THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION
OF THE WORKS OF

JANE AUSTEN

EMMA

Cambridge University Press and the General Editor
Janet Todd wish to express their gratitude to the
University of Glasgow and the University of Aberdeen for
providing funding towards the creation of this edition.
Their generosity made possible the employment of
Antje Blank as research assistant throughout the project.

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George Watson, *A Girl Drawing*, 1813, Dunrobin Castle.
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JANE AUSTEN

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Edited by
Richard Cronin and Dorothy McMillan

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521824378

First published 2005, 2011
Second Edition 2012
Reprinted 2013

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Austen, Jane, 1775–1817.
Emma / edited by Richard Cronin and Dorothy McMillan.
p. cm. – (The Cambridge edition of the works of Jane Austen)
ISBN-13: 978-0-521-82437-8
ISBN-10: 0-521-82437-0
1. Fathers and daughters – Fiction. 2. Female friendship – Fiction. 3. Mate selection – Fiction. 4. Young women – Fiction. 5. England – Fiction.
I. Cronin, Richard, 1949– II. McMillan, Dorothy, 1943– III. Title.
IV. Series.
PR4034.E5 2005 823′.7 – dc22 2005006333

ISBN 978-0-521-82437-8 Hardback
ISBN 978-1-107-62046-9 Paperback

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

Jane Austen wrote to be read and reread. '[A]n artist cannot do anything slovenly,' she remarked to her sister Cassandra. Her subtle, crafted novels repay close and repeated attention to vocabulary, syntax and punctuation as much as to irony and allusion; yet the reader can take immediate and intense delight in their plots and characters. As a result Austen has a unique status among early English novelists – appreciated by the academy and the general public alike. What Henry Crawford remarks about Shakespeare in *Mansfield Park* has become equally true of its author: she 'is a part of an Englishman's constitution. [Her] thoughts and beauties are so spread abroad that one touches them every where, one is intimate with [her] by instinct.' This edition of the complete oeuvre of the published novels and manuscript works is testament to Austen's exceptional cultural and literary position. As well as attempting to establish an accurate and authoritative text, it provides a full contextual placing of the novels.

The editing of any canonical writer is a practice which has been guided by many conflicting ideologies. In the early twentieth century, editors, often working alone, largely agreed that they were producing definitive editions, although they used eclectic methods and often revised the text at will. Later in the century, fidelity to the author's creative intentions was paramount, and the emphasis switched to devising an edition that would as far as possible represent the final authorial wishes. By the 1980s, however, the pursuit of the single perfected text had given gave way to the recording of multiple intentions of equal interest. Authors were seen to have changed, revised or recanted, or indeed to have directed various

versions of their work towards different audiences. Consequently all states had validity and the text became a process rather than a fixed entity. With this approach came emphasis on the print culture in which the text appeared as well as on the social implications of authorship. Rather than being stages in the evolution of a single work, the various versions existed in their own right, all having something to tell.

The Cambridge edition describes fully Austen's early publishing history and provides details of composition, publication and publishers as well as printers and compositors where known. It accepts that many of the decisions concerning spelling, punctuation, capitalising, italicising and paragraphing may well have been the compositors' rather than Austen's but that others may represent the author's own chosen style. For the novels published in Jane Austen's lifetime the edition takes as its copytext the latest edition to which she might plausibly have made some contribution: that is, the first editions of *Pride and Prejudice* and *Emma* and the second editions of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park*. Where a second edition is used, all substantive and accidental changes between editions are shown on the page so that the reader can reconstruct the first edition, and the dominance of either first or second editions is avoided. For the two novels published posthumously together, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, the copytext is the first published edition.

Our texts as printed here remain as close to the copytexts as possible: spelling and punctuation have not been modernised and inconsistencies in presentation have not seen regularised. The few corrections and emendations made to the texts – beyond replacing dropped or missing letters – occur only when an error is very obvious indeed, and/or where retention might interrupt reading or understanding: for example, missing quotation marks have been supplied, run-on words have been separated and repeated words excised. All changes to the texts, substantive and accidental, have been noted in the final apparatus. Four of the six novels appeared individually in three volumes; we have kept the volume divisions and numbering. In the case of *Persuasion,* which

was first published as volumes 3 and 4 of a four-volume set including *Northanger Abbey*, the volume division has been retained but volumes 3 and 4 have been relabeled volumes 1 and 2.

For all these novels the copytext has been set against two other copies of the same edition. Where there have been any substantive differences, further copies have been examined; details of these copies are given in the initial textual notes within each volume, along with information about the printing and publishing context of this particular work. The two volumes of the edition devoted to manuscript writings divide the works between the three juvenile notebooks on the one hand and all the remaining manuscript writings on the other. The juvenile notebooks and *Lady Susan* have some resemblance to the published works, being fair copies and following some of the conventions of publishing. The other manuscript writings consist in part of fictional works in early drafts, burlesques and autograph and allograph copies of occasional verses and prayers. The possible dating of the manuscript work, as well as the method of editing, is considered in the introductions to the relevant volumes. The cancelled chapters of *Persuasion* are included in an appendix to the volume *Persuasion*; they appear both in a transliteration and in facsimile. For all the manuscript works, their features as manuscripts have been respected and all changes and erasures either reproduced or noted.

In all the volumes superscript numbers in the texts indicate endnotes. Throughout the edition we have provided full annotations to give clear and informative historical and cultural information to the modern reader while largely avoiding critical speculation; we have also indicated words which no longer have currency or have altered in meaning in some way. The introductions give information concerning the genesis and immediate public reception of the text; they also indicate the most significant stylistic and generic features. A chronology of Austen's life appears in each volume. More information about the life, Austen's reading, her relationship to publication, the print history of the novels and their critical reception through the centuries, as well as the historical, political,

intellectual and religious context in which she wrote is available in the final volume of the edition: *Jane Austen in Context*.

I would like to thank Cambridge University Library for supplying the copytexts for the six novels. I am most grateful to Linda Bree at Cambridge University Press for her constant support and unflagging enthusiasm for the edition and to Maartje Scheltens and Alison Powell for their help at every stage of production. I owe the greatest debt to my research assistant Antje Blank for her rare combination of scholarly dedication, editorial skills and critical discernment.

Janet Todd
University of Aberdeen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped us in the preparation of this edition. We wish particularly to thank the General Editor, Janet Todd and Linda Bree of Cambridge University Press for their careful reading of drafts and helpful suggestions. We are grateful, too, to Antje Blank and Maartje Scheltens and Alison Powell for their care throughout the whole process. We thank the staffs of the Special Collections Departments of Glasgow University Library, National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library for helping us to confirm doubtful textual readings. We also thank Rosemary Wells, English Subject Librarian, Bristol University Library for checking the first edition copy there. Deirdre Le Faye has been kind enough to read our Introduction and Notes and has saved us from embarrassing error; David Gilson has generously assisted us with textual and other matters. Roxanne Fea, Curator of the British Dental Museum, furnished us with valuable information on Regency dentistry. Duncan Macmillan and the staff of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland shared their expertise with us. Lord Strathnaver generously and promptly responded to our queries concerning George Watson's painting. We are also indebted to previous editors of *Emma*, and to too many Jane Austen scholars, living and dead, to list. And finally we thank our family, friends, colleagues and students for putting up with *Emma* without audible complaint.

CHRONOLOGY

DEIRDRE LE FAYE

1764	
26 April	Marriage of Revd George Austen, rector of Steventon, and Cassandra Leigh; they go to live at Deane, Hampshire, and their first three children – James (1765), George (1766) and Edward (1767) – are born here.
1768	
Summer	The Austen family move to Steventon, Hampshire. Five more children – Henry (1771), Cassandra (1773), Francis (1774), Jane (1775), Charles (1779) – are born here.
1773	
23 March	Mr Austen becomes Rector of Deane as well as Steventon, and takes pupils at Steventon from now until 1796.
1775	
16 December	Jane Austen born at Steventon.
1781	
Winter	JA's cousin, Eliza Hancock, marries Jean-François Capot de Feuillide, in France.
1782	
	First mention of JA in family tradition, and the first of the family's amateur theatrical productions takes place.
1783	
	JA's third brother, Edward, is adopted by Mr and Mrs Thomas Knight II, and starts to spend time with them at Godmersham in Kent.

	JA, with her sister Cassandra and cousin Jane Cooper, stays for some months in Oxford and then Southampton, with kinswoman Mrs Cawley.
1785	
Spring	JA and Cassandra go to the Abbey House School in Reading.
1786	
	Edward sets off for his Grand Tour of Europe, and does not return until autumn 1790.
April	JA's fifth brother, Francis, enters the Royal Naval Academy in Portsmouth.
December	JA and Cassandra have left school and are at home again in Steventon. Between now and 1793 JA writes her three volumes of the *Juvenilia*.
1788	
Summer	Mr and Mrs Austen take JA and Cassandra on a trip to Kent and London.
December	Francis leaves the RN Academy and sails to East Indies; does not return until winter 1793.
1791	
July	JA's sixth and youngest brother, Charles, enters the Royal Naval Academy in Portsmouth.
27 December	Edward Austen marries Elizabeth Bridges, and they live at Rowling in Kent.
1792	
27 March	JA's eldest brother, James, marries Anne Mathew; they live at Deane.
?Winter	Cassandra becomes engaged to Revd Tom Fowle.
1793	
23 January	Edward Austen's first child, Fanny, is born at Rowling.
1 February	Republican France declares war on Great Britain and Holland.
8 April	JA's fourth brother, Henry, becomes a lieutenant in the Oxfordshire Militia.
15 April	James Austen's first child, Anna, born at Deane.
3 June	JA writes the last item of her *J*.

1794	
22 February	M de Feuillide guillotined in Paris.
September	Charles leaves the RN Academy and goes to sea.
?Autumn	JA possibly writes the novella *Lady Susan* this year.
1795	
	JA probably writes 'Elinor and Marianne' this year.
3 May	James's wife Anne dies, and infant Anna is sent to live at Steventon.
Autumn	Revd Tom Fowle joins Lord Craven as his private chaplain for the West Indian campaign.
December	Tom Lefroy visits Ashe Rectory – he and JA have a flirtation over the Christmas holiday period.
1796	
October	JA starts writing 'First Impressions'.
1797	
17 January	James Austen marries Mary Lloyd, and infant Anna returns to live at Deane.
February	Revd Tom Fowle dies of fever at San Domingo and is buried at sea.
August	JA finishes 'First Impressions' and Mr Austen offers it for publication to Thomas Cadell – rejected sight unseen.
November	JA starts converting 'Elinor and Marianne' into *Sense and Sensibility*. Mrs Austen takes her daughters for a visit to Bath.
	Edward Austen and his young family move from Rowling to Godmersham.
31 December	Henry Austen marries his cousin, the widowed Eliza de Feuillide, in London.
1798	
	JA probably starts writing 'Susan' (later to become *Northanger Abbey*).
17 November	James Austen's son James Edward born at Deane.
1799	
Summer	JA probably finishes 'Susan' (*NA*) about now.
1800	
	Mr Austen decides to retire and move to Bath.

1801	
24 January	Henry Austen resigns his commission in the Oxfordshire Militia and sets up as a banker and army agent in London.
May	The Austen family leave Steventon for Bath, and then go for a seaside holiday in the West Country. JA's traditionary West Country romance presumably occurs between now and the autumn of 1804.
1802	
March 25	Peace of Amiens appears to bring the war with France to a close.
Summer	Charles Austen joins his family for a seaside holiday in Wales and the West Country.
December	JA and Cassandra visit James and Mary at Steventon; while there, Harris Bigg-Wither proposes to JA and she accepts him, only to withdraw her consent the following day.
Winter	JA revises 'Susan' (*NA*).
1803	
Spring	JA sells 'Susan' (*NA*) to Benjamin Crosby; he promises to publish it by 1804, but does not do so.
18 May	Napoleon breaks the Peace of Amiens, and war with France recommences.
Summer	The Austens visit Ramsgate in Kent, and possibly also go to the West Country again.
November	The Austens visit Lyme Regis.
1804	
	JA probably starts writing *The Watsons* this year, but leaves it unfinished.
Summer	The Austens visit Lyme Regis again.
1805	
21 January	Mr Austen dies and is buried in Bath.
Summer	Martha Lloyd joins forces with Mrs Austen and her daughters.
18 June	James Austen's younger daughter, Caroline, born at Steventon.
21 October	Battle of Trafalgar.

1806	
2 July	Mrs Austen and her daughters finally leave Bath; they visit Clifton, Adlestrop, Stoneleigh and Hamstall Ridware, before settling in Southampton in the autumn.
24 July	Francis Austen marries Mary Gibson.
1807	
19 May	Charles Austen marries Fanny Palmer, in Bermuda.
1808	
10 October	Edward Austen's wife Elizabeth dies at Godmersham.
1809	
5 April	JA makes an unsuccessful attempt to secure the publication of 'Susan' (*NA*).
7 July	Mrs Austen and her daughters, and Martha Lloyd, move to Chawton, Hants.
1810	
Winter	*S&S* is accepted for publication by Thomas Egerton.
1811	
February	JA starts planning *Mansfield Park*.
30 October	*S&S* published.
?Winter	JA starts revising 'First Impressions' into *Pride and Prejudice*.
1812	
17 June	America declares war on Great Britain.
14 October	Mrs Thomas Knight II dies, and Edward Austen now officially takes surname of Knight.
Autumn	JA sells copyright of *P&P* to Egerton.
1813	
28 January	*P&P* published; JA half-way through *MP*.
?July	JA finishes *MP*.
?November	*MP* accepted for publication by Egerton about now.
1814	
21 January	JA commences *Emma*.
5 April	Napoleon abdicates and is exiled to Elba.
9 May	*MP* published.

24 December	Treaty of Ghent officially ends war with America.
1815	
March	Napoleon escapes and resumes power in France; hostilities recommence.
29 March	*E* finished.
18 June	Battle of Waterloo finally ends war with France.
8 August	JA starts *Persuasion*.
4 October	Henry Austen takes JA to London; he falls ill, and she stays longer than anticipated.
13 November	JA visits Carlton House, and receives an invitation to dedicate a future work to the Prince Regent.
December	*E* published by John Murray, dedicated to the Prince Regent. (title page 1816)
1816	
Spring	JA's health starts to fail. Henry Austen buys back manuscript of 'Susan' (*NA*), which JA revises and intends to offer again for publication.
18 July	First draft of *P* finished.
6 August	*P* finally completed.
1817	
27 January	JA starts *Sanditon*.
18 March	JA now too ill to work, and has to leave *S* unfinished.
24 May	Cassandra takes JA to Winchester for medical attention.
18 July	JA dies in the early morning.
24 July	JA buried in Winchester Cathedral.
December	*NA* and *P* published together, by Murray, with a 'Biographical Notice' added by Henry Austen. (title page 1818)
1869	
16 December	JA's nephew, Revd James Edward Austen-Leigh (JEAL), publishes his *Memoir of Jane Austen*, from which all subsequent biographies have stemmed. (title page 1870)
1871	
	JEAL publishes a second and enlarged edition of his *Memoir*, including in this the novella *LS*, the

cancelled chapters of *P*, the unfinished *W*, a précis of *S*, and 'The Mystery' from the *J*.

1884

JA's great-nephew, Lord Brabourne, publishes *Letters of Jane Austen*, the first attempt to collect her surviving correspondence.

1922

Volume the Second of the *J* published.

1925

The manuscript of the unfinished *S* edited by R. W. Chapman and published as *Fragment of a Novel by Jane Austen*.

1932

R. W. Chapman publishes *Jane Austen's Letters to her sister Cassandra and others*, giving letters unknown to Lord Brabourne.

1933

Volume the First of the *J* published.

1951

Volume the Third of the *J* published.

1952

Second edition of R. W. Chapman's *Jane Austen's Letters* published, with additional items.

1954

R. W. Chapman publishes *Jane Austen's Minor Works*, which includes the three volumes of the *J* and other smaller items.

1980

B. C. Southam publishes *Jane Austen's 'Sir Charles Grandison'*, a small manuscript discovered in 1977.

1995

Deirdre Le Faye publishes the third (new) edition of *Jane Austen's Letters*, containing further additions to the Chapman collections.

INTRODUCTION

COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION

Jane Austen arranged for the publication of *Mansfield Park* by Thomas Egerton while she was staying with her brother Henry in London in November 1813. Henry accompanied her on her return to Chawton, where she celebrated a cold Christmas – a great frost began on 27 December, and in February a frost fair was held on the frozen Thames. *Emma* was begun, according to Cassandra, on 21 January 1814. It was to be an exactly contemporaneous novel, begun just four weeks after the Christmas Eve on which Mr Elton was to make his embarrassing offer of marriage to the novel's heroine.[1] The novel was finally delivered to the publisher John Murray in August or September 1815. The twenty months during which Austen worked on *Emma* were crammed with momentous events. On 5 April 1814, Napoleon abdicated and was exiled to Elba. That summer the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were in London as guests of the Prince Regent, the man to whom the novel on which Austen was working would reluctantly be dedicated. Her brother Henry astonished her by securing a ticket to the extravagant White's Club ball given in honour of the three monarchs, 'Henry at Whites! – Oh! what a Henry.'[2] But the London celebrations were

[1] Jo Modert convincingly supports the suggestion first made by Chapman that Austen used an almanac for the years 1813–14 when writing *Emma*. See Jo Modert, 'Chronology within the Novels', in J. David Grey (ed.), *The Jane Austen Handbook* (London: Athlone Press, 1986), pp. 53–9. On the precise contemporaneity of *Emma*, see Robert Miles '"A Fall in Bread": Speculation and the Real in *Emma*', *Novel: a Forum on Fiction*, 37 (Fall 2003/Spring 2004), 1–20.

[2] Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 23 June 1814, p. 264. Henceforth *L*.

remote from her fictional concerns, which were more engaged by the capacity of Harriet Smith to fall in love with Robert Martin just five weeks after she had been in love with Mr Knightley; 'Such a heart—such a Harriet!' (p. 519). By the time that the novel was complete Napoleon had made his dramatic escape and had once again been defeated, but these national events, crucial to *Persuasion*, scarcely seem touched on in *Emma*. Happenings nearer home must have been more absorbing. On 6 September 1814, her brother Charles's wife, Fanny, died, a week after giving birth on board her husband's ship to her fourth daughter, Elizabeth, and the baby herself died a fortnight later. There is perhaps a special feeling in the sentence with which one of the novel's closing chapters begins: 'Mrs. Weston's friends were all made happy by her safety; and if the satisfaction of her well-doing could be increased to Emma, it was by knowing her to be the mother of a little girl' (p. 503). There were financial anxieties too. Charles retained his command for a while, but, with the conclusion of the war, her brother Frank became a half-pay officer. More seriously, Edward was engaged in a lawsuit for the possession of his Hampshire properties. If the suit (which was not finally settled until 1818) went against him, Chawton Cottage would be lost. Austen could not have felt quite secure from the fate that in her novel threatens another single woman whose mother is the widow of a clergyman: 'She is poor; she has sunk from the comforts she was born to; and, if she live to old age, must probably sink more' (p. 408).

During the months that she worked on the novel Austen made her usual round of visits, to her brother in London, to Winchester, to her old home at Steventon. These trips were becoming increasingly necessary to her as she entered middle age and her social life narrowed. 'Dining once with the Coles – and having a ball talked of, which never took place' (p. 338): so Emma sums up the social whirl in which her brother-in-law represents her as plunging. It is, like hazel eyes, one of several points of contact between the ageing Austen and her twenty-year-old heroine in the full bloom of her youth. When Mr Knightley needs to get away from Highbury he

acts decisively, takes his leave of Emma and sets off to stay with his brother in Brunswick Square. Austen had to be more indirect. 'I certainly do not *wish* that Henry should think again of getting me to Town,' she wrote to Cassandra, who was staying with brother Henry at the time, 'but if he really does propose it, I cannot say No, to what will be so kindly intended'. Her obligation to her mother was almost as restrictive as Emma's to her father: 'Mother would be quite disappointed by my exceeding the fortnight which I now talk of as the outside; — at least we could not both remain longer away comfortably,' she wrote from Great Bookham where, in June 1814, she was once again visiting her cousins, the Cookes.[3] Staying at Great Bookham just a few miles west of Boxhill, and still closer to Leatherhead, the town that has the best case to be recognized as the model for the fictional Highbury, gave Austen the chance to reacquaint herself with the area in which her novel is set.

For much of the novel, Emma, who, even though she is just twenty, believes that her duty to her father denies her the possibility of marriage, lives her passionate life vicariously, first through her governess Miss Taylor and then through her friend Harriet Smith. As she grew confirmed in her spinsterhood, Austen too began to live vicariously. She and Cassandra had, for example, kept up with Anne Sharp, who had been governess to their brother Edward's children and was now in Yorkshire, governess to the children of Sir Thomas Pilkington, who had recently died, his baronetcy passing to a promisingly single younger brother: 'I do so want him to marry her! . . . Oh! Sir W^{M} – Sir W^{M} – how I will love you, if you will love Miss Sharp!'[4] The governesses in her novel, Mrs Weston and Jane Fairfax, both contrive to find husbands, but Sir William Pilkington chose rather to marry a Mary Swinnerton.[5] Still more important, there were Austen's nieces. On 8 November 1814, Anna finally married Ben Lefroy, the son of Austen's old friend, Anne Lefroy, after an engagement that had worried the Austen family. As another niece, Caroline, recalled, it was a wedding as quiet as

[3] 23 June 1814, *L*, p. 265. [4] *Ibid.*
[5] David Nokes, *Jane Austen: A Life* (London: Fourth Estate, 1997), p. 443.

Emma's and Mr Knightley's: 'Weddings were then usually very quiet. The old fashion of festival and publicity had quite gone by, and was universally condemned as showing the great bad taste of all former generations.'[6] But still more interesting to Austen was her favourite niece, Fanny's, protracted uncertainty as to whether or not she was in love with John Plumptre. John Plumptre was a serious young man whom she had met in 1812, since when the two had apparently been courting. But Anna's marriage led Fanny to doubt her own feelings, and she discussed her uncertainties in a correspondence with her Aunt Jane, which ended in a decision to break off the relationship. Fanny's letters do not survive, but they must have left their mark on that section of her aunt's novel in which Emma wonders whether, and how much, she is in love with Frank Churchill.

Fanny was willing to mine her own attachment for the comic material that she knew her aunt would relish: 'Your trying to excite your own feelings by a visit to his room amused me excessively. – The dirty Shaving Rag was exquisite! – Such a circumstance ought to be in print. Much too good to be lost.'[7] Anna did still better. She actually embarked on a novel, successive episodes of which she sent to her aunt for her comments. Austen replied in letters that represent her most sustained exercise in literary criticism. Their importance for the light that they throw on Austen's own character as a novelist has always been recognised – 'Cecilia continues to be interesting in-spite of her being so amiable';[8] 'Your Aunt C. does not like desultory novels' and fears that there will be 'too frequent a change from one set of people to another';[9] 'Let the Portmans go to Ireland, but as you know nothing of the Manners there, you had better not go with them';[10] '3 or 4 Families in a Country Village is the very thing to work on'.[11] But it is also important that, as she read and

[6] Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 217.
[7] ? 24 November, 1814, *L*, p. 282.
[8] ? mid-July 1814, *L*, p. 267.
[9] 10–18 August 1814, *L*, p. 269.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] 9–18 September 1814, *L*, p. 275.

commented on her niece's novel in the second half of 1814, Austen was forced to reflect upon her own practice as a novelist with a self-consciousness that infiltrates *Emma*, the novel that she was working on herself at the time, at every level. It is not just a question of reminding herself to attend to the injunctions she gives her niece to preserve geographical accuracy – 'They must be *two* days going from Dawlish to Bath; They are nearly 100 miles apart'[12] – and to be faithful to social mores – the meeting of a lord and his brother with a doctor is 'scratched out' because a 'Country Surgeon (don't tell Mr. C. Lyford) would not be introduced to Men of their rank'.[13] As she read her niece's first attempt Austen recognised that the novel was properly named, that its claim to represent reality had to be constantly renewed by asserting its difference from all previous attempts. Novels, odd as it might seem, earned their claim to that designation precisely by their unlikeness to other novels. So she warns her niece, even though Burney's *Evelina* may well have been her favourite novel, against a lover's speaking 'like the formal part of Lord Orville', against having her characters go to a play because she has had 'too much of Plays in that way lately',[14] against 'descriptions' that 'give too many particulars of right hand & left',[15] against characters who are 'a little too solemn & good',[16] against the inclusion of an unsuccessful suitor who is 'too much in the common Novel style – a handsome, amiable, unexceptionable Young Man (such as do not much abound in real Life)'[17] and against the use of 'novel slang', especially if it is such 'thorough novel slang' as the expression 'vortex of Dissipation' – 'I dare say Adam met with it in the first novel he opened.'[18] Her own novel, *Emma*, was to be informed throughout by this sense that the first duty of a novel is to maintain itself at a sardonic distance from 'the novel'.

Austen took the decision to send the completed manuscript of *Emma* to John Murray rather than to Thomas Egerton, who had

[12] 10–18 August 1814, *L*, p. 269.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[15] 9–18 September 1814, *L*, p. 275.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 276.
[17] 28 September 1814, *L*, p. 277.
[18] *Ibid.*

published *Mansfield Park*. She had been upset by the failure of Egerton to secure a single review of the novel, and he may have demurred at her demand that he publish a second edition. But her attempt to secure publication by Murray needs little explanation. Since taking over the running of his father's firm in 1803 Murray had made himself the most reputable publisher in London, the first gentleman publisher, according to popular legend, though Austen herself was less obsequious – 'he is a Rogue of course, but a civil one'.[19] But Murray was practised in the publisher's arts, and he at once began to extend those courtesies, in particular the loan of books, that he knew would secure him in her good graces. Murray was not best known as a publisher of novels, but of travel books and of poetry, most famous, of course, as the publisher of Byron, although he was also, importantly for Austen, the publisher of George Crabbe. He was in addition the owner of one of the two great reviews, the *Quarterly*. Its editor, William Gifford, was the man he asked to read the novel for him, and Gifford gave his report on 29 September: 'Of *Emma* I have nothing but good to say.'[20] It was in his capacity as owner of the *Quarterly* that Murray asked Walter Scott to review the novel, and his notice, much the most substantial criticism of her work to be published in Austen's lifetime, appeared in March 1816 (in the issue for October 1815), just three months after the novel's publication.[21]

While the negotiation with Murray was proceeding, Austen's brother fell ill. His doctor, wanting a second opinion, called in Matthew Baillie, physician to the Prince Regent. Baillie told Austen that the Regent was a great admirer of her novels, that he kept a set of them in each of his houses and that his librarian, James Stanier

[19] 17–18 October, 1815, *L*, p. 291. William St Clair justifies Austen's view when he terms the account detailing the production costs of *Emma* 'as fictional as the novel': Murray, he believes, grossly over-estimated the cost of the paper, a common practice amongst publishers. See *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 164–5 and 512–13.

[20] Le Faye, *A Family Record*, p. 223.

[21] Walter Scott, *Quarterly Review*, 14 (1815), 188–201.

Clarke, would call on her. Clarke invited her to Carlton House to inspect the library, and let it be known that she should feel free to dedicate her next novel to the Regent. This placed Austen in a quandary. In the very public quarrel between the Regent and his wife, Caroline of Brunswick, Austen had been a longstanding supporter of the wife. Her own brother, Frank, had served on the ship bringing Caroline to England, and in any case Austen thought it her duty to side with the wife: 'Poor woman, I shall support her as long as I can, because she *is* a woman, & because I hate her Husband.'[22] Her first response was to refuse Clarke's invitation. She wrote to Clarke asking 'whether it is incumbent on me to shew my sense of the Honour, by inscribing the Work now in the Press, to H. R. H.'[23] Clarke assured her that there was no obligation, but Austen quickly saw or was advised that the commercial advantages of such a dedication should outweigh her scruples, and when the novel was published it carried a dedication to the Regent 'by his Royal Highness's dutiful and obedient humble servant, the author'.

Murray offered £450 for the copyright of *Emma*, *Mansfield Park* and *Sense and Sensibility*, a sum which, Henry Austen assured him, was 'not equal to the Money which my Sister has actually cleared by one very moderate Edition of Mansfield Park'.[24] In the end, the contract agreed was that Austen should pay all production costs, and receive all profits minus 10 per cent commission to Murray. *Emma* was published in December 1815 (it was advertised on both 16 December and 23 December as published 'this day' but dated the following year, 1816, as was customary in books published at the end of a year) in three volumes in a run of 2,000, at the price of a guinea. 351 copies were pre-ordered by booksellers, and 1,248 copies in all were sold by October 1816. By the time of Austen's death her profit amounted to £372.12.11, but most of this was offset against the losses incurred through Murray's

[22] 16 February 1813, *L*, p. 208. [23] 15 November 1815, *L*, p. 296.
[24] Le Faye, *A Family Record*, p. 224.

publication of a second edition of *Mansfield Park*. In 1820 Murray still had 539 copies of *Emma* on hand, and remaindered them at two shillings.[25]

Immediately after its London publication *Emma* appeared in American editions in New York and Philadelphia, and in a very free French translation, *La Nouvelle Emma, ou, Les caractères anglais du siècle*. Although both the French translation and Mathew Carey's 1816 Philadelphia edition appeared during her lifetime, Jane Austen makes no reference to them in her letters and may be presumed to have been unaware of them. The early American editions of *Emma* are described by David Gilson, who suggests that Scott's review of *Emma* in the *Quarterly* may have provided the impetus for Carey's early publication – none of the remaining five novels was published in America before 1832.[26] Gilson has not been able to find out how many copies of the Philadelphia edition were printed but the edition is now so rare that he was able to record only three copies in America, and one in Britain which he now possesses. *Emma* is not merely unusual in being the first of Jane Austen's novels to have an American edition, it is, Gilson points out, the sole exception to the early American bowdlerisation of Jane Austen, that is to say the removal of exclamatory phrases that might be deemed to take the name of God in vain. These were removed or adjusted in all the novels published in 1832–3 except *Emma*. The publisher remained the same, although the imprint changed with changing partners, but different printers were employed. It is possible that one set of printers was more puritanical than another but one has to ask why the publishing house would have allowed themselves to be controlled by their printers. Is it possible that invocations of God in *Emma* were felt not to be blasphemous because so clearly unfrivolous? It is when Emma realises the consequences that her encouragement of Harriet may have brought on herself that she

[25] David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), p. 69.
[26] David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's *Emma* in America', *Review of English Studies*, new series, 53 (2002), 517–25.

exclaims, 'Oh God! that I had never seen her!' (p. 448). Clearly, toning this down would have a devastating effect.

In Britain, as Murray's sales indicate, the public interest in *Emma*, as in almost all novels of the period, scarcely extended beyond the year of its publication. It was not until 1833 that *Emma* was reprinted, when Richard Bentley produced a collected edition of Austen's novels as a part of his series of Standard English Novels. Bentley's print-runs were modest, probably in the order of 2,500, and it was only in 1836 that a new impression was called for. There were further impressions in 1836 and 1841, and by the 1860s, by which time *Emma* was out of copyright, other publishers such as Simms and M'Intyre and Routledge were bringing out editions of the novel. But it was the publication of the *Memoir of Jane Austen* by her nephew, James Edward Austen-Leigh, in 1870, that seems to have instigated the rapid growth in Austen's popularity evident in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Since 1880 *Emma* has been continuously in print, and for almost all of that time there has been a choice between several editions. The first edition of the novel that makes real editorial claims is in the set of the novels in ten volumes edited by Reginald Brimley Johnson for Dent but, although this is an important edition, the establishing of the text of Jane Austen's novels owes everything to R. W. Chapman's edition of the novels for Oxford University Press, 1923. All subsequent editions of *Emma* have attended to Chapman, although David Gilson's survey of editions of the text suggests that we should not continue to be overly deferential.[27]

RECEPTION

By the end of the nineteenth century Austen's reputation was firmly established and *Emma*, her 'Book of Books', as Reginald Farrer described it in 1917,[28] was widely regarded as the greatest of her novels, but that was not the judgement of its first readers. John

[27] David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's Texts: A Survey of Editions', *Review of English Studies*, new series, 53 (2002), 61–85, esp. pp. 68–9.
[28] Reginald Farrer, 'Jane Austen', *Quarterly Review*, 228 (July 1917), 1–30.

Murray himself thought that it wanted 'incident and Romance'.[29] Her brother Charles was almost alone amongst the friends and relations whose opinions Austen recorded in preferring it to all the earlier novels. Some preferred *Mansfield Park*, more preferred *Pride and Prejudice*, and some, her brother James amongst them, 'did not like it so well as either of the 3 others'.[30] For the reviewer of the *British Lady's Magazine*, *Emma* offered melancholy proof that 'two or three novels generally exhaust the inventive faculties of authors'.[31] Other reviewers were kinder. The *Literary Panorama* thought it 'not ill conceived',[32] the *Monthly Review* commended it for its provision of 'harmless fun'[33] and the *British Critic* was happy to agree, finding *Emma* 'amusing, inoffensive and well principled'.[34] But even by attracting such modest notices as these *Emma* outdid *Mansfield Park*, which had failed to attract any. Murray was probably a more diligent publisher than Egerton, but another reason for the greater attention was the appearance in one of the two most influential periodicals of the day, the *Quarterly*, in March 1816, of the review that Murray had commissioned from Walter Scott.

Scott's review was unique in the understanding it brought to Austen's work, and remarkable even when compared with reviews of other novelists at that time. First, Scott grants that Austen's is a conscious rather than an unwitting achievement. *Emma*, for Scott, is a novel of a kind that has been written only 'within the last fifteen or twenty years', which he defines by its repudiation of the materials on which earlier novels, which were legitimate children of the romance, depended. In particular, Austen does not offer her reader any 'course of adventures of a nature more interesting and extraordinary than those which occur in his own life, or that of his next-door neighbours'. Second, she liberates her characters by

[29] Le Faye, *A Family Record*, p. 232.
[30] 'Opinions of *Emma*', *The Works of Jane Austen*, 6 vols., ed. R. W. Chapman, vol. VI, *Minor works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 436–9.
[31] *British Lady's Magazine, and Monthly Miscellany*, 4 (September 1816), 180–1.
[32] *Literary Panorama*, new series, 6 (June 1816).
[33] *Monthly Review*, 80 (July 1816).
[34] *British Critic*, new series, 6 (July 1816).