



JANE
AUSTEN'S
FICTION
MANUSCRIPTS



VOLUME I



EDITED BY
Kathryn
Sutherland



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Jane Austen's Fiction Manuscripts

VOLUME III

EDITED BY
KATHRYN SUTHERLAND

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JANE AUSTEN'S
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VOLUME THE THIRD

Add. MS. 65381, British Library, London

The manuscript takes its name from the inscription on the upper cover of the notebook into which it is written. Jane Austen used a ready-made bound blank stationer's notebook. It contains two early novels, 'Evelyn' and 'Kitty, or the Bower', neither of which is finished in Austen's hand. The Contents page is signed '*Jane Austen – May 6th 1792*'. The manuscript is mostly autograph but with some material in at least two further and later hands: those of Austen's nephew, James Edward Austen, and her niece, Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy. Though presumably in Austen-Leigh's possession when he compiled his *Memoir of Jane Austen* (2nd edn, 1871) (see under 'Provenance'), he made no reference to it, choosing to include only one item of the juvenilia, the playlet 'The Mystery', from *Volume the First*. *Volume the Third's* contents were briefly described and the dedication and first paragraph of 'Kitty, or the Bower' were first printed in the later family biography, *Life and Letters* (1913).¹ It was the last of the three notebooks to be published, edited by R. W. Chapman in 1951 in an edition uniform with his earlier transcriptions of the mature fiction manuscripts and *Volume the First*. Though he inspected it years before, Chapman did not receive family permission to publish until 1949;² the notebook remained in Austen family hands until late in the twentieth century.

Provenance

Jane Austen died in July 1817 and, by the terms of her will, her sister Cassandra inherited her manuscripts. In compliance with the pencil inscription at the head of its first page, '*for James Edward Austen*', with the further name '*Leigh*' inscribed below (not before 1837, the date at which James Edward Austen added 'Leigh' to his surname), *Volume the Third* went at Cassandra's death to their nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh (1798–1874). It was passed down in the Austen-Leigh family, belonging to James Edward's grandson, Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, when Chapman published his edition in 1951.³ It remained in the family until 1976, latterly in the joint possession of Joan Austen-Leigh and Valerie Peyman, daughters of R. A. Austen-Leigh's cousin Lionel Arthur Austen-Leigh. *Volume the Third* was deposited in the British Museum in 1963 and was shown as Item 8 in the British Library's Jane Austen exhibition, December 1975–February 1976. It was auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 14 December 1976 (Lot 172), and purchased by the British Rail Pension Fund, for £30,000, under the pseudonym of 'Maxwell'. The Pension Fund's

¹ *Life and Letters* (1913), pp. 55–7.

² Oxford University Press Archive, PBED013422, 'The Works of Jane Austen Volume 6', a letter of 3 February 1950, to Rosemary Mowll, owner of *Volume the Second*: 'I am about to edit Volume III, which Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh has inherited from his mother.' In another note (PBED004551, 26 January 1950), Chapman suggests the OUP printer might set type directly from the manuscript. Thankfully, this seems not to have happened, the response being: 'it would be easier for him [the printer], and less dangerous, if we printed from rotographs'.

³ *Volume the Third*, ed. R. W. C[hapman] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. v.

investment in literary manuscripts caused a stir at the time.⁴ It was subsequently bought by the British Library, 27 September 1988, with the aid of a grant from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, for £120,000 (Sotheby's, London, a sale on behalf of the British Rail Pension Fund, Lot 108; Lot 109 in the same sale was the larger portion of *The Watsons*).⁵

The notebook

A shop-bought late eighteenth-century stationer's small quarto notebook bound in full parchment over millboard, impossible to date precisely, *Volume the Third* is similar in size and decoration to *Volume the Second*. Like *Volume the Second*, the front and back boards have a blind tooled border formed with a double fillet. The fillet runs the length and breadth of the millboard, approximately 8 mm from the edges and crossing in the corners. The text-block comprises 5 regular quires originally folded from 37 half sheets. The edges of the leaves are plain cut and sprinkled red. Quire 4 with 10 leaves is short three bifolia (all others have 16 leaves), which is probably a mistake by the binder. The five folded quires provide 74 leaves, the first two from the first quire and final two from the last quire being used as pastedowns within the binding, leaving a text-block of 70 leaves. The paper used is handmade laid foolscap writing paper of a single stock, with an undated watermark and countermark (figure of Britannia and the royal cipher 'GR' surmounted by a crown), similar though not identical to the paper used for *Volume the First*. The notebook's construction is the same as that of the two notebooks that form *Volume the First* and *Volume the Second*. Six additional loose leaves (ff. 66–9, ff. iii–iv) are kept with the notebook in a paper four-flap folder: ff. 66–9 are four leaves of blue-grey wove machine-made paper without watermark, of varying sizes, and written in black-brown iron gall ink, in the hand of Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy; ff. iii–iv are two loose sheets of notes, in blue ink and pencil on grey wove machine-made paper with a Basildon Bond watermark, in the hand of R. W. Chapman.⁶

Dimensions: 202 × 166 × 18 mm (text-block 196 × 161 × 12 mm); loose sheets (ff. 66–9) 194 × 155 mm (largest), 147 × 157 mm (smallest).

British Library foliation: vi + 69 leaves.

Collation: 80 quarto leaves (74 + 6 loose sheets of paper); 1¹⁶ (A, ii, 1–14), 2¹⁶ (15–30), 3¹⁶ (31–46), 4¹⁰ (47–56), 5¹⁶ (57–65, T–Y, v, Z) + 6 loose sheets (66–69, iii–iv) where A = pre-covering pastedown under the turn-in to left board, T–Y = the final five, unfoliated blank leaves of the manuscript, v (thus in BL foliation) = pastedown to the right board,

⁴ Gilson F14; Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Valuable Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts, and Historical Documents* (London, 1976), pp. 97–8; 'Austen MS Brings £30,000', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 December 1976; 'Riddle of Nation's "Lost" Treasures', *Daily Mail*, 31 December 1976; and see 'News and Comment', *The Book Collector*, 26 (Summer 1977), 247. See too Headnote to *The Watsons*, note 6.

⁵ Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Manuscripts* (London, 1988), p. 137. A detailed catalogue record for *Volume the Third* can be found in the British Library's online manuscript catalogue <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/INDEX.asp>>.

⁶ Anna Lefroy's continuation of 'Evelyn' is inserted into and transcribed with the manuscript. Chapman's notes are transcribed in Appendix 5, 'Ancillary Materials', under *Volume the Third*, items 1–2.

and Z = a pre-covering pastedown under the turn-in to the right board. The cover of the left board, with its calligraphic '*Volume the Third*' title and flourish, was foliated by the BL in 1988 as i; the front (left) pastedown as ii; thereafter BL foliate the manuscript, beginning with the Contents page as 1. Attached to v, back (right) pastedown, is a modern BL label with details of foliation; vi = back (right) board in BL foliation.⁷

The manuscript

The manuscript is written and corrected throughout in a variety of black-brown iron gall inks. The cover of the front (left) board has a large calligraphic inscription '*Volume the Third*' and flourish, in dark brown iron gall ink and the spine has the inscription '*aft. 18*' at the head in a matching ink. A pencil inscription on the pastedown of the left board reads '*Effusions of Fancy | by a very Young Lady | Consisting of Tales | in a Style entirely new*', perhaps in the hand of Jane Austen's father, the Revd George Austen.⁸ Also evident on the left pastedown are the remains of a label of the kind attached to both *Volume the First* and *Volume the Second*. On the top right edge of the first page, in what seems to be Cassandra Austen's hand, is the inscription in pencil, '*for James Edward Austen*', with the further name '*Leigh*' added below it (see under 'Provenance'). This first leaf is unpaginated (inferred pagination [iii–iv] in the pagination table below) and forms the Contents page signed across the top '*Jane Austen – May 6th 1792*'; the verso of the Contents page (the dedication '*To Miss Mary Lloyd*') is signed '*The Author*'. Austen begins her pagination on the next leaf, the opening of 'Evelyn', as page 1. Her pagination runs continuously p. 1–p. 21; with [p. 22–p. 30] unpaginated. Austen's hand breaks off on line 5 of p. 21, with the words '*rode on a full gallop all the way*'. Page 21–p. 27 are subsequently filled with a completion to the story in another hand, that of James Edward Austen. This continuation is unpaginated, as are the following two pages, which remain blank. The next page, also unpaginated ([p. 30]), contains Austen's dedication of '*the following novel*' ('Kitty, or the Bower') '*To Miss Austen*' (i.e. her sister Cassandra). Austen's pagination then continues: p. 31 (the opening of 'Kitty')–p. 39; [p. 40];⁹ p. 41–p. 124; p. 125 is unpaginated; p. 126–p. 127 are paginated in a different hand; p. 128 is unpaginated and blank. 'Kitty' occupies pp. 30–127 and is also left incomplete. Austen's hand breaks off six lines from the foot of p. 124, with the words '*conduct of Young Men*'. The story continues for just over three pages (p. 124–p. 127) in another hand (again James Edward Austen's), but this continuation also remains incomplete. The final five leaves of the manuscript are blank and unpaginated ([p. 129]–[p. 138]). Four separate sheets, loosely inserted in the notebook, form an alternative continuation to 'Evelyn' and are signed '*J A E L*' (Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy). The modern BL foliation of ff. 66–69 places them after the end of the bound leaves of the whole manuscript (whose

⁷ For more information, see Andrew Honey's detailed physical description of the construction and present state of the notebook under 'Conservation Reports' in the Digital Edition.

⁸ It is not clear on whose authority the hand has been identified as that of JA's father. Sotheby's *Catalogue* (1976) describes the hand as 'unidentified'; but in *Catalogue* (1988) as 'in the hand of Jane Austen's father, the Rev. George Austen'. The identification is repeated in the British Library Manuscript Catalogue entry; in *Family Record*, p. 78; and in *Juvenilia*, ed. Peter Sabor, The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. xxvi.

⁹ [p. 40] has been mispaginated as p. 41. This stands uncorrected even though the following page is also numbered, correctly, as 41.

final folio is 65), but their textual place lies at p. 21, as an alternative ending to 'Evelyn' from that provided by James Edward Austen (p. 21–[p. 22–p. 27]). In the pagination table below they are accordingly given the inferred pagination [21a]–[28a], several of these pages being blank as JAEL writes on one side of the leaf only. The number of lines of writing per page in the Austen autograph varies between nineteen and twenty-two.

Pagination and physical structures as they are recorded in this edition: front (left) board; front (left) pastedown; [p. iii]–[p. iv]; p. 1–p. 21; [p. 22–p. 30]; p. 31–p. 39; [p. 40]; p. 41–p. 124; [p. 125]; p. 126–p. 127; [p. 128–p. 138]; [p. 21a]–[p. 28a]; back (right) pastedown; back (right) board; spine.

Composition

Volume the Third is the shortest of the three teenage notebook manuscripts, with 140 pages. Its two items, 'Evelyn' and 'Kitty, or the Bower', both contain more evidence of immediate composition (that is, of composition contemporary with inscription into the notebook) and have less the appearance of fair copies than most pieces in the other early notebooks. Much the shorter of the two, 'Evelyn', is abandoned after little more than twenty pages; 'Kitty', also unfinished, fills 94 pages in Austen's hand. The obvious comparison is with the near contemporaneous 'The three Sisters', a piece still in process of creation as it is set down, which finds its place towards the end of *Volume the First*, perhaps from the simple fact that there were sufficient blank pages there to offer it a home. At the same time, there is considerable evidence, in the form of updated textual allusions, changes of handwriting, minor revisions, and more substantial continuations, to complicate and extend the composition period and collaborative effort of the items in *Volume the Third* far beyond Austen's teenage years. Among time-stamped details are: the Contents page, signed 'Jane Austen – May 6th 1792'; the dedication of 'Kitty, or the Bower' (subsequently restyled 'Catharine, or the Bower') to 'Miss Austen', dated 'Steventon August 1792'; a continuation to 'Evelyn', in the hand of Austen's nephew, James Edward Austen, and which includes the date 'Augst 19th 1809'. The inscription 'aft. 18' at the head of the spine is also a possible dating reference: Austen was 18 in December 1793. Further local revisions to the texts of 'Evelyn' and 'Kitty', in ink and pencil, suggest they were worked at in or after 1809–11 and again in 1814–16. On both occasions, Austen may have had assistance from James Edward and his older half-sister Anna. Anna would have been 16 in 1809 and James Edward 10 or 11. Two alterations in 'Kitty'—Camilla Stanley's reference to a 'new Regency walking dress' (replacing an original reference to a 'Pierrot', p. 67) and the deletion of an allusion to 'Seccar's explanation of the Catechism' (Thomas Secker's *Lectures on the Catechism of the Church of England* (1769)) and substitution of 'Coelebs in Search of a Wife' (p. 109)—are only possible in or after 1809 (publication date of Hannah More's *Coelebs in Search of a Wife*) and after 5 February 1811 (the Regency Act).¹⁰

After breaking off 'Evelyn', at p. 21, Austen left the next nine pages blank, beginning 'Kitty' at [p. 30]. At some later date, seven of these blanks were filled, completing 'Evelyn'

¹⁰ For new light on the revision of a detail ('Pierrot' altered to 'Regency Walking Dress') in *Volume the Third*, see Jenny McAuley, "A Long Letter Upon a Jacket and a Petticoat": Reading beneath some Deletions in the Manuscript of "Catharine, or The Bower", *Persuasions: The Jane Austen Journal*, 31 (2009), 191–8.

in a competent pastiche of Austen's style. The hand is James Edward Austen's and is comparable to that in surviving portions of unpublished novels that we know, from references in Austen's letters, he was writing in 1815–17, aged 17 to 18.¹¹ Four pages loosely inserted at the end of the volume contain a different attempt to continue 'Evelyn', signed with the initials 'J A E L' (Jane Anna Elizabeth Lefroy): Anna Austen took the name Lefroy on her marriage to Ben Lefroy on 8 November 1814. If her attempted continuation dates from late 1814, soon after her marriage and about the time she was corresponding with Austen on her own novel-in-progress (entitled 'Which is the Heroine?'), then this may explain her grandmother's solicitous reference in her Christmas Day, 1814, letter, where she writes: 'Surely My dear, your head must be quite bewildered by composing two works at the same time.'¹² Further support for Anna's reading *Volume the Third* in 1814 may lie in her re-cycling of the name 'Devereux' from 'Kitty' ('Sir Henry Devereux', p. 44) for one of the characters, 'Devereux Forester', in her own novel.¹³

'Kitty' continues, after Austen breaks off on p. 124, in the same hand (that of James Edward Austen) as the completion of 'Evelyn' on pp. [21–7]. It has been suggested that variations in the hand point to two distinct attempts to advance the story: first with the section '*Kitty continued in this state of satisfaction... it brought to her mind of Ed^{wd} Stanley*' (pp. 124–[125]); and later with '*The Summer passed away... of having Some Gentleman to attend them*' (pp. 126–7). The second attempt has been dated as late as 1845, when James Edward inherited the notebook.¹⁴ However, evidence from the extant fiction manuscripts written in James Edward's hand after 1812 and before 1817 decisively refutes the suggestion that he wrote any part of his continuation of 'Kitty' at so late a date.¹⁵ Internal evidence, other than changes in the hand, does support the view that he may have worked at pp. 124–7 in two stages, though with little distance between them: at pp. 124–[125], the names 'Kitty' and 'Mrs Peterson' are used, as in the earlier parts of the manuscript; only at pp. 126–7, are 'Catharine' and 'Mrs Percival' for the first time written out as first choice names for the heroine and her aunt. Since in the body of the manuscript Austen's own preferred alternative to 'Kitty' is 'Catherine' not 'Catharine', this small detail points to James Edward's being the hand throughout in those many instances where 'Peterson' is changed to 'Percival' and those few where 'Kitty' is replaced by 'Catharine'. His hand also appears responsible for many other local revisions, previously assumed to be Austen's, in the earlier portions of the manuscript. However, it is not clear from the revising hand at what

¹¹ *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 337 and 339–40; portions survive from several of James Edward Austen's manuscript fictions in HRO, MS. 23 M93/86/6/1–5. Some are dateable by hand and paper to 1812–17. MS. 23 M93/86/6/5 is a home-made gathering from the novel commented on in JA's letter of 23 January 1817 (p. 340), where she mentions characters by name: 'Mr Mountain' and 'Emma Gordon'. MS. 23 M93/86/6/3, 'The Delightful Tales Of Fairy Land', a home-made booklet on paper watermarked '1812', offers the closest match in hand to the continuation to 'Kitty'. See Appendix 3, 'James Edward Austen's hand and his additions to *Volume the Third*'.

¹² Mrs Austen's letter is one of a collection addressed to Anna now held in Princeton University Library. It is transcribed in Deirdre Le Faye, 'Anna Lefroy and Her Austen Family Letters', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 62 (2001), 532. A copy is also preserved in HRO, MS. 23 M93/85/2, Fanny C. Lefroy, 'Family History', unpaginated. It seems likely, as Peter Sabor suggests ('James Edward Austen, Anna Lefroy, and the Interpolations to Jane Austen's "Volume the Third"', *Notes and Queries*, 47 (2000), 304–6), that Anna attempted her continuation of 'Evelyn' soon after her marriage (in late 1814 or early 1815) rather than at a later date, by which time, as her own fictions show, she was less sympathetic to Gothic extravagance.

¹³ *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 280 and 289, August–September 1814.

¹⁴ Sabor, 'James Edward Austen, Anna Lefroy, and the Interpolations to Jane Austen's "Volume the Third"', 306.

¹⁵ See Appendix 3, 'James Edward Austen's hand and his additions to *Volume the Third*'.

date earlier references to 'Kitty' and 'Peterson' were altered to 'Catharine' and 'Percival' — whether over a short period of time or in a single phase of revision. At whatever date it was done, the story's re-titling to 'Catharine' is very unlikely to be Austen's own, and the modern editorial fashion to style it as such is surely incorrect. Further support may be found in the fact that the title of the piece is unaltered on the Contents page of *Volume the Third*, where it remains 'Kitty, or the Bower'. Consequently, throughout this edition it is referred to by its original title 'Kitty, or the Bower'.¹⁶

As for the year date of 1809 in James Edward's continuation to 'Evelyn', it may have been chosen to commemorate the time when his aunt, altering details in the notebook, with her nephew and niece beside her, first showed them the work. Deirdre Le Faye has speculated that Austen may have 'rediscovered' her teenage notebooks soon after her removal to Chawton in July 1809;¹⁷ perhaps she did so in the company of Anna and James Edward, regular visitors from their own home only 16 miles away. In that case, James Edward's 'Augst 19th 1809' might be seen as a pointed reference to the last paragraph of Austen's 'Evelyn', where she writes that Frederic Gower returned from Carlisle to Evelyn, 'as late in the year as August'. It is unlikely, however, that he finished the story in 1809 aged 10 or 11, or that his hand then would resemble so closely that of seven years later in 1816–17.

Though impossible to identify or to date in all cases, the hands other than Austen's at work on *Volume the Third* offer sufficient clues to suggest that both Anna and James Edward contributed to the revision of its contents (probably under Austen's guidance) and that their interpolations are closely linked to their own experiments in fiction (between 1814 and 1817). There is no evidence to suggest that their interventions into *Volume the Third* continued after Austen's death in 1817. Margaret Doody's conclusion that Austen may have used the notebook to conduct 'something a little like a very informal writing class' for both nephew and niece is appealing.¹⁸

¹⁶ The editorial decision to style 'Catharine' and 'Catherine' throughout as 'Catharine' (*Catharine and Other Writings*, ed. Margaret Anne Doody and Douglas Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 'Textual Notes', pp. 266–7) confers a distorting authority on a form of the name that in fact never appears as a first choice anywhere in the story as written by JA ('Catherine' occurs 17 times in JA's hand to 'Catharine' 7 in the revising hand). Neither Chapman nor Sabor imposes such conformity, allowing 'Catharine' and 'Catherine' to stand, though neither questions JA's likely authorship of the change. Though all previous editors have been content to adopt 'Catharine' as JA's revised title, it seems highly unlikely that she was responsible for the revision. See 'Features of the Manuscript Hand', under 'Spelling'; and 'Composition and Revision'; and Sutherland, 'From Kitty to Catharine: James Edward Austen's Hand in *Volume the Third*', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 66 (2014), 124–43.

¹⁷ *Family Record* (1989), p. 164, a suggestion removed from the second edition (2004).

¹⁸ For discussion of alterations and updating over time and of the presence of hands other than JA's in the notebook, see B. C. Southam, 'Interpolations to Jane Austen's "Volume the Third"', *Notes and Queries*, 9 (1962), 185–7; *Catharine and Other Writings*, ed. Doody and Murray, pp. xviii–xx, 266, and 271–2; and 'Note on the Text', in *Jane Austen's Evelyn*, ed. Peter Sabor and others (Edmonton, Alberta: Juvenilia Press, 1999), pp. xvi–xx; Sabor, 'James Edward Austen, Anna Lefroy, and the Interpolations to Jane Austen's "Volume the Third"', 304–6; and *Juvenilia*, ed. Sabor, pp. 363–70 Appendix E).

