



## The Making of Jane Austen

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**Introduction: Jane Austen Matters**

1. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Knopf, 1953), 267. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

2. On celebrity, its emergence, and its history, see Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007). A century after her death, Austen became a literary “It” girl.

3. I mention Austen’s global resonances cursorily throughout this book, from the first illustrations of her fiction appearing in France in the 1820s, to the time, circa 1909, that a woman actor dressed as Jane Austen on a stage in South Africa and when a director sought to have one do so in Hungary. But the book’s focus is principally on the British, one-time Commonwealth, and American receptions of Austen. It was in those places that Austen’s legacy was most forcefully forged during her middle years. For further work on Austen’s global reception, see Laurence Raw and Robert G. Dryden, eds., *Global Jane Austen: Pleasure, Passion, and Possessiveness in the Jane Austen Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Anthony Mandal and Brian Southam, eds. *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe* (New York: Continuum, 2007); Gillian Dow, “Uses of Translation: The Global Jane Austen,” in *Uses of Austen: Jane’s Afterlives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 154–74; and Susannah Fullerton, “Pride and Prejudice Goes Overseas: The Translations,” in *Happily Ever After: Celebrating Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2013), 131–39. Future scholarly work on global Austen is needed and promises to shift conversations in further fruitful directions.

4. For the history of that familiarity and intimacy with authors, see Deidre Shauna Lynch, *Loving Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). As she puts it, the “logic of affect” among readers, literature, and its authors is “often perverse, aligning individuals and their desires in unexpected ways, or casting love as something that can collapse time and connect the living and the dead” (13).

5. Rudyard Kipling would later dub her “England’s Jane” in his poem “Jane’s Marriage.” Rudyard Kipling, *Debts and Credits* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 170–71.

6. Jane Austen to James Edward Austen, 16–17 December 1816, in *Jane Austen’s Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Faye, 4th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 337. The tone is clearly playful in context: “By the bye, my dear Edward, I am quite concerned

for the loss your Mother mentions in her Letter; two Chapters & a half to be missing is monstrous! It is well that *I* have not been at Steventon lately, & therefore cannot be suspected of purloining them;—two strong twigs & a half towards a Nest of my own, would have been something.—I do not think however that any theft of that sort would be really very useful to me. What should I do with your strong, manly, spirited Sketches, full of variety & Glow?—How could I possibly join them on to the little bit (two Inches wide) of Ivory on which I work with so fine a Brush, as produces little effect after much labour?” (337).

7. Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1.

8. David Cecil, foreword to *Jane Austen's Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. Brian Southam (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), ix.

9. The author attributes the origin of the phrase for a Shakespearean Austen to Thomas Babington Macaulay. Albert Romer Frye, *Sobriquets and Nicknames* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1887), 319. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. On Austen's relationship to Shakespeare, see John Wiltshire, *Recreating Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 58–76. On Austen's uses of Shakespeare, see Jocelyn Harris, *Jane Austen's Art of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

10. Fiona Ritchie, “Joanna Baillie: The Female Shakespeare,” in *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception and Performance*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Lena Cowen Orlin, and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 143.

11. J. J. English, “In Shakespeare's County,” *Victorian Review* 4 (October 1881): 652. G. H. Lewes, partner of Eliot, suggested Austen was a female Shakespeare.

12. One critic—who found Shakespeare gross and wrongly proud of it—worried that a female Shakespeare might one day emerge to “defy decency” thanks to “emancipation.” George Parsons Lathrop, “Audacity in Women Novelists,” *North American Review* 150 (May 1890): 616. This phenomenon could also be traced through the “female Scotts,” although that designation was significantly less often discussed.

13. On Richardson, see E. Cobham Brewer, *The Reader's Handbook of Allusions, References, Plots and Stories* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1880), 899. On Fielding, see Frye 319.

14. Goldwin Smith, *Lectures and Essays* (New York: Macmillan, 1881), 71. On Austen and Shakespeare, see Janine Barchas and Kristina Straub, “Curating *Will & Jane*,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40, no. 2 (April 2016): 1–35.

15. James Edward Austen-Leigh was Jane Austen's nephew by her eldest brother, James Austen. Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen, Lord Brabourne, was the son of Jane Austen's favorite niece, Fanny Knight. Several other book-length works on Austen had joined these two titles by the end of the century, including Sarah Tytler's [Henrietta Keddie], *Jane Austen and Her Works* (1880), designed for young readers, Sarah Fanny Malden's *Jane Austen* (1889), Goldwin Smith's *Life of Jane Austen* (1890), and Oscar Fay Adams's *The Story of Jane Austen's Life* (1890), a precursor to the Hills' pilgrimage to Austen-Land. See J. E. Austen-Leigh, *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Other Family Recollections*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

16. Emily Auerbach, *Searching for Jane Austen* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 7.

17. S. M. [Menella Bute Smedley], *The Maiden Aunt* (New York: D. Appleton, 1849), 1. The novel was first serialized in *Sharpe's Magazine* and then published in book form in London.

18. The author of the latter, Mrs. T. D. Crewdson, was indeed named Jane, but the point here is that the figure Aunt Jane circulated in popular culture. Elizabeth Warren, *Aunt Jane's Grammar: Question and Answer, for the Use of Schools and Families* (London: Charles Adeney, 1850). Mrs. T. D. [Jane] Crewdson, *Aunt Jane's Verses for Children*, 2nd ed. (London: Grant & Griffith, 1855). Prior to these books, there was also Christian Isobel Johnstone's collections of moral tales for children, *Nights of the Round Table; or, Stories of Aunt Jane and Her Friends*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1832).

19. The use of Jane Doe and Jane Roe as terms to describe an everywoman date back to the eighteenth century, although "Aunt" has a more indelicate slang history, as a euphemism either for bawd or madam or for going to the toilet.

20. Margaret Oliphant, "Miss Austen and Miss Mitford," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 105 (1870): 41. For an excellent discussion of Oliphant's views on Austen and her review of Austen-Leigh's memoir, see Katie Halsey, *Jane Austen and Her Readers, 1786–1945* (London: Anthem, 2012), 176.

21. [Richard Simpson], review of *Memoir of Jane Austen*, by James Edward Austen-Leigh, *North British Review* 52 (April 1870): 152.

22. Reports had it that they were "engaged a long time" in completing the work, said to be "mainly" by Constance. "A Life of Jane Austen," *Walsall Advertiser*, 28 September 1901, 3.

23. Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 10.

24. Constance Hill, *Jane Austen: Her Homes and Her Friends* (London: John Lane, 1902), v. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

25. Chapter 1, titled "An Arrival in Austen-Land," closes with Ellen Hill's drawing of a road sign pointing to Austen-Land. The sketch and photograph showing the signpost are reproduced in Claudia L. Johnson's *Jane Austen: Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 74–75. Johnson's discussion of the Hills' text is groundbreaking. She argues that Austen is presented as magical and that Austen-Land may take its inspiration from *Alice in Wonderland*. It's a compelling reading. In this section, I'm taking the analysis of the text in a more historical, familial direction that I hope is compelling as well. From surviving sketches and photographic evidence, the Austen-Land sign appears to be based on an actual signpost that was there in Chawton, at the fork in the road, across from Austen's late-life home, at the turn of the century (Johnson 74).

26. There may be no wooden signpost today that reads "To Austen-Land," but there are now road signs near Chawton, England, directing motorists to Jane Austen's House Museum. There are markers for pedestrians, leading through what's now called the Jane Austen Heritage Trail. The Hill sisters themselves later played a determining part in establishing Austen signage. Constance Hill planned, fundraised, and memorialized the author with a plaque, designed by Ellen, in Chawton in 1917, the centenary of Austen's death.

27. As Claudia Johnson notes, the Hills' book was "sustained," "elaborate," and "influential" (69).

28. Those editions were published in 1904 and 1923. See David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 512.

29. The Hills used their established narrative mix to produce books about places associated with other women authors including Frances Burney (*Juniper Hall: Rendezvous of Certain Illustrious Personages During the French Revolution, Including Alexander D'Arblay and Fanny Burney* [1904] and two other Burney-related titles), Mary Russell Mitford (*Mary Russell Mitford and Her Surroundings* [1920]), and Maria Edgeworth (*Maria Edgeworth and Her Circle: In the Days of Buonaparte and Bourbon* [1910]).

30. At the time, readers would have known that Jane wrote and Cassandra drew, although they would not yet have known their collaboratively authored and illustrated juvenile work, *The History of England*. Ellen, the artist, may even have been the first Austen-inspired sister. She depicted Austen's fictional characters in watercolor paintings exhibited in the 1880s. Ellen Hill exhibited a watercolor scene from *Emma*, "Going into Supper at the Crown." See "The Water Colour Institute," *Era*, 30 April 1887, 7. Three years earlier, she had exhibited "Catherine Morland at the Ball." See "The Dudley Gallery Art Society," *Standard*, 26 February 1884, 3.

31. Their book repeats the phrase "Aunt Jane" twenty times in the body of the text; the word "aunt" (not always to refer to Jane) appears some sixty times in the course of its 279 pages. By comparison, Austen-Leigh used the phrase "Aunt Jane" only seven times and "my aunt" seventeen times. Austen-Leigh seems to extend Austen's aunt-ness to a wider group (of relatives or perhaps of the public), referring once to "our own dear 'Aunt Jane'" (141).

32. The Hills removed this line from their book's second edition, for reasons unknown.

33. *Cornwall Artists Index Online*, n.d., s.v. "Ellen Gertrude Hill." When (Mary) Constance Hill died, she left an estate of £8,000. See Ancestry.com, *England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858–1966* (database on-line) (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2010), s.v. "Mary Constance Hill," probate date 5 March 1829. Original data: Principal Probate Registry, *Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England* (London).

34. "Art. II: In Memoriam: Mrs. Frederic Hill," *Englishwoman's Review* 173 (5 October 1887): 437.

35. The Hills' family of origin mattered a great deal to how they presented Aunt Jane to readers as a relative and public servant. Their father was penal reformer, Frederic Hill (1803–95), whose autobiography Constance edited in 1893. He was inspector of prisons and general secretary of the General Post Office. See Frederic Hill, *Frederic Hill: An Autobiography of Fifty Years in Times of Reform*, ed. Constance Hill (London: Richard Bentley, 1893). Uncle Rowland Hill (1795–1879) invented the penny postage system. Previous critics have noted these connections. The Hills' unexplored female ancestors prove more crucial to understanding the sisters' attraction to and repackaging of "Aunt Jane" Austen. Their mother, Martha Cowper (Hill) (1803–91), published children's books that date almost back to Austen's era ("Art. II" 437).

Constance and Ellen Hill's paternal aunts were also involved in reform work in prisons, education, female emigration, and temperance. Rosamond Davenport Hill

(1825–1902) and Florence Davenport Hill (1828/29–1919) were joint author-memoirists and editors of *their* parents' lives and writings. See Deborah Sara Gorham, "Hill, Rosamond Davenport (1825–1902)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2007). In the Hill family, "maiden aunts" were family writer-activists.

36. This book more often scrutinizes Austen's legacy for its impact on issues of gender difference. We would benefit from Austen legacy studies that focused principally on class, looking at the ways that her novels have been used to underwrite (and write underground) class difference. As James Thompson puts it, with cutting accuracy, representations and especially adaptations of Austen often "[turn] on the transcoding of class from brute exclusionary practice to class as elegance and grace, to class in a commodity culture." James Thompson, "How to Do Things with Jane Austen," in *Jane Austen and Co.: Remaking the Past on Contemporary Culture*, ed. Suzanne R. Pucci and James Thompson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 23.

The same might be said for the subject of Austen, race, and ethnicity—that her reputation rests on but doesn't highlight racial and ethnic exclusion. Not every one of Austen's characters is white, although her critically much-vaunted mixed-race ("half-mulatto") heiress, briefly featured in her unfinished last novel, *Sanditon* (1817), is little known among popular audiences. Jane Austen, *Later Manuscripts*, ed. Janet Todd and Linda Bree (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 202. The whiteness of Jane Austen's fiction has informed her scholarly and popular stature over two centuries. Although I touch on these implicit exclusions, they deserve more extended analysis in the growing Austen legacy studies corpus in a multiethnic and multinational framework.

### **Part 1 • Jane Austen, Illustrated**

1. Only a dozen essays—some very brief—on Austen and book illustration make up what we've had to go on to make sense of the subject, with much of that work focusing on the 1890s heyday. See Annika Bautz, "'In Perfect Volume Form, Price Sixpence': Illustrating *Pride and Prejudice* for a Late Victorian Mass-Market," in *Romantic Adaptations: Essays in Mediation and Remediation*, ed. Cian Duffy, Peter Howell, and Caroline Ruddell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 101–24; Laura Carroll and John Wiltshire, "Jane Austen, Illustrated," in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Claudia L. Johnson and Clara Tuite (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 62–78; Maggie Hunt Cohn, "Illustrations for Jane Austen," in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 219–22; David Gilson, "Later Publishing History, with Illustrations," in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121–59; Katie Halsey, *Jane Austen and Her Readers, 1786–1945* (London: Anthem Press, 2012); Claire Harman, *Jane's Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009); Joan Hassall, "Illustrating Jane Austen," in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 215–18; Sarah M. Horowitz, "Picturing *Pride and Prejudice*: Reading Two Illustrations of the 1890s," *Persuasions On-Line* 34, no. 1 (2013): n.p., Web; Andrew Maunder, "Making Heritage and History: The 1894 Illustrated *Pride and Prejudice*," *Nineteenth-Century Studies* 20 (2006): 147–69; Emily L. Newman, "Illustrating Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy: Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*,"

*Journal of Illustration* 1, no. 2 (2014): 233–56. Jeffrey Nigro, “Visualizing Jane Austen and Jane Austen Visualizing,” *Persuasions On-Line* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2008): n.p., Web; Keiko Parker, “Illustrating Jane Austen,” *Persuasions* 11 (1989): 22–27; Nadežda Rumjanceva, “‘And She Beheld a Striking Resemblance to Mr. Darcy’: Nineteenth-Century Illustrations of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*,” in *Pride and Prejudice 2.0: Interpretations, Adaptations and Transformations of Jane Austen’s Classic*, ed. Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2015), 51–76; B. C. Southam, introduction to *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage*, vol. 2, 1870–1940 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 1–158; Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen’s Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Chris Viveash, “Jane Austen—as You Desire Her,” *Jane Austen Society Report for 2015* (2015): 44–49.

2. The relative lack of information on the history of Austen and book illustration is not mirrored in studies of other authors. Sir Walter Scott’s pictorial legacy has enjoyed book-length treatment. See Richard Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010). Shakespeare studies benefit from several period-specific books of the subject. See, for instance, Stuart Sillars, *The Illustrated Shakespeare, 1709–1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). There is work considering Jane Austen and book covers. See Margaret C. Sullivan, *Jane Austen from Cover to Cover: 200 Years of Classic Covers* (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2014).

3. Sheila Kaye-Smith and G. B. Stern, *Talking of Jane Austen* (London: Cassell, 1943), 1. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

4. As J. Hillis Miller puts it, studying illustration is valuable because we look at “not just pictures and words separately, but the meanings and forces generated by their adjacency.” J. Hillis Miller, *Illustration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 9. Hillis Miller points out that this kind of investigation might begin by taking seriously the captions that accompany images and the interplay of text and image in illustrated books, newspapers, and magazines.

5. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997). The illustrations that David Gilson’s *Bibliography* catalogues appeared between 1823 and 1975, in at least 150 different editions, some of which were multivolume editions divided into as many as twelve separate books.

6. The *Database of Printed Illustrations to the Waverley Novels* contains just over 1,500 entries for British illustrations to Scott’s prose fiction. See Peter Garside and Ruth M. McAdams, *Illustrating Scott: A Database of Printed Illustrations to the Waverley Novels, 1814–1901* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2008–9), Web.

7. Most novels were believed destined for the circulating library, in volumes devoured once and returned. Books were expensive. For the few who could afford to buy them, works of fiction were rarely coveted as permanent additions to private libraries. On production, authorship, and circulation, see Peter Garside and Karen O’Brien, eds., *The Oxford History of the Novel in English*, vol. 2, *English and British Fiction 1750–1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3–69. See also Annika Bautz, *The Reception of Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott* (London: Continuum, 2007), 89–91.

8. See Terri Doerksen, “Framing the Narrative: Illustration and Pictorial Prose in Burney and Radcliffe,” in *Book Illustration in the Long Eighteenth Century: Reconfiguring the Visual Periphery of the Text*, ed. Christina Ionescu (Cambridge: Cambridge



Scholars Press, 2011), 466. A publisher making the work more appealing to buyers with an illustration didn't even necessarily provide any benefit to the author. The artists involved in illustrating *Evelina's* fourth edition received more money for their work than Burney did for writing the novel itself, yet her publisher wrote to tell her that the engravings had been done as a compliment to the lady-author. George Justice, "Burney and the Literary Marketplace," in *The Cambridge Companion to Frances Burney*, ed. Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 151.

9. For information on how much each novel made or lost, for each publisher or for Austen herself, see Jan Fergus, *Jane Austen: A Literary Life* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991); and Anthony Mandal, *Jane Austen and the Popular Novel: The Determined Author* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Austen's literary earnings amounted to at least £1,625, but a great deal of that was paid out posthumously to her family-member executors (Mandal 184).

10. Richard Bentley was the copyright holder in Britain from 1833 onward. Bautz, *The Reception of Jane Austen and Walter Scott*, 79. On Continental illustrations of Austen, see Anthony Mandal and Brian Southam, *The Reception of Jane Austen in Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007). A publisher might acquire the copyright to a work in exchange for a flat fee or under a number of potential financial terms, or the author might retain copyright and take on the financial risk of publication. (Austen published both ways.) Newly illustrated editions of a previously published title—legal ones, at any rate—were feasible with the copyright holder's initiative or support.

11. P., "Reputations Reconsidered: Jane Austen," *Academy* 53 (5 March 1898): 264.

12. Previous critics have often erroneously dated an explosion of interest in Austen's fiction to the publication of her nephew's biography of her, the first of its kind: James Edward Austen-Leigh's *Memoir of Jane Austen* (1870). But this claim simply doesn't hold up, as a recent critic points out, once we look at the history of Austen's singly published titles, in concert with the collected editions. According to Annika Bautz, "The evidence of single editions also suggests that the *Memoir* did not cause an instant upsurge of interest in Austen's novels . . . Editions . . . indicate that her popularity develops gradually, rather than being marked by turning points, so that the *Memoir* comes as part of an upward trend" (*The Reception of Jane Austen and Sir Walter Scott*, 81). Her recently collected data shows that a better indicator of Austen's gradually growing popularity might be (1) each title's release from copyright, (2) the period when all titles were finally available for reissue in collected editions, and (3) innovations in book production resulting in cheaper and better-quality books being printed and sold in new formats by century's end. The potential for illustration was determined by these factors, too.

13. Gilson, "Later Publishing" 123. On Chasselat, see Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, Biographical and Critical*, ed. Robert Graves (London: George Bell, 1886), 1: 266. Gilson's essay discusses and reproduces a few of these Austen images in foreign editions in his chapter.

### Chapter 1 • Austen's First English Illustrator

1. Anthony Mandal, *Jane Austen and the Popular Novel: The Determined Author* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 207. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.



2. Mandal (208) records their succession as *Emma* (February), *Mansfield Park* (April), *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion* (May), and *Pride and Prejudice* (July).
3. B. C. Southam, *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1968), 1:21.
4. See David Gilson, “D. Editions Published by Richard Bentley,” in *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 209–34. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
5. Greatbatch is sometimes mistakenly rendered “Greatbach.” See F. M. O’Donoghue, “Salter, William (bap. 1804, d. 1875),” rev. Morna O’Neill, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Web.
6. Llewellynn Frederick William Jewitt, *The Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1883), 396.
7. “Mr. Salter’s Picture of the Waterloo Banquet,” *Polytechnic Journal* 4 (June 1841): 387.
8. Maggie Hunt Cohn attributes them to “One ‘Pickering’” in “Illustrations for Jane Austen,” in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 219. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. The attributions to “probably George” Pickering originated with Gilson (“D. Editions” 213). David Gilson also refers to Bentley’s Standard Novels Austen illustrations as by Greatbatch, “after, probably, George Pickering,” in “Later Publishing History, with Illustrations,” in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121–59.
9. Albert Nicholson, “Pickering, George (1794–1857),” rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2008), Web.
10. Laura Carroll and John Wiltshire mistakenly attribute the images outright to “George Pickering” in “Jane Austen, Illustrated,” in *A Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Claudia L. Johnson and Clara Tuite (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 63. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. So, too, does Emily L. Newman, noting that “not much is known” about him. Emily L. Newman, “Illustrating Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy,” *Journal of Illustration* 1, no. 2 (2014): 236. Despite this received error, her essay is an excellent one.
11. My essay in the *London Magazine* first provided the information for the new attribution. See Devoney Looser, “Jane Austen, Illustrated,” *London Magazine: A Review of Literature and the Arts*, October/November 2015, 92–112.
12. Records indicate Ferdinand’s birth was November 21, 1810, and that he was baptized January 13, 1811. See London Metropolitan Archives, St Pancras Old Church, Camden, register of baptisms, including index, Jan 1810–Dec 1812, P90/PAN1/010.
13. To date, the only repository to make the correct attribution is the British Museum’s *Collection Online*, for sixteen digitized frontispieces and vignettes attributed “After Ferdinand Pickering,” including those for two of Bentley’s Jane Austen novels. See British Museum, *Collection Online*, Web.
14. Cohn rightly points out that Cassandra Austen was Jane Austen’s first illustrator (219), but here I refer to Pickering as Austen’s first professional British illustrator in a print publication.
15. David Gilson, “Later Publishing History, with Illustrations,” in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 127, 128.

16. Robert L. Patten, “Bentley, Richard (1794–1871),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
17. Royal A. Gettmann, *A Victorian Publisher: A Study of the Bentley Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 52–53.
18. For derivative American editions using Pickering, see Gilson, *Bibliography*, entries E21, E24 (246–47).
19. Kathryn Sutherland suggests that the Cranfordization phenomenon of the 1890s may have played a role in MGM’s Victorian-costumed *Pride and Prejudice* (1940), another plausible origin story, in *Jane Austen’s Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 344. For an explanation of Cranfordization, see chapter 3 on the 1890s Austen illustration boom.
20. [Thomas Babington Macaulay], review of *Diary and Letters of Madame D’Arblay*, *Edinburgh Review* 76 (1 January 1843): 561.
21. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay*, ed. Thomas Pinney, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 2:253.
22. Christopher Wood, *The Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors Club), 369. See also Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904* (London: Henry Graves, 1906), 6:137.
23. Angus Easson and Margaret Brown, “The Letters of Charles Dickens: Supplement VII,” *Dickensian* 103, no. 1 (2007): 38. Pickering’s name and address were noted in Dickens’s diary on March 10, 1838, leading some scholars to suspect that is when Pickering may have begun the portrait. As Easson and Brown write, “No portrait of CD by [Pickering] is known to exist” (39n3).
24. Charles Dickens to John Forster, 4 January 1839, in Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson, eds., *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, vol. 1, 1820–1870, 1st release, electronic ed. (Charlottesville, VA: InteLex Corp, 2001), n.p.
25. Richard Ormond, “Art Students through a Teacher’s Eyes: The Royal Academy Schools in the 1860s,” *Country Life*, 23 May 1968, 1348. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
26. On fifty years, see “The Registration Courts,” *Morning Post*, 24 September 1885, 3.
27. David Robertson, “Cope, Charles West (1811–1890),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
28. “Bigamy,” *Hampshire Chronicle*, 15 June 1867, 7.
29. “Charge of Bigamy,” *London Standard*, 27 May 1867, 7.
30. William de Morgan, *Alice-for-Short: A Dichronism* (London: Heinemann, 1907), 118. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
31. J. Hillis Miller, *Illustration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 61.

## Chapter 2 • Visual Austen Experiments

1. This situation is changing as emerging scholarship on Austen and her illustrations—and generous Janeites in their blog postings—share digital images. See also Margaret C. Sullivan, *Jane Austen from Cover to Cover: 200 Years of Classic Covers* (Philadelphia: Quirk Books, 2014).

2. David Gilson, “Later Publishing History, with Illustrations,” in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

3. Katie Halsey, *Jane Austen and Her Readers, 1786–1945* (London: Anthem Press, 2012), 111. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 241. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

4. Michael Sadleir, “Yellow-Backs,” in *New Paths in Book Collecting: Essays by Various Hands*, ed. John Carter (London: Constable, 1934), 133.

5. On noted, see Gilson, *Bibliography* 244. On Shakespeare, see Paul Goldman, “John Gilbert as a Book Illustrator: Master of Historical Romance,” in *Sir John Gilbert: Art and Imagination in the Victorian Age*, ed. Spike Bucklow and Sally Woodcock (Farnham, UK: Lund Humphries, 2011), 92.

6. Gilbert became president of the Old Watercolour Society. See Lisa Small, “Gilbert, Sir John (1817–1897),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Web. Stuart Sillars includes discussion of Gilbert in his *The Illustrated Shakespeare, 1709–1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 289–91. Sillars suggests Gilbert brought “immediacy” and “vigor” to Shakespeare through his illustrations, descriptors that it is difficult to apply to his Austen image (323).

7. It was in a poem dedicated to a rival Austen illustrator. See Austin Dobson, “To Hugh Thomson (with a Copy of Sir John Gilbert’s Shakespeare),” in *The Complete Poetical Works of Austin Dobson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 442.

8. Paul Goldman, “John Gilbert as a Book Illustrator: Master of Historical Romance,” in *Sir John Gilbert: Art and Imagination in the Victorian Age*, ed. Spike Bucklow and Sally Woodcock (Farnham, UK: Lund Humphries, 2011), 95.

9. Timothy Wilcox, “‘He Kinged It There among the Nigglers’: Sir John Gilbert and the Royal Watercolour Society,” in Bucklow and Woodcock, *Sir John Gilbert*, 129.

10. Sullivan includes this image, along with other Austen yellowback covers, in *Jane Austen: Cover to Cover* (24).

11. Deirdre Gilbert, “From Cover to Cover: Packaging Jane Austen from Egerton to Kindle,” *Persuasions On-Line* 29, no. 1 (2008): n.p., Web. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

12. Lydon, although less renowned than his mentor Fawcett, comes down to us with a reputation for being “a man of great industry, skill and sterling high character,” whose talents are credited with establishing the “house style” for which Fawcett’s engravings became known. Lydon had “joined Fawcett as an apprentice wood-engraver” in 1854, but he would move fully into drawing, completing work on which Fawcett’s famed engravings are based. Qtd. in Ruari McLean and Antonia McLean, *Benjamin Fawcett: Engraver and Colour Printer* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1988), 58; 36.

13. [Anna Cabot Lowell Quincy], “Jane Austen,” *Atlantic Monthly* 11 (February 1863): 236. Quincy’s essay was reprinted, among other places, in Goldwin Smith, *Life of Jane Austen* (London: Walter Scott, 1890), 140. The anecdote she describes is said to have included among its participating men Thomas Babington Macaulay and Arthur Hallam. The story was still circulating in the 1920s.

14. Logan Pearsall Smith, *Reperusals and Recollections* (London: Constable, 1936), 366.

15. *Northanger Abbey* is a novel title that Austen may not have had a hand in choosing, as it was published posthumously. We know that an earlier version of the work was initially sold to a publisher (who then did not publish it after all) as *Susan* in 1803.

16. “Presentation to Mr. A. F. Lydon at Driffeld,” *Driffeld Times*, 25 August 1883, 2.

17. “New Books,” *Driffeld Times*, 21 January 1871, 2.

18. A.F.L. [Lydon], *Fairy Mary’s Dream* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1870), n.p.

19. Qtd. in McLean and McLean 22.

20. See Annika Bautz, “‘In Perfect Volume Form, Price Sixpence’: Illustrating *Pride and Prejudice* for a Late Victorian Mass-Market,” in *Romantic Adaptations: Essays in Mediation and Remediation*, ed. Cian Duffy, Peter Howell, and Caroline Ruddell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 101–24. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. See also Emily L. Newman, “Illustrating Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy,” *Journal of Illustration* 1, no. 2 (2014): 243.

21. Bautz 111. In the United States, *Harper’s Franklin Square Library* (although unillustrated), functioned similarly to *Dick’s* and included two of Austen’s novels (*Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility*) in its cheap reprint series, starting in 1880. These novels were sold in paper covers, unbound, at a price of fifteen cents.

22. Janine Barchas, “Sense, Sensibility, and Soap: An Unexpected Case Study in Digital Resources for Book History,” *Book History* 16 (2013): 185–214.

### Chapter 3 • A Golden Age for Illustrated Austen

1. Susannah Fullerton, “Illustrating and Covering *Pride and Prejudice*,” in *Happily Ever After: Celebrating Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2013), 143.

2. Illustrators of Austen-inspired graphic novels must have surpassed Thomson, which is why the word “traditional” is invoked here.

3. On first and second golden age, see Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, *Christina Rossetti and Illustration: A Publishing History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), 56.

4. It is difficult to tell whether Austen’s illustrators were leading the charge or reflecting and repeating others’ gradually changing conceptions of her and her fiction. Regardless, their illustrations had the potential to reach and potentially influence many more reader-viewers.

5. Olivia Fitzpatrick and Debby Shorley, *Illustrated by Hugh Thomson, 1860–1920: A Library Exhibition* (Belfast: University of Ulster at Belfast, 1989), n.p. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

6. “For girls we can conceive of no better gift than the new edition of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*.” “The Gift Books of the Year: A Brief Survey,” *Review of Reviews*, 14 December 1895, 558.

7. “Messrs. Dent’s Christmas List: A Selection,” *Athenaeum* 3868 (14 December 1901): 821.

8. Henry James, *The Question of Our Speech: The Lesson of Balzac; Two Lectures* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905), 61–62. James’s essay was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

9. David Gilson, “Later Publishing History, with Illustrations,” in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 138. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

10. Claudia L. Johnson, "Austen Cults and Cultures," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 232.
11. Hairstyles proved difficult for illustrators to render with historical accuracy. See Joan Hassall, "Illustrating Jane Austen," in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 215–18. Hassall was the Austen illustrator daughter of another Austen illustrator, John Hassall, discussed in chapter 8.
12. "The New Books: Recent American and English Publications," *Review of Reviews* 10 (December 1894): 697.
13. Olivia Fitzpatrick, "Thomson, Hugh (1860–1920)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Web.
14. Harry G. Aldis, rev. John Carter and E. A. Crutchley, "Book Illustration," in *Reader in the History of Books and Printing*, ed. Paul A. Winckler (Englewood, CO: Indian Head, 1978), 122.
15. Patrick Spedding counts sixteen titles in Macmillan's New Cranford Series and forty in its Illustrated Standard Novels in "Macmillan's New Cranford Series and Illustrated Standard Novels," *Research Notes / Informal Writing* (blog), 7 July 2011.
16. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894), 89. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
17. Fitzpatrick and Shorley n.p.
18. Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 9. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as *Jane Austen*.
19. Michael Felmingham, *The Illustrated Gift Book 1880–1930* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1988), 40.
20. M. H. Spielmann and Walter Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson: His Art, His Letters, His Humour, and His Charm* (London: A. C. Black, 1931), 86. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
21. Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 28 March 1891, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 120.
22. Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 18 December 1891, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 122.
23. Memorandum of agreement between Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 1 December 1893, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 125. Macmillan agreed to give him three pence per copy for every one sold over ten thousand in British dominions and one penny per copy in America. There is a letter, too, suggesting that Macmillan may have wanted to purchase Thomson's *Pride and Prejudice* illustrations from George Allen but that there was no willingness to sell. See Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 8 March 1894, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 126. In 1903, Thomson agreed to lower his royalty rate to two from three pence, due to a lowering of prices in the Illustrated Standard Novels Series. Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 1 October 1903, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 141.
24. Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 15 August 1912, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 179.
25. Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 24 March 1915, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 195.

26. For Macmillan's gift to Thomson of an unspecified large sum of money, see Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 18 December 1917, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 198. On the letter about the publisher's supporting his receiving a pension, see Hugh Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 15 May 1918, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 200.

27. This fact is revealed in a letter from Thomson's wife, Jessie Thomson to Macmillan & Co., 12 July 1920, British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 55231, f. 243. His biographers mentions the death but not the debt. Spielmann and Jerrold 85–86.

28. E. M. Forster, "Jane, How Shall We Ever Recollect?" *New Republic* (30 January 1924): n.p., Web. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

29. Kathryn Sutherland, "Jane Austen on Screen," in Copeland and McMaster, *Cambridge Companion*, 219. She notes his illustrations were "visually influential far into the twentieth century." They remain influential today.

30. Johnson 232. In her book *Jane Austen: Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), she revises her assessment down to "lavishly" and omits "inane" (68).

31. Claire Harman, *Jane's Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009), 160.

32. For a precise accounting of these Brock illustrations and Austen editions, using Gilson's bibliography, see Cinthia García Soria, "Austen Illustrators Henry and Charles Brock," *Mollands Circulating Library*, accessed 21 April 2016, <http://www.mollands.net/etexts/other/brocks.html>.

33. C. M. Kelly, *The Brocks: A Family of Cambridge Artists and Illustrators* (London: Charles Skilton, 1975), 52–57. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

34. Sarah M. Horowitz, "Picturing *Pride and Prejudice*: Reading Two Illustrations of the 1890s," *Persuasions On-Line* 34, no. 1 (2013), n.p., Web.

35. On "Hammond, Christopher," see Harman 334. On Hammond as influenced by the Brocks, see Simon Houfe, *The Dictionary of 19th Century Book Illustrators and Caricaturists* (Suffolk: Antiques Collectors Club, 1996), 166.

36. Alfred Forman, "Chris Hammond: In Memoriam," *Argosy*, July 1900, 346. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as "Chris."

37. Alfred Forman, "The Late Chris. Hammond," *Sketch*, 23 May 1900, 194. Subsequent references cited in the text as "The Late."

38. Jane Austen, *Emma*, with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs and illustrations by Chris Hammond (London: George Allen, 1898), 138.

39. Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs and illustrations by Chris Hammond (London: George Allen, 1899), 65.

40. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, ed. Janet Todd and Antje Blank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 73.

41. [H. C. Beeching], *Pages from a Private Diary* (London: Smith, Elder, 1898), 110. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. Beeching envisions Austen's receiving illustrated treatment in the periodicals of the 1860s, where many Victorian fiction greats were first serialized.

42. As Gilson notes, this edition was republished in 1925 by George Harrap, "identical with the original issue." David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev.

ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 285. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. What constituted “complete” in this era had also become subject to debate, as Austen’s letters, some recently released juvenilia pieces, and the unfinished novels were sometimes touted as necessary for “completeness.”

43. “Noteworthy Fall Books,” *Dial* 45 (1908): 99. The ad also suggests the Chatto & Windus edition is the only “complete set” with “colored illustrations” in a “convenient size.”

44. Jane Austen, *The Novels of Jane Austen in Ten Volumes*, vol. 9, *Mansfield Park* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909), 212.

45. Skrenda’s little fame at the time rested on his editions of *Minute Stories of the Bible* (1932) and *Minute Wonders of the World* (1933), also published by Grosset and Dunlap. Skrenda was an American, based in New York for much of his life, having served in both world wars, in World War I as a seaman and as a painter. In his 1942 World War II enlistment record, he declared himself single and without dependents, listing his profession as commercial artist. See National Archives and Records Administration, *U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938–1946* (database online), s.v. “Alfred G. Skrenda,” 6 August 1942 (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2005).

46. F. Maurice Speed, *Movie Cavalcade: The Story of the Cinema—Its Stars, Studios, and Producers* (London: Raven Books, 1944). Paul Monaco, *A History of American Movies: A Film-by-Film Look at the Art, Craft, and Business of Cinema* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 141.

47. Deirdre Gilbert, “From Cover to Cover: Packaging Jane Austen from Egerton to Kindle,” *Persuasions On-Line* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2008): n.p., Web.

48. Arnie Davis, *Photoplay Editions and Other Movie Tie-In Books: The Golden Years; 1912–1969* (East Waterboro, ME: Mainely Books, 2002), 182–83.

49. Emily L. Newman, “Illustrating Elizabeth Bennet and Mr. Darcy,” *Journal of Illustration* 1, no. 2 (2014): 236.

50. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, shortened version prepared by H. Oldfield Box (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1951). Box made a radio version for the BBC Home Service, which aired in parts from May 28 to August 13, 1950 (Gilson, *Bibliography* 328). Box prepared many classic novels in this format, including titles by Charlotte Brontë and Anthony Trollope, and also produced a 1948 radio dramatization of *Emma*.

## Part 2 • Jane Austen, Dramatized

1. A. B. Walkley, “The Drama: *The Bennets*,” *Literature*, 6 April 1901, 261.

2. Claire Harman devotes one page to dramatization in *Jane’s Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009), 214. B. C. Southam’s *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage*, vol. 2, 1870–1940 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987) doesn’t mention them. Juliette Wells considers them briefly through collector Alberta Burke’s scrapbooks of Austeniana on radio, stage, and film in *Everybody’s Jane: Austen in the Popular Imagination* (London: Continuum, 2011), 47–51. The most extensive discussions are Chris Viveash on Rosina Filippi in “The Bennets on Stage,” in *Jane Austen Society: Collected Reports, 2001–2005* (2003): 243–48; and Andrew Wright, “Jane Austen Adapted,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 3 (December 1975): 421–53. Wright published this material in slightly different, shortened form in “Dramatizations of the Novel,” in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New



York: Macmillan, 1986), 120–30. More typical is Marc DiPaolo's *Emma Adapted: Jane Austen's Heroine from Book to Film* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), which leaves dramatization (but not television) out of its equation of "from book to film."

3. At first, it was not a happy financial event. MGM's *Pride and Prejudice* proved a moderate success with audiences but, because of its high production costs, incurred an initial loss of \$241,000. See H. Mark Glancy, *When Hollywood Loved Britain: The Hollywood "British" Film 1939–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 89.

4. Sue Birtwistle and Susie Conklin, *The Making of Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin, 1995), 98.

5. A few previous critics have recognized the play's influence, even if they haven't approved its plot choices. Emily Auerbach argues, for instance, that Jerome's "distorted approach to Austen," through Huxley and Murfin's screenplay, "reached an enormous audience." Emily Auerbach, *Searching for Jane Austen* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 278.

6. Robert Grey, "The Scotch and the Drama," *Green Book Album* 3 (1910): 1260.

7. Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 95.

8. H. Philip Bolton, *Women Writers Dramatized: A Calendar of Performances from Narrative Works Published in English to 1900* (London: Mansell, 2000), 75. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

9. Bolton used data from the United States and the UK only. See also Karen E. Laird, *The Art of Adapting Victorian Literature: Dramatizing "Jane Eyre," "David Copperfield," and "The Woman in White"* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

10. Catherine Hamilton, *Women Writers: Their Works and Ways*, 1st ser. (London: Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1892), 194–95. On Hamilton, see Brian Corman, *Women Novelists before Jane Austen: The Critics and Their Canons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

11. George Saintsbury, preface to *Pride and Prejudice*, by Jane Austen (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2005), xi–xii.

12. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1997), 403–18. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. With so much material to work with, you'd think that there would be a significant body of scholarship on the subject. Yet, despite their popularity with audiences, stage versions of Austen have not always been considered a welcome innovation by critics. The plays are usually declared disappointments in studies of Austen.

13. The few who have approached the subject of Austen dramatization have set out to summarize the plays in order to measure their fidelity to the original novels. Most decide, with David Gilson, that "the texts read uniformly badly" (*Bibliography*, 405). As the foremost scholar of Austen dramatization, Andrew Wright, put it in a 1975 essay, these dramatizations prove "the all too easily demonstrable fact that no one writes Jane Austen as well as Jane Austen." Andrew Wright, "Jane Austen Adapted," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 3 (1975): 423. Wright acknowledges, however, that "dramatization can make her novels more widely known" (420).

14. B. C. Southam, introduction to *Jane Austen's Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. B. C. Southam (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 8. Subsequent reference cited parenthetically in the text.

15. Joseph Roach, "Bodies of Doctrine: Headshots, Jane Austen, and the Black Indians of Mardi Gras," *Choreographing History*. Ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 150.

16. Rosina Filippi, *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen: Arranged and Adapted for Drawing-Room Performance* (London: J. M. Dent, 1895), viii. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text to this edition.

#### Chapter 4 • Austen's First Dramatist

1. Reading novels aloud also has a long history apart from the stage. See Patricia Michaelson, *Speaking Volumes: Women, Reading, and Speech in the Age of Austen* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002).

2. Some bibliographies list an American version of *Pride and Prejudice* published in 1895. Davis Risdon's *Pride and Prejudice* (1895) was a Western melodrama set in Louisville that owes nothing to Austen's story. If Risdon's title is making a sly reference to Austen, it is doing so without any connection to the novel's contents. See Davis Risdon, *Pride and Prejudice: An Original Drama in Prologue and Four Acts* (Gallup, NM: Gleaner, 1895).

3. Laurence Irving, *The Successors* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967), 69.

4. "Literary Topics in Boston: Boston, December 20, 1894," *Book Buyer* 11 (January 1895): 737. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

5. See, for instance, W. Eliot Fette, *Dialogues from Dickens for School and Home Amusement*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1874; originally published in 1869). See also H. Philip Bolton, *Dickens Dramatized* (London: Mansell, 1987).

6. Rosina Filippi, *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen: Arranged and Adapted for Drawing-Room Performance* (London: J. M. Dent, 1895), vii. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

7. "Jane Austen Dramatized," *Times* (London), 24 May 1895, 13.

8. Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Puccini: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 31, 32. On Verdi and Wagner, see Gundula Kreuzer, *Verdi and the Germans: From Unification to the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112.

9. Per Ahlander, "Madame Pauline Vaneri Filippi—an Anglo-Scottish-French-Italian Revolutionary?," unpublished paper, *Academia.edu*. On the Filippis, see G. Gasparella, "Un critico d'arte e musica: Filippo Filippi," *La Rassegna Nazionale* 120 (1901): 300–34.

10. "Jane Austen for the Stage," *Sketch* 9 (1895): 709. Madame Colmache was the avowed editor of her late husband's papers, published by Henry Colburn. It's possible she was more than an editor. See M. Colmache, *Revelations of the Life of Prince Talleyrand*, edited from the papers of the late M. Colmache, private secretary to the prince, 2nd ed. (London: Henry Colburn, 1850).

11. Obituary, Madame Colmache, *Times* (London), 26 January 1904, 6. Anne Thackeray Ritchie (William Thackeray's daughter) mentions visiting the Colmache daughters, Pauline and Laura, in Paris. Their grandmothers were friends. See John Aplin, *The Inheritance of Genius: A Thackeray Family Biography, 1798–1875* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2010), 51.

12. Obituary, Rosina Filippi, *Times* (London), 28 February 1930, 9.

13. Ancestry.com, *1881 England Census* (database online) (Provo, UT: Ancestry .com Operations, 2011), s.v. “Georgina Colmache.” Ancestry.com, *1911 England Census* (database online) (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2011). A later record describes her daughter, Laura Colmache as a single professor of music, and another record finds Rosina as a niece in a London household with Laura and one servant. See Ancestry .com, *1891 England Census* (database online) (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2005), s.v. “Sanna [Laura] Colmache.” That record reports Rosina as having been born in Italy.

14. “A School for the Drama,” *Bow Bells*, 8 May 1896, 480.

15. Richard Findlater, *Lilian Baylis: The Lady of the Old Vic* (London: Allen Lane, 1975), 106.

16. Harcourt Williams, *Old Vic Saga* (London: Winchester, 1949), 25.

17. The production was canceled because of high costs, although Filippi went on to play Lady Britomart in Shaw’s *Lady Barbara*. See Ann L. Ferguson, *The Instinct of an Artist: Shaw and the Theater; An Exhibition from the Bernard F. Burgunder Collection of George Bernard Shaw* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 1997), 13–14.

18. Rosina Filippi to George Bernard Shaw, n.d., British Library Western Manuscripts, Add MS 50515, vol. VII, f. 100.

19. Steve Turner, *The Band That Played On: The Extraordinary Story of the 8 Musicians Who Went Down with the Titanic* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2011), 77. One of the musicians that Dowson played with in Oxford went down with the Titanic.

20. On Filippi’s work establishing a low-cost people’s repertory theater, see Susie Gilbert, *Opera for Everybody: The Story of English National Opera* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 22. As Gilbert notes, “From April 1914, Filippi started, on a shoestring, to present two Shakespeare plays a week. Her season was, however, short-lived and ill-attended” (22). It’s an interesting fact of Janeite history that the most famous British and American proponents of a repertory theater for the poor were visionary, progressive women who wrote, directed, or acted in Austen plays. For the American-based innovator of repertory theater and of Austen, see chapter 6 on Eva Le Gallienne and *Dear Jane* (1932).

21. Review of *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen: Arranged and Adapted for Drawing-Room Performance*, by Rosina Filippi, *Bookman* 8 (July 1895): 120.

22. Review of *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen: Arranged and Adapted for Drawing-Room Performance*, by Rosina Filippi, *Cambridge Review* 16 (6 June 1895): 382–83.

23. Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh was the grandson of James Edward Austen-Leigh, Austen’s nephew and author of the *Memoir*.

24. Robin Myers, “Leigh, Richard Arthur Austen (1872–1961),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., May 2009), Web.

25. Review of *Duologues*, *Cambridge Review*, 383.

26. As one reviewer notes, “We believe that most of them have been several times performed in Oxford ‘with great applause.’” Review of *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen*, by Rosina Filippi, *Athenaeum* 3536 (3 August 1895): 171.

27. “Notes and Comments,” *Oxford University Extension Gazette*, September 1895, 120.

28. Margaret Fletcher, *Christian Feminism: A Charter of Rights and Duties* (London: P. S. King and Sons, 1915).

29. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Pat Rogers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 391. The novel having Elizabeth think to herself, “How could I ever think her like her nephew?” seems a more reflective and less angry rendering than Filippi’s interpretation.

30. Ernest Pertwee, ed., *The Reciter’s Treasury of Prose and Drama* (London: George Routledge, 1904), 433–45. Pertwee includes “Lady Catherine’s Visit” and “Literary Tastes” (from *Northanger Abbey*).

31. In an 1895 interview, Filippi identifies herself as an actor, a writer, and a teacher, with teacher the most prized role among them. “Madame Vinard: A Chat with Miss Rosina Filippi,” supplement, *Sketch*, 25 December 1895, 6.

32. H. Philip Bolton, *Women Writers Dramatized: A Calendar of Performances from Narrative Works Published in England to 1900* (London: Mansell, 2000), 15. Bolton catalogues two Filippi-derived Austen radio plays from 1924 and 1925.

33. Fanny Johnson, “School Plays,” *School World: A Monthly Magazine of Educational Work and Progress* 11 (March 1909): 100. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

34. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1997), 405–17. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

35. See the card index of Lord Chamberlain’s Plays Correspondence files, arranged alphabetically by title, at the British Library, for further information. It includes early *Pride and Prejudice* playscripts by Dorinda Hartley, Christine Longford, A. Watson (for a play performed at a girls’ school), Edith Hoare, and Mary Whelan.

36. Sybil Thorndike to Miss Booth, 7 November 1933, collection of the author. Thorndike suggests that she’s returned Booth’s script to Mr. Mudd, who sent it on to Dame May Whitty. Thorndike’s brother Russell was Filippi’s son-in-law. Dame May Whitty had previously played Mrs. Bennet in a 1922 production of *Pride and Prejudice*.

37. Fanny Johnson, *Dramatic Scenes from English Literature, Selected and Adapted by Fanny Johnson* (London: Edward Arnold, n.d.). Gilson estimates a publication of 1909 (*Bibliography* 416). Johnson adapted a scene from *Northanger Abbey*. On Johnson, see Victoria Millington, *Fanny Eliza Johnson: A Thoroughly Modern Victorian Headmistress, Bolton High School for Girls 1888–1893* (West Yorkshire, Royd Press, 2008). The biography records Johnson’s having acted scenes from Shakespeare as a girl and from Dickens when headmistress of the school (58). By 1912, she was press secretary for the Cambridge women’s suffrage association (132), keeping the issue alive during the war and working directly counter to Jane Austen’s descendant and antisuffrage activist Florence Austen-Leigh, as we’ll see in chapter 11. Fanny Johnson was the sister of Reginald Brimley Johnson, the Austen critic and first editor of the *J. M. Dent Austen*, illustrated by William Cooke, as described in chapter 2 (Millington 132). Her younger sister Alice was a member of the Society for Psychical Research and worked with Richard Hodgson (described in chapter 12). Alice devoted considerable time to the study of automatic writing (141). The Johnsons seem to have had their hand in every form of popular Austen.

38. Review of *Duologues*, *Bookman*, 120.

39. See “Ohio,” *Public Libraries: A Monthly Review of Library Matters and Methods* 20 (1915): 504.

40. “The Story of the Helen Hunt Club,” in *Memoirs of the Miami Valley*, ed. John C. Hover et al., 3 vols. (Chicago: Robert O. Law, 1919), 2:219.

41. Mary Keith (Medbery) MacKaye, [Mrs. Steele], *Pride and Prejudice: A Play, Founded on Jane Austen’s Novel* (New York: Duffield, 1906).

42. On Scott, see also H. Philip Bolton, *Scott Dramatized* (London: Mansell, 1992).

43. Rosina Filippi, *Duologues and Scenes from the Novels of Jane Austen: Arranged and Adapted for Drawing-Room Performance*, 2nd ed. (London: J. M. Dent, 1904), n.p.

44. Sophie M. Trasel and Elizabeth D. Williams, “Mr. Collins in Search of a Wife: Being Scenes from Jane Austen’s Novel ‘Pride and Prejudice’” (Unpublished script, 1903).

45. Phosphor Mallam, *Mr. Collins Proposes: From “Pride and Prejudice” by Jane Austen*, arranged as a dialogue or scene (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1912); Phosphor Mallam, *Lady Catherine Is Annoyed with Elizabeth Bennet: From “Pride and Prejudice” by Jane Austen*, arranged as a dialogue or scene (London: J. Curwen & Sons, 1912). These pamphlets appeared in the series *Sketches from Classical Authors*.

46. Margaret Macnamara, *Elizabeth Refuses: A Miniature Comedy from Jane Austen’s “Pride and Prejudice”* (London: Joseph Williams, 1926). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. Macnamara added new material in her revised edition of 1947. On Macnamara, see Patricia Lufkin, “An Analysis of the Plays of Margaret Macnamara” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2002). Lufkin says the Austen plays earned Macnamara enough for a lifetime annuity of £200 (215, 4).

### Chapter 5 • *Playing Mr. Darcy before Laurence Olivier*

1. Sue Birtwistle and Susie Conklin, *The Making of Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin, 1995), 98.

2. Laurence Olivier, *On Acting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 183.

3. There was one moving-image Darcy before Olivier, in a 1938 BBC TV version, which does not survive. See Deborah Cartmell, *Screen Adaptations: Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice: The Relationship between Text and Film* (London: Methuen, 2010). She notes that it was broadcast from Alexandra Palace (London) with a transmission range of twenty-five miles. Its Darcy was Andrew Osborn (1910–85).

4. Nicholas Barber, “*Pride and Prejudice* at 20: The Scene That Changed Everything,” *BBC Culture*, 22 September 2015, n.p., Web. On Firth’s Darcy and the problem of Darcy on film, see Roger Sales, *Jane Austen and Representations of Regency England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 234–36.

5. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, “A Practical Understanding of Literature on Screen: Two Conversations with Andrew Davies,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Literature on Screen*, ed. Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 244.

6. P.C., “The Theatre: Some Trial Matinees; The German Theatre,” *Speaker*, 6 April 1901, 17, 18. On the cultural interpenetration of fiction, book illustration, and dramatization, see Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton, 1983). Much of Meisel’s argument has interesting resonances with Austen, but he mentions her just once, in passing.

7. The program for *The Bennets* survives in the Victoria & Albert Theatre and Performance Archive. The playscript is missing from the Lord Chamberlain's Plays at the British Library.

8. Williams directed *Pot and Kettle* in 1909. See *The Methuen Drama Book of Suffrage Plays*, ed. Naomi Paxton (London: Methuen, 2013), 50.

9. "Drama: The Week," *Athenaeum*, no. 3832 (6 April 1901): 443. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

10. "Heard in the Green Room," *Sketch*, 5 February 1908, 118.

11. Johnson Briscoe, "March 30: E. Harcourt Williams," in *The Actor's Birthday Book* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1907), 82.

12. A. B. Walkley, "The Drama: *The Bennets*," *Literature*, 6 April 1901, 262. One of Harcourt Williams's contemporaries, writing later, suggested this was a pattern of regular, "unconscious imitation" on Williams's part, as a young actor of "tremendous ambition" who had "admiration for Martin Harvey." Constance Benson, *Mainly Players: Bensonian Memories* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1926), 155.

13. Walkley 262.

14. "Sir John Martin-Harvey (1863–1944), Actor and Theatre Manager," in *Collections* (London: National Portrait Gallery, n.d.).

15. Max, "Mr. Lyall Swete in Two Plays," *Saturday Review*, 6 April 1901, 438.

16. *Ibid.* 437–38.

17. "Court Theatre," *Times* (London), 30 March 1901, 14.

18. "Dramatics: The Zeta Alpha Play," *Wellesley Magazine* 7, no. 9 (June 1899): 475–76. This was an era in which women playing men's parts on the stage was fashionable. Edmond Rostand wrote his play *L'Aiglon* (1900), about Napoleon's son, with Sarah Bernhardt in mind. She played the part in Paris and London, and it became one of her signature roles.

19. Spencer Ogden, "Drama at the Women's Colleges," *Puritan* 8, no. 2 (May 1900): 155. Miss Willis appears, from class notes, to have been Clara Lucretia Willis (b. 1872–?). Although there is no scholarship yet on cross-dress Austen performances, there is a robust body of work on women playing Shakespearean male parts. See Tony Howard, *Women as Hamlet: Performance and Interpretation in Theatre, Film and Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

20. "Biography & History: Family History," in *MacKaye Family Papers, 1751–1998*, Rauner Special Collections Library, Hanover, NH, Dartmouth College, n.d.

21. The MacKayes are usually associated with Shakespeare performance, as Steele MacKaye was the first American to play Hamlet in London, but two generations of MacKaye women published Austen adaptations. Mary MacKaye's daughter-in-law, wife of her son Percy MacKaye, was Marion MacKaye, author of an *Emma* dramatization. Marion Morse MacKaye, *Emma: A Play* (New York: Macmillan, 1941).

22. Mrs. Steel MacKaye, *Pride and Prejudice: A Play, Founded on Jane Austen's Novel* (New York: Duffield, 1906), 18. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

23. "Comment on Current Books," *New Outlook*, 13 October 1906, 385.

24. Critics complained that Joe Wright's film *Pride and Prejudice* (2005) brought too much Brontë to the adaptation and especially to its hero, Matthew Macfadyen's Darcy.

25. A. M. Drummond, "Plays for the Country Theater," *Cornell Extension Bulletin* 53 (June 1922): 295.

26. “The Senior Girls’ Play,” *Michigan Alumnus* 13 (July 1907): 450.

27. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 1997), 150. *Vikar-vilasita* [Tragedy of thought] (Pune: Venus Prakashan, 1883) was the title of a *Hamlet* translation by Gopal Ganesh Agarkar. There is no record of any text with either title also being an Austen-derived text, although perhaps the particular work Gilson refers to awaits future discovery. Many Austen scholars, including me, have repeated Gilson’s description of *Vichar-vilasit* as an Austen dramatization in our scholarship, but that identification now seems worth our skepticism.

28. Kṛṣṇājīr Keśava Gokhale’s *Ājapāsūna pannāsa varshānñi Āṅgla kādambarikartri “Jena Ōṣṭina” yāñcyā “Prāiḍa eṇḍa prejuḍisa” yā kādambariḥ rūpāntara* (Mumbai: Manoranjaka Granthaprasaraka Mandali, 1913). For biographical information on Gokhale, see Govind Chinnaji Bhate, *A History of Modern Marathi Literature, 1800–1938* (Mahad: Author, 1939), 444. This Marathi-language Austen text by Gokhale is mentioned in Nalini Natarajan, “Reluctant Janeites: Daughterly Value in Jane Austen and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee’s *Swami*,” in *The Postcolonial Jane Austen*, ed. You-me Park and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (London: Routledge, 2000), 161. Natarajan identifies Gokhale’s Austen text once as an adaptation (151) and once as a translation (160). Adaptation seems more accurate to what Gokhale published in 1913, in that he changed characters’ names and omitted, it would seem, Kitty Bennet.

29. I am grateful to Phalguni Shah for this translation of the title, which is hers. She offers further information for Austen scholars: “The word *rupantara* literally means ‘conversion’ or ‘variation,’ so I would guess it is not an exact translation of the novel. The preface of said book is available on the Internet archives in audio form, and the following points may be useful to you: Chapter 3 in this book serves mostly as an extended preface to put the book in context. The contents of chapters 2 to 5 in the original book are contained in chapters 2, 4 and 5. Other than that, all the chapters are kept untouched in the conversion. The fifth girl, Lydia, is made into the fourth girl, Sundari, in the conversion, none of the other characters have undergone much change. I have modified some content or added some of my own to appeal to the Marathi sensibilities, without much affecting the original gist. The social scenario in England at the end of the 18th century has still not reached Indian society after a century of western education. I offer you this title, hoping that it will reach here at least in 50 years from now.” Phalguni Shah, e-mail message to the author, 3 October 2016.

30. Gyles Brandreth, *Oxford Dictionary of Humorous Quotations*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 98.

31. Eileen H. A. Squire and J. C. Squire, *Pride and Prejudice: A Play in Four Acts* (London: William Heinemann, 1929). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

32. May Whitty served on the Executive Committee of the Actresses Franchise League with Winifred Mayo. See *The Suffrage Annual and Women’s Who’s Who* (London: Stanley Paul, 1913), 10.

33. Andrew Wright, “Jane Austen Adapted,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 3 (December 1975): 430.

34. Broadway League, “Pride and Prejudice,” *Internet Broadway Database* (2015).

35. Maggie Gale, *West End Women: Women and the London Stage, 1918–1962* (London: Routledge, 1996), 221.



36. Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1935–36 and the Year Book of Drama in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), 356.
37. “New Reputations,” *Vogue* 87 (15 May 1936): 86.
38. *Aust Lit: The Australian Literature Resource*, n.d., s.v. “Armand Jerome,” n.p., Web.
39. *Ibid.* n.p.
40. *Aust Lit: The Australian Literature Resource*, n.d., s.v. “Helen Jerome,” n.p., Web.
41. Their daughter married three times. Her last brief marriage was to a viscount.
42. “All Sorts of People,” *Free Lance* 15, no. 732 (11 July 1914): 4.
43. “Men and Women,” *Advocate*, 8 August 1924, 2.
44. “New Reputations,” *Vogue* 87 (15 May 1936): 86. Helen Jerome’s second marriage to Ali (d. 1942) may produce confusion, as there was another entertainment-industry Helen Jerome married to a different George Ali. The Jane Austen dramatizer Jerome was *not* married to the animal impersonator Ali. Jerome’s Ali was in business, an oil company executive. Obituary of George D. Ali, *New York Times*, 24 March 1942, 10.
45. Helen Jerome, *Pride and Prejudice: A Sentimental Comedy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1935); subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. Her next play was Helen Jerome, *Jane Eyre: A Drama of Passion in Three Acts*, dramatized from Charlotte Brontë’s novel (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1937).
46. Helen Jerome, *Pride and Prejudice: A Sentimental Comedy in Three Acts* (New York: Samuel French, 1935). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
47. The few critics who have written about the play in recent years find much to despise in it. Joseph Wiesenfarth describes it as a “dumbing down” of the novel, concluding that it “turns a novel of manners that sparkles with wit into a melodrama that drips with sentiment.” Joseph Wiesenfarth, “The Garson-Olivier *Pride and Prejudice*: A Hollywood Story,” in *Text und Ton im Film*, ed. Paul Goetsch and Dietrich Scheunemann (Tubingen: Narr, 1997), 85.
48. The radio show based on Jerome’s play, featuring Joan Fontaine, did not keep the passionate kiss at the end. The MGM version interrupts the viewer’s appreciation of the Darcy-Elizabeth kiss immediately by showing a spying Mrs. Bennet’s giddy response to it.
49. “‘Pride and Prejudice’ as a Play,” *Times* (London), 4 February 1936, 10, *The Times Digital Archive*, Web.
50. The line “as willingly without Pemberley as with it” is from critic George Saintsbury. See his preface to Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894), xxiii.
51. “The Week’s Theatres: ‘Pride and Prejudice.’” *Observer* (London), 1 March 1936, 15.
52. “Pride, Prejudice, and Free Wit,” *Literary Digest* 120, no. 20 (16 November 1935): 20.

### Chapter 6 • Dear Jane

1. D. H. Lawrence, “A Propos of Lady Chatterley’s Lover,” in *Sex, Literature, and Censorship: Essays*, ed. Harry T. Moore (New York: Twayne, 1953), 119.
2. B. C. Southam, *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), 128.

3. Claudia L. Johnson, "The Divine Miss Jane: Jane Austen, Janeites, and the Discipline of Novel Studies," *boundary 2* 23, no. 3 (1996): 148–49. Reprinted in Deidre Lynch, ed., *Janeites: Austen's Disciples and Devotees* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 25–44.

4. Terry Castle, "Sister, Sister," *London Review of Books*, 3 August 1995, 3.

5. "Terry Castle Stands By Jane Austen Review," Stanford University Archived News Release, 16 August 1995.

6. It wasn't the first appearance of Jane Austen as a character on a professional stage. That happened in the suffrage play, *A Pageant of Great Women* (1909), as described in part 3.

7. See "Eva Le Gallienne," *Time: The Weekly Newsmagazine*, 25 November 1929, 32+. Le Gallienne's father was the English poet Richard Le Gallienne, and her mother was a Danish journalist Julie Norregard. When Norregard (Le Gallienne's second wife) left him, she took their daughter Eva to Paris. Richard Le Gallienne went on to live in the United States and France, and Eva Le Gallienne was raised in Britain and France. Eva later immigrated to the United States to pursue a career on Broadway.

8. Hutchinson's recorded birthdates vary from 1898 to 1904. Obituary, Josephine Hutchinson, *Independent*, 12 June 1998, n.p., Web.

9. Helen Sheehy, *Eva Le Gallienne: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1996), 155. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

10. "Bell Divorces Actress, Eva Le Gallienne's Shadow," *New York Daily News*, 8 July 1930, n.p.

11. Later in her life, Eva Le Gallienne would deny that the label lesbian applied to her, something one biographer saw as part and parcel of an artist's rejections of categories of all kinds (Sheehy 198–99). She lived her life with a series of female lovers in what has been described as "a closet with transparent walls" (198).

12. Qtd. in Kaier Curtin, *"We Can Always Call Them Bulgarians": The Emergence of Lesbians and Gay Men on the American Stage* (Boston: Alyson, 1987), 205.

13. The play had its last performance on January 28, 1933, according to *The Billboard Index of the New York Legitimate Stage* (Season 1932–33), (New York: Billboard, 1933), 23. According to Le Gallienne biographer Robert Schanke, "Most criticism of the production centered upon the writing; it lacked a conflict. Eva had been attracted by Austen's dilemma, but she had again misjudged the value of a script." Robert Schanke, *Shattered Applause: The Lives of Eva Le Gallienne* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 101. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. *Dear Jane* was outshone by the far more successful *Alice in Wonderland* production, which opened on December 12, 1932, and made Hutchinson (its Alice) a star (Sheehy 219). Because of the theater's economic difficulties in the Depression era, some brought on by costs of the extravagant *Alice* production, the Civic Rep would end up closing its doors and transferring *Alice* to a commercial stage. By touring its most successful shows, it sought to shore up its damaged finances. *Dear Jane* was a casualty of this period, as well as of what seems a relative lack of audience enthusiasm. See Eva Le Gallienne, *With a Quiet Heart: An Autobiography* (New York: Viking Press, 1953), 58–60. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

14. Russell Clark and William Phillips, "Eleanor Holmes Hinkley's 'Lost' Play, *Dear Jane*: Jane Austen in the Theatre," *Sensibilities* 45 (2012): 91–109.

15. Two copies are held at the Library of Congress and one at the Beinecke Library.
16. Lyndall Gordon, *T. S. Eliot: An Imperfect Life* (New York: Norton), 78–79.
17. Eliot married elsewhere, although he and Hale continued to be romantically entangled. She bequeathed his letters to her to Princeton University, under seal until January 1, 2020. See Michelle Dean, “Saturday History Lessons: On Emily Hale and T. S. Eliot,” *Rumpus*, 7 April 2012, n.p., Web.
18. “Miss Hinkley: Local Playwright,” *Boston Globe*, 26 January 1971, 37.
19. E. H. Hinkley, *Dear Jane* (10 July 1919); Class D: Dramatic Compositions, *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, 16.1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 19487.
20. “Local Playwright Launches Success,” *Cambridge Tribune*, 25 March 1922, 3.
21. Eva Le Gallienne to Julia Norregaard Le Gallienne, 18 April 1932, box 12, folder 8, Eva Le Gallienne Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, MSS 84002.
22. Paul Reuben Cooper, “Eva Le Gallienne’s Civic Repertory Theatre” (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1967), 20. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
23. Josephine Hutchinson to Julia Norregaard Le Gallienne, 4 June 1932, box 10, folder 2, Eva Le Gallienne Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, MSS 84002.
24. *Dear Jane*, Eva Le Gallienne Papers, box 29, folder 1, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1–6. The script is numbered by scene, followed by page number within that scene. Subsequent references will be cited, in this format, parenthetically in the text.
25. Le Gallienne’s friend Constance Collier helped with the direction of *Dear Jane*. See Schanke 101.
26. “*Dear Jane*: Jane Austen Is Heroine of Play at Civic,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 15 November 1932, 6.
27. Arthur Ruhl, “‘Dear Jane’: Civic Repertory Theatre Offers Play about Jane Austen,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 15 November 1932.
28. Eleanor Holmes Hinkley to Eva Le Gallienne, 10 June 1932, box 19, folder 7, Eva Le Gallienne Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, MSS 84002.

### **Chapter 7 • Stage to Screen *Pride and Prejudice***

1. Kenneth Turan, “*Pride and Prejudice*: An Informal History of the Garson-Olivier Motion Picture,” *Persuasions* 11 (1989): 140–43. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. This sum is the equivalent of \$900,000 in 2016 dollars.
2. “*Pride and Prejudice* (1940),” *Turner Classic Movies*, Time Warner, accessed 26 July 2016, <http://www.tcm.com/tcmdb/title/2153/Pride-and-Prejudice/articles.html>.
3. “Program,” *Showplace: The Magazine of Radio City Music Hall*; “*Showplace of the Nation*” 4, no. 32 (8 August 1940): 4–5. This issue of the magazine claimed a circulation of fifty thousand copies.
4. Deborah Cartmell, *Adaptations in the Sound Era, 1927–37* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 58. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
5. Lisa Hopkins, *Relocating Shakespeare and Austen on Screen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8.

6. H. Philip Bolton, *Women Writers Dramatized: A Calendar of Performances from Narrative Works Published in English to 1900* (London: Mansell, 2000), 85–88.

7. Among the best essays on MGM's *Pride and Prejudice* (1940) is Deborah Cartmell, *Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice: The Relationship between Text and Film* (London: Methuen, 2010).

8. The film's production was hardly economical. Its budget was \$1,437,000. Despite good domestic and foreign box office receipts—described as “moderately successful”—the film was initially counted as a loss of \$241,000 for the studio. (As we'll see in chapter 11, it was likely a long-term financial gain, as a result of the education market and its 1962 rerelease.) On the film's costs and losses, see H. Mark Glancy, *When Hollywood Loved Britain: The Hollywood “British” Film 1939–45* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 70.

9. Harriet Margolis, “What Does the Name ‘Jane Austen’ Authorize?,” in *Jane Austen on Screen*, ed. Gina Macdonald and Andrew F. Macdonald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 26.

10. On Marx and *Pride and Prejudice*, see Turan 140.

11. Kenneth Turan, e-mail message to author, 1 September 2015.

12. Hepburn had just starred in George Cukor's film *Little Women* (1933), and Cukor was floated as a possible *Pride and Prejudice* film director. Again, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* and its road to film was a significant progenitor of Jerome's stage hit and MGM's Austen film project.

13. Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1935–36 and the Year Book of Drama in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1936), 356.

14. Willard Keefe, “New Austen Hit Is Aloof from Lure of Films,” *Washington Post*, 10 November 1935, M2.

15. Edward Hogan, synopsis of *Pride and Prejudice*, 25 February 1933, box 2321, *Pride and Prejudice* Scripts, Turner MGM Scripts, P-936, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA. After her *Pride and Prejudice*, Helen Jerome would write a stage adaptation of *Jane Eyre*. It did star Katharine Hepburn, the actor originally sought for the stage *Pride and Prejudice*. (*Jane Eyre* would not, however, prove a similar stage success for Jerome.)

16. Michael Schlossheimer, *Gunmen and Gangsters: Profiles of Nine Actors Who Portrayed Memorable Screen Tough Guys* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 259.

17. “Hays Sees an Era of Literary Films,” *New York Times*, 27 March 1934, 24. I became aware of this source from Greg M. Colón Semenza and Bob Hasenfratz, *The History of British Literature in Film, 1895–2015* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 175.

18. On the film's shift forward in time, see Linda A. Robinson, “Crinolines and Pantalettes: What MGM's Switch in Time Did to *Pride and Prejudice* (1940),” *Adaptation* 6, no. 3 (2013): 283–304.

19. MPAA PCA Files, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 30 January 1940, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA. A memo from Joseph Breen declares that Mr. Collins was in violation of the production code: “As you know, the Production Code states specifically ‘Ministers of religion in their character as ministers of religion should not be used as comic characters or as villains.’”

20. H. Mark Glancy, “Hollywood and Britain: MGM and the British ‘Quota’ Legislation,” in *The Unknown 1930s: An Alternative History of the British Cinema, 1929–1939*, ed. Jeffrey Richards (London: I. B. Tauris), 67.

21. Joseph Wiesenfarth, “The Garson-Olivier Pride and Prejudice: A Hollywood Story,” in *Text und Ton im Film*, ed. Paul Goetsch and Dietrich Scheunemann (Tubingen: Narr, 1997), 91. Wiesenfarth’s essay is one of the few published essays that considers MGM’s unpublished scripts.

22. “Script of Play to Be Produced by Max Gordon,” MPAA PCA Files, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, 5 Sept 1935, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

23. Screenplay by Sarah Y. Mason and Victor Heermans, 11 May 1936, box 2321, *Pride and Prejudice* Scripts, Turner MGM Scripts, P-939, 10, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

24. Victor Heermans Papers, Collection 96, “Sequence Survey,” *Pride and Prejudice*, MGM 1940, 8 February 1936, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

25. “Seq. 1: Establishes a period; the Hugh Thomson illustration of Bingley’s chaise launches our picture well,” in “Sequence Survey,” Victor Heermans Papers, Collection 96, *Pride and Prejudice*, MGM 1940, 14 April 1936, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

26. John Wiltshire, afterword to *The Cinematic Jane Austen: Essays on the Filmic Sensibility of the Novels*, ed. David Monaghan, Ariane Hudelet, and John Wiltshire (Jefferson, NC: Macfarland, 2009), 163.

27. Dialogue continuity from Tess Slesinger, 22 June 1936, box 2321, *Pride and Prejudice* Scripts, Turner MGM Scripts, P-941, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

28. Henry Grace, “Set Decoration in the Golden Era of Metro Goldwyn Mayer,” Henry Grace Collection, scrapbook #1, U-419, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA. Writes Grace, “On the village street, for the bookstore, I had some old engravings enlarged for display in the book store. Greer Garson, starring, asked where I got them. I said they were copies of Cruikshank—‘You know, the man who illustrated Dickens.’ She was British, she put me in my place nicely, smiling, she said, ‘Don’t you think Rowlandson would be better for the period?’”

29. Virginia Clark describes another version of this scene. There were several Akins scripts. Virginia M. Clark, *Aldous Huxley and Film* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1987), 43.

30. Zoe Akins, screenplay for *Pride and Prejudice*, 11 June 1937, box 2321, *Pride and Prejudice* Scripts, Turner MGM Scripts, P-948, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

31. Ibid.

32. Jacco (not Jacko) Maccaco was an actual celebrated fighting monkey in London’s Westminster Pits in the 1820s. Ibid. Akins may have taken inspiration for these connected male-bonding scenes from Pierce Egan’s *Life in London* (1821), the book that indirectly spawned Tom and Jerry.

33. Jane Murfin, screenplay for *Pride and Prejudice*, 26 September 1939, box 2321, *Pride and Prejudice* Scripts, Turner MGM Scripts, P-948, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

34. Ibid. In 954, “Darcy crawls out of a mud hole and is very annoyed at a stupid dairy-maid.” In P-955 (dated September 28, 1939), Elizabeth is covered in mud, and Darcy throws a shilling at her.

35. Clark 39.

36. Leonard Huxley, introduction to *Jane Austen: Her Life and Art*, by David Rhydderch (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), 11–12.

37. Aldous Huxley, *Letters of Aldous Huxley* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), 450, 448. Using the money to help those suffering in the war was apparently the suggestion of Anita Loos. See Clark 39.

38. *Pride and Prejudice* Complete OK Screenplay, by Jane Murfin and Aldous Huxley, January 11, 1940, through March 26, 1940, box 2324, Turner MGM Scripts, P-967, 27, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. On Byronic heroes in women’s writing and on screen, see Sarah Wootton, *Byronic Heroes in Nineteenth-Century Women’s Writing and Screen Adaptation* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 86–92, connecting Austen, Byron, and more recent film Darcys.

39. Qtd. in Jerry Vermilye, *The Complete Films of Laurence Olivier* (New York: Citadel Press, 1992), 101.

40. One recent critic, Sue Parrill, declares that although Darcy’s film role is “underwritten” and reactive, “Olivier may be the most expressive of those who have played Darcy on film and television.” Olivier’s “Darcy goes in minutes from being disdainful of Elizabeth to being intrigued by and attracted to her,” as Parrill also rightly notes. Sue Parrill, *Jane Austen on Film and Television: A Critical Study of the Adaptations* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002), 51, 53.

41. Abe Burrows, *Honest, Abe: Is There Really No Business Like Show Business?* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), 348.

42. Abe Burrows, *First Impressions: A Musical Comedy* (New York: Samuel French, 1962), 15. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

43. Christopher Isherwood, *Liberation: Diaries*, vol. 3, 1970–1983, ed. Katherine Bucknell (New York: Harper Collins, 2012), 211. Subsequent reference cited parenthetically in the text. I’m grateful to Sam Irvin for bringing this material to my attention.

44. A woman driving a carriage was not customary in Austen’s day, but there are hints of it as a possible skill. See Mrs. Croft’s “coolly giving the reins a better direction herself” in *Persuasion*. Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, ed. Janet Todd and Antje Blank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 99.

45. *Pride and Prejudice* screenplay, Unrealized Scripts Collection, box 10, folder 65, 23 September 1974 to 12 December 1974, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

46. Jerome Lawrence and Robert Edwin Lee to Hunt Stromberg Jr., 16 September 1974, Unrealized Scripts Collection, box 10, folder 65, Margaret Herrick Library, Beverly Hills, CA.

### **Part 3 • Jane Austen, Politicized**

1. The Women’s Disabilities Removal Bill, which had a long, complicated history in Parliament in the 1870s, was ultimately stopped short by Prime Minister W. E. Gladstone, acting on behalf of the government. It took two decades for another women’s

suffrage bill to go as far as that bill had. See Sophia A. Van Wingerden, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain, 1866–1928* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 28.

2. See “Women’s Disabilities Removal Bill,” *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates*, 211 (1 May 1872), 38. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

3. G. K. Chesterton, *Come to Think of It* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 195. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. The essay “Jane Austen and the General Election” was also republished in G. K. Chesterton, *The Collected Works of G. K. Chesterton*, vol. 35, *The Illustrated London News, 1929–1931*, ed. Lawrence J. Clipper (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991).

4. On men’s club Janeites, see Devoney Looser, “The Cult of *Pride and Prejudice* and Its Author,” in *Cambridge Companion to “Pride and Prejudice,”* ed. Janet Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 174–85.

5. There is a robust body of work on political Austen, although far less published on Austen’s legacy as it’s been used politically. Much of that work confines itself to her critical, rather than her popular, legacy. For work on her popular political legacy, see Mary Ann O’Farrell, “‘Bin Laden a Huge Jane Austen Fan’: Jane Austen in Contemporary Political Discourse,” in *Uses of Austen: Jane’s Afterlives*, ed. Gillian Dow and Clare Harman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 192–207.

6. On the history of and the illustrations accompanying “The Janeites,” see Janine Barchas, “G.I. Jane: Austen Goes to War,” *JHU Press Blog*, 3 October 2014.

7. Winston Churchill, *Closing the Ring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), 5:425.

### Chapter 8 • *The Night of the Divine Jane*

1. As Claudia L. Johnson puts it in her groundbreaking essay, “The Divine Miss Jane: Jane Austen, Janeites, and the Discipline of Novel Studies,” *boundary 2* 23, no. 3 (1996): 143–63, “Male admirers of Jane Austen have had much to endure in a world that frowns upon their love” (149). Johnson’s is a tour de force essay. But in the course of making an argument about the queerness of Austen, she also claims that, in the early twentieth century, to be a Janeite was “principally a male enthusiasm shared among an elite corps of publishers, professors, and literati” (150). My research on Austen’s legacy, in this chapter and the next, suggests otherwise.

2. John Glassco, *Memoirs of Montparnasse*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 80. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

3. H. Lawrenny, review of J. E. Austen-Leigh’s *A Memoir of Jane Austen and Jane Austen’s Sense and Sensibility*, *Academy*, 12 February 1870, 118.

4. Susanne Stark, “Simcox, Edith Jemima (1844–1901),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), n.p., Web.

5. An important exception is *The History of England*. See Jane Austen, *Juvenilia*, ed. Peter Sabor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

6. B. C. Southam, *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage, 1870–1940* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 2:ix. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

7. Arnold Bennett, *Arnold Bennett: The “Evening Standard” Years; “Books and Persons” 1926–1931*, ed. Andrew Mylett (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1974), 68.

8. *Ibid.* 68.

9. The *OED* credits Saintsbury with the first usage of the word, which he preferred to spell Janite, in 1896. But before there were Janeites, there were Austen-



ites and even Anti-Austenites described in the periodical press. See [Richard Holt Hutton], “The Charm of Miss Austen,” *Bookmart*, June 1890, 9.

10. In the same sentence, he declares Scott the father of nineteenth-century romance. See George Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 128–29.

11. William Dean Howells, *Criticism and Fiction* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1891), 73.

12. On Howells, see Southam 2:202; on Bradley, see Southam 2:233.

13. Chesterton could also be critical of men’s clubs. The social history of such clubs is far more complex than this chapter describes. I use the term “men’s club Janeite” as a shorthand to signal elite men imagining themselves in conversation with other elite men about Austen in single-sex rhetorical (and actual) spaces.

14. G. K. Chesterton, “June 1, 1929: Jane Austen and the General Election,” in *The Collected Works of G. K. Chesterton*, vol. 35, *The Illustrated London News, 1929–1931*, ed. Lawrence J. Clipper (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 100.

15. “Chesterton Thinks Women Will Tire of New Freedom,” *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, 14 October 1930, 26.

16. G. K. Chesterton, *A Gleaming Cohort* (London: Methuen, 1926), 159.

17. “Chesterton as a Champion of Women Novelists,” *Current Opinion*, June 1913, 494–95. The essay points out the odd juxtaposition of Chesterton’s backward views on women to his reverence for Victorian women novelists.

18. See Barbara Rogers, *Men Only: An Investigation into Men’s Organisations* (London: Pandora, 1988). The phrase “Very Important Men’s Clubs” is hers. There were and are men’s clubs with members from many kinds of professions and class backgrounds. In this chapter, I am referring to the most exclusive and elite of the type.

19. George Saintsbury, introduction to *Pride and Prejudice*, by Jane Austen (London: George Allen, 1894), xxiii.

20. “The New Pride and Prejudice,” supplement, *Sketch*, 5 December 1894, 9.

21. Goldwin Smith, *Life of Jane Austen* (London: Walter Scott, 1890), 45–48.

22. R. Brimley Johnson, “Jane Austen,” in *Sense and Sensibility*, by Jane Austen (London: J. M. Dent, 1892), 1:xxv.

23. C. Johnson, “Divine” 145.

24. *Ibid.* 150.

25. Henry Gilbert, ed., *The Literary Year-Book and Bookman’s Directory 1903*, s.v. “Sette of Odd Volumes, The. 1878” (London: George Allen), 370–71. For recent work on the Sette, see Ellen Crowell, “The Necromancer and the Seer: Bibliophilia at the Fin de Siècle,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 December 2015, 15–17.

26. David Cuppleditch, *The London Sketch Club* (Dover, NH: Alan Sutton, 1994), 78. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as *London*.

27. *The Year-Boke of the Sette of Odd Volumes: An Annual Record of the Transactions of the Sette; Twenty-Fifth Year, 1902–03* (London: Sette of Odd Volumes, 1910), 121, 123. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

28. On fourth Tuesday and motto, see *Literary Year-Book*, “Sette” 370.

29. John Hassall, “The Divine Jane: Domine” (cartoon), *The 236th Meeting of the Sette of Odd Volumes: 27 May 1902* (London: Sette of Odd Volumes, 1902), menu.

30. This was an image created a decade before Austen's likeness was actually made into a bust by Percy Fitzgerald, in a controversial piece of art ultimately removed from the Pump Room at Bath, as Claudia L. Johnson describes in *Jane Austen: Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 55–58.

31. David Cuppleditch, *The John Hassall Lifestyle* (Essex: Dilke Press, 1979), 8. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as *John*.

32. *Literary Year-Book*, "Sette" 370.

33. Obituary, Mr. W. F. Lord, *Times* (London), 27 April 1927, 19.

34. Walter Frewen Lord, *Mirror of the Century* (London: John Lane, 1906), vi. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

35. Walter Frewen Lord, "Jane Austen's Novels," *Nineteenth Century and After* 52 (October 1902): 665. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as "Jane."

36. Its circulation during the period rose as high as twenty thousand. Priscilla Metcalf, *James Knowles: Victorian Editor and Architect* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 285. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

37. In 1888, Lord had married Knowles's daughter, Millicent Knowles. See "Marriages," *Times* (London), 12 January 1888, 1.

38. Annie Gladstone, "Another View of Jane Austen's Novels," *Nineteenth Century and After* 311 (January 1903): 113–21. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

39. "Alice's Looking Glass," *Academy* 1774 (5 May 1906): 424.

40. Later critic Ida Beatrice O'Malley puts the case of Austen's feminism even more clearly: Jane Austen's "importance to the women's movement is two-fold. She described the cage, and in doing so she showed qualities which were not expected in the canary." Ida Beatrice O'Malley, *Women in Subjection: A Study of the Lives of Englishwomen before 1832* (London: Duckworth, 1933), 243.

41. Although four-time prime minister W. E. Gladstone had, in fact, published often in the pages of the same periodical, the *Nineteenth Century*, Miss Annie Gladstone did not have a connection to *that* Gladstone family.

42. Annie Gladstone, class RG13, piece 559, folio 10, page 12, *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901*, Kew, Surrey, England, The National Archives, 1901, data imaged from the National Archives, London, Ancestry.com, *1901 England Census* (database online) (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, 2005).

43. For a time, Gladstone used her father's first and middle names as a pseudonym: "James Nairn." Under the name James Nairn, Gladstone's most enduring published essay was on Ralph Waldo Emerson, a piece that generously mentions Louisa May Alcott and Margaret Fuller. See James Nairn [Annie Gladstone], "Emerson's Home in Concord," *Temple Bar* 115 (October 1898): 290–97. Gladstone would, in 1904, use her real name as a byline once again for an essay. That one decried the state of literature, politics, and society. Annie Gladstone, "The Decay of Conviction," *Westminster Review* 161 (June 1904): 683–90.

44. Charles Stevenson, "A Voice for All Times: Annie Martha (Gladstone) Wilton, 1857–1932," *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 30 (2002): 84. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

45. In an echo of Walter Frewen Lord, Annie Gladstone Wilton would publish her writing in the paper for which her new father-in-law served as literary editor, the *Advertiser*. Stevenson 85.

46. Rebecca West (1892–1983) found ridiculous those critics who saw Austen's writings as "little" or limited. West argued, "Really, it is time this comic patronage of Jane Austen ceased." Rebecca West, *The Strange Necessity: Essays by Rebecca West* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1928), 289. West believed that "the feminism of Jane Austen . . . was very marked" and "quite conscious." Rebecca West, preface to *Northanger Abbey*, by Jane Austen (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), viii, v–xi.

47. For "clever criticism," see "Literary Notes," *Medical Sentinel* 11, no. 5 (May 1903): 318. On "clever analysis," see *Literary Year-Book*, "Sette" 370.

48. "Jane Austen and Her Biographers," *Church Quarterly Review* 112 (July 1903): 358.

49. "Miscellaneous: Notes on Books & c." *Notes and Queries*, 9th ser., 11 (10 January 1903): 39. The reviewer takes issue with Gladstone's assertions about Shakespeare.

50. W. D. Howells, *Heroines of Fiction* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1903), 48. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

51. She shows how three Victorian women's magazines embraced Austen for different political ends, struggling with how to represent her as "worldly and domestic, professional and unambitious." Marina Cano-López, "The Outlandish Jane: Austen and Female Identity in Victorian Women's Magazine," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 255.

52. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. Barbara M. Benedict and Deirdre Le Faye, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 113.

### Chapter 9 • Stone-Throwing Jane Austen

1. Elizabeth Crawford, "Suffrage Stories: An Army of Banners—Designed for the NUWSS Suffrage Procession 13 June 1908," *Woman and Her Sphere* (blog), 26 November 2014, n.p., Web. The NUWSS was founded in 1896. The first British suffrage society originated in 1866.

2. Millicent Fawcett, "The Woman Suffrage Procession," *Times* (London), 13 June 1908, 9, *Times Digital Archive*, 14 February 2016. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as "Woman."

3. For an exception to this neglect, see Diana Birchall, "'The Use of the Pen': Women Writers, Banners, and Cat Tails," *Light, Bright, and Sparkling* (blog), 29 September 2010, n.p., Web; and Elizabeth Crawford, "Suffrage Stories" (blog), 26 November 2014, n.p., Web.

4. It's an investigation needed for many other nineteenth-century novelists, including Brontë, Burney, Edgeworth, Eliot, Gaskell, and others. All had their place in the women's suffrage movement.

5. Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 84. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

6. Katharine Cockin et al., eds., *Women's Suffrage Literature*, 4 vols. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 3:ix.

7. "Woman Suffragist Demonstration: An Impression," *Dunstan Times*, 17 August 1908, 5.
8. Irene Cockroft and Susan Croft, *Art, Theatre and Women's Suffrage* (Twickenham: Aurora Metro Press, 2010), 34.
9. Ella Hepworth Dixon, "*As I Knew Them*": *Sketches of the People I Have Met on the Way* (London: Hutchinson, 1930), 124.
10. "Life and Letters," *Academy*, 11 July 1908, 27.
11. James Douglas's prosuffrage report was reprinted as "Woman Suffragist Demonstration: An Impression," *Dunstan Times*, 17 August 1908, 5.
12. *Souvenir and Programme: Women's Suffrage March and Mass Meeting at the Albert Hall, on Saturday, June 13: Grand Procession of Ten Thousand Women! Seventy Banners English & International* (London, 1908), n.p.
13. Cockin et al 1:xv.
14. Ibid.
15. Caroline Gordon, "To the Editor of the Times," *Times* (London), 13 June 1908, 9, *Times Digital Archive*, 14 February 2016.
16. Frances Hooper, "To the Editor of the Times," *Times* (London), 13 June 1908, 9, *Times Digital Archive*, 14 February 2016.
17. Millicent Fawcett, "To the Editor of the Times," *Times* (London), 15 June 1908, 9, *Times Digital Archive*, 14 February 2016. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as "To the Editor."
18. *Programme of Banners Designed by the Artists' League for Women's Suffrage and Carried in the Procession Organized by The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Saturday, June 13th, 1908* (London, 1908), 1. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
19. See "Women's Suffrage: A Reply," *Fortnightly Review* 46 (1889): 132.
20. See "Opposing Woman Suffrage," *Cambridge Magazine* 3 (1913): 246. On Augustus Austen-Leigh, see M. C. Curthoys, "Leigh, Augustus Austen (1840–1905)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), n.p., Web.
21. Florence E. Austen-Leigh and Mary A. P. Seeley, "Woman Suffrage," *Times* (London), 29 January 1917, 9, *Times Digital Archive*.
22. Quoted in Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 171.
23. "Votes for Women," *Manchester Guardian*, 22 June 1910, 9.
24. Crawford, "Suffrage Stories" n.p.
25. Lis Whitelaw, *The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton: Actress, Writer, Suffragist* (London: Women's Press, 1990), 88. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
26. On "most celebrated play of the Suffrage movement," see Roberta Gandolfi, "Edy Craig and Suffrage Theatre," *Open Page* 3 (1998): 54. On the count of one hundred plays, see Gandolfi 55. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
27. Cicely Hamilton, *A Pageant of Great Women* (London: Suffrage Shop, 1910). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
28. Sheila Stowell, *A Stage of Their Own: Feminist Playwrights of the Suffrage Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 44.

29. Jefferson Hunter, *English Filming, English Writing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 55.

30. Shelley Cobb, “What Would Jane Do? Postfeminist Media Uses of Austen and the Austen Reader,” in *Uses of Austen: Jane’s Afterlives*, ed. Gillian Dow and Clare Hanson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 215.

31. Katharine Cockin, introduction to Cockin et al., *Women’s Suffrage Literature* 3:x. Katharine Cockin, “Cicely Hamilton’s Warriors: Dramatic Reinventions of Militancy in the British Women’s Suffrage Movement,” *Women’s History Review* 14, nos. 3–4 (2005): 527–42. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as introduction and “Cicely.”

32. See Cicely Hamilton, *Souvenir: “A Pageant of Great Women” and the One-Act Play “How the Vote Was Won”* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Women’s Reform, 1911).

33. “Satire and Art in Suffragist Plays,” *Washington Times*, 21 May 1913, 11.

34. Joy Melville, *Ellen and Edy: A Biography of Ellen Terry and Her Daughter, Edith Craig, 1847–1947* (London: Pandora, 1987), 211.

35. Review of *The Bennets*, by Rosina Filippi [“The Court Theatre”], *Times* (London), 30 March 1901, 14.

36. Her father was Thomas Monck Mason (1803–89). On her birth in India, see *The Suffrage Annual and Women’s Who’s Who* (London: Paul Stanley, 1913), 300.

37. Elizabeth Crawford, “Mayo, Winifred,” *Women’s Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866–1928* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 394.

38. “Miss W. Monck-Mason: Suffragette and Actress,” *Times* (London), 2 March 1967, 14, *Times Digital Archive*.

39. Crawford, “Mayo, Winifred,” 393; “Miss W. Monck-Mason” 14.

40. Winifred Mayo, “Prison Experiences of a Suffragette,” *Idler: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, April 1908, 85–99.

41. “Winifred Mayo: A Smashing Time in Pall Mall,” BBC Radio Broadcast (originally aired 13 July 1958), in *Suffragettes: Women Recall Their Struggle to Win the Vote*, BBC Archive, 2014. Web. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as BBC.

42. “Miss W. Monck-Mason” 14.

43. “A Pageant of Famous Men and Women: Costume Dinner of Suffragists,” *Votes for Women*, 3 July 1914, 618.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Advertisement for May Sinclair’s novels, *Bookman Advertiser* 24, no. 1, September 1906, n.p.

46. Suzanne Raitt, *May Sinclair: A Modern Victorian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 109.

47. Bertha Brewster, “The Feminism of Jane Austen,” *Votes for Women* IX, no. 430 (1917): 282. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text as “Feminism.”

48. Brewster’s letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on February 26, 1913, reprinted in Shaun Usher, ed., *More Letters of Note: Correspondence Worthy of a Wider Audience* (London: Canongate, 2015).

49. E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette: The History of the Women’s Militant Suffrage Movement 1905–1910* (Boston: Woman’s Journal, 1911), 479.

50. Janine Barchas and Kristina Straub used this Carreras Austen image in their Folger Shakespeare Library exhibition *Will and Jane* in fall 2016. “Curating *Will &*

*Jane*,” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40, no. 2 (April 2016): 1–35. Austen’s connections to tobacco products continued with scenes from the first Hollywood Austen film adaptation, MGM’s *Pride and Prejudice* (1940). “A. & M. Wix Cinema Cavalcade, Volume 2,” Moviecard.com, n.d., Web.

51. Benson & Hedges advertisement, *New Yorker*, 12 January 1957, 15.

52. Lloyd W. Brown, “Jane Austen and the Feminist Tradition,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 28 (1973–74): 321–38.

53. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also Margaret Kirkham, “Jane Austen and Contemporary Feminism,” in *The Jane Austen Companion*, ed. J. David Grey (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 157; as well as her *Jane Austen, Feminism and Fiction* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1983).

54. On the Twitter trolls and the Austen tenner, see Alexandra Topping, “Jane Austen Twitter Row: Two Plead Guilty to Abusive Tweets,” *Guardian*, 7 January 2014, n.p., Web.

#### **Part 4 • Jane Austen, Schooled**

1. Thomson’s images are used to accompany the *Mentor*’s entries on Gaskell and Eliot in the magazine, too, and a male-dominated Gaskell image is chosen for her printed plate. See Hamilton Wright Mabie, *The Mentor: Famous Women Writers of England* 3, no. 8 (1 June 1915): n.p. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

2. The *Mentor* had an advisory board of leading educators, as well as academic departments and an inquiry department. The association provided outlines and plans for its curriculum, along with lists of supplementary reading. The *Mentor* ran weekly, then biweekly, and then monthly from 1913 to the early 1930s. Its circulation ranged between fifty and eighty-five thousand over the course of those years. On its publication history and publishers, see Deanna Dahlsad, “The *Mentor* Magazine,” *Inherited Values* (blog), 10 January 2011, n.p. Web.

3. The included loose plates are listed as featuring “Jane Austen, George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mrs. Gaskell, and Jean Inglow” (Mabie 1).

4. In his *Journal*, Scott compares himself to Austen, writing of his own powers, “The Big Bow-wow strain I can do myself like any now going.” He goes on to acknowledge that Austen was among those who wrote as he could not, with the “exquisite touch, which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting.” Sir Walter Scott, *The Journal of Walter Scott: From the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford*, vol. 1, ed. David Douglas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 155.

5. Mabie wrongly suggests that Austen made her “two inches of ivory” statement in response to being asked to write a historical romance, conflating two stories of her alleged authorial modesty (3).

6. “Mr. Darcy and Sir William Lucas,” in *Jane Austen*, Monograph Number One in the *Mentor* Reading Course (New York: Mentor Association, 1915), n.p. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

7. “A Centenary: Jane Austen,” *Saturday Review* 124 (14 July 1917): 25–26.

8. On Austen, Chapman’s editing, and the influence of schoolroom texts, see Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen’s Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 32.

### Chapter 10 • The First Jane Austen Dissertation

1. David Lodge, *Changing Places: A Tale of Two Campuses* (New York: Penguin, 1975), 44.

2. George Pellew, *Jane Austen’s Novels* (Boston: Cupples, Upham, 1883). Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

3. Henry James, *Henry James Letters*, ed. Leon Edel, 4 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 2:422.

4. The most complete account is Michael G. Kenny, “The Return of George Pellew,” in *The Passion of Ansel Bourne: Multiple Personality in American Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986), 97–128. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

5. Richard Cary, “William Dean Howells to Thomas Sergeant Perry,” *Colby Library Quarterly* 8 (December 1968): 3, 5. On Franklin, see James Munves, “Richard Hodgson, Mrs. Piper and ‘George Pelham’: A Centennial Reassessment,” *Journal of the Society for Psychical Research* 62, no. 849 (October 1997): 142. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

6. Pellew ultimately gave a Harvard lecture, “A Critical Estimate of Miss Austen’s Novels,” reportedly complaining in it that Austen’s fiction didn’t have enough poetry in it. This would differ from his book, which argues that under the spell of her humor we do not feel the absence of poetry (*Novels* 50). On the lecture, see “Fact and Rumor,” *Harvard Crimson*, 17 April 1883, n.p.

7. Anne-Marie Scholz, “An Orgy of Propriety”: *Jane Austen and the Emergence and Legacy of the Female Author in America, 1826–1926* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1999), 97.

8. It would remain so until the Dead Wife Sister’s Marriage Act of 1907. Men, including Jane Austen’s brother, Charles, married their sisters-in-law prior to its being outlawed in 1835.

9. W. D. Howells, introduction to *The Poems of George Pellew* (Boston: W. B. Clarke, 1892), vi. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

10. “Prize Descriptions,” Harvard University Prize Office (2014), n.p., Web.

11. Claire Harman calls it “the first time the author had been studied in the academy”—true in a sense—but given that Pellew presumably learned Austen from Perry, the origin is more difficult to pin down. Claire Harman, *Jane’s Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009), 124.

12. “George Pellew Found Dead,” *New York Times*, 19 February 1892, 9.

13. Thomas Sergeant Perry, *Selections from the Letters of Thomas Sergeant Perry*, ed. Edwin Arlington Robinson (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 7.



14. Perry gives “heartly thanks” to “my friend, Mr. George Pellew” in *English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), x.
15. Eric Haralson and Kendall Johnson, *Critical Companion to Henry James: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 429. Subsequent reference cited parenthetically in the text.
16. Meredith Martindale, *Lilla Cabot Perry: An American Impressionist* (Washington, DC: National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990), 126.
17. Munves 144–45. Munves, a member of the Society for Psychical Research, which had conducted a long-term investigation of Mrs. Piper’s powers, uses archival sources and unpublished letters to show the SPR’s shoddy approach to documenting the Pellew case. He is the one who makes the questionable supposition about Mrs. Perry and Pellew in love.
18. Henry James, *Letters, Fictions, Lives: Henry James and William Dean Howells*, ed. Michael Anesko (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 260.
19. Letter from William Dean Howells to George W. Curtis, 3 March 1888, *W. D. Howells: Selected Letters, Volume 3: 1882–1891*, ed. Robert C. Leitz III with Richard H. Ballinger and Christoph K. Lohmann (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 219.
20. Deborah Blum, *Ghost Hunters: William James and the Search for Scientific Proof of Life after Death* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 185.
21. “George Pellew Found Dead” 9.
22. Letter from William Dean Howells to George W. Curtis, 3 March 1888, 220. It is suggested in an editors’ note on this letter that Pellew learned his own views on women’s suffrage from serving as the legal assistant to Josiah Quincy (1859–1919) (220).
23. Lucy Stone to George Pellew, 18 January 1889, Lucy Stone Letters, box 8, folder SC 41, Syracuse University Special Collections, Syracuse, NY. On Pellew as secretary, see “New York Suffrage Work,” *Woman’s Journal*, 16 August 1890, 263. On Pellew addressing a suffrage meeting, see “In Memoriam,” *Woman’s Journal*, 27 February 1892, 71.
24. [William Dean Howells], “On the Immortality of Jane Austen,” *Harper’s Magazine* 127 (1913): 958–61.
25. William James, *Report on Mrs. Piper’s Hodgson-Control* (London: 1909), 36. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
26. “Mrs. Piper a Human Telephone to the Spirit World,” *New York Herald*, 18 June 1899, sixth section, 1. On “most famous,” see Martin Gardner, *The Night Is Large: Collected Essays 1938–1995* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 214. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
27. W. James 6.
28. Murray T. Bloom, “America’s Most Famous Medium,” *American Mercury*, May 1950, 580.
29. Anne Manning Robbins, *Past and Present with Mrs. Piper* (New York: Henry Holt, 1922), 4. On Sir Walter Scott, see Joseph McCabe, *Is Spiritualism Based on Fraud? The Evidence Given by Sir A. C. Doyle and Others Drastically Examined* (London: Watts, 1920), 104. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
30. M. Sage, *Mrs. Piper and the Society of Psychical Research*, trans. Noralie Robertson (New York: Scott-Thaw, 1904), 68.

31. Richard Hodgson, “A Further Record of Observations of Certain Phenomena of Trance,” *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* 13 (1897–98): 284–582. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

32. Murray Teigh Bloom, “The Housewife Who Confounded Two Countries,” *Reader’s Digest*, May 1950, 53. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

33. Mrs. Henry Sidgwick offers a different reading of Hodgson’s account of Norton, Pellew, and Austen in “Discussion of the Trance Phenomena of Mrs. Piper,” *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. 16, part 36 (1901), 31. That volume mentioning Austen also notes that one of the current members and associates of the SPR is “Leigh, W. Austen, MA” in Roehampton (498). This was Austen descendant William Austen-Leigh, who with his nephew Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh, published *Jane Austen: Her Life and Letters: A Family Record* (London: Smith, Elder, 1913). William Austen-Leigh is listed in SPR records spanning from 1884 to 1907, suggesting decades-long affiliation, as well as small donations.

34. Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, 3rd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, 1909), 139.

35. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism*, 2 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1:80.

36. Claudia L. Johnson’s *Jane Austen: Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012) has an extended, learned exploration on imagining Jane Austen as a ghost. See, too, Paul Westover, *Necromanticism: Travelling to Meet the Dead, 1750–1860* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

37. Andrew Lang, “At the Sign of St. Paul’s: Andrew Lang on a Case of Spiritualism,” *Illustrated London News*, no. 644 (6 November 1909): 14.

## Chapter 11 • Textbook Austens

1. H. A. [Austin] Dobson, *The Civil Service Handbook of English Literature: For the Use of Candidates for Examinations, Public Schools, and Students Generally* (London: Lockwood, 1874), 1. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

2. B. C. Southam, introduction to *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage*, vol. 2, 1870–1940 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 5.

3. Benjamin Brawley, *A New Survey of English Literature: A Text Book for Colleges* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 252–53. His Austen is quiet, narrow, and retiring (rather than placid), and unsurpassed.

4. A 1988 national survey of US high schools found Austen was one of three women authors most taught among 30 percent of Catholic schools, along with Harper Lee and Emily Brontë. In 1963, Austen and Eliot were the top two. Public schools were less likely to teach Austen, preferring Harper Lee and Anne Frank as its representative women authors. See Arthur W. Applebee, *A Study of Book-Length Works Taught in High School English Courses*, Report Series 1.2 (Albany, NY: Center for the Learning and Teaching of Literature, 1989).

5. *UK RED: Reading Experience Database* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 2016), Web; *Book Traces* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2016), n.p., Web.

6. In the United States, some states published very specific recommended curricula for public high schools, with Austen’s name included on reading lists. In the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth, one might trace the ways Austen has been

used in A-level exams, established in 1951, or their predecessor, the Higher School Certificate Examination, from 1918. Systematic study of Austen's place in them would undoubtedly yield new insights.

7. "Dr. Wines Dead: His Valuable Services in Behalf of Prison Reform—the Books He Wrote," *New York Times*, 11 December 1879, 5.

8. E. C. Wines, *Hints on a System of Popular Education* (Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson, 1838). The first American editions of all six of Austen's novels were published by Carey & Lea of Philadelphia in 1832–33.

9. J. Cordy Jeaffreson, *Novels and Novelists from Elizabeth to Victoria*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1858), 2:84. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

10. Lawrence Mazzeno, "Austen's Status in Surveys of Literature," in *Jane Austen: Two Centuries of Criticism* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 27–30.

11. Joseph Angus, *The Handbook of English Literature* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1865), 618–19.

12. William Baker, "Janeites," in *Critical Companion to Jane Austen: A Literary Reference to Her Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 547.

13. H. J. Jackson, *Those Who Write for Immortality: Romantic Reputations and the Dream of Lasting Fame* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 100. Jackson's excellent section on Austen considers in brief many issues given extended attention in this book.

14. "A Novel Course for Teachers: Jane Austen," *Southern Educational Journal* 12 (February 1899): 135.

15. M. and C. Lee, "Parallel Lives: Charlotte Younge and Jane Austen," *Journal of Education* 24 (1902): 212–13.

16. Arlo Bates, *Talks on the Study of Literature* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1897), 189. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

17. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. Josephine Woodbury Heermans (New York: Macmillan, 1908). The edition was reprinted in 1911, 1912, 1914, 1915, 1916, and beyond. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

18. Sarah Nyman, "SC86-2 Josephine Woodbury Heermans Greenwood Papers Finding Aid," Kansas City Public Library, Missouri Valley Special Collections, 2002, Web.

19. Review of *Pride and Prejudice*, by Jane Austen, edited by Josephine Woodbury Heermans, *Journal of Education* 68 (November 1908): 577.

20. "The Jackson County Institute," *Missouri School Journal* 14 (September 1897): 532, 533.

21. Jane Austen and Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Austen-Gaskell Book: Scenes from the Works of Jane Austen and Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J. Compton (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1926), iii. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

22. David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, rev. ed. (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1997), 291.

23. William Peacock, preface to *English Prose*, 5 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 1:v.

24. Donald E. Stahl, *A History of the English Curriculum in American High Schools* (Chicago: Lyceum Press, 1965), 81.

25. Victor Neuberg, “Cheap Reprints of Literary Classics,” in *The Popular Press Companion to Popular Literature* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1983), 57–58.

26. Fred Hunter, “Morley, Henry (1822–1894),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., October 2009), n.p., Web.

27. H. Morley, ed., *Sketches of Longer Works of English Verse and Prose*, Cassell’s Library of English Literature (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, 1876), 385.

28. *McGuffey’s High School Reader*, rev. ed. (Cincinnati: Eclectic Press; Van Antwerp, Bragg, 1889), 134–39. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. Out of eighty-six writers in the volume, Austen is the first woman to appear, with a total of eleven females included. Two-thirds of the writers would today be classified as British.

29. John H. Westerhoff III, *McGuffey and His Readers: Piety, Morality, and Education in Nineteenth-Century America* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1978), 14.

30. George Saintsbury, *Specimens of English Prose Style from Malory to Macaulay* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, 1886), 299.

31. Henry Craik, ed., *English Prose Selections*, vol. 5, *Nineteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1900), 53. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

32. Anna Vaninskaya, “The Novel, Its Critics, and the University: A New Beginning?,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Victorian Novel*, ed. Lisa Rodensky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 709.

33. Leah Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel: From Richardson to George Eliot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 92.

34. Andrew Wright, “Jane Austen Adapted,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 3 (1975): 441–42.

35. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, abridged from the story by Jane Austen, Laurel & Gold Series (London: Collins, 1942). This version begins, “‘My dear Mr. Bennet,’ said his lady to him one day” (5). Wright declares many of the omissions “startling” (427).

36. Joseph O. Baylen, “Stead, William Thomas (1849–1912),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed., September 2010), n.p., Web. Stead, an investigative journalist, advocate for the poor, for liberal causes, for women’s rights, and for peace, as well as for the paranormal/spiritualism, died aboard the Titanic.

37. Gilson, *Bibliography* 270–71.

38. “Christmas Presents: From a Penny to Five Pounds,” *Review of Reviews* 16 (1897): 502.

39. “The Best Christmas Present: A Library for a Pound,” *Review of Reviews* 16 (1897): 390. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

40. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, abridged and edited by Mrs. Frederick Boas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), n.p.

41. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. Mrs. Frederick Boas, illus. Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1934). Boas includes her own original introduction, copious notes, and a final section, “Essay Questions,” showing that this, too, was intended as a

school edition. My personal favorite is “Describe John Thorpe driving a car instead of a horse” (225).

42. “The World of Books: Nature and Art,” *London Quarterly Review* 101 (January 1904): 181.

43. Review of *Pride and Prejudice*, by Jane Austen, abridged and edited by Mrs. Frederick Boas, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 110 (12 November 1910): 613.

44. “English Literature for Schools,” *Journal of Education and the School World* 50 (April 1928): 241.

45. Ford L. Lemler, “Using Films for Teaching,” *Michigan Alumnus*, 9 November 1946, 97.

46. “Pride and Prejudice,” MGM (1949), *Educational Films: 1973* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center, 1973), 417.

47. Stewart Beach, “Good Books Make Good Movies,” *Spokesman-Review*, 2 February 1963, 17.

48. John McElwee, “MGM’s Perpetual Product Plan,” *John McElwee’s Greenbrier Picture Shows* (blog), 10 May 2006, n.p. Web.

49. Sharon Hamilton-Wieler, “Marion C. Sheridan,” in *Missing Chapters: Ten Pioneering Women in NCTE and English Education*, ed. Jeanne Marcum Gerlach and Virginia R. Monseau (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1991), 116–38.

50. Lionel Trilling, “Why We Read Jane Austen,” *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 March 1976, 250–52. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

51. Ellin Stein, *That’s Not Funny, That’s Sick: The National Lampoon and the Comedy Insurgents Who Captured the Mainstream* (London: W. W. Norton, 2013), 94. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.

52. National Lampoon poster by Michael O’Donoghue and George W. S. Trow, box 6, Jeanne Tupper Collection about Jane Austen (Collection 1514), Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

53. George W. S. Trow and Michael O’Donoghue, School of Hard Sell, *National Lampoon: The Humor Magazine*, October 1971, 19.

### Coda

1. Camilla Nelson, “Is Popularity Killing Jane Austen?,” *Newsweek*, 10 March 2015, accessed 22 May 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/popularity-killing-jane-austen-311974>. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text. Ron Rosenbaum, “Is Jane Austen Overhyped?,” *Slate*, 13 February 2013, Web.

2. *Greer Garson Coloring Book* (Chicago: Merrill, 1944), 10–13. The coloring book indicates it is produced “Courtesy of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.”

3. Chellie Carroll, *Pride and Prejudice: A Coloring Classic* (New York: Doubleday Books for Young Readers, 2016), 1.

4. Eva Maria Hamilton, *Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice Colouring & Activity Book: Featuring Illustrations from 1895* (n.p.: Lilac Lane, 2015).

5. M. C. Frank, *Persuasion: The Coloring Book* (San Bernardino, CA: n.p., 2016); Katrina King, *Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice: The Adult Coloring Book* (San Bernardino, CA: n.p., 2015).

6. Michael Allford and Dianne Allford, *Color and Colorability: An Adult Coloring Book Celebrating the Work of Jane Austen* (San Bernardino, CA: n.p., 2016).
7. Simon Reade, *Pride and Prejudice: A Romantic Comedy* (London: Oberon Books, 2009).
8. Ryan Haddad (licensing representative, Samuel French, Inc.), “Jane Austen Data,” e-mail communication with the author, 10 June 2016.
9. Jon Jory, *Austen on Stage: The Complete Works of Jane Austen Adapted for the Stage* (New York: Playscripts, 2017). The complete dramatic works are listed as four hundred pages long.
10. See Joe Karaganis and David McClure, “What a Million Syllabuses Can Teach Us,” *New York Times*, 22 January 2016, SR9. Austen is not the most–highly ranked woman author. The most often assigned college English text, according to the Online Syllabus Project, is Diana Hacker’s *The Bedford Handbook*, a composition textbook.
11. Claire Heald (executive principal, Jane Austen College), “Jane Austen College,” e-mail communication with the author, 22 June 2016.
12. On the Twitter trolls and the Austen tenner, see Alexandra Topping, “Jane Austen Twitter Row: Two Plead Guilty to Abusive Tweets,” *Guardian*, 7 January 2014, Web.
13. Eugene Volokh, “*Pride and Prejudice* Gets Its First U.S. Supreme Court Citation,” *Washington Post*, 13 January 2015, Web.
14. Lauren Gambino and Paul Owen, “Chelsea Clinton, in Spotlight She Once Shunned, Speaks of Hillary the Mother,” *Guardian*, 28 July 2016, Web.
15. Our story is further described in Deborah Yaffe’s book, *Among the Janeites: A Journey through the World of Jane Austen Fandom* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2013).

### **Appendix: Suggested Further Reading**

1. See Barry Roth and Joel Weinsheimer, *An Annotated Bibliography of Jane Austen Studies, 1952–1972* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973); Barry Roth, *An Annotated Bibliography of Jane Austen Studies, 1973–1983* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985); Barry Roth, *An Annotated Bibliography of Jane Austen Studies, 1984–1994* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1985).
2. Kathryn Sutherland, “Brian Southam: Scholar and Critic Who Altered the Landscape of Jane Austen Studies,” *Guardian*, 5 November 2010, 47.
3. Laurence W. Mazzeno, *Jane Austen: Two Centuries of Criticism* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 2.
4. Claire Harman, *Jane’s Fame: How Jane Austen Conquered the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2009), 6. Subsequent references cited parenthetically in the text.
5. Rachel Brownstein, *Why Jane Austen?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1.
6. Emily Auerbach, *Searching for Jane Austen* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 40.
7. Claudia Johnson, *Jane Austen’s Cults and Cultures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 13, 14.
8. Deidre Lynch, introduction to *Janeites: Austen’s Disciples and Devotees* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6.

9. Gillian Dow and Clare Harman, eds., *Uses of Austen: Jane's Afterlives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 1, 5.
10. Andrew Wright, "Jane Austen Adapted," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 30, no. 3 (1975): 423.
11. Sybil G. Brinton, *Old Friends and New Fancies: An Imaginary Sequel to the Novels of Jane Austen* (London: Holden & Hardingham, 1913).
12. Linda Troost and Sayre Greenfield, eds., *Jane Austen in Hollywood* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998); Sue Parrill, *Jane Austen on Film and Television: A Critical Study of the Adaptations* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002); Suzanne R. Pucci and James Thompson, eds., *Jane Austen and Co.: Remaking the Past in Contemporary Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003); Lisa Hopkins, *Relocating Shakespeare and Austen on Screen* (New York: Palgrave, 2009); Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, eds., *Adaptations: From Text to Screen, Screen to Text* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
13. Deborah Cartmell, *Screen Adaptations: Jane Austen's "Pride and Prejudice"; The Relationship between Text and Film* (London: Methuen, 2010).
14. Janine Barchas and Kristina Straub, "Curating Will & Jane," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 40, no. 2 (April 2016): 1–35.