport.

In an 1812 letter to Jane Leigh-Perrot, James Austen described, among other things, the post-harvest race meeting at Basingstoke, which was very popular.[27] His eldest daughter Anna was taken to the race ball by 'a neighbouring family', probably the Hallets, with whom James and Mary were socialising regularly in the late summer of 1812. Mr Hallet's horses were racing at the Basingstoke meeting on the 29 and 30 of September.[28] Tickets to the race ball were seven shillings for gentlemen, five for ladies. On their honeymoon in 1806, Jane's brother Frank and his new wife Mary Gibson joined their niece Fanny and three of her brothers to make up a party at the Canterbury race meeting. A contemporary newspaper report of the meeting recorded that although the sport was 'not so good as might have been expected' this deficiency was more than compensated for by 'an uncommon display of female beauty, fashion and elegance'.[29] In a letter to her

former governess, Fanny was anxious to know which 'Belles of the races' were identified by name.[30]

Lithograph of Fulwar Craven, by Richard Dighton
©The Beaney House of Art & Knowledge, Canterbury City Council

The Social Importance of Racing

All levels of society attended race meetings, which created the opportunity not only to enjoy the spectacle, but also to attend dinners and the theatre. Race balls usually followed the meeting itself and attracted all the notable personages in the neighbourhood. As the sport was patronised by much of the gentry and nobility, attendance would always afford a chance to mingle with the famous and the fashionable. A race meeting attended by Fanny in 1811 was described in the newspaper as providing everything the sporting and socially-minded could want over several days: 'Canterbury races, which commence on Tues next, promise to afford a considerable share of sport, and consequently to be attended by a large portion of the fashionable world. Messers Jonas and Penley have engaged Mrs Bakers theatre in this city for the ensuing race week'.[31] Fanny clearly enjoyed the experience and wrote a long account for her Aunt Cassandra two days after

the event.[32] A race meeting at Canterbury in 1814 attended by Henry Austen also included a display of fireworks.[33] Dinners formed part of the festivities surrounding the racing, where business and matters of local importance could be discussed by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The races were significant events for women too. A letter in 1817 from Fanny Knight to her friend Miss Chapman, described the coming out of her sister Lizzy at the Canterbury races in early August, and a younger sister, Louisa, made her debut at the same venue in 1822.[34]

Race Courses and Meetings

Meetings were held throughout England on both permanent and temporary courses, as they had been since the early 17th century. The Craven Meeting at Newmarket, one of the most important on the racing calendar, opened the season. Friends of the Austens, such as the Dundas and Heathcote families, raced horses at this meeting. Newmarket, together with Ascot, Epsom, Doncaster, York and Goodwood, were the largest and most prestigious courses and usually hosted the important races. They had permanent structures such as grandstands and designated betting areas for the convenience of patrons.[35] These buildings might include tea rooms, fireplaces and balconies and were usually occupied by royalty and the nobility. However, as the fashion for these types of conveniences caught on, the lower social ranks were also allowed to enjoy their benefits. The smaller country courses had temporary arrangements such as booths, tents and sheds, which provided shelter while viewing the races. These more ephemeral buildings also served as places where food, drink and gambling could take place without interference from the weather. Rich patrons would arrive in their carriages, which also served as vantage points for viewing the races. The gentry might come in curricles or light carriages or on horseback, while the less wealthy members of society arrived on foot.

The smaller, local courses such as Canterbury, Newbury and Basingstoke were the main venues regularly attended by the Austens' circle of acquaintance. The first race meetings at Canterbury were held on a two-mile, oval-shaped course at Barham Downs near Bishopsbourne.[36] It was twelve miles east of Godmersham, adjacent to the Dover Road and easily accessible to the Knights and their neighbours. Fanny made frequent mention of attending the Canterbury races with her family. Her mother, Elizabeth, had a disturbing experience there in 1792, when a man was thrown from his horse in front of her. According to Caroline Pym-Hales, who was attending the races with her mother that day, Elizabeth took such fright from the event that she had to be conveyed to nearby Higham Hall until she recovered her senses.[37] Nothing remains of the course today, but Thomas Rowlandson's watercolour of 1804 captures all the excitement and activity of a contemporary race meeting. Several stands and other buildings, including the judge's box, are just as the Austens and Knights would have seen them and it is easy to imagine them watching the races from the carriage seen in the foreground of the painting.

The Basingstoke race meeting held in late September was another regular date

on the Austens' social calendar. The course was a favourite of James and Mary Austen due to its close proximity to Steventon and Deane. It was located initially on the Basingstoke Downs, but moved to Rooks Down to the north-east of the town in the latter part of the 18th century. Park Prewett Farm, which was adjacent to the course, is now the site of the Basingstoke and North Hampshire Hospital. The course was, like that at Canterbury, oval-shaped and approximately two miles around and race meetings here were well established on the calendar by the Regency period. Horses owned by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Palmerston all raced on the Rooks Down course. After James Austen's death in 1819, his wife and children continued to attend the Basingstoke races into the 1820s.

When racing was temporarily suspended at the Basingstoke course during the first decade of the 19th century, the closest racecourse to Steventon was on Enborne Heath, near Newbury. Racing here commenced in 1805 and continued until 1811, when the race track moved further south to Woodhay Heath. The land for the Enborne course was donated by the 6th Baron Craven and until racing recommenced at Basingstoke, the Steventon Austens attended the Newbury races here between 1805-1811. There is no contemporary description or image of Enborne Heath, but it is likely to have been oval and approximately two miles in length. The land it once occupied is now farmland, located near Enborne Primary School. Newbury is the only race course to have survived into modern times, but in name only, as the current incarnation is situated to the south east of the city.

Although horse racing was a favoured pastime for the Austens and many of their social set, it is rarely included in any of Jane's novels. In *Mansfield Park*, Tom Bertram is a racehorse owner who attends meetings during the season. Jane alludes to his horse being raced at B—, which, given the location of Mansfield Park, is most likely to have been Bedford. Tom later falls critically ill during a visit to Newmarket. Although his participation in the sport and its social opportunities is often interpreted as an indicator that Jane intended him to be seen as a dissolute young man, it hardly follows that she actually saw racing as a reflection of an immoral character. The only other mention of horse racing appears in *The Watsons*, when Tom Musgrave, trying to convince Emma Watson of the quiet nature of his horses, makes the following reference to racing, '"… your sisters all know how quiet they are: they have none of them the smallest scruple in trusting themselves with me, even on a race-course"'.

Not only did horse racing influence Jane Austen's final written composition; she in turn influenced the sport. Many race horses, from as early as the 1930s through to the current day, have carried Austen-inspired names. There have been at least five Jane Austens and one Miss Austen, whose sire was aptly named Fame and Glory. Racehorses have carried the names of Pride and Prejudice, Mansfield Park and Northanger Abbey. Jane's characters have also been honoured with registered racing names, including Mr Knightley, Mr Bingley, Elizabeth Bennet, Captain Wentworth, Miss Dashwood, Dashing Willoughby and at least seven Mr Darcys. It is likely that Jane would have been amused at the tribute paid to her by

the racing fraternity and it is fitting that her last recorded work was about the sport that many of her family and friends so enjoyed.

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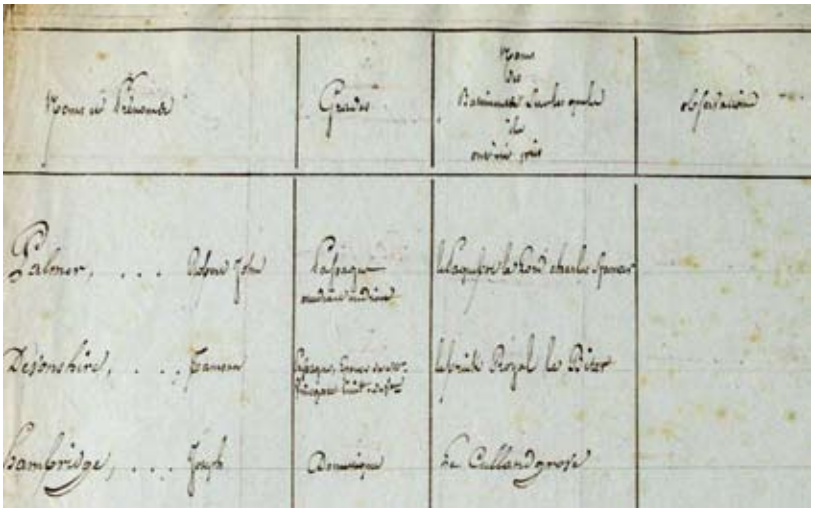
Wartime Worries of Fanny Palmer Austen and Jane Austen

Sheila Johnson Kindred

During the long Napoleonic Wars both Jane and Fanny Palmer Austen feared for the safety of men in their interrelated families, and with good reason. Jane's two naval brothers, Charles and Francis, were continuously involved in the hostilities. They served in the British navy in the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Baltic, and in British home waters, as well as across the Atlantic in North America and the West Indies. At times they were at great risk, Francis in particular, when he took part in a major action, by leading the lee line into action at the Battle of San Domingo (1806). Either brother might have been captured and made a prisoner- of-war[1] or been wounded and failed to recover. At home in England, Jane responded with evident and continuing concern for her brothers' well being.

Since Fanny Palmer had married Jane's brother Charles, she had her own immediate apprehension for his safety. She feared for her husband, especially when he was sent on missions into the European war zone. Her letters during his years of service on the North American Station (1805-1811) express the depth of her anxiety. In addition, her only brother, Robert John Palmer, was detained in a prisoner-of-war camp for at least eight years in Napoleonic France. His unhappy story is related here from contemporary documents that reveal how he came to be captured and provide an idea of the life in a prisoner-of-war detention centre. Details of this story illuminate Fanny's particular worries as a sister in wartime, while her letters show how she and her family responded to his plight.



List of prisoners at Verdun in 1806, including Robert John Palmer

Robert John Palmer's route to detention began with his trip to North America in 1805. Since August 1802, the twenty-one-year old Robert had been articled in London to his father's first cousin, John Palmer, who was a member of Gray's Inn. The purpose of Robert's trip was most likely legal business for his uncle,[2] though he probably stopped in Bermuda, where his father had property interests and where his two sisters, Esther and Fanny, were living. Whatever the specifics of his mission to America, in late May his business was completed and he boarded a mail packet, the *Lord Charles Spencer,* in Halifax, Nova Scotia en route to Falmouth, England. It was a voyage of unwelcome surprises.

On 15 June, off the west coast of Ireland, the packet was sighted and pursued for eight hours by its eventual captor, the 30-gun French privateer, the *Valliant*. The unlucky passengers together with their baggage were detained and transported to San Sebastian in Spain. The Palmer family waited uneasily for news of their loved one's fate. Eventually, on 27 July, British newspapers listed those passengers who had been returned from Spain to Falmouth. Robert John Palmer's name was not among them. For reasons unknown, he was sent to the prison depot in Verdun, a fortified town in the province of Lorraine in northeastern France. Proof of his incarceration is found in an official list of English prisoners at Verdun (19 November 1806). It includes 'Robert John Palmer, passager [captured with] le Paquebot Lord Charles Spencer', further described as 'etudiant en droit' (law student).[3] Palmer was considered a 'détenu', that is a civilian who was apprehended in enemy territory after 1803.

Fortress at Verdun from Telegraph Hill, by James Forbes, a prisoner of war

For the next eight years, Fanny worried about her brother's well being. English nationals in prisoner-of-war camps were trapped, cut off from family and friends. Napoleon officially stopped all correspondence to England in 1806. Letter writers

risked punishment, and the underground transmission of letters by smugglers was untrustworthy, difficult, and very expensive.[4] Fanny, along with her parents and sisters, Esther and Harriet, could only speculate about the circumstances of Robert's incarceration.

Snippets of information about Robert's life in the camp appear in several of Fanny's letters. In early February 1814, she had met a Captain Wallace who had been at Verdun. He described her brother as 'an excellence character ... who keeps the very best company, [including] a Colonel in the Army [with whom he] rides every day'.[5] This report suggests that Robert was on parole, having given his word he would not try to escape. It meant that he could live in town at his own expense and venture a short distance into the countryside.


PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE Anglais.

PLACE DE VERDUN.

N.° de l'enregistrement. 1188

Permission de sortir de la Place.

SIGNALEMENT.

Age. | Taille. | Cheveux et sourcils | Front. | Nez. | Bouche. | Menton. | Visage. | Marques particulières.

Il est permis à M.r Whitley James Lieutenant d'infanterie Prisonnier de Guerre, de sortir de la Place par les portes de Paris Chaussée et Mars aux conditions de rentrer, chaque jour, avant leur fermetures. La présente permission est pour lui seul. Verdun, le 30 Decembre 1812

Signature du porteur. Whitley Lt.

Le Commandant du Dépôt des Prisonniers de guerre Anglais.

Pass issued to a British prisoner at Verdun.

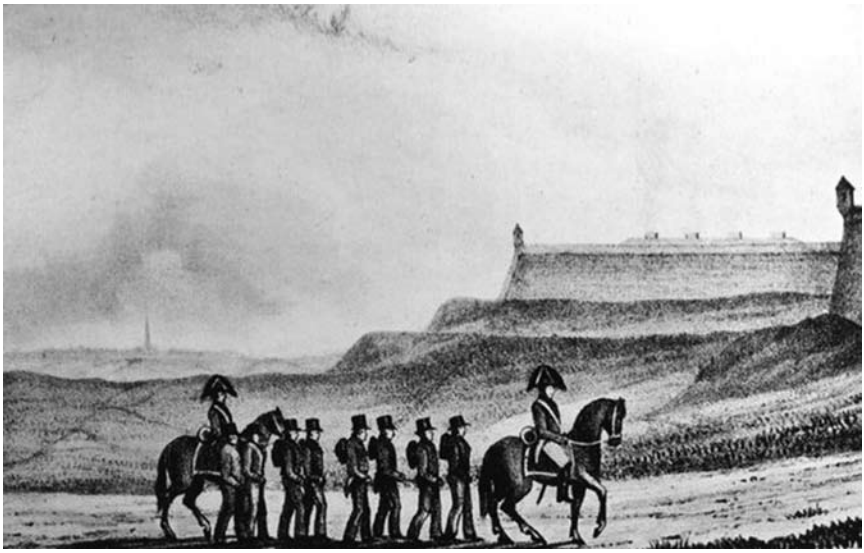
Fanny probably knew there were opportunities for entertainments at Verdun. Several social and gaming clubs held balls and assemblies. Theatrical performances, cockfighting, duck hunting and horse races occurred.[6] This range of amusements makes incarceration sound tolerable, even amusing, but the extent of a prisoner's financial resources would clearly have controlled his comfort and quality of life.

Whether the Palmer family found a way to transmit money to Robert is unknown. Remittances sent privately to prisoners from England were stopped

after 1806. The transfer of bills of exchange was also blocked and French bankers were forbidden to discount prisoners' drafts on London.[7] Even if the Palmer family sent money to Robert, it is doubtful how much actually reached him and what lifestyle he could afford to sustain. Significantly, Fanny's pocket diary from early 1814, records that she 'Lent RP £4', not an insignificant sum given the scope of Fanny's careful domestic budgeting. Presumably, the initials refer to her brother.

Even if he could afford some of the local diversions, Robert would not have found his life as a captive in Verdun meaningful or fulfilling. Over a period of at least eight years, the ephemeral social and sporting pleasures no doubt paled in interest through repetition. The irrefutable fact remained that Robert's freedom of movement was rigorously restricted.

Fanny refers to her brother in correspondence with her sisters as 'poor John', (John being the name used for him within the Palmer family). Fanny's words suggest her empathy for him, trapped in such a frustrating and uncertain situation. Qualms and anxieties about the future, extending over his years of incarceration, must have taken a toll on Robert's spirits. Like other prisoners-of-war, he presumably feared the consequences should France win the war. Perhaps he hoped for a prisoner exchange but it was unrealistic to expect he would be favoured for inclusion.[8] Although the French had made overtures regarding prisoners in 1810 and an expectation grew that an agreement could be reached, ultimately the British found the French terms unacceptable. The 11,358 British military prisoners and 500 detainees, Robert included, remained in captivity.[9] In effect, Robert's life was on hold and his legal career stalemated.



Captured British Midshipmen Being Marched to Their Prison-Depot at Verdun, by Richard Langton, a prisoner of war

In the 19th century marriage established an inter-family attachment so when Fanny became an Austen in 1807, Jane is likely to have paid attention to the welfare of Fanny's siblings, including the plight of her brother as a detainee. Significantly, Jane wrote a prayer which expressed her heartfelt concerns about those adversely affected by war. The text reads: 'Heartily do we pray for the safety of all that … travel by sea... and that thy pity may be shewn upon all captives and prisoners'.[10] Her naval brothers were among the travellers by sea; Robert John Palmer had been a traveller by sea and was now among the 'captives and prisoners'. Jane's wording suggests she harboured very personal sentiments for these men. Her prayer also appears to petition for the humane treatment of prisoners in the request that 'pity may be shown on all captives'.

As long as the Napoleonic Wars continued, Jane and Fanny Austen both felt anxious about the vulnerability and adverse consequences for their loved ones. Would Charles and Francis continue to avoid capture, or worse, incarceration? Would Robert cope with the stresses of long-term captivity? These shared worries in wartime must have nourished a growing bond between Jane and Fanny Palmer Austen.[11]

Notes

1. Sources show that some British naval officers were detained as prisoners at Verdun. They included Lt Barker, Lt Tuckey of HMS *Calcutta*, Captain Brenton of HMS *Minerva,* and Lt Dillon. See Edward Fraser, *Napoleon the Gaoler*, *Personal Experiences and Adventures of British Soldiers and Sailors during the Great Captivity*, Brentano's, 1914, pp.41, 45, 56.
2. He was likely sent either to collect or exchange documents or complete a legal transaction. I owe this suggestion to Sandra Robinson.
3. See ADM 103/468 PART 1. Register of British POW Prisons L-V, France, 1787-1820, National Archives, Kew. Many thanks to Roy and Lesley Adkins and Sandra Robinson who alerted me to this document.
4. Fraser, p.46.
5. Fanny Austen's Letters, 5 February 1814, reproduced in Sheila Johnson Kindred, *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister*, MQUP, 2017, 2018.
6. Fraser, pp.41-44.
7. *Ibid*. p.47
8. Several members of the aristocracy, including Lord Elgin and the Earl of Yarmouth, were among the detainees who were exchanged in 1806, but Robert was a mere law student and did not have their societal and financial status that would have enhanced his chances of being exchanged.
9. Fraser, p.56.
10. Richard Chapman, *Minor Works,* OUP, 1954, p.454.
11. What happened to Robert John Palmer? He was freed from Verdun in early January 1814 as the war was winding down. He was back in England by July but by autumn he had fallen out with his Palmer parents and his sister Harriet in London, although not with Fanny Palmer Austen and her own family. He

kindly supported the distraught and grieving Charles Austen after Fanny's unexpected death in September 1814, accompanying him at sea on his next ship, HMS *Phoenix,* for some months. Subsequently he married and made his home in Ireland at the Palmer estate, Banemore House in Co. Kerry. In the next generation a son bore the name Charles John Austen Palmer. Jane's brothers Charles and Francis survived the war and continued their careers in the navy. For details, see Brian Southam, *Jane Austen and the Navy,* National Maritime Museum, 2005.

Images

The second, third and fourth images are illustrations from Edward Fraser's, *Napoleon the Gaoler, Personal Experiences and Adventures of British Soldiers and Sailors during the Great Captivity*, New York: Brentano's, 1914.

'Such ill-gotten wealth can never prosper': the nineteenth century Austens of Broadford and Capel Manor, Kent.

Dirk FitzHugh

On 20th February 1807, Jane Austen wrote to her sister Cassandra:

> We have at last heard something of M^r^ Austen's Will. It is beleived at Tunbridge that he has left everything after the death of his widow to M^r^ M^y^ Austen's 3^d^ son John; & as the said John was the only one of the Family who attended the Funeral, it seems likely to be true.—Such ill-gotten Wealth can never prosper![1]

'M^r^ Austen' was old John Austen VI (ca. 1716-1807) of Broadford, who had no surviving issue and decided to leave his estate to his cousin, John Austen VII (1777-1851) grandson of the wealthy Sevenoaks solicitor, Francis Austen (1698-1791). 'M^r^ M^y^ Austen' was Francis Motley Austen (1747-1815), the only son of Francis Austen by his first wife, Anne Motley, who died in childbirth.

Why did John Austen VII inherit Broadford, being merely the third son of Francis Motley Austen, who was then still alive? The latter already owned a large estate at Kippington, which he had purchased in 1796, after the sale of the Red House, his father's large elegant house in Sevenoaks. Francis Motley's eldest son, Francis Lucius (1773-1815) had suffered from a mental breakdown and had no son, only two daughters. Francis Motley's second son, Thomas Austen (1775-1859) had gone into the army, but would be expected to inherit his father's estate at Kippington. Thus the choice of John Austen VII to inherit the Broadford estate made sense.

Jane Austen would have had pleasant memories of old Francis Austen, since he had provided for her father's education at Tonbridge and had left him £500 in his Will. Furthermore, Francis's second wife, Jane Lennard, who died in 1782, had been Jane's godmother. Indeed, when Jane was twelve, she and Cassandra had been taken by their parents to meet Great-Uncle Francis at the Red House. The somewhat bitter reference to 'such ill-gotten wealth' may refer to the way in which family money had been passed down the senior line of the Austens at the expense of the others. Her father's great-grandfather, John Austen III (1629-1705) had outlived his son, John Austen IV, who died in 1704. Thus he decided to leave the bulk of his fortune to his eldest grandson, John Austen V (1696-1728), aged nine at the time. This boy was brought up apart from his mother and the rest of the family who had been left only meagre portions of his grandfather's wealth. Consequently, Jane Austen's branch of the family had to struggle: her grandfather, William Austen (1701-1737) died young at thirty-six, having already lost his wife in 1732, leaving three little orphans, including Jane's father George. Jane may have thought that John Austen III should have made a more equitable distribution

of his assets in 1705, and that in 1807 John Austen VI should certainly have done so.

Despite her prediction, did John Austen VII and his line prosper in the end? He was in his thirtieth year when he inherited the Broadford Estate. Ordained in 1800, typically going into the church as a younger son, in 1806 he became Rector of Crayford in Kent and Domestic Chaplain to the 4th Duke of Dorset. With his new-found wealth, he was able to marry well at thirty-six. His bride was the twenty-three-year-old Harriet Lane, daughter of the late Thomas Lane (1755-1805) of Bradborne, Kent. Her father had succeeded to the Bradborne Estate in 1786, under the will of Henry Bosville (proved in 1761) who had left the estate first to the baronet Sir Richard Betenson, and upon his death, without male heirs, to Thomas's elder brother William, and then to Thomas. In 1798 Thomas Lane inherited further estates, the Sussex manors of Streat, Westmeston and Middleton, through his mother, Mary Dobell. When Harriet married John Austen VII on 7 September 1813, her brother, Henry Thomas Lane aged twenty and heir to their late father's estates, would have given her away.

Harriet Austen née Lane (1790-1873)

This copy of the portrait was kindly provided by Francis Austen of Great Markly, a great-grandson of Jane Austen's brother Frank. The watercolour was given to Francis's father, the Revd F. W. Austen around 1950 by Mrs Harrison, previously married to Heathfield Dodgson. She was great-granddaughter of John Austen VII and Harriet. Her son Raymond Dodgson, unmarried heir to the Broadford Estate, was killed in action in Somaliland in 1940. These Austens and the Lane family

would have known each other, since their respective estates of Kippington and Bradborne were in the Sevenoaks area.

In the year that John Austen married Harriet Lane, he became Rector of Chevening, just outside Sevenoaks. When Harriet's sister, Mary Ann, married another young clergyman, William Anthony FitzHugh, in 1820 at Chevening, it was naturally John Austen who officiated. He continued as Rector of Chevening until his death in 1851 aged seventy-four. His elder brother, Colonel Thomas Austen of Kippington and MP for West Kent (1846-7), died without issue in 1859, leaving his estate to John Austen VII's son, John Francis Austen VIII, known as Frank (1817-98).

So far, John Austen's line was certainly prospering, with his eldest son inheriting both the Broadford and Kippington estates. What then of Frank's family?

John Francis Austen (b. 13th September 1817), by R Boning of 10 Verulam Place, St Leonards on Sea, inscribed 'Mr Frank Austen – built Capel Manor'.

Frank was educated at Christ Church, Oxford (Matriculated 1836, BA 1840) and Inner Temple. On 21 July 1855 he married Charlotte Tucker (ca. 1820-62).
She was the daughter of William Tucker of Lower Henbury, Sturminster Marshall, Dorset. Frank was 37, she some two years younger. His youngest brother, the Revd Henry Morland Austen, had also married a girl from Sturminster Marshall, Mary Parke, two years earlier: they had no issue.

Charlotte Tucker, Mrs Frank Austen, by Bassano of 122 Regent Street, taken ca. 1860.

After the wedding, Frank and his wife, accompanied by his sister Marianne, went on a tour of the Continent under a passport issued by the Earl of Clarendon on 15 October 1855. They passed through Calais on 25 October 1855, and were in Paris the next day. They arrived in Rome on 8 November and seem to have spent the next six months in Italy, returning home by the end of May 1856. They were certainly enjoying the benefits of the inherited Austen wealth.

Once back in England they were able to focus on family, producing two daughters, Charlotte Marianne, born 31st October 1857, and Roma Catherine Mary, born 20 February 1859. They also came back with grand ideas of building a new home, reflecting the styles of villas seen in Italy. Frank clearly had artistic talents, as, at the age of fifteen, he had painted a fine sepia of Chevening Church, when his father was Rector there. The site of the Italian Gothic style manor house was across from their Broadford House. It was designed by T. H. Wyatt and built 1859-62, in three-colour stone, with a large, square, top-lit staircase hall. Sadly, Frank's wife died in 1862, the year that the house was completed.

Frank had three surviving sisters: Elizabeth (1820-96), who in 1856 married her cousin, Henry Terrick FitzHugh (1827-1910), who had just returned from the Crimea, where he served with the Royal Artillery in the siege of Sebastopol; Catherine Frances (1821-1907) and Marianne (1825-92) both of whom died unmarried.

Of Frank's two younger brothers, the Revd Henry Morland Austen (1823-1904), was Rector at Crayford, Kent (1851-73). The middle brother, Charles

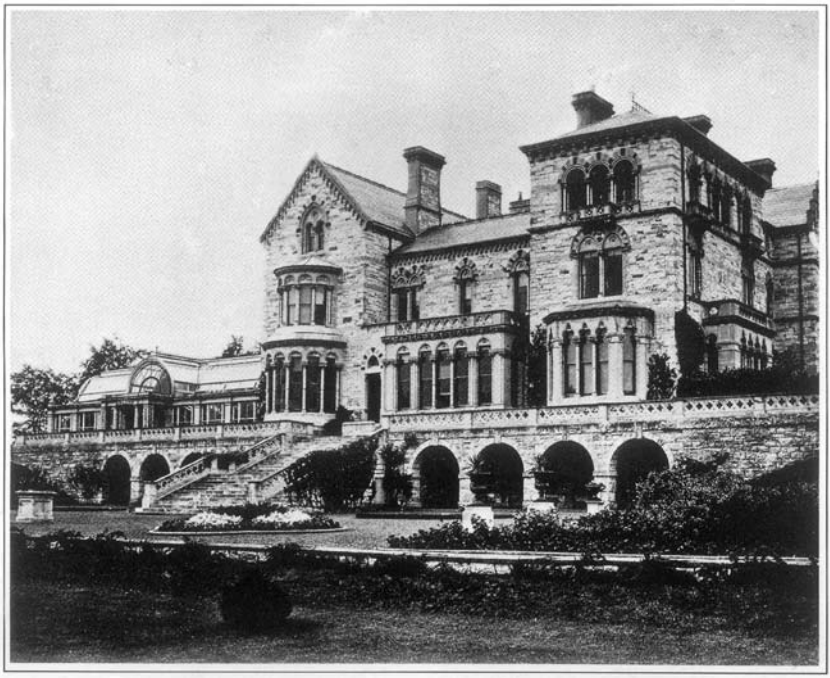
Wilson Austen (1818-63) spent all his adult life in the army. He was with the 83rd (County of Dublin) Regiment of Foot from 1838 to 1862. The Regiment served in Upper Canada 1838-45, and, after a home posting in Ireland, went out to India in 1849. After the Regiment returned home in 1860, Charles Austen decided to see more action: he joined the 14th Foot (Bucks.) Prince of Wales Own, in New Zealand, where the Maoris remained defiant after several short campaigns. He arrived on 10 June 1862 and died in December 1863 after being wounded at Rangariri.

In the meantime, Frank was left to look after his two young girls, with the help of his spinster sisters. In 1864/5 he sold the Kippington estate, possibly to cover the expense of his new mansion. Then on 27 June 1868 he married again: his bride was Georgiana Frederica Pearse (1843-1931).

Mrs Frank Austen, by H. G. Inskipp, Tunbridge Wells.

Frank Austen was fifty, she some twenty-five years younger. Her father, Charles John Pearse, came from a well-placed City family, long settled in Woodford, Essex. Charles Pearse's sister, Harriet (1811-37), was the wife of barrister James Mure, whose daughter, Harriet Mure, had married William Henry FitzHugh in 1864. The 1840 Census shows William Henry staying at Chevening Rectory with the Austen family, so it is likely that Frank met his new bride through FitzHugh connections. There was a further, more distant connection: Charles Pearse's uncle, John Pearse (ca. 1759-1836), Director of the Bank of England and MP for

Devizes, had a daughter, Clara, who married the Revd John Edwin Lance: his mother, Mary FitzHugh (1761-1835) was the sister of William FitzHugh (1757-1842) MP for Tiverton, William Henry FitzHugh's grandfather.



The former Capel Manor

The Austen family clearly enjoyed their new mansion, on which no expense had been spared. Describing the place in 1872, Sir Charles Eastlake noted:

> the quasi Lombardic details give it a character of its own … the picturesque disposition of its masses, the rich quality and colour of materials used … and the elaborate nature of carved work combine to render it a most effective structure. Its owner, Mr F. Austen, has long been known as an architectural amateur, and it is possible that the general design is a reflex of his own taste no less than that of Mr Wyatt himself ... It is…as the designer of large country mansions, rather than as a church architect, that Mr Wyatt is chiefly known.[2]

Frank Austen was equally expansive in his purchase of paintings. His collection included two by Holman Hunt as well as fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian works. According to the *Great Landowners of Great Britain* by John Bateman (1883) Frank owned 2,980 acres with a gross annual value of £6,802. At the same time, he maintained a town house at No. 1, Princes Gate, South Kensington, where

near neighbours in 1875 included the Duke of St. Albans at No. 4, and Viscount Portman at No.5. In 1867 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Kent.

As he approached old age, Frank Austen appeared to have all that he could have wished for, except a male heir to carry on the Austen line and enjoy the accumulation of his possessions. His two wives had each given him two surviving daughters. His eldest daughter, Charlotte Marianne, was the only one to have issue, one daughter, by her marriage in 1887 to William Smith-Marriott (later 8th Baronet). As noted above, their daughter, Mary Charlotte, was later, in 1913, to marry Heathfield Dodgson, whose son Raymond, heir to Broadford, was killed in 1940. Frank's brothers, Charles and Henry, left no recognised legitimate heirs; his sister, Elizabeth FitzHugh, had no children.

When Frank died in 1893 at the age of seventy-six, he had enjoyed great prosperity, but would have suffered the disappointment of realizing that, without a son or nephew to carry on the Austen line, his fortune and possessions would be dissipated. His widow lived on at Capel Manor until her death in 1931, having survived her youngest unmarried daughter by less than a year, the two having been together at the Manor until the end. Her eldest daughter died childless less than a year after her mother.

Capel Manor itself survived World War II, after being taken over by the military, and used, in part, to store hops. When Francis Austen of Great Markly visited Capel Manor around 1951, it belonged to a local farming family. While the building as a whole was in poor condition, the library was well preserved, with fine panelling and beautiful trappings still clinging to it. The Marble Gallery overlooked a comfortless hall. The roofless conservatory, however, had a great camellia bearing a wealth of multi-coloured blooms. The prize pictures had been sold, some after Frank's death in 1893, the remainder after Georgiana's death in 1931. The Holman Hunt pictures were acquired by the 2nd Viscount Leverhulme; others found their way to the National Gallery in London, the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the Birmingham Museum of Fine Arts in Alabama. The house was finally demolished in 1966.

Jane Austen was proved right in her assessment: the wealth 'ill-gotten' by John Austen VII did not prosper in the long term. All that remains of the inheritance is to be found in pictures of the past.

Notes

1. Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Letters*, Fourth Edition. (Oxford: OUP, 2011). Letter 51, p.127.
2 Sir Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*. (London: Longman Green & Co, 1837). (Note: T. H. Wyatt (1807-80) was president of the R.I.B.A (1870-73) and received the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal in 1873.)

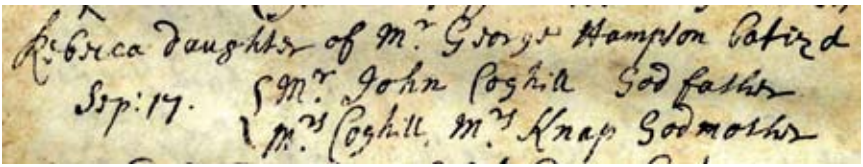
Rebecca Hampson, George Austen's Mother

Ronald Dunning

Very little has been known about George Austen's mother, Rebecca Hampson; what had been on record consisted of not much more than vital events, and some of their dates. That she was the daughter of Sir George Hampson of Gloucester, a doctor of physick and a baronet, is established fact, as is her first marriage to William Walter, with whom she had a son William Hampson; and after William Walter's death, her marriage to William Austen, and the births of their four children. Her birth date had been extrapolated from the age stated on her grave in Tonbridge, erroneously as it turns out. Until S. G. Hale's fortuitous discovery of her marriage to William Austen in registers of clandestine marriages, discussed later in this article, we didn't know details of either of her marriages.

Although I cannot report the discovery of any letters towards constructing a biography, nor of any portraits, the indexing projects of genealogical companies such as Ancestry.com have revealed information which better focuses our curiosity about Rebecca and her two husbands. However, the first previously unrecognised fact predates online research by many years. Austen biographies had not mentioned the name of Rebecca's mother, but *The Complete Baronetage*, published in 1902,[1] states that George Hampson married Mary Coghill, daughter of John Coghill of Bletchingdon in Oxfordshire. The Coghills were a long-established Yorkshire family, until Mary's grandfather Sir Thomas settled his branch at Bletchingdon. It is from that village, just north of the city of Oxford, that the first new facts emerge.

George (not yet Sir George) Hampson and his wife Mary had their seven children baptised in the parish church, St Giles. Presumably they lived there; the fifty miles between the city of Gloucester and Bletchingdon would have been a dangerous distance over which to carry a newly born child for the sake of baptism. Rebecca was baptised on 17 September 1693. The entry is unusually detailed, naming her godparents: John and Mrs Coghill (presumably her maternal grandparents), and Mrs Knapp (her maternal aunt Elizabeth, née Coghill). The stone slab in St Peter and St Paul's, Tonbridge, recording her death in 1733, states that she was then 36; she was 39.



Rebecca Hampson's baptism, 1693[2]

Nothing is known of Rebecca's childhood, nor of the date on which her father relocated the family to Gloucester. Now we have to fill gaps with assumptions.

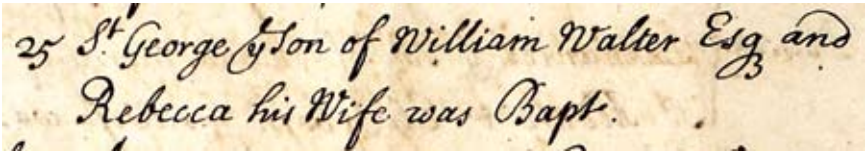
William Jarvis and Gilbert Hoole established, as they wrote in their article in the *Annual Report* of 1985,[3] that her first husband William Walter, another doctor of physick, came from Tonbridge. He may have gone to Gloucester as an assistant to George Hampson, but we don't know. We must assume that William and Rebecca married, but a search through the parish registers of St Michael's, and St John's, the two parishes with which the family are known to have been associated, has not provided any evidence; nor has Ancestry, so far, suggested another parish.

Now the new discoveries become more interesting. The couple had not one child, William Hampson Walter, but three. There is an entry in the parish register of St Owen's, Hereford, for the baptism on 11 August, 1719, of Leonora, daughter of William Walter and his wife Rebecca.[4] Although there is no corroborating evidence to confirm that it was this couple I am confident, because of the date and the combination of names. Hereford is not too far from Gloucester; William may, perhaps, have been seconded there for a time.

There must be significance in the choice of the name Leonora for Rebecca's first and last daughters, but I have not found a precedent within her family. Another researcher has reported, although without evidence, that Leonora was buried on 19 November of the same year. She certainly did not appear in any later records. The date of her baptism in August 1719 provides a benchmark for the date of William and Rebecca's marriage – one would expect that to have taken place by the end of 1718.

Their second child, William Hampson Walter, was baptised back at St Michael's, Gloucester, on 31 August 1721. He survived into his late seventies, and is well documented, so I won't dwell on him.

The third Walter child was a boy named St George, who was baptised at St John the Baptist, Gloucester, on 25 June 1723. The next record is, sadly, for his burial at Tonbridge on 29 September 1725. George was the name of both Rebecca's and William's fathers, and she used it again in naming George Austen. This register entry shows that William and Rebecca were in Tonbridge during the year before his death. It had been thought that Rebecca did not visit the town till after that event, probably to look into the leasehold properties that he had held there. Incidentally, St George's burial record has added significance for William Walter, being a document that uses the designation 'Doctor'; for his son William Hampson's baptism and for his own burial (at St Michael's Gloucester, on 30 May 1726) he was styled 'Gent', and for St George's baptism, 'Esq'.


25 St George Y Son of William Walter Esq and
Rebecca his Wife was Bapt.

St George Walter's record of baptism, 1723[5]

Record of St George Walter's burial, 1725[6]

Rebecca married again some nineteen months later, to another William – William Austen. We do not know how they met, but we can guess. William Austen's brother-in-law George Hooper, the husband of his sister Elizabeth, represented the fifth generation in a family of Tonbridge attorneys. George Hooper was well known to William Walter, who nominated him in his will as one of the two trustees. It would have been natural for the Walters to visit the Hoopers on their 1725 visit, where they may have encountered William Austen. Within the close-knit circle of Tonbridge gentry, there must have been other opportunities to meet.

Stephen Hale, a member of the Society of Genealogists and of the Jane Austen Society, was the best-qualified person to recognise the significance of an entry for 13 January 1727/8, in the registers of Clandestine Marriages in the Liberty of the Fleet, for William Austen of Tonbridge, Surgeon, and Rebecca Walter, also of Tonbridge.[7] The Liberty of the Fleet was an area on the western edge of the City of London, surrounding the Fleet Prison for debtors, which was largely free of ecclesiastical oversight. There were many 'marrying houses,' where indebted clergymen could earn money to pay for their keep and ultimate release; however the specific locations of clandestine marriages were seldom noted in the registers. It is estimated that over 300,000 marriages took place there between 1720 and 1754. For many couples, it was simply a matter of convenience – they may both have come to London from distant parishes, and could marry quickly on the purchase of a licence. For others, they were definitely clandestine.

Why did William and Rebecca marry secretly, away from Tonbridge? No doubt they anticipated opposition from family and society. The couple's age difference was greater than had been assumed – Rebecca was 34 and William 27. Fathers contributed property or finance on the first marriage of offspring, but not normally to a subsequent union; besides that, Sir George Hampson's death had preceded William Walter's by some twenty months. By remarrying, Rebecca sacrificed her half-share in her first husband's property to their son. Whatever wealth William Austen had at his young age accumulated, and whatever status Rebecca had as the daughter of a baronet, their position in society was going to be precarious.

It is clear from a letter written by William's aunt, Mary Tilden (née Weller), that he felt awkward. In the *Annual Report* of 2009 Mark Ballard, a Kent County archivist, transcribed some lines from her letter of 4 April 1728, written to her brother Edward Weller. They are worth repeating:

> In your last you hinted … you thought there was now nothing of Cous. Will Austen's amour which I then wonder'd at, but I suppose my Brother [Robert] has told you what reason we have to think he is now married. I think he acts very foolishly in not

> declaring it and living as if it was so. I find him close & sullen if anything is mention'd to him of it tho I believe he'd have us think he is married. I said something to him a day or so ago and he answer'd me very ruff and unrespectfull. I found he was tutchd when I said the widow I believ'd was not that sincere person he believed.[8]

Mary's misgivings concerning William's behaviour are understandable, but we don't know why she was suspicious of Rebecca. It appears that this first marriage of William's was a love match and that Rebecca was prepared to sacrifice financial security for the emotional comforts of partnership. The couple wanted to be united despite the possibility of insecurity. What security they did gain was short-lived; Rebecca died only five years later, on 6 February 1732/3, shortly after the birth of the second Leonora. William died on 7 December 1737. The eldest of their surviving children, Philadelphia, was nearly eight years of age; George, Jane Austen's father, was six; and Leonora, nearing four.

The new records presented here are only markers of events; we still know very little about the lives and characters of Rebecca and her two Williams. I began this article saying that this new evidence better focuses our curiosity; it leaves us wishing for more.

Notes

1. *The Complete Baronetage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne, pub. William Pollard & Co. Ltd., Exeter, 1902. Vol.2, p.177
2. With the permission of the Oxfordshire History Centre. St Giles, Bletchingdon, parish registers. Ref. PAR36/1/R1/2.
3. *Annual Report*, 1985: 'William Walter – An Investigation by Gilbert Hoole and William Jarvis'
4. Ancestry.com. St Owen's, Hereford; Family History Library Film Number 1041600
5. With the permission of the Gloucestershire Archives. St John the Baptist, Gloucester, parish registers. Ref. P154/9 IN/1/5
6. With the permission of the Kent History and Library Centre. St Peter and St Paul's, Tonbridge, parish registers. Ref. P371/1/A/4
7. *Annual Report* for 2010, p.79, 'Jane Austen's Grandparents: William and Rebecca Austen.' The marriage was listed in at least three registers of Clandestine Marriages, held at The National Archives in Kew: RG7/67, RG7/85, and RG7/403.
8. *Annual Report* for 2009, p.71, 'Jane Austen's Family in the Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone;' Mark Ballard and Alison Cresswell. Kent History and Library Centre, ref. KHLC U1000-18 C1-12

'Count' Stuarton reappears (and disappears again)

John Avery Jones

In the Report for 2006[1] David Gilson, the celebrated author of the Bibliography of Jane Austen, wrote about a promissory note that he had acquired. It was dated 24 October 1806 and issued by Ct [Count?] Stuarton in favour of Henry Maunde. Stuarton absconded and Austen, Maunde and Austen offered a reward of five guineas for information on his whereabouts. It has been generally assumed that he was never found and that this was another of Maunde's mistakes, but I hope to show that this was not the case.

A photograph of the promissory note and of the advertisement is contained in his article and the wording reproduced here. The promissory note read:

> £200 24 October 1806
> Three months after date I promise to pay to Mr Henry Maunde or his order Two Hundred Pounds for Value rec[d]. Ct Stuarton. Payable at Messrs Austen Maunde & Austen Bankers Albany.

And on the reverse:

> H Maunde
> Pay the Contents to Hugh Moises M.D. Value in Account
> Cha: James

David Gilson's conclusion was that 'In the present instance James seems to be instructing Maunde in the immediate disposal of the £200 owed by Count Stuarton on its repayment'.[2]

I should like to put forward an alternative interpretation. As the note promised to pay to Henry Maunde at the address of Austen, Maunde and Austen[3] one can deduce that Maunde was acting as a partner in that bank rather than in his personal capacity. The bank would have made a loan to Stuarton of a discounted amount[4] which he promised to repay at the end of the three months by means of the note. The writings on the reverse, which Gilson describes as a revealing addendum, are in fact two separate endorsements having specific legal effects. The first one looks like, and is, the signature of Maunde which is in different handwriting from the rest. This is an 'endorsement in blank' by him, the effect of which is to make the note payable to the bearer so that in future no document was required to transfer the note to someone else.[5] We can assume that the first bearer was the bank. Older British readers may remember for this reason (even though they may not have known why) having to endorse cheques made out differently from the name on their account when paying them in; American readers still do because their cheques are payable to the payee 'or order' whereas British ones are now crossed 'account payee.'

The bank must have disposed of the promissory note (i.e. the right to receive the payment from Stuarton) to Charles James by delivering it to him, although we do not know the underlying reason for the transfer. James, as the new bearer of the note, then signed the second endorsement which is an 'endorsement in full' (now called a 'special endorsement).'[6] This has the apparent result that the note was then payable only to Dr Hugh Moises,[7] although strictly speaking it still remained transferable by delivery.[8] Moises was an army surgeon[9] in the Royal Artillery, although there is no information about why James owed him £200; it is obviously too high to be his personal medical bill.

Both Maunde (and his banking partners Henry Austen and Francis Austen assuming that he was acting on behalf of the bank) and James as endorsers became liable to pay the note,[10] so that when Dr Moises presented the note to the bank and it was not paid by Stuarton, Moises could claim from any of them. This explains why the bank offered five guineas for information about Stuarton's whereabouts. James had at the time of the note recently been appointed by the Earl of Moira, who had just become Master-General of the Ordnance under the Ministry of all the Talents, as (the only) Major in the Corps of Artillery Drivers[11] attached to the Royal Artillery, which may explain the connection with Dr Moises. One of James's books, *The Regimental Companion*,[12] records a question put by the Commissioners of Military Inquiry to Lord Moira who was asked what duties James actually performed as Major, to which he replied:

> Difficulties were urged about assigning to him any course of duties at Woolwich, where the superior field officers (who were also officers of artillery) were on the spot…In London he was constantly at the call of any duty, and had been warned by me that he was to go abroad with the detachment of the corps, if an expedition then in contemplation should take place... Not wishing to institute a novel office on the establishment…I made him act as my French Secretary,[13] without any allowance whatsoever, but the pay which he received as major of the drivers, and for that employment he was liable to be called upon at any hour in any day.[14]

Reading between the lines suggests that James was put on the payroll of the Corps with the newly created rank of Major by Lord Moira (seemingly with the Earl of Chatham,[15] his predecessor as Master-General of the Ordnance, having previously created the post[16]) without being required to do anything in that capacity.[17] The Commissioners indeed found that James 'has never performed any Duties with the Corps, except being present once at a general Review of the Artillery on Woolwich Common, in the year 1806; that he has always been returned "on leave of absence in the Returns made from Head Quarters," and that his " general residence has been in London"'.[18] James seems to have acted as confidential agent of Lord Moira arranging loans for him. James had a previous connection with the bank as an undisclosed partner with Henry Austen and Henry Maunde from 1801 for the business of 'brokerage and the agency of half pay'.[19] His books on military matters were published by Thomas Egerton.[20] James later featured in a case deciding that Henry's bank's discounting of bills of exchange

issued by Lord Moira in 1813 was usurious, in which he was described as the confidential agent of Lord Moira.[21]

The bank's advertisement claims that Stuarton had married on 5 October 1807 under the name Charles James Stuart,[22] and that he was the unsuccessful defendant in a case in the Court of Exchequer in February 1807 under the name George Francis Stuart, which I have been unable to trace in that Court's records.[23] Stuarton must subsequently have been found, perhaps as a result of someone claiming the reward, because James in *The Regimental Companion*, records that Stuarton was the anonymous author of the *Revolutionary Plutarch*,[24] 'and of other works equally libellous and devoid of authenticity.'[25] This book is dedicated to 'the virtuous shades of two departed patriots Louis XVI and Edmund Burke' and contains anti-Napoleon propaganda, lending credibility to the statement in the advertisement that Stuarton claimed that he was persecuted by Bonaparte and the French government.

James also records in his book that, on the orders of the Earl of Chatham, the Board of Ordnance had paid his expenses in a libel action against Stuarton in relation to his post as Major. What may have happened is that Stuarton's whereabouts were discovered by James, who made him pay off the note. In return he libelled James (although one might think that James did the same to him) who sued him for criminal libel. Lord Moira provided written evidence to the court[26] to rebut the suggestion that James had encouraged or abetted the persecutors of French royalists while under his command, saying that this was untrue and had it been true he would have known; and also saying that there was certainly no disinclination on James's part to go on active service – Lord Moira had given him notice the previous year to accompany him on an expedition that was likely to take place 'which appeared to give you [James] extraordinary pleasure'.[27] We can deduce that these were the burden of the libel. James won the case on 12 February 1808.[28] True to form Stuarton disappeared again to avoid arrest and I end, as I began, with a record of a reward being offered for finding him.[29]

Notes

I am grateful to Frances Hannah, Senior Research Fellow, Queensland University of Technology Business School, for discussions about promissory notes.

1. Henry Austen, Banker, p.43.
2. E.J. Clery, *Jane Austen: the Banker's Sister,* Biteback Publishing 2017, ch 3 suggests that the Count may have been appointed as a go-between for James and a third party, Mr Moises, which does not fit my suggested interpretation either.
3. They were the then partners of the bank comprising Henry Austen, Henry Maunde and Francis (Frank) Austen. Frank had become a partner around this time, Tilson joined in about 1809 and Frank retired in about 1813.
4. The discount could not exceed 5% pa under the usury laws, then in (1713) 13 Ann c 16. That was an out of date limit at the time; Navy Fives, a popular investment, then stood at 94.5 (*The Times* 25 October 1806) and therefore

yielded about 5.29%. An exemption from usury laws for 3 month bills was introduced much later by (1833) 3&4 Will 4 c 98, and was extended to 1 year bills in 1837.

5. The law relating to negotiable instruments was at the time judge-made law that was codified in the Bills of Exchange Act 1882 drafted by Sir Mackenzie Chalmers who also drafted the Sale of Goods Act 1893, which are regarded as the high point in statutory drafting. The leading textbook on the judge-made law in 1806 was the first edition (1799) of Chitty on Bills of Exchange ('Chitty'). A US reprint of the first edition in 1803 is available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5IFwuFPMCNkC from which the following references are taken (it is possible that these page references may differ slightly from the original). This deals with endorsements in blank at pp.116-118; the reference in the 1882 Act is s 34(1).
6. Chitty p.118, later s 34(2) of the Act.
7. An obituary of Hugh Moises is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* July 1819 vol 126 p.184, available on https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ukFDAQAAMAAJ. He is listed as a Second Assistant Surgeon put on half pay on 1 February 1813 in List of the Officers of the Army 1824 at p.344 available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=QfsbAQAAIAAJ One of his articles was 'An inquiry into the Abuses of the Medical Department in the Militia of Great Britain.'
8. Chitty p.118. The only way to stop transfer by delivery would have been for Moises, rather than James, to have signed the endorsement to himself.
9. The description of army surgeon is taken from both items in n 7 although as he had an MD (only two out of 11 Second Assistant Surgeons had an MD) in civil life he would presumably have described himself as a physician. Only about 10% of the proto-medical profession were physicians who had a degree. The rest were surgeons or apothecaries (or both) who trained by apprenticeship. In Jane Austen's novels only Tom Bertram and General Tilney's wife were treated by physicians.
10. Chitty p.122, later s 55(2) of the Act. An endorsement creates the same liability as that of the drawer.
11. Artillery drivers were responsible for moving the guns.
12. 7th ed 1811 published by Egerton and printed by C. Roworth (who also printed Jane Austen's books published by Egerton), available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Ybk_AAAAYAAJ.
13. James has been educated at the Jesuits College in Douay, France (which may be the 'English College') according to a letter Henry wrote to Lord Moira's son, the Marquis of Hastings, on 23 August 1839, set out in C Caplan, 'Lord Moira's debt and Henry Austen's appeal', Jane Austen Society *Reports* 2001-5, pp.447 and 454. He therefore presumably had special knowledge about France as well as speaking French which most educated people would have done as it was the diplomatic language.
14. Vol III at pp.503-505.

15. General John Pitt 2nd Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother), Master-General of the Ordnance 1801-1810 (when he was forced to resign after the disastrous assault on Walcheren), except during the Ministry of all the Talents 1806-7 when that post was held by Lord Moira.
16. It appears from an answer by the Earl of Chatham recorded at pp.503-504 of the *Regimental Companion* that Chatham created the post of Major of the Corps of Royal Artillery Drivers to superintend the purchase and selection of horses for the artillery particularly in the case of any large armament going to the Continent but quitted the Ordnance before the post was filled, and when he returned James was not employed in such duties.
17. The relationship between James and Lord Moira and Henry is dealt with in Stuart Bennett, 'Lord Moira and the Austens', 35 *Persuasions*, p.129 onwards.
18. *Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry* 1812 HC 5 at p.153. James's evidence is in Appendix 10 starting at p.226.
19. Hampshire Record Office 28A11/B12. Brokerage is bringing parties together for the sale and purchase of army commissions for the payment of a commission; half-pay agency involved the collection of half-yearly payments for retired officers to save them from collecting it in person for the payment of a commission. Contrary to suggestions often made there is nothing suspicious in the existence of an undisclosed partner, who incurred exactly the same liability as the other partners. It is interesting that Bennett (n 17) at p.41 notes that after 1805 the bank features less frequently in James's letters to Lord Moira, although his presence here shows that he was still involved with the bank in 1806.
20. Gilson points out that the advertisement for the whereabouts of Stuarton was printed by C Roworth, the printer of James's books who would become the printer of *Sense and Sensibility*.
21. *The King v Ridge* p.4 Price p.50, and p.146 ER p.390 (a reprint of the Price report from a US source published in 1835 with different page numbers is available at: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=CMsHAAAAIAAJ at p.286, and see also *The Times*, 16 July 1816 at p.3). The reversal on appeal is at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=iEEZAAAAYAAJ at p.30.
22. A marriage of a person of that name to Ann Ford at St Mary, Newington, Southwark is recorded in the parish register (available on *Ancestry*) although there is no evidence that he is the same person as Stuarton.
23. I have looked at the index of cases in the Hilary Term 1807 (TNA IND 1/16880) which ended in February 1807 and also skimmed the cases in that Term in TNA E 127/55. I could find no reference to any case in which 'Stuart' was involved; it is possible that the case was in a different court because the Court of Exchequer dealt with cases where the Crown was involved (although this could have been the case here, as in the case in n 21), or that the date is wrong. According to the advertisement Stuart unsuccessfully claimed the statute of limitation. Again, there is no evidence that he is the same person as

Stuarton.

24. London, Murray 1804, available at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=WHQOAAAAYAAJ (vol 1) and https://books.google.sm/books?id=h3UOAAAAYAAJ (vol 2). Although anonymous, Google Books gives the author's name as 'Stewarton' and so he is likely to be the same person.
25. Vol III at p.500.
26. I have been unable to find any record of the case itself but a short publication about it – *Papers on Charles James read to the Grand Jury for Westminster in the cause James versus George Francis Stuart, alias Count Stuarton, etc, 12 Feb 1808* (London: C. Roworth, 1808) – is in the British Library, General Reference Collection DRT Digital Store 1509/484.(4.) from which this information is taken.
27. Evidence was given in the form of letters from Sir George Yonge, Secretary at War, and Lord Amherst, Commander in Chief, that James had been refused permission to go to France with Lord Moira in 1793 because was then a Captain in the West Middlesex Militia and militia officers were not allowed to serve abroad.
28. See also https://thelatelord.com/tag/count-stuarton/ which suggests that Stuarton escaped to America to avoid arrest.
29. See https://www.worldcat.org/title/twenty-guineas-reward-the-king-versus-george-francis-stuart-alias-count-stuarton-whereas-it-has-hitherto-been-found-impracticable-to-trace-george-francis-stuart-alias-count-stuarton-author-of-the-revolutionary-plutarch-the-female-revolutionary-plutarch-the-life-of-talleyrand-this-is-to-offer-twenty-guineas-reward-to-any-person-or-persons-who-shall-give-information-to-james-seton-esq-so-that-the-judges-warrant-may-be-served/oclc/806246391&referer=brief_results. Although listed in WorldCat it is not in the British Library catalogue and this may be virtually the complete poster advertising the reward.

A Life and A Portrait

Alan Thwaite

The article by Sophie Reynolds about Mary Pearson in the *Annual Repor*t for 2019 is interesting in a number of respects, covering, as it does, aspects of the Pearsons' family life as well as Henry Austen's. This addendum provides more information about Lady Pearson, her last place of residence and her will.

One of the things we learn from the 2019 article is that Sir Richard Pearson, Mary's father, became a captain in 1773, at the age of 38. This is relatively late, from a promotion point of view. Though he progressed further through the ranks, there was little prospect of his reaching the heights gained by the two Austen brothers, who both became admirals. Promotion to that level was strictly based on the 'Captains' List'. The younger a man became a captain, the earlier he would become an admiral, always supposing that he lived long enough to fill, almost literally, a dead man's shoes. My attention was caught particularly by the reference to Sir Richard Pearson and HMS *Serapis*. This rang a bell.

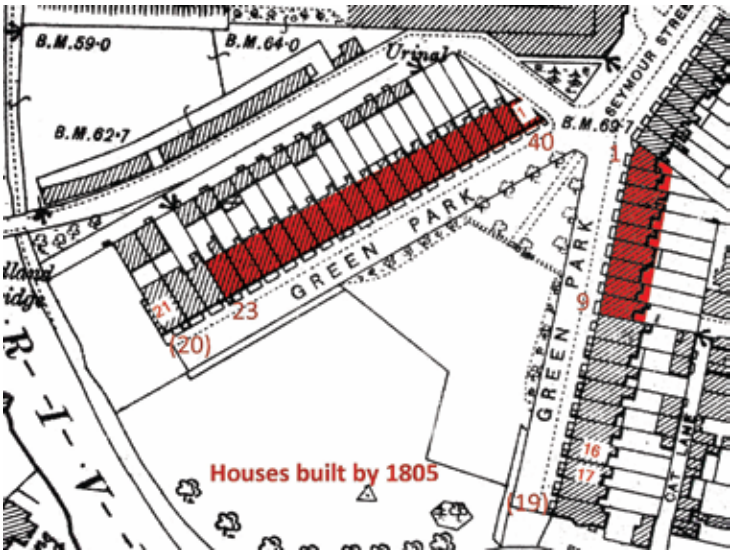
The Society's *Report* for 2016 contains my article 'Jane Austen's Green Park Neighbours',[1] in which I made the supposition that had Jane Austen been able to live at No.3 Green Park Buildings East until about 1810, she would have met other residents. I chose a selection from a wide range who were residents during the period 1805-1810. One I did not choose, because there was so little information about her, was Lady Margaret Pearson, Sir Richard's wife. Nevertheless, with her husband's career, there would have been matters that Jane Austen could have found in common with her and the lives of her naval brothers. On the other hand, she no doubt knew of Lady Pearson through the involvement of her daughter Mary with Jane's favourite brother, Henry. Their broken engagement would probably have resulted in an avoidance of Lady Pearson.

As Sophie Reynolds states, Sir Richard retired to the Royal Naval Hospital and eventually became lieutenant-governor. It states in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography that 'He died there in January 1806 and was probably buried in the hospital's vault'.[2] There is little information about his wife, Lady Margaret (née Harrison). My research, however, shows she died in Bath in 1816.

Lady Pearson's ability to pay rent for a suitable house is at least partially explained by information in a report in the *Salisbury & Winchester Journal* of Monday, 4 September, 1786 referring to London information of the previous Tuesday, which mentions Sir Richard:

> [The] Government have thought proper to grant a pension of £500. per ann. to Commodore Sir Richard Pearson, with reversion to Lady Pearson; also to appoint that gallant officer to the command of a guardship, as a compensation for his eminent services in that desperate action off Scarborough, when with so inferior a force he saved an immense Baltic fleet, with the whole trade of the North, from falling into the hands of that desperate marauder, the celebrated Paul Jones.

This reference to Scarborough and the Baltic fleet helps to confirm she is the appropriate Lady Pearson.



Map of Green Park, Bath, with indicative house numbers

Evidence that she moved to the rather odd-shaped No. 1 (later No. 40) at the north end of Green Park Place, West side, is provided by entries in various City, Poor and Water Rate books.[3] The, truncated right-angle triangle shape of the house is clearly shown on the Ordnance Survey map extract.[4] The Water Rate books take their title from the midsummer at the end of the twelve-month. That for 1808 therefore starts from midsummer 1807. It shows that a Mr Smyth, resident in one of the deceased Mr Phillips houses, No.1 Green Park Place, was to leave. In an added note it indicates that Lady Pearson was to move in sometime after 18 March that year, the date on which Mr Smyth paid £2 5s 0d of the £3 7s 6d due for the whole year.

Extract from the Water Rate Book for 1808

Interestingly, she paid the first portion of the water rate the following year but was in arrears to the tune of £1 2s 6d at midsummer 1809. By midsummer the following year, her payments were up to date. She also paid £2 2s 0d for the Poor Rate.

Extract from the Poor Rate Book for 1809.

There was also a City Rate, payable quarterly. For some reason, the amount payable by those residing in the then nine small houses on Green Park Buildings East, was 11s 3d for the period Michaelmas to Christmas 1807, whereas for the essentially mirror-image small houses on the West, it was 15s 0d. The entry for Mr Smyth at No. 1 indicates that he only paid half the rate, 7s 6d, for that period of 1807, with an additional note suggesting that the other half was required at Christmas. Was this because he was on the point of moving? Unfortunately I have not recorded later payments, which may clarify the matter. When she moved in, Lady Pearson would also have this rate to pay.

Extract from the Bath Directory for 1812

As well as her name appearing in the rate books it also appears, as one would expect, in the 'New Bath Directory', together with other Pearsons. Each of the rates records will show the presence of Lady Pearson up to the point she left, but the date is certain.

She must have anticipated the event as she added a codicil to her will, dated 'fifth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen'. Her obituary entry appeared in *The Times* of 18 June 1816. 'On Sunday morning, the 16th instant, at her house in Green-park-place, Bath, aged 72, Lady Pearson, relict of Sir Richard Pearson, late Lieut-Governor of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.' And also a slightly contradictory one in the Obituary column for the *Naval Chronicle*, 1816, (volume 36), which reads, 'On 18th June, at Bath, aged 72, Lady Pearson, relict of Sir Richard Pearson, lieutenant governor of Greenwich hospital …'

In her will, dated 2 January 1813, some three years before her death, Lady Margaret Pearson stated that Thomas Shepherd, Thomas Taylor and Richard Harrison Pearson were to act, as trustees and executors, for all her personal estate and effects. She also made provision for the replacement of any of them should they die in the meantime. The executors were, after paying various duties and fees, to convert into money that part of her estate which was not money, Parliamentary Stocks or public funds or Government Securities. The need for the statement 'to convert into money that part of her estate which was not money,' is clearly explained, by coincidence, in John Avery Jones's article 'Death duties on Jane Austen's estate', in the Society's 2019 *Report*.[5]

The remainder and any dividends or other income derived from her holdings were to be paid to her daughter Mary Pearson during her life, so long as she remained unmarried. If she married, her half, and any dividends or other income, was to 'be for her sole and separate use from [that of]…her husband'. The other half of the Stock funds and Securities would go to 'my daughter Hannah Frances Crozier wife of Rawson Boddam Crozier'. If Mary died, her portion would also go to Hannah Frances Crozier.

Presumably, Lady Pearson was settling the remainder of her holdings on Mary if she remained unmarried, because she would have been in greater need than her married sister. Once married, however, there would be no simple reason for them not to be treated equally.

The witnesses to the signing of the will were, (according to the transcribed copy of the will I have): 'T? Stephens No. 76 Green Park Buildings, R. Donkin General No. 17 Green Park Bath Buildings, Bath.'[6] They lived on the opposite side of Green Park from Lady Pearson. My own investigations show that there was a Colonel Stephens at No. 16 (not 76, there were only 40 houses in total) Green Park Buildings East, between 1810 and at least 1812 though not in 1814.[7] General Donkin lived next door at No.17, from 1808 until his death in 1821. Information about General Donkin is in my article 'Jane Austen's Green Park Neighbours', already mentioned.

There was also a Codicil, dated 'fifth day of May in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen'. Putting it in list format, it said, in essence: 'I give to:

- ‘my son Shepherd Pearson my silver soup Tureen’,
- ‘my son John Hodgson Pearson the silver Cup presented to Sir Richard Pearson by the Merchants and Insurers of Kingston upon Hull’,
- ‘my daughter Mary Higginson, my silver tea [?]’,
- ‘my son Richard Harrison Pearson all the residue of my plate’,
- To the care of ‘my sons, Shepherd Pearson and John Hodgson Pearson a picture of the engagement between Sir Richard Pearson and Paul Jones’,
- ‘my son Richard Harrison Pearson the remainder of my pictures’,
- ‘and whereas the said Mary Higginson late married since the making of my will now therefore I direct that my trustees shall stand possessed of one half of the money hereby given in trust for the said Mary Higginson after the marriage’ (as Sophie Reynolds mentions, Mary married Richard Higginson in December 1815),
  and
- ‘part of the Residue of my personal estate to my son Richard Harrison Pearson for his life and after his decease for (his?) wife Maria Pearson for her life’
  and
- ‘afterwards to transfer the principle of the Residue of her personal Estate to her granddaughter Maria Pearson, daughter of my son Richard Harrison Pearson’.

As before with her will, she signed the codicil ‘in the presence of us Stewart Crawford M.D. Bath, Jos J. Cume,[?] Bath.’
It was ‘PROVED at London with a codicil 28 Sept 1816’.

Notes

1. Alan Thwaite, ‘Jane Austen’s Green Park Neighbours’, The Jane Austen Society, *Report* for 2016, pp.55-62.
2. J. K. Laughton, Revd A.W.H. Pearsall, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Pearson, Sir Richard (1731–1806)
3. Alan Thwaite, ‘Jane Austen and Green Park Buildings, Bath’, The Jane Austen Society, *Report* for 2017, pp.48-55. This explains the various names and the renumbering of the two rows of houses at Green Park.
4. Ordnance Survey, Bath, 1888, 25 inches/mile, part.
5. John Avery Jones, ‘Death duties on Jane Austen’s estate’, The Jane Austen Society, *Report* for 2019, ‘Cassandra legacy duty account’, p.47
6. Copy of the transcribed will (with a number of undeciphered omissions) from Joan Fisher, in email correspondence, 1 September 2009.
7. The entries appear as Colonel Stephens in Poor Rate and Water Rate records, 1810, and New Bath Directory, 1812, and James Stephens in the November 1812 Poor Rate book.

Notes On Sales 2020

Christine Penney

This is the first time I have had to write these Notes without being able to submit them to the eagle eye of Deirdre Le Faye. Although I met her only twice we had a long correspondence, both by hand and by email, for twenty-four years, starting in 1996 when I took over these Notes from the late David Gilson, an equally generous mentor. I first came across Deirdre nearly fifty years ago, when she started her research on the Austen and Knight families and began contributing short pieces on them to *Notes and Queries,* which was delivered regularly to my desk. Struck initially by her unusual surname I soon looked for her in every issue and read her articles avidly. Like all her work they were beautifully written and absorbing. Her letters and cards, all of which I have kept, have been a constant delight, amusement and inspiration, as well as hundreds of emails, which continued until a few weeks before her death. The last card I had from her, in June 2020, showed a page from the Lindisfarne Gospels, which she must have seen often when she worked in the British Museum. Inside she wrote: 'Let's hope we meet in some celestial library stocked full of firsts by JA – and perhaps she will be there too to sign them! As always, Austenian Love & Freindship says it all'.

Manuscripts

In October my colleague at the University of Birmingham alerted me to the very fine second catalogue of Voewood, run by the two booksellers Simon Finch and Andrew Taylor. Sadly this was too late for Deirdre to see it. The first item, on which she would certainly have had something to say, was two albums of manuscript music compiled by Jane Austen, two of her sisters-in-law (Edward's wife Elizabeth and Henry's wife Eliza), two of her nieces (Fanny and Lizzy Knight) and three unidentified hands, dated c.1798-1835. Four songs in the first volume were in Jane's hand, identified by the way she wrote music and the highly distinctive manner in which she wrote the bass clef. The four songs were: 'No Riches from his Scanty Store', by Johan George Graeff, words by Helen Maria Williams; 'The Cheshire Tragedy' by James Hook; 'Hail Lovely Rose sung by Miss Tyrer in the Farce of Catch him who can' by Mr Hook and 'Before Jehovah's aweful throne' by Martin Madan. The songs as a whole dated from ca. 1600-1805 and included works by Dibdin, Handel, Haydn, Michael Kelly, Thomas Moore and William Shield. The two volumes, running to approximately 550 pages, were bound in modern half black morocco, the first having a red morocco label, lettered in gilt 'Songs, Duetts & Glees'. They were rediscovered, the catalogue said, in the 1990s by Henry Rice, a descendant of Lizzy. The price was available on application, but Jane Austen's House decided that, at six figures, it was beyond its means. I can report that it was sold, however, though the firm, understandably, could tell me neither the buyer nor the final price. Maureen Stiller referred me

to the article by Robert K. Wallace in the 1979 *Report* 'Jane Austen's neglected song book', about the manuscript then in the Chawton collection, and now in Jane Austen's House, which has insertions, including some songs, confidently believed to be in Jane's hand. The article was inspired by a book by Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: Music in the Life and Writing of Jane Austen* published in 1979. Reference is also made to an article by Mollie Sands 'Jane Austen and her music books' published in the 1956 *Report* (pages 91-3 in the collected *Reports* 1949-1965). Let us hope the owner of this new discovery will write about it one day.

First and early editions

Sense and Sensibility

Lot 438 at the Dominic Winter sale on 10 September comprised Vols. 1-2 only of the first edition, 1811 (Gilson A1) and Vol. 2 only of the first edition of *Pride and Prejudice*. The *Sense and Sensibility* lacked the half-titles and signature B12 in Vol. 2, replaced with a leaf of 19th century manuscript, now loose. The binding was near contemporary half calf, the front board detached. The front pastedown of Vol. 2 bore the bookplate of the Royal Calverley Library, Tunbridge Wells. The obvious imperfections of this Lot were reflected in the low estimate of £500 - £800. There must have been some disappointed bidders as the lucky seller scooped £7,000.

A copy of the second edition, 1813 (Gilson A2), bound without half-titles in half vellum with blue cloth boards, and with the ownership inscriptions M. Callcott, 1818, Lucy H. Callcott, 1845, Rosamund Brunel Gotch, 1886 and Rosamund Strode, 1949, was the first novel listed in Item 31 in Jarndyce's superb Catalogue 248. This was a collection of early editions of all the novels, purchased in Edinburgh in 1818 by Maria Graham, later Lady Callcott (1785-1842). She was well known as a writer of travel and children's books, the best known being *Little Arthur's History of England*, 1835. David Gilson notes in his bibliography (1997, page xxvi) that 'over the years a small number of collections of early editions of the novels has come to light, in uniform contemporary bindings'. He reported the sale of such a set, bound uniformly in half red morocco, in the *Report* for 1993 – Lot 228 at Sotheby's on 21-22 June which sold for £9,200. He quoted the bookseller Simon Finch's suggestion that the two early publishers, Egerton and Murray, may have combined to market remaining copies of the novels as sets after the publication of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* in 1818. This set was first bound in Oxford in 1834 but the present uniform binding, in half vellum with blue cloth boards, was done in 1896, also in Oxford. Full details of provenance, from Maria Callcott to Rosamund Strode, who were all members of Lady Callcott's family, were on the leading blanks of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (recorded below). The last owner, Rosamund Strode, was Keeper of Manuscripts at the Britten-Pears Library; when she died in 2010 the set was found on top of the grand piano at her house in Aldeburgh. The price for the entire

collection was £55,000 – quite a bargain at £11,000 per novel. Let us hope the set stays together.

Lot 32 at Bonhams on 17 December was a set of copies of Richard Bentley's Standard Novels editions, 1833, comprising all the novels except *Pride and Prejudice*. They were uniformly bound in contemporary half calf, gilt, over marbled boards. The set was estimated at £800 - £1,200 and sold for £2,805. The copy of *Sense and Sensibility* (Gilson D1) lacked the final blank.

Pride and Prejudice

The incomplete copy of the first edition, 1813 (Gilson A3), Vol.2 only, part of Lot 438 in the Dominic Winter sale on 10 September, mentioned above, was bound in 19th century cloth. It had the half-title but lacked signatures B1 and F1. The title-page and the verso of the half-title bore the ownership inscription 'Miss Jane Macdonald, London, Jun [sic] 1817'. I wonder what became of Vols. 1 and 3. Missed from last year's Notes was Lot 324 at Christie's on 11 December 2019, comprising a handsome complete copy of the first edition. It lacked the half-titles and was bound in contemporary calf, the sides with double gilt-ruled borders, gilt fleurons to the corners and gilt spines with green morocco labels. It had the bookplates of John Peyto-Verney, 15th Baron Willoughby de Broke (1762-1820) and of Robert Verney, the 17th Baron (1809-1862). The catalogue entry regaled us with the surprising information that the 15th Baron's residence, Compton Verney in Warwickshire, 'is thought to have inspired the fictional Thornton Lacey in *Mansfield Park*'. Compton Verney, with its Capability Brown park, is far too grand to have inspired Edmund Bertram's modest parsonage and probably too old to have been a model for Mansfield Park, but never mind. The estimate of £20,000 - £30,000 was more than doubled by the result of £62,500.

A copy of the third edition, 1817 (Gilson A5) was the second novel listed in Item 31 in Jarndyce's Catalogue 248. Binding and provenance details are recorded above. The copy was slightly browned with occasional light foxing, had a small marginal tear on p.67, and an old paper repair on p.359. Item 34 in Jarndyce's Catalogue 248 was a copy of Richard Bentley's Standard Novels edition, 1833 (Gilson D5). The binding was the original glazed plum cloth, with black paper labels blocked in gilt, and it had the signature of S. Ramsden Roe, November 1833. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, records the marriage of the Reverend Samuel Ramsden Roe of Grafton, Manor House, Worcestershire. The price was £2,500.

Mansfield Park

Lot 64 at Sotheby's, in their online summer miscellany auction, with bidding from 28 July - 4 August, was a copy of the first edition, 1814 (Gilson A6). The bindings, in half calf with marbled sides and endpapers, were worn with some loss and slightly scorched in places; the hinges were split. The estimate was £3,000 - £5,000 but it failed to sell. Another copy was Item 6 in Peter Harrington's Catalogue 169. This was bound in near contemporary half purple morocco with

marbled sides, the spines lettered in gilt. It lacked the half-titles. The signature of Henrietta Malone was on the title page of Vol.1. The price was £17,500.

A copy of the second edition, 1816 (Gilson A7) was the third novel listed in the set offered by Jarndyce in his catalogue 248 (Item 31) recorded above, uniformly bound with the others and with various small holes and marginal tears. A copy of Richard Bentley's Standard Novels edition, 1833 (Gilson D3) was part of Lot 32 at Bonhams on 17 December, mentioned above. It lacked the advertisement leaf.

Emma

Item 32 in Jarndyce's Catalogue 248 was a copy of the first edition, 1816 (Gilson A8). It was bound without half titles in contemporary full tan calf, blind-stamped floral borders with fleur de-lys cornerpieces, spines lettered and ruled in gilt and with blind-stamped devices. Contemporary signatures of Mary Rawson were on the leading pastedown of each volume together with later armorial bookplates of the Viscounts Mountgarret, of Stanley Hall near Harrogate, Yorkshire. The price was £16,500. Another copy was the fourth novel listed in Item 31 by Jarndyce in his Catalogue 248, recorded above, uniformly bound with the rest of the set. A minor paper flaw, some small tears and some strengthening to margins in Vol. 1 were present. A copy of Richard Bentley's Standard Novels edition, 1833 (Gilson D2) was part of Lot 32 at Bonhams on 17 December, mentioned above.

Northanger Abbey and Persuasion

A copy of the first edition, 1818 (Gilson A9) was Item 7 in Peter Harrington's Catalogue 169. It was bound in contemporary half calf, lacking the half titles in Vols.2 - 4. The signature of M. Law was on the title pages. The price was £15,000. Another copy was the fifth item listed in Item 31 in Jarndyce's Catalogue 248, mentioned above. Uniformly bound with the rest of the set, the title page to Vol. I was neatly strengthened at the gutter margin. A copy of Richard Bentley's Standard Novels edition, 1833 (Gilson D4) was part of Lot 32, at Bonhams on 17 December, mentioned above.

Other material

An exciting acquisition for the library at Chawton House, reported in *The Times* and kindly described for me by Emma Yandle, the Curator and Collections Manager at Chawton, was a recovered 'stray' from Edward Knight's library at Godmersham – a two-volume set of William Cowper's poems, consisting of two works first published separately but later bound together. The two works were *Poems,*1782 (lettered as Vol. I) and *The Task,* 1785 (lettered as Vol. II). They were bound in contemporary tree calf with morocco spine labels. The front board of Vol.I was restored and the spines were dry and rubbed. Vol. I had the large roundel bookplate of Edward's grandson, Montagu George Knight, and the earlier library shelf-marks, J9 27-7. Evidence of use appeared in scattered underlinings or marks in the margins throughout, usually in pencil but occasionally in pen or

red crayon. Originally purchased at a provincial auction the sale was a private one to Chawton, made in November and assisted by a grant from the Friends of the National Libraries and funds raised by the Godmersham Lost Sheep Society (GLOSS). Peter Sabor's article featuring GLOSS in last year's *Report* carries advance information on this purchase, promised to Chawton once funding was available. The article also includes a photograph of the opening of the first volume, showing the bookplate and shelf-mark on the pastedown. In addition to the pleasure of recovering a lost book from Godmersham, the principal delight is, of course, its association with Jane Austen, who must almost certainly have read her favourite poet when staying there. There are several references to him in her work: Mrs Dashwood in *Sense and Sensibility*: "'You *would* give him Cowper"'; Fanny Price in *Mansfield Park*: '"Cut down an avenue! What a pity! Does not it make you think of Cowper? 'Ye fallen avenues, once more I mourn your fate unmerited'"' (*The Task,* Book I) and 'Her eagerness, her impatience, her longings to be with them, were such as to bring a line or two of Cowper's *Tirocinium* for ever before her. 'With what intense desire she wants her home' was continually on her tongue, as the truest description of a yearning which she could not suppose any school-boy's bosom to feel more keenly' – and Jane herself wrote about their plans for the garden in Southampton (Letter 50, 8-9 February 1807): 'I could not do without a Syringa, for the sake of Cowper's Line. – We talk also of a Laburnum'. (*The Task*, Book VI – "Laburnum, rich/In streaming gold, syringa, iv'ry pure").

Lot 115 at Bonhams on 19 August was another attempt to sell a copy of the Revd Thomas Jefferson's *Two Sermons, on the Reasonableness, and Salutary Effects of Fearing God, As Governor and Judge of the World,* 1808, with a number of Austen subscribers, including Cassandra, Jane and their mother. This book is mentioned in Gilson, 1997, page 433. The first, unsuccessful, attempt, estimated at £1,000 - £1,500, had taken place on 11 March and was described, a year early, in my Notes for 2019. The estimate this time was much lower – £300 - £500, but it did well, selling for £1,147.

The portrait miniature of Mary Pearson, Henry Austen's temporary fiancée, painted in 1798 by William Wood (1769-1810), and purchased for Jane Austen's House in March, is described by Sophie Reynolds in the 2019 *Report* and by Marilyn Joice in *Impressions* No. 63. Both publications include an illustration in colour, that for the *Report* appearing on the front cover. I also heard a good deal on the subject from Deirdre. The oval painting is watercolour on ivory, in a new gold frame, re-manufactured from the original 18th century one, which had been set within a later wooden surround to allow it to hang on a wall. The reverse of this later frame held a plaited lock of Mary's hair with an ink inscription: 'Mary Pearson, daughter of Captain Sir Richard Pearson of the Royal Navy who married twice, once to Captain Richard Higginson of Royal Marines & then to Reverend Richard Mason'. The provenance was family descent. It is listed in the artist's fee book in the National Art Library as no. 5575 – 'Miss Mary Pearson, daughter of Sir Richard P, Royal Hos. Greenwich' and is dated as 'finished 5 May 1798'. The

vendor was Philip Mould Ltd and the price £6,800 plus VAT. The purchase was assisted by the Art Fund and the Beecroft Bequest.

Forum Auctions had two interesting Lots in their sale on 9 June. The first was Lot 10, a collection of manuscript miscellanies, mainly verses, songs and poems dated between 1750 and 1788, some of them relating to the Austen family theatricals at Steventon. They included James Austen's Prologue and Epilogue to *The Wonder,* acted there in 1787 and his prologues to *The Chances* and *Tom Thumb,* both acted in 1788. There was also an extract from *The Aeneid,* apparently assigned to Jane's cousin Edward Cooper, and other family verses. The collection appeared to have been compiled either by one of the cousins, possibly the Coopers, or someone close to the family. The manuscript, running to 207 pages, was bound in the original speckled calf, ruled throughout. The front pastedown was inscribed 'Russell Miss Beaminster' (Thomas Russell, 1752-1788, had contributed some verses on Cervantes). A 20th century pencil inscription by James Steven Cox was on a piece of blotting paper loosely inserted and the lower pastedown was inscribed 'Receipt Book for Wages,1780'. Altogether an intriguing collection which the Jane Austen's House considered, but Deirdre was sceptical, suggesting the only interesting item in the collection was one described as 'Prologue upon the opening of the Lilliputian Theatre, spoken by Miss J: -– or C.E. [?Jane and Cassandra Elizabeth Austen, aged 7 and 9 at the time] for a Puppet in the dress of a little Girl – by Dr Ekins – Dean of Carlisle, [not before 1782]'. 'If this really was spoken by either Jane or Cassandra', Deirdre wrote, 'that definitely would be new. And although Dr Ekins is down as Dean of Carlisle, the Austens did know him – see reference to Ekins family in the Letters'. But the museum, perhaps wisely, did not bid. The estimate was £8,000 - £12,000 and it sold for £10,000.

The second item in the sale was Lot 218, a mounted watercolour of Chawton House amid trees, dated ca. 1830. Estimated at £400 - £600 it realised £650.

Lot 659 at Dominic Winter on 27 May was a small group of manuscript ephemera relating to Francis Motley Austen (1747-1815), the son of Jane's great uncle Francis (1698-1791), and his two sons, Francis Lucius (1773-1815) and George Lennard (1786-1845). They comprised a number of legal documents, relating to tenancy agreements, a copy of Francis Motley's will dated 1812-1815 and a manuscript declaration by George Lennard stating that he was the executor of his brother Francis's will dated 15 October 1832. The estimate was £400 - £600 but the rather slender connection with their distant cousin Jane evidently did not inspire robust bidding; the Lot sold for only £300.

Lot 25 at the Christie's online sale, 9 – 30 July, was a pair of George III silver chamber candlesticks, used to light people to bed at night, which, the catalogue suggests, may have been used by the Austens when they lived at Steventon. They bore the heraldic crest used by the Austens of Grovehurst and Broadford – *On a mural crown or, a stag sejant argent, attired* – which was also used by other members of the family. The catalogue suggested that George Austen was one of four possible owners, the other three being his cousins, John (1726-1807), Francis Motley (1747-1815) and Harry (1726-1807). Other family members were

either too old or too young to be buying new silverware. In support of George Austen's possible ownership the catalogue went on to say: 'There is evidence that he owned silver, as Jane and her mother arranged for some 'old or useless silver' to be melted down in 1808 and converted to new spoons'. This somewhat thin evidence appears in Jane's Letter no. 63, 27 December 1808, where she says 'My Mother has been lately adding to her possessions in plate – a whole Tablespoon & a whole dessert-spoon, & six whole Teaspoons, which makes our sideboard border on the Magnificent. They were mostly the produce of old, or useless silver'. The catalogue also provided evidence of George Austen's use of the crest, in an unacknowledged extract from the Anna Lefroy manuscript, quoted in Deirdre's *Jane Austen: A Family Record*. Anna records her grandfather's purchase of a carriage in 1797 'which, not unnaturally, bore on its pannels [*sic*] the family crest: namely a Stag on a Crown Mural'. Not that he kept it very long. Deirdre tells us that, with new taxes, it soon became too expensive to run so it was put into store before the winter of 1798 and Cassandra and Jane had to put on their pattens again. The candlesticks were described as plain circular with urn-shaped sockets and detachable nozzles and snuffers, the crest engraved on the well, nozzle and snuffer of each. The worn condition suggested they saw regular use. The estimate was £3,000 - £5,000 and they sold for £4,375.

Finally, I can report four items spotted by Karen Ievers who discovered the photograph album mentioned in my Notes in the 2019 *Report*. John Adams and Sons, Dublin offered on 13 October (no Lot number) a copy of Matthew Prior's *Poetical Works*, 1779 in two volumes, bound in full light calf with gilt designs and decorations on the spines and crimson and green morocco title labels. It had two interesting bookplates – that of Jane Austen's uncle, James Leigh-Perrot, in Vol. I and of Richard Brinsley Sheridan (stuck on top of Perrot's) in Vol. II. This edition was dedicated to Sheridan by the publisher but it appears that Perrot was the first owner. The estimate was 700 - 1,000 euros but it did not sell.

A purchase from a bookseller was a volume belonging to Jane's nephew Edward Knight: *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow,* 1850. It was signed and annotated by Edward.

On 22-24 October 2019, Lawrence Auctioneers Ltd offered two black and white portrait prints of Jane's brother, Admiral Sir Francis Austen, together with a set of six buttons from his dress tunic and a letter of provenance from Irmgard Austen dated 15 November 2010. This read as follows: 'The buttons and prints came from the estate of David Norrie Austen (died Chislehurst, March 2010) by direct descent from Admiral Sir Francis Austen. Following the death of my husband it was necessary to clear quite a few things he had acquired from various relatives. Many of these had not seen the light of day for many decades. The buttons I knew were from Sir Francis Austen's tunic as David kept one of the buttons on his key ring'. Karen tells me the collection was sold first for Mrs Austen in 2010. She spotted them in 2019 when they came up for sale again and succeeded in acquiring them. The lot consisted of two framed prints (27.5 cm. x

32 cm. & 42 cm. x 34 cm.) of Sir Francis Austen, in full naval dress uniform. Accompanying the prints were the six silver buttons in a velvet lined wooden box. The buttons featured the Austen crest (described above) and the reverse of each bore the name, 'Firmin & Sons, 153 Strand, London'. According to Tony Kelly, Sales Manager at Firmin & Sons, the buttons would have been supplied from their premises in The Strand, London and manufactured after 1760.

Last but not least Karen spotted on eBay last year an item which has now reappeared on their website: an 18th century pewter bowl, formerly in the church at Adlestrop where Mrs Austen's cousin, the Revd Thomas Leigh (1734-1813) was rector from 1762. The underside of the bowl was stamped 'ADDELSTRAP [*sic*] CHURCH BASON 1738'. It was made by Samuel Ellis who worked in London from 1721-1765. The vendor said that Jane must have seen it on her visits to Adlestrop and may even have handled it. So the starting price was £1,000.

Karen Ievers is an indefatigable sleuth, who was much appreciated by Deirdre, and I look forward to many more such discoveries in future.

Jane Austen Studies 2020

Rita J. Dashwood

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The Founding of the Jane Austen Society and the Annual Reports: Love and Knowledge

E.J. Clery

All great writers of the past need their gang, their cheerleaders, their self-elected descendants who will carry their words into the future and champion them. This is especially true of great women writers, most of whom enjoyed little of the public acclaim and official honours routinely accorded to male counterparts. Literary societies are about love, fantasy, fellowship, fun, and nostalgia. But they are very often also about conservation, curiosity, archives, the production of knowledge and the sharing of ideas. The Jane Austen Society, founded in 1940 and therefore celebrating its 80th anniversary in 2020, is exemplary in both regards.

When preparing this article to mark the anniversary, I asked the current Trustees of the Jane Austen Society how they came to be involved in the running of it. Very often, somewhat contrary to expectations, they came to love her work when studying one of her novels for examination at 'A' Level. Involvement in the Society came later in life, and was frequently motivated by ties of friendship. Gathering to share the appreciation of books, accompanied by tea and cake, is of course an essential part of the existence of a successful literary society. However, the first Covid lockdown, when meetings in person were prohibited, was a good moment to consider the alternative side: intellectual discovery, a feature of the organisation from the outset.

In Chawton village there is a plaque on the wall of Jane Austen's House reading:

Jane Austen's Home
given by
Thomas Edward Carpenter, J.P., of Mill Hill
in memory of his son
Lieut. Philip John Carpenter.
East Surrey Regt.
killed in action, Lake Trasimene, 1944.
Opened 1949 by The Duke of Wellington, K.G.
President of The Jane Austen Society,
Founded 1940 by Dorothy Darnell, of Alton

A great deal of thought must have gone into this inscription. In the largest lettering it records the emotional investment made by Thomas Edward Carpenter when he decided to create a museum by purchasing and restoring the cottage where Jane Austen once lived. It also commemorates a PR triumph: persuading a major figure in the social and political establishment, the Duke of Wellington, not only to serve as President for the budding JAS but also to open the house,

gaining maximum publicity. Only at the bottom do we find the founder of the Society and that date, nine years before the opening of the house, 1940: the year we commemorated in 2020. Unlike the men, Dorothy has no title, professional or inherited, no institutional connections to flourish, she is simply 'of Alton', the market town neighbouring Chawton. She was apparently the most modest and self-effacing of women; we know very little about her. Yet when the wording of the inscription was being decided there must have been gentle insistence, perhaps by fellow members of the Society, that her name appear there, solo, as founder, and '1940', not 1949, should be recorded as the point of origin, in memory of the small meeting at her home on 29 May 1940 that launched a new literary society.[1] She should not be considered an afterthought on the plaque: she is the main driver, the foundation of it all.

Dorothy first became aware of the Jane Austen's connection with the Cottage when she was living in London, and regularly drove to visit her parents at Portsea, near Portsmouth. On one occasion she was held up on her way to the coast by congestion at the cross-roads in Chawton, when the Gosport Road running through the village was still a major artery. Curious about the parked cars creating a bottleneck near an undistinguished building, she asked an A.A. guide on duty if it had been Jane's home. 'Yes,' the man exploded, 'She's the plague of my life!'.[2]

In the early 1930s, Dorothy moved from London to live with her sisters Beatrix and Elizabeth in a house called 'Jordans' on Old Odiham Road just outside Alton. One day in the late 1930s she was out walking and came across a cast-iron grate of the Regency period which had been ripped from the dining parlour of Jane Austen's house to make way for a gas fire. It had been dumped unceremoniously on a bed of nettles next to the neighbouring forge, waiting to be melted down. She rescued the grate but was uncertain what to do with it, and was eventually directed to Hugh Curtis. He was a man with deep roots in the Alton community, the great-grandson of Jane Austen's own apothecary, and honorary curator of a museum of local history founded by his father. Mr Curtis agreed to house the grate as a temporary measure.

The fire grate discovered and saved by Dorothy Darnell. Photograph by Peter Smith. Courtesy of JAH

Today, the fire grate has been restored to Chawton Cottage, along with a great many other objects that were tracked down and retrieved largely as a result of the tireless efforts of the first two Jane Austen Society secretaries, Dorothy Darnell and Elizabeth Jenkins. They wrote numerous letters to the extended Austen family and to auction rooms, exploring every avenue for recovering objects for the future museum. Dorothy also gathered up every scrap of oral tradition in the vicinity relating to Jane Austen. The front parlour of Jane Austen's House at Chawton Cottage, which today houses both the grate and the small table at which we believe the great novelist wrote her works, is at one level a shrine, a collection of relics gathered for the love of literature. At the same time it is the product of meticulous research, right down to the recent addition of the authentic wallpaper. Dorothy and Elizabeth were not professional historians or literary scholars, but they had a wealth of what now are called transferable skills which they brought from their working lives.

At the time I was preparing this piece in the spring of 2020, if you looked for Dorothy Darnell online one could find very little – no entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; no page in Wikipedia. I am delighted to note that one has been added since. Back then, Google Search asked if I meant the Hollywood star of the 1940s and 50s, Linda Darnell. Dorothy, born in Scotland in 1876, had a career as an artist. She daringly chose to study with the anti-establishment figure William Nicholson (father of the modernist painter Ben Nicholson), who refused to exhibit at the Royal Academy and was a force to be reckoned with in fin de siècle London, living the bohemian life while involved in theatre and pioneering graphic arts before gaining celebrity and eventually a knighthood for his portraiture.

Dorothy Darnell, too, became a portraitist. One of her sitters was Emily Daymond, another woman, rare at the time, who attempted to make her way in the creative arts, a brilliant scholarship student at the Royal College of Music in the year that it opened 1883. She went on to gain bachelor of music and doctoral degrees at Oxford University, although women were barred from claiming their qualifications until 1920. She taught at the Royal College of Music from 1908 to 1921 and became a research specialist on the music of the troubadours. In the portrait, she is wearing an academic robe. It seems likely that Dorothy came to know her through her sister Beatrix, who also studied at the RCM, gaining an Honours degree, then an administrative post there.[3] Dorothy Darnell's portrait speaks of the era of the New Woman, the Suffragettes and Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, based on a talk delivered to the women's colleges at Cambridge in 1928.

Another work by Dorothy Darnell, 'Study of a Female Figure', in Hampshire County Council's Fine Art Collection, shows a young woman in folk costume leaning tenderly over the large copper flagon she is polishing. You can see, as in William Nicholson's still-life painting, the influence of Spanish seventeenth-century art, notably Velasquez. Is it fanciful also to see in this study of the cleaning of a cherished household object, something of the love and care for domestic

historical artefacts that fired Dorothy Darnell's determination to rescue the fire grate, restore it to its place, and educate the public about the conditions in which Jane Austen lived and wrote?

Dorothy Darnell portrait of Emily Daymond (1886-1949).
Permission of the Royal College of Music / ArenaPA

'Study of a Female Figure' by Dorothy Darnell.
Courtesy of the Hampshire Cultural Trust

An article by Stephanie Emo, written for the Jane Austen's House 41 Objects exhibition in 2017, eloquently explains how the parlour grate can serve as a portal to the past, based in part on her experience of many years serving as a volunteer steward at the Cottage:

> It is fitting that a few months before [Dorothy Darnell's] death in 1953, the dining parlour at the Museum was opened to the public with the grate finally restored to its original position.
>
> In the quiet of the early morning it's easy to stand in front of the fireplace and imagine Jane here, key to the tea cupboard in hand and the kettle on the hob. That we have the privilege to do so is down to the tenacity of Miss Dorothy Darnell.[4]

While Dorothy Darnell in this way provided the kindling for the founding of the Society, it could not have blazed up as it did without the contributions of three others. Beatrix Darnell was the Society's original treasurer; Dorothy and Elizabeth Jenkins were joint secretaries, and Hugh Curtis was chairman. Beatrix didn't cherish quite the same passion for Jane Austen as Dorothy, but she had no choice about joining in. Dorothy declared: 'I must have Beatrix, because I couldn't get on without her'.[5] After Elizabeth's death in 1946, Dorothy and Beatrix moved to Brook Cottage, Lenten Street near the centre of town, devoted to each other like Jane and Cassandra.

Dorothy probably contacted Elizabeth Jenkins after recovering the fire grate, because the latter had just published, in 1938, the first research-based biography of Jane Austen. Elizabeth Jenkins was a full generation younger than Dorothy Darnell. Her father, a headmaster, encouraged her writing and she went to Cambridge University where she read English and History. She became a prolific author, publishing nine novels and six biographies. Her tendency to self-effacement could be extreme. When the Virago Press came to republish her classic 1954 novel *The Tortoise and the Hare* the author image was replaced with a cipher at her request. Her first novel *Virginia Water* was published in 1929 when she was twenty-four, and Virginia Woolf, whom she knew, called it in her diary 'a sweet white grape'; but Elizabeth bought up copies to destroy them and excised mention of this and her other two earliest works of fiction from her entry in *Who's Who*.

Yet there was also a playful assertiveness in her penchant for bringing forward historical figures called 'Elizabeth'. Her most successful biography, aside from that on Jane Austen, was titled *Elizabeth the Great*, and there was surely a feminist spirit at work in her decision to produce a collection of short biographies of a number of forgotten heroines defiantly called *Ten Fascinating Women*. Like Jane Austen in her lifetime, she was a writer's writer, and she further shared with her, and with the Darnell sisters, a retiring nature and the single state. None of the three female founders married, and their relative freedom from domestic duties may have had something to do with the success of their remarkable enterprise.

(Margaret) Elizabeth Jenkins, by Bassano Ltd.
Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery

Hugh Curtis was also quickly enlisted. Elizabeth Jenkins recalled, 'The afternoon that Dorothy Darnell first spoke to me of her idea of founding a Jane Austen Society, with a view to making the house at Chawton available to the public, she said: "We must get hold of Mr Curtis."'[6] It was probably through him that they were able to get the agreement of Edward Knight to sell the house for £3,000, leading to the extensive fund-raising campaign and eventually the involvement of Mr Carpenter as benefactor.

Elizabeth Jenkins was to become the chronicler of the early years of the Jane Austen Society in the pages of its *Annual Reports*. There, in her obituary of Dorothy Darnell in 1953, she spoke of the daunting difficulties that stood in the way of her aim; she wanted to make the house 'a suitable memorial' but 'she had no money and no influence and did not see how the thing could be done'. Furthermore, 'We were told on all hands that if such a scheme could ever succeed, it must be postponed indefinitely.'[7] It was now apparent the war would be a long, gruelling conflict.

My guess is that Elizabeth Jenkins herself was responsible for the next decisive step in the progress of the Society. For her biography of Jane Austen, she made use of the new scholarly work on Austen's writings coming from Oxford University. Now she probably used her contacts there to bring on board Dr R.W. Chapman and Mary Lascelles in an advisory capacity. Robert William Chapman made a huge impact in the 1920s and 30s with his standard edition of the collected works of Jane Austen, in the wake of the first scholarly edition of an Austen novel, *Pride and Prejudice* in 1912, by his future wife Katherine Metcalfe. Mary

Lascelles was a fellow at Somerville College Oxford, whose pioneering critical study *Jane Austen and Her Art* (1939) became a classic, cited to this day. Both she and R.W. Chapman agreed to become trustees of the Jane Austen Memorial Trust alongside Dorothy Darnell, Hugh Curtis and Mr Carpenter.

The opening of the museum, Dorothy Darnell at the front, and Thomas Edward Carpenter on the right. Courtesy of JAH

The main objective of the Memorial Trust was achieved in 1949 with the opening of Jane Austen's House Museum to the public, but this was only the beginning for the Jane Austen Society, which took a separate path from 1955 while maintaining a close connection. Elizabeth Jenkins had already turned her attention to producing an 'Annual Report' on the society's plans and activities. The first report, published in 1950, was just eight pages long, but already contained fascinating archival work, including historical photographs, a list of all 'Hampshire-born' Austens, and a catalogue of garden plants used in Jane Austen's time, based on the botanical researches of one of Mr Curtis's ancestors. Today, in addition to reports from branches and groups of the Society, accounts and other ongoing business, each *Annual Report* is over one hundred pages long, and contains at least ten articles, plentiful illustrations, and a transcript of the talk by a distinguished speaker at the Society's Annual General Meeting. David Selwyn, a long-time editor of the *Annual Report* who himself published superb research on Jane Austen, put it very well in the preface to one of the collected volumes: '…the history of the society is inextricably bound up with the development of research into Jane Austen, and might be said to be a part of it'.[8] The highest standards have been maintained, thanks to the involvement of such dedicated and celebrated Austen scholars as Brian Southam, Deirdre Le Faye, Maggie Lane and Hazel Jones.

The *Annual Report*, in its seventieth year in 2020, constitutes the other house the Jane Austen Society has made available to the public: the House that Research

Built. It has become something of a home for me, and I'll briefly explain why, as an example of the value of this journal. In 2012 I began a project researching women writers of the Romantic-era in the context of the economic debates of the time. I was intrigued by the fact that Henry Austen, Jane's favourite brother, was a banker, but could find barely a mention of it in the mountain of academic books devoted to her. Instead, the topic had been investigated almost exclusively in the pages of the *Annual Report*. There I was able to draw on a wealth of pioneering research, mainly conducted by T.A.B. Corley and Clive Caplan. Tony Corley led the way in exploring the collapse of Henry's bank, referred to in Jane's letters and obliquely in her last novel *Persuasion* and the fragment *Sanditon*. He and Clive then worked in tandem, exchanging sources and covering an extraordinary span of Henry's activities and involvements. Clive Caplan was a retired medical doctor, who brought a forensic use of evidence to his second career as a Jane Austen scholar. A life member of JASNA, his papers on Jane and Henry Austen now form part of the Manuscript Collection at Goucher College in Maryland.[9] Tony Corley was an economic and business historian by profession, who retired in 1988 from a post at the University of Reading. He served in the navy during World War II and for a time worked at the Bank of England, so he was exceptionally well-qualified to examine and interpret Henry Austen's linked military and financial career. In his case, the love of research had over-spilled the boundaries of academic specialisation. He told me that he first started investigating aspects of Jane Austen's life, including her connections with Reading, to occupy the evenings after the death of his wife, when his children were young. He died in 2018 at the age of ninety-five, still interested in research, and in particular the activities of Henry Austen's scurrilous secret business partner, Charles James. He gave me a gift which has put me forever in his debt: a complete set of Jane Austen Society *Collected* and *Annual Reports*. I have since combed through it again and again, searching for answers to various Jane Austen questions, and coming across all sorts of delightful serendipity along the way.

After becoming a Trustee of the Jane Austen Society in 2019, my first priority was to assist in making past volumes of the *Annual Report* accessible in digital form online. The Digital Scholarship unit at University of Southampton, having completed mass digitisation project on eighteenth-century parliamentary records and nineteenth-century pamphlets, were enthusiastic and helpful about this smaller-scale task relating to a Hampshire author. In 2020, the 80th birthday year of the Society, the *Annual Reports* online were launched. Past *Annual Reports* can be accessed via the JAS UK website, courtesy of University of Southampton, at: https://archive.org/details/@jane_austen_society Members of the Jane Austen Society will continue to have prior access, receiving print copies of the journal two years in advance of online publication. Through their membership they are, among other benefits, sustaining an environment for cutting edge detective work of the sort I've mentioned.

Love of the writings of Jane Austen fuels the Society, but knowledge is also integral. We keep asking new questions and learning more, and this constantly

shifts our understanding and appreciation of the writings. Returning to the replies of the Trustees when asked about the origins of their enthusiasm, Elizabeth Proudman remembered reading all six of the novels during the school summer holidays and 'the black gloom that settled on me … when I realised that I had read them all, and there were no more'. As she noted, that gloom, which all of us know, can best be relieved by talking and writing about the texts that miraculously exist. Companionship with fellow enthusiasts was, overall, the aspect of the Society most highly valued, but intellectual stimulus also loomed large. Richard Jenkyns, Chair of the Society, encapsulated these complementary aspects in the phrase 'the shared pursuit of serious pleasure'.

The period following the pandemic seems a good moment to take stock and celebrate this other side to the activity of many societies, not least the Jane Austen Society: producing and communicating knowledge beyond academic study, as part of a wider ecosystem of lifelong education and research. There should be government investment in lifelong learning, but let's not undervalue the role played by literary societies. People have been doing it for themselves for many years. We need to expand our ideas of what counts as a research community.

Notes

1. Grateful thanks to Maureen Stiller, Honorary Secretary of the Jane Austen Society UK, for further information about the minutes from the first meetings cited in her article 'The Jane Austen Society celebrates its 80th birthday this year', *The Jane Austen Society Newsletter*, no. 54, Spring 2020.
2. Elizabeth Jenkins, ' "Many a Good Laugh",' *Collected Reports*, vol. 1, 1949-1965, p.112.
3. Jane Hurst notes in a private communication: '[Amy] Beatrix was musical and seems to have been Lady Superintendent of the Royal School of Music between 1919 and 1939. She looked after the general welfare of students. She became a Fellow in 1964.'
4. My thanks to Susie Gilmour of JAH for sending the image and article.
5. Elizabeth Jenkins, 'Beatrix Darnell,' *Collected Reports 1966-1975,* vol. 2, p.96.
6. Elizabeth Jenkins, 'William Hugh Curtis', *AR* 1957. I am grateful to Jane Hurst for information regarding Dorothy Darnell's homes in the Alton areas and on Mr Curtis, see her article '"We must get hold of Mr Curtis,"' *Alton Papers 2019*, where his remarkably wide experience of work in societies is noted.
7. Elizabeth Jenkins, 'Miss Dorothy Darnell,' *Collected Reports 1949-1965*, vol. 1, p.45.
8. David Selwyn, Preface to *Collected Reports 1996-2000*, vol. 5.
9. https://www.goucher.edu/library/special-collections-and-archives/special-collections/jane-austen-collections.

Contributors

Helen Atkinson is a scientific and clinical researcher who obtained her doctorate from the University of Western Australia. She was born 'in the very heart of Bristol' and has spent her life alternating between England and Australia, where she has been active in the Jane Austen Societies of both countries.

John Avery Jones CBE is a retired Judge of the Upper Tribunal (Tax and Chancery Chamber) and a retired visiting professor at the London School of Economics. He is currently working on a paper on Henry Austen's bankruptcy, and one on Receivers-General of Taxation using Henry Austen as an illustration.

Janine Barchas is the Louann and Larry Temple Centennial Professor of English Literature at the University of Texas at Austin. She is the author of two books about Austen, including most recently *The Lost Books of Jane Austen*. She is the creator behind the digital humanities project *What Jane Saw* (www.whatjanesaw.org) and co-curator of the 2016 'Will & Jane' exhibition at the Folger Shakespeare Library. Her essays have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Review of Books*, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Lit Hub,* and elsewhere.

Alanah Buck is a forensic scientist by profession, who received her doctorate from the University of Western Australia. She has previously published in the *Annual Report* and has a long-standing interest in Jane Austen's life and times. Alanah has been a member of the Jane Austen Society in Australia.

Cheryl Butler read History at Winchester and Southampton Universities. She is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Society of Arts. She sits on the editorial board of the Southampton Records Series and the Hampshire Papers and is a Trustee of the Hampshire Archives Trust. She has produced a number of academic and general history books on Southampton and was given a special achievement award from the British Association of Local History in 2014. She is a long-standing member of the Jane Austen Society.

E.J. Clery is Professor of English Literature at Uppsala University, having previously taught at the University of Southampton. Her books include *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction* (1995), *Women's Gothic Writing from Clara Reeve to Mary Shelley* (2000), *The Femization Debate in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004), *Jane Austen: The Banker's Sister* (2017), and *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven: Poetry, Protest and Economic Crisis* (2017), winner of the British Academy's Rose Mary Crawshay Prize. She is a frequent public speaker and broadcaster on Jane Austen and other areas of eighteenth-century and Romantic-era literature and culture.

Liz Philosophos Cooper is the President of JASNA, a second-generation member

who fell in love with Jane Austen's work when a high school student. She is a frequent contributor to *Jane Austen's Regency World* magazine and co-edits the calendar *A Year With Jane Austen*. She is a popular speaker and her papers have appeared in JASNA's journal *Persuasions*.

Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles has been President of the Jane Austen Society since 2015. After reading classics at Oxford, he spent some thirty years in the Diplomatic Service, ending up as ambassador to, successively, Israel, Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan. He now works as head of public affairs for the HSBC Group and is the author of two books: *Cables from Kabul*, and *Ever the Diplomat*.

Alison Daniell is currently a visiting lecturer and honorary researcher at UCL. She has also worked as a matrimonial lawyer and has published five novels. Her PhD at the University of Southampton (November 2020) focused on the doctrine of coverture as interrogated and reimagined by female-authored novels in the long eighteenth century. In 2020, her paper at the annual conference of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies won the President's Prize. Alison is currently co-organising a digital conference for 2021 on the topic of 'Adventurous Wives in the Long Eighteenth Century'.

Rita J. Dashwood is a Research Assistant at the University of Edge Hill. In 2019 she completed her PhD on women and property in Jane Austen's novels at the Department of English at Warwick University. She is currently working on her first book project, based on her PhD research, which will be entitled *Women and Property Ownership in Jane Austen*.

Gillian Dow is Associate Professor in the English Department at the University of Southampton, and has a long association with the library at Chawton House, including from 2014-2019 as Executive Director. She has published extensively on Austen and her contemporaries, and is currently writing a book on women translators in Romantic-Period Britain and France.

Ronald Dunning is a great-great-great-great-grandson of Jane Austen's brother Francis, and a genealogist.

Stephanie Emo has a degree in chemistry from the University of St Andrews and has worked as a research chemist and a data analyst. Having always had a love for literature, she fulfilled a long-held ambition to become a volunteer steward at Jane Austen's House in 2017. Over the past year, she has helped the museum catalogue the correspondence held in their archives.

Dirk FitzHugh was a lawyer for the international construction industry. His special interests are Genealogy and Heraldry and he is a life member of the Jane Austen Society.

Susannah Fullerton OAM, FRSN, is an author, renowned tour guide and literary historian. She has been President of the Jane Austen Society of Australia since 1996. Her books include *Jane Austen and Crime*, *Happily Ever After: Celebrating Pride and Prejudice*, *A Dance with Jane Austen* and *Jane & I: A Tale of Austen Addiction*. She was awarded the Order of Australia Medal for Services to Literature in the 2017 Queen's Birthday Honours List.

Tony French is a naturalist, has an M.Phil. in sociolinguistics and had a long and successful career in education. He now spends much of his time studying the authors and illustrators of nineteenth-century entomological books and is presently writing a biography of the entomologist John Curtis.

Jane Hurst is a local historian, researcher, writer and guide based in Alton, Hampshire. She is a regular contributor to Jane Austen Society publications and her books include *Jane Austen and Chawton*, *Jane Austen and Alton* and *William Curtis, Altonian and Botanist*.

Sheila Johnson Kindred formerly taught in the Philosophy Department of St Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. She writes and lectures about Jane Austen's family and her fiction. Her book *Jane Austen's Transatlantic Sister: the Life and Letters of Fanny Palmer Austen* was published in 2017.

Christine Penney spent most of her working life at the University of Birmingham, first as University Archivist and then as Head of Special Collections for the last ten years before retirement. She is currently Hon. Hurd Librarian at Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire, and has been compiling Notes on Sales for the Jane Austen Society since 1995.

Joseph Rosenblum taught literature at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro for many years. He has published in various journals and his most recent book is *All the World's a Stage: A Guide to Shakespearean Sites* (2019).

Maureen Stiller is the Honorary Secretary of the Jane Austen Society. She has held the post since 2005.

Alan Thwaite read Chemistry at Kings, Durham, taught for a few years, then moved into administration, retiring as a Deputy Director of Education in Newcastle. An active member of the Northern Branch of JAS, Alan has given talks at Austen Society meetings and written articles for Society publications on a variety of subjects. His researches in Bath led to publication in the periodical *Bath History* Vol. XIII.

Report of the Trustees and Unaudited Financial Statements for the Year ended 31st December 2020 for The Jane Austen Society

The trustees present their report with the financial statements of the charity for the year ended 31st December 2020. The trustees have adopted the provisions of Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1 January 2019).

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Objectives and aims

The principal objective of the Society is as follows:

To promote the advancement of education for the public benefit of the life and works of Jane Austen and the Austen family.

The objective is primarily achieved by the production of publications relating to the life and works of Jane Austen, through education and by contributions to academic debate regarding Jane Austen, her works and family.

The Society seeks to increase its activities in the field of education through the work of the Education Sub-committee.

The Society, where appropriate, may seek to preserve artefacts relating to Jane Austen, either by purchase or by contributions towards expenses. In particular it may contribute to projects at Jane Austen's House Museum in Chawton.

The Society's objectives for the year were to build on the progress made in previous years and to raise the profile of the Society by the production of new articles and publications.

Public Benefit

When planning activities and considering the making of grants, the trustees have considered the Charity Commission's guidance on public benefit and in particular, the specific guidance on charities for the advancement of education and the advancement of the arts, culture, heritage or science.

The trustees believe that the Society fulfils these objectives through its educational activities, by its contribution to historical research regarding Jane Austen and the preservation of artefacts relating to Jane Austen and the Austen family.

Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES

Significant activities

The Society did not produce or reprint any publications in the year. The Society had planned to hold its annual conference in York in September 2020. Unfortunately owing to Covid-19 the conference was cancelled but it is hoped that it can be re-scheduled for September 2021.

During the year the heritage assets which had previously been on loan to Jane Austen's House Museum were transferred into the ownership of the museum. The only remaining heritage asset of the Society is a portrait of Edward Austen Knight. During the year a long term loan agreement in respect of this portrait was entered into with Chawton House Library.

In anticipation of the 250th anniversary of Jane Austen's birth in 2025, the trustees launched a fundraising initiative in 2018 to support the educational role of the society. This is known as the "Jane Austen 250 Fund" and although an unrestricted fund, a purpose which the trustees specifically wish to support is the educational activity of the Jane Austen's House Museum.

A grant of £1,250 was made from the Jane Austen 250 Fund to Jane Austen's House Museum during the year towards a project by the museum aimed at encouraging young people to engage with Jane Austen's Juvenilia and to encourage their creative processes. This grant was made in memory of Deirdre Le Faye a previous long serving trustee of the Society and latterly a vice -president.

In addition three grants totalling £200 were made from the Jane Austen 250 Fund in respect of the Society's essay prize.

No applications were received for grants from the educational fund during the year.

FINANCIAL REVIEW

The financial results for the year are set out in the Statement of Financial Activities on page 5 of these financial statements.

There was a surplus of income over expenditure on the general fund of £6,149 in the year (2019 surplus £1,294). This surplus was increased by an increase in the value of the Society's investments of £13,648 (2019 - £32,639).

Further information regarding the charity's reserves is given in the accounting policies note on page 9 of the financial statements.

FUTURE PLANS

The trustees' aims in the future are to continue to promote the activities of the Society, by the production of publications, the organisation of conferences and any other activities which they consider appropriate.

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Governing document

The Jane Austen Society is governed by the Constitution adopted on 16th July 1994 as amended on 26th July 2003.

Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

STRUCTURE, GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Organisational structure

The Society is administered by the trustees, who in accordance with the constitution number not less than 10 nor more than 17.

All trustees (including the officers) are elected by postal ballot of the members of the Society for a period of five years and are then eligible for re-election. The trustees in addition may appoint up to four co-opted members.

On appointment trustees are given information on the role of a trustee and Charity Law.

The trustees met three times during the year, and in addition a joint meeting was held with representatives of the branches and groups.

Two sub-committees meet as and when required to deal with the processes relating to the publications and the educational activities of the Society.

In January 2020 a Strategy Group was formed initially consisting of 4 trustees. This group was tasked with, among other matters, reviewing the Society's constitution, the status of branches and groups and the Society's website together with the use of social media. The group has also conducted a skills audit amongst the trustees. The group will continue to meet in 2021 and their conclusions will be presented to the members in due course.

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Registered Charity number

1040613

Principal address

Matthew Huntley Esq
The Honorary Treasurer
11 Grange Road
Winchester
Hampshire
SO23 9RT

Trustees

Fiona Ainsworth
Sharron Bassett
Emma Clery
Marion Davies
Clare Graham
Mary Hogg
Matthew Huntley - Honorary Treasurer
Richard Jenkyns - Chairman
Marilyn Joice
Michael Kenning - Vice Chairman
Elizabeth Proudman
David Richardson
Fiona Riley
Maureen Stiller - Honorary Secretary
Heather Thomas

Report of the Trustees
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

REFERENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Independent Examiner
D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland Chartered Accountants
4 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BU

Bankers
TSB Bank plc
40 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BQ

EVENTS SINCE THE END OF THE YEAR
Information relating to events since the end of the year is given in the notes to the financial statements.

RESERVES
The Society's policy regarding reserves is detailed in note 1 on page 9 of these accounts. The trustees consider, on the basis of current information available, that these funds are adequate to meet their known future commitments.

Approved by order of the board of trustees on 21st May 2021 and signed on its behalf by:

Richard Jenkyns

Richard Jenkyns - Trustee

Independent Examiner's Report to the Trustees of
The Jane Austen Society

Independent examiner's report to the trustees of The Jane Austen Society
I report to the charity trustees on my examination of the accounts of The Jane Austen Society (the Trust) for the year ended 31st December 2020.

Responsibilities and basis of report
As the charity trustees of the Trust you are responsible for the preparation of the accounts in accordance with the requirements of the Charities Act 2011 ('the Act').

I report in respect of my examination of the Trust's accounts carried out under section 145 of the Act and in carrying out my examination I have followed all applicable Directions given by the Charity Commission under section 145(5)(b) of the Act.

Independent examiner's statement
I have completed my examination. I confirm that no material matters have come to my attention in connection with the examination giving me cause to believe that in any material respect:

1. accounting records were not kept in respect of the Trust as required by section 130 of the Act; or
2. the accounts do not accord with those records; or
3. the accounts do not comply with the applicable requirements concerning the form and content of accounts set out in the Charities (Accounts and Reports) Regulations 2008 other than any requirement that the accounts give a true and fair view which is not a matter considered as part of an independent examination.

I have no concerns and have come across no other matters in connection with the examination to which attention should be drawn in this report in order to enable a proper understanding of the accounts to be reached.

D A Sanders BA (Hons) FCA
Sheen Stickland Chartered Accountants
4 High Street
Alton
Hampshire
GU34 1BU

Date: 1st June 2021

Statement of Financial Activities
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2020 Total funds £	2019 Total funds £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM					
Donations and legacies		19,159	-	19,159	25,010
Other charitable activities	2	10,226	-	10,226	57,645
Investment income	3	6,536	-	6,536	6,406
Total		35,921	-	35,921	89,061
EXPENDITURE ON					
Raising funds		-	-	-	32
Charitable activities					
Charitable activities		30,631	-	30,631	83,480
Total		30,631	-	30,631	83,512
Net gains on investments		13,648	-	13,648	32,369
NET INCOME		18,938	-	18,938	37,918
RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS					
Total funds brought forward		316,762	1,000	317,762	279,844
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD		335,700	1,000	336,700	317,762

The notes form part of these financial statements

Balance Sheet
31st December 2020

	Notes	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	2020 Total funds £	2019 Total funds £
FIXED ASSETS					
Heritage assets	7	60,000	-	60,000	60,000
Investments	8	227,040	-	227,040	213,392
		287,040	-	287,040	273,392
CURRENT ASSETS					
Stocks	9	583	-	583	583
Debtors	10	2,584	-	2,584	5,347
Cash at bank		50,163	1,000	51,163	43,630
		53,330	1,000	54,330	49,560
CREDITORS					
Amounts falling due within one year	11	(4,670)	-	(4,670)	(5,190)
NET CURRENT ASSETS		48,660	1,000	49,660	44,370
TOTAL ASSETS LESS CURRENT LIABILITIES		335,700	1,000	336,700	317,762
NET ASSETS		335,700	1,000	336,700	317,762
FUNDS	12				
Unrestricted funds				335,700	316,762
Restricted funds				1,000	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS				336,700	317,762

The financial statements were approved by the Board of Trustees and authorised for issue on 21st May 2021 and were signed on its behalf by:

Richard Jenkyns

Richard Jenkyns - Trustee

Matthew Huntley - Trustee

The notes form part of these financial statements

Notes to the Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of preparing the financial statements
The financial statements of the charity, which is a public benefit entity under FRS 102, have been prepared in accordance with 'Accounting and Reporting by Charities: Statement of Recommended Practice applicable to charities preparing their accounts in accordance with the Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland (FRS 102) (effective 1st January 2019) - (Charities SORP (FRS 102))', 'The Financial Reporting Standard applicable in the UK and Republic of Ireland - (FRS102)' and the Charities Act 2011.

The financial statements have been prepared under the historical cost convention with the exception of investments which are included at market value, as modified by the revaluation of certain assets.

The financial statements have been prepared on the going concern basis as the trustees do not consider that the effects of Covid-19 will impact on the Society's ability to continue to operate.

Income
All income is recognised in the Statement of Financial Activities once the charity has entitlement to the funds, it is probable that the income will be received and the amount can be measured reliably.

Expenditure
Liabilities are recognised as expenditure as soon as there is a legal or constructive obligation committing the charity to that expenditure, it is probable that a transfer of economic benefits will be required in settlement and the amount of the obligation can be measured reliably. Expenditure is accounted for on an accruals basis and has been classified under headings that aggregate all cost related to the category. Where costs cannot be directly attributed to particular headings they have been allocated to activities on a basis consistent with the use of resources.

Grants offered subject to conditions which have not been met at the year end date are noted as a commitment but not accrued as expenditure.

Stocks
Prior to 31st December 2017, purchases of publications for resale were written off in equal instalments over a period of five years. Stocks therefore represented the unamortised portion of the last four years purchases. Given the level of sales of publications in recent years, the trustees made the decision to write off the balance of the stock of publications in the year ended 31st December 2017.

Stocks held at branches of publications purchased direct from suppliers by those branches are not shown in the accounts.

Stocks of fundraising items for resale are valued at the lower of cost and net realisable value.

Taxation
The charity is exempt from tax on its charitable activities.

Fund accounting
Unrestricted Fund is a fund of which the trustees of the Society have unrestricted authority to spend the income and the capital to further the objectives of the Jane Austen Society.

Designated Funds represent unrestricted funds earmarked for particular purposes by the trustees of the Society in the exercise of their discretionary powers.

Restricted Funds are funds which are subject to a restriction as to their use.

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES - continued

Fund accounting
Further explanation of the nature and purpose of each fund is included in the notes to the financial statements.

Investments
Investments are stated at mid-market value at the balance sheet date. All movements in value arising from investment changes are shown in the Statement of Financial Activities.

Unrealised gains and/or losses are the difference in market value of investments held at the beginning of the year, or their cost if purchased in the year, and at the end of the year.

Heritage assets
As explained further in note 7 to the financial statements, the majority of the heritage assets owned by the Society were gifted to Jane Austen's House Museum in the year ended 31st December 2020. In the opinion of the trustees therefore, as these assets were to be disposed of by the charity in the short or medium term, the cost of obtaining a reliable valuation of these items would not be justified by the usefulness of the information to the users of the accounts or to the charity for its own stewardship purposes and these assets were not recognised on the balance sheet of the charity.

The remaining heritage asset as detailed in note 7 to the financial statements will remain the property of the Society. Under the provisions of the Charities SORP this asset is included on the balance sheet at its latest valuation.

Reserves
The balance of the general fund (excluding designated funds and the value of heritage assets) represents approximately 36 months expenditure (based on expenditure in the year ended 31st December 2020) which the trustees consider to be appropriate in the circumstances. This is, however, not comparable with the level of reserves as at 31st December 2019 owing to the reduced expenditure in 2020 caused by the effects of Covid-19.

£120,000 of the legacies received in the years ended 31st December 2003 and 31st December 2004 was transferred to a designated fund. It was originally intended that the income from this fund would be used to provide travel bursaries to those wishing to carry out studies in furtherance of the charitable objects of the Society. It has now been decided by the trustees that this fund should be re-designated to cover a wider range of educational activities.

Branches and Groups
Branches of the Society are defined in charity law as an integral part of the Society and as such enjoy various privileges and responsibilities in regard to the Society. In particular a branch can call upon the Society for financial support and is covered by the public liability insurance of the Society. The financial results of the branches are incorporated into the Society's statement of financial activities and the assets and liabilities of branches are included in the Society's balance sheet.

A group is an informal gathering of members of the Society (or others) from a particular area and has no connection in law with The Jane Austen Society, and the financial activities of groups are not included in these accounts.

Details of activities of the branches are shown in note 15 to the accounts.

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

2. OTHER CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES

	2020	2019
	£	£
Sales of publications	10	1,474
Income from events	-	22,314
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	-	1,154
Sale of fundraising items	-	316
Income of branches	10,216	32,387
	10,226	57,645

3. INVESTMENT INCOME

	2020	2019
	£	£
Income from listed investments	6,536	6,406

4. TRUSTEES' REMUNERATION AND BENEFITS

There were no trustees' remuneration or other benefits for the year ended 31st December 2020 nor for the year ended 31st December 2019.

Trustees' expenses

During the year a total of £1,008 was reimbursed to eight trustees in respect of travelling and other expenses (2019 - £2,742).

5. COMPARATIVES FOR THE STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

	Unrestricted funds	Restricted funds	Total funds
	£	£	£
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS FROM			
Donations and legacies	25,010	-	25,010
Other charitable activities	57,645	-	57,645
Investment income	6,406	-	6,406
Total	89,061	-	89,061
EXPENDITURE ON			
Raising funds	32	-	32
Charitable activities			
Charitable activities	83,480	-	83,480
Total	83,512	-	83,512
Net gains on investments	32,369	-	32,369
NET INCOME	37,918	-	37,918

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

5. COMPARATIVES FOR THE STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES - continued

	Unrestricted funds £	Restricted funds £	Total funds £
RECONCILIATION OF FUNDS			
Total funds brought forward	278,844	1,000	279,844
TOTAL FUNDS CARRIED FORWARD	316,762	1,000	317,762

6. NET INCOME/(EXPENDITURE) FOR THE YEAR

This is stated after charging

	2020 £	2019 £
Independent examiner's remuneration	1,450	1,350
Other accountancy fees	1,260	1,170
	2,710	2,520

7. HERITAGE ASSETS

	Total £
MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January 2020 and 31st December 2020	60,000
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2020	60,000
At 31st December 2019	60,000

Over many years the Society had been given or had purchased mementoes of Jane Austen comprising items of jewellery, furniture and early editions of Jane Austen's work etc. which were maintained on public display at the Jane Austen's House Museum, Chawton. Portraits of various members of the Austen family have also been donated to the Society over the years.

At a meeting of the trustees in January 2019 it was decided that the items currently on loan to Jane Austen's House Museum would be offered to the museum as a gift. This decision was notified to the members at the Annual General Meeting of the Society in July 2019.

This process was completed in September 2020 when the assets were transferred to Jane Austen's House Museum by way of deed of gift.

In addition to the items at the Jane Austen's House Museum, the Society also has ownership of a portrait of Edward Austen-Knight which was acquired by the Society in 1953. This portrait is now on display at Chawton House Library under a long term loan agreement. This is included in the financial statements as a heritage asset as set out above. .

Notes to the Financial Statements - continued
for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

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7. HERITAGE ASSETS - continued

The Society has a clear duty of care for this asset and provisions in this respect are set out in the loan agreement. Any decision regarding public access to the portrait will be at the discretion of Chawton House Library.

The Society does not envisage the acquisition of any heritage assets in the future but will continue to support the Jane Austen's House Museum in any appropriate acquisition by the museum, in particular by the use of funds held in the 250 Fund.

8. FIXED ASSET INVESTMENTS

	Listed investments £
MARKET VALUE	
At 1st January 2020	213,392
Revaluations	13,648
At 31st December 2020	227,040
NET BOOK VALUE	
At 31st December 2020	227,040
At 31st December 2019	213,392

There were no investment assets outside the UK.

Investments at 31st December 2020 represents 12,605 units in the COIF Charities Investment Fund.

The historical cost of fixed asset investments at 31st December 2020 was £154,922 (2019 - £154,922).

9. STOCKS

	2020 £	2019 £
Fundraising items for resale	583	583

10. DEBTORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2020 £	2019 £
Other debtors	2,384	5,147
Prepayments	200	200
	2,584	5,347

11. CREDITORS: AMOUNTS FALLING DUE WITHIN ONE YEAR

	2020	2019
	£	£
Accruals and deferred income	4,670	5,190

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS

	At 1.1.20	Net movement in funds	At 31.12.20
	£	£	£
Unrestricted funds			
General fund	175,989	19,797	195,786
Education fund	126,000	-	126,000
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	10,000
250 fund	4,773	(859)	3,914
	316,762	18,938	335,700
Restricted funds			
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS	317,762	18,938	336,700

Net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources	Resources expended	Gains and losses	Movement in funds
	£	£	£	£
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	35,330	(29,181)	13,648	19,797
250 fund	591	(1,450)	-	(859)
	35,921	(30,631)	13,648	18,938
TOTAL FUNDS	35,921	(30,631)	13,648	18,938

12. MOVEMENT IN FUNDS - continued

Comparatives for movement in funds

	At 1.1.19 £	Net movement in funds £	Transfers between funds £	At 31.12.19 £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	135,676	33,663	6,650	175,989
Life membership fund	6,650	-	(6,650)	-
Education fund	126,000	-	-	126,000
The Elizabeth Jenkins Fund	10,000	-	-	10,000
250 fund	518	4,255	-	4,773
	278,844	37,918	-	316,762
Restricted funds				
Acquisition fund	1,000	-	-	1,000
TOTAL FUNDS	279,844	37,918	-	317,762

Comparative net movement in funds, included in the above are as follows:

	Incoming resources £	Resources expended £	Gains and losses £	Movement in funds £
Unrestricted funds				
General fund	84,532	(83,238)	32,369	33,663
250 fund	4,529	(274)	-	4,255
	89,061	(83,512)	32,369	37,918
TOTAL FUNDS	89,061	(83,512)	32,369	37,918

For several years the Life Membership Fund has included a provision of £6,500 towards the costs associated with those life members who joined the Society prior to 1985. Given the reducing numbers of life members, the trustees consider that this provision is no longer required and it has been released to the General Fund.

13. RELATED PARTY DISCLOSURES

There were no related party transactions for the year ended 31st December 2020.

14. POST BALANCE SHEET EVENTS

Since the end of the financial year, the effects of Covid-19 have continued to impact on the affairs of the Society.

The Society's 2021 Annual General Meeting will be unable to take place at Chawton House and will take place online. This, however, will cost considerably less than the usual event.

The York conference originally arranged for September 2020 will take place in September 2021 but this will depend both on the situation with Covid-19 and the number of applications.

The trustees have made the decision that a major upgrade is required of the Society's website. This will take place during 2021.

The trustees do not consider that there will be any lasting impact on the finances of the Society either with respect to subscriptions and donations or investment income in the long term or on its ability to continue to operate.

15. BRANCHES

	Midlands	Kent	Northern	Scotland	South West	Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Income						
Subscriptions	610	1,061	557	847	610	3,685
Income from events	500	872	933	657	3,312	6,274
Sales of publications	24	31	-	-	70	125
Donations	-	-	25	92	10	127
Interest	1	-	1	3	-	5
Other income	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1,135	1,964	1,516	1,599	4,002	10,216

	Midlands	Kent	Northern	Scotland	South West	Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Expenses						
Expenses of events	233	1,101	-	952	1,340	3,626
Cost of publications	422	690	753	-	-	1,865
Donations	450	500	-	100	200	1,250
Administration expenses	246	123	230	751	64	1,414
	1,351	2,414	983	1,803	1,604	8,155
	(216)	(450)	533	(204)	2,398	2,061

Detailed Statement of Financial Activities for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

	2020 £	2019 £
INCOME AND ENDOWMENTS		
Donations and legacies		
Annual subscriptions received	15,166	14,581
Gift Aid tax recoverable	2,354	2,742
Sundry donations and receipts	1,639	7,687
	19,159	25,010
Other charitable activities		
Sales of publications	10	1,474
Income from events	-	22,314
Sale of Annual General Meeting tickets	-	1,154
Sale of fundraising items	-	316
Income of branches	10,216	32,387
	10,226	57,645
Investment income		
Income from listed investments	6,536	6,406
Total incoming resources	35,921	89,061
EXPENDITURE		
Other trading activities		
Purchase of fundraising Items (after stock adjustment)	-	32
Charitable activities		
Printing and stationery	84	307
Subscriptions	25	25
Insurance	573	544
Newsletter	7,138	6,558
Expenses of events	311	21,700
Members' database	1,718	117
Annual General Meeting	1,401	9,519
Annual Report	5,109	4,359
Bank charges	793	819
Expenses of branches	8,155	33,222
Grants to institutions	1,450	150
	26,757	77,320
Support costs		

Detailed Statement of Financial Activities for the Year Ended 31st December 2020

	2020	2019
	£	£
Support costs		
Management		
Trustees' expenses	480	1,895
Governance costs		
Accountancy fees	3,394	2,710
Legal and professional fees	-	1,555
	3,394	4,265
Total resources expended	30,631	83,512
Net income	5,290	5,549

Jane Austen Society Annual Report Index 2006 – 2020

Abbreviations
JAH – Jane Austen's House
JAS – Jane Austen Society
KHLC – Kent History and Library Centre

Current JAS officers (President, Vice President, Chairman, Hon Sec, the Committee, etc) are listed inside the front page of each *Annual Report*.

ILLUSTRATIONS