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THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION
OF THE WORKS OF
JANE AUSTEN

SENSE AND SENSIBILITY

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Antje Blank as research assistant throughout the project.

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Edited by
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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 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

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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 been 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

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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 relabelled 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 end-notes. 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

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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.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As Jane Austen wrote to her sister in October 1813, 'Like Harriot Byron I ask, what am I to do with my Gratitude?' When I review the long list of friends and colleagues to whom I owe thanks for their assistance with this edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, I find myself in the same position. A good place to begin, of course, is with David Gilson's indispensable *Bibliography*, but also for generous offprints of recent work and for advice in the early stages of text collations. Likewise I have had not only the advantage of Deirdre Le Faye's scholarship, but her ready advice. I am grateful, too, for Jocelyn Harris' generous contributions to the explanatory notes and for Kathryn Sutherland's steadying hand at the earliest stages of the collation of the two editions. Janet Todd, Linda Bree and Antje Blank have read and reread the Introduction and Explanatory notes with useful suggestions and remarkable patience. The unstinting assistance of Margaret Mathies in the collation of the first and second editions and in the organisation and recording of their variants has been invaluable. Her formidable editorial skills and her meticulous proofreading have provided a steady light at the end of the tunnel.

Authors to whom I must register my gratitude for their previous work on *Sense and Sensibility* are, first of all, those previous editors on whose editions I have leaned heavily for support: R. W. Chapman, naturally, but also recent editors Claire Lamont, Ros Ballaster, Claudia Johnson, Janet Todd and Kathleen James-Cavan. I owe great debts to Oliver MacDonagh and Gene Ruoff for their research into the social context of *Sense and Sensibility*; to Eileen Spring, J. H. Treitel, Barbara English and John Saville for their knowledge

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of wills and entails; to Jan Fergus for her accounts of the contemporary publishing business; to Jocelyn Harris and Claudia Johnson for their rich familiarity with Austen's reading; to John Wiltshire for his knowledge of contemporary medical practice; and to Irene Collins for her account of the mysteries of the English church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Among the countless debts I owe for help with the explanatory notes, Daniel Pool's *What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew* (1993) has to be mentioned as one of the handiest sources of practical information.

The following institutions provided generous access to their early editions of *Sense and Sensibility*: the Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the William Clark Memorial Library and the Charles E. Young Research Library, both of the University of California at Los Angeles, and the Huntington Library, in San Marino, California. The librarians at these institutions could not have been more helpful in arranging times to examine editions and in finding discreet places where word-for-word collations could take place with a minimum of disruption to other readers. I would also like to express my special thanks to the librarians at the Honnold/Mudd Libraries of the Claremont Colleges for allowing massive raids on their collection of Austen criticism and for going out of their way to procure books from other collections when they were needed. Finally, I want to express my appreciation for the generous support of Pomona College with a sabbatical leave to commence work on the project.

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 there.
- 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.

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1785

Spring JA and Cassandra go to the Abbey House School in Reading.

1786

Edward sets off for 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

- 3 May JA probably writes 'Elinor and Marianne' this year. 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

Chronology

- presumably occurs between now and the autumn of 1804.
- 1802**
 25 March 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**
 Summer JA probably starts writing *The Watsons* this year, but leaves it unfinished.
 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.

Chronology

- 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 *SE&S* is accepted for publication by Thomas Egerton.
- 1811**
 February JA starts planning *Mansfield Park*.
 30 October *SE&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 *PE&P* to Egerton.
- 1813**
 28 January *PE&P* published; JA half-way through *MP*.
 ?July JA finishes *MP*.
 29 October Second edition of *SE&S* published.
 ?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.

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- 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**
- 19 February 2nd edition of *MP* published.
- 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.

Chronology

- 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.

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INTRODUCTION

Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* was at least fifteen years in the making: first conceived and written as *Elinor and Marianne* in 1795 (a date from family tradition), converted into *Sense and Sensibility* beginning in November 1797 from its previous epistolary form (also family memory), revised twelve years later in 1809 and 1810 with a view to publication, accepted by the publisher Thomas Egerton in the winter of 1810, and published, finally, on 30 October 1811.¹ This lengthy gestation period is of some significance. For one thing, the ideas and opinions of a twenty-year-old woman writing for family readings and family scrutiny get mixed up with the seasoned thoughts of a mature writer preparing a manuscript for publication. Moreover, traces of its conception years, the turbulent 1790s, coexist in the novel with traces of the years that divide it from its final revision for publication in 1809–10.² Revision dates that can be verified are drawn from Marianne's recourse to the two-penny post in London, increased from one penny to two pennies in 1801, and the mention of Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published in 1805. By inference, other revisions were made in the last years before publication. During this long period there were major shifts in Austen's life: the break-up of the Steventon home in 1801 for

¹ David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, 'New Introduction and Corrections by the Author', first published 1982 (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), pp. 7–8.

² Warren Roberts, in *Jane Austen and the French Revolution* (London and New York: Macmillan Press, 1979), explores the possible alterations in political focus that could have accompanied revisions of the novel (pp. 44, 52); William H. Galperin, in *The Historical Austen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), examines the effects of revision from epistolary to authorial narration. Barbara M. Benedict, in 'Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*: The Politics of Point of View', *Philological Quarterly*, 69 (1990), pp. 453–70, also explores the epistolary first version.

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Mr Austen's retirement to Bath, a retreat into confirmed spinsterhood in the following years, the sudden death of Mr Austen in 1805, a period of financial uncertainty and moving about for the three surviving Austen women, the expedient of sharing lodgings in Southampton with Francis' family in 1806, punctuated by visits to Edward's grand estate in Kent, and, finally, the move to Chawton cottage, arranged by Edward in 1809, the event that enabled the completion of the novel.

Unstable and shifting in its sympathies and issues, *Sense and Sensibility* has long been treated as disappointing and odd, the red-headed stepchild of the Austen canon. Lady Bessborough in its year of first publication confessed that although *Sense and Sensibility* had amused her, 'it ends stupidly'; Henry Crabb Robinson noted on rereading it in 1839, 'I still think it one of the poorest of Miss Austen's novels'; and Reginald Farrer remarked in 1917, 'nobody will choose this as his favourite Jane Austen'.³ Here is consistency of response that makes it all the more remarkable and gratifying to find that in recent years *Sense and Sensibility* has emerged from its shadowed position among the six novels to find both popular and special appeal, particularly among feminists, historians and reader-response critics.

PUBLICATION

Although *Sense and Sensibility* was the first of Jane Austen's novels to reach publication, it was not the first to be offered for that honour. In previous tries, *First Impressions*, the initial version of *Pride and Prejudice*, was refused by Cadell and Davies by return post in November 1797, and *Susan*, the first version of *Northanger Abbey*, was sold in the spring of 1803, but never deemed worthy of publication by the publisher, Richard Crosby.⁴ Jane Austen's determination

³ Lady Bessborough, letter, 25 November 1811, *Lord Granville Leveson Gower, Private Correspondence*, ed. Castalia, Countess Granville (London: Murray, 1917), II, p. 418; Robinson, diary entries for 13 and 22 September 1839, in *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. E. J. Morley (London: J. M. Dent Sons, 1938); Reginald Farrer, 'Jane Austen', *ob.* July 18, 1817, *Quarterly Review*, 228 (July 1917), p. 16.

⁴ Gilson, *Bibliography*, pp. 24, 83.

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to see *Sense and Sensibility* in print can be estimated by the financial risk she chose to ensure that it happened. There were four general ways to publication open to her: two of them – publication at her own expense and publication by subscription – were neither of them suitable, and the other two – publication on commission and sale of copyright – came with serious financial risks.

Publication at the author's expense had been famously successful for Hannah More, her novel *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809) bringing the author £2,000 in a single year, but More, unlike Austen, had £5,000 of her own money to invest in costs, as well as influential friends and an established reputation as a public figure to promote the book.⁵ As for subscription publication, a process in which the buyer of the novel paid an elevated price to be listed in the first edition as a 'Subscriber', this had been a notably successful route for Burney's *Camilla* (1796), clearing £2,000 for the author, but Burney had two successful novels behind her and, like Hannah More, she also had influential friends to forward the subscription.⁶

The two more feasible routes for Austen, sale of the copyright or publication on commission, each had its own problems. Sale of copyright, the preferred and more prestigious scheme at the time, provided immediate funds, no waiting for profits and a guaranteed amount of money. But the copyright for first novels from unknown authors brought very little money. Crosby's payment of only £10 for the copyright of *Susan* was not unusual – Lane's Minerva Press paid as low as £5 for a first novel. Perhaps a publisher more accustomed to publishing and promoting novels than Thomas Egerton, the eventual publisher of *Sense and Sensibility*, might have seen the value of *Sense and Sensibility* and offered a more reasonable amount for the copyright, but Austen's experience with *Susan* could not have been encouraging. There was also a risk that a novel could prove popular and surpass the price of the copyright in its sales.

⁵ M. G. Jones, *Hannah More* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 193.

⁶ Claire Harmon, *Fanny Burney: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), pp. 258–60.

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Frances Burney's experience with *Evelina* (1778), her first novel, was infamous. She sold the copyright to the publisher Lowndes for 20 guineas and the novel cleared £800 in a single year, with this profit designated to Lowndes alone.⁷

Austen's decision to publish *Sense and Sensibility* on commission with Thomas Egerton was not an unwise way to put her first novel into print, and in the event the £140 that she received from the first edition of *Sense and Sensibility* was a highly respectable showing. The established novelist Charlotte Smith (1749–1806) regularly received around £150 for the copyright to her novels, or £50 a volume, though she complained bitterly that others got more.⁸ Susan Ferrier (1782–1854) was paid by the publisher John Blackwood £150 for the copyright to her first novel *Marriage* (1818), but that was after Walter Scott had altered the price structures for novels, and even then it was a previously unheard of price for a first novel.⁹ Austen's triumph, joyfully expressed to her brother Francis, had been stamped and certified by the market itself: 'You will be glad to hear that every Copy of S.& S. is sold & that it has brought me £140—besides the Copyright, if that sh^d ever be of any value' (6 July 1813).¹⁰ In her next venture, the publication of *Pride and Prejudice*, she did sell Egerton the copyright of the novel, having stipulated £150 as the fair price, a reasonable expectation, but for whatever failure of nerve she accepted only £110 for what turned out to be her most popular work.¹¹

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁸ Smith's correspondence with the publishers Cadell and Davies (Yale University, Beinecke Rare Books Room, New Haven, Connecticut) shows that this was the pattern of payment for most of her career. Jane Austen treats Charlotte Smith's work with respect in 'Catherine, or the Bower', where the heroine reflects on her responses to *Emmeline* (1788) and *Ethelinda* (1789).

⁹ *Memoir and Correspondence of Susan Ferrier (1782–1854)*, ed. John A. Doyle (London: John Murray, 1898), p. 138.

¹⁰ Deirdre Le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 217. The copyrights of Jane Austen's works were eventually purchased in 1832 by Bentley from Cassandra and Henry (including *Pride and Prejudice* from Egerton's executors) for his one-volume editions of 'Standard Novels' for a total of £250, as reported by Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen: A Family Record*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 269.

¹¹ Gilson, *Bibliography*, p. 24.

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The proofs of the first edition of *Sense and Sensibility* were in Austen's hands by April 1811, but its publication was not advertised until 30 October, price 15s., in an advertisement that appeared in the *Star* on 7 and again on 27 November, and was repeated in the *Morning Chronicle* on 31 October and on 7, 9 and 28 November. It is not known for certain how many copies were printed, though an earlier estimate of 1,000 copies has been revised downwards by recent research suggesting that from 500 to 750 copies of a first novel on commission would have been normal publishing practice for John Murray.¹² All three volumes of Austen's novel were printed by Charles Roworth. The work was promoted as a 'New Novel', an 'Interesting Novel' (a love story) and an 'Extraordinary Novel', besides being written by 'a Lady', 'Lady—' and 'Lady A—'. The first edition was sold out by July 1813, and by September of that year Austen had reported to her brother Francis that there was to be a second. Egerton advertised the new edition in the *Star* on 29 October 1813, at 18s. in 'boards' (pasteboard covers).¹³ Austen's revisions and corrections to the text were made, possibly, as James Kinsley has suggested, from a copy of the first edition without the opportunity to make corrections from proof, a situation that may explain the large number of printer's errors to be found in the second edition.¹⁴ Roworth was responsible for the printing of this edition as well. Austen greeted the second edition with an eye anxiously turned towards making its expenses, that is, towards covering the costs of paper and printing for which her brother Henry had either already paid Egerton or guaranteed him. 'I shall owe dear Henry a great deal of Money for Printing &c.', she writes, 'I hope M^{rs}

¹² William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 578.

¹³ Gilson, *Bibliography*, pp. 8–9, 16. The second edition of *Sense and Sensibility* was also advertised in the *Star* newspaper on 17 November 1813, and in the *Morning Chronicle* on 8 December 1813. St Clair, *Reading Nation*, suggests that in the light of information now available this edition was probably for 500 copies, an estimate downwards from an earlier proposal of 750 copies (p. 578).

¹⁴ 'Note on the Text', *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. xlvii.

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Fletcher will indulge herself with S & S';¹⁵ and again later, 'Since I wrote last, my 2^d Edit. has stared me in the face.—Mary tells me that Eliza means to buy it. I wish she may . . . I cannot help hoping that *many* will feel themselves obliged to buy it. I shall not mind imagining it a disagreeable Duty to them, so as they do it'.¹⁶ Her first income from the second edition, about £30, was received in March 1815.¹⁷ Later payments are recorded in her note, 'Profits of my Novels', of £12. 15s. in March 1816, and, a year later on 7 March 1817, £19. 13s.¹⁸ This last influx of money stimulated her to something like giddiness in a letter to her niece Caroline: 'I hope Edw^d is not idle. No matter what becomes of the Craven Exhibition [an Oxford scholarship] provided he goes on with his Novel. In that, he will find his true fame & his true wealth. That will be the honourable Exhibition which no V. Chancellor can rob him of.—I have just rec^d nearly twenty pounds myself on the 2^d Edit: of S and S—which gives me this fine flow of Literary Ardour'.¹⁹

RECEPTION

Jane Austen had placed her treasure on the same table of the circulating library with the products of Rachel Hunter, Charlotte Smith and the Mrs Sykes of *Margiana* (1808) whose novel she was reading,

¹⁵ Le Faye (ed.), *Letters*, 3 November 1813, p. 250.

¹⁶ Le Faye (ed.), *Letters*, 6–7 November 1813, p. 252.

¹⁷ R. W. Chapman, 'Jane Austen and her Publishers', *London Mercury*, 22 (1930), pp. 337–42, cited by Gilson, *Bibliography*, p. 16.

¹⁸ Jane Austen's note 'Profits of my Novels' (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York); printed in facsimile in *Plan of a novel according to hints from various quarters, by Jane Austen, with opinions on Mansfield Park and Emma collected and transcribed by her, and other documents, printed from the originals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926). It is worth noting that Austen lost the £12. 15s. in the collapse of her brother Henry's bank in 1816, Le Faye, *Family Record*, p. 234.

¹⁹ Le Faye (ed.), *Letters*, 14 March 1817, p. 334. Gilson notes that the second edition did not sell out immediately. Egerton cites *Sense and Sensibility* in his advertisements of the first publication of *Mansfield Park* and in vol. 3, p. 355 of that novel. There is an advertisement in *The Morning Post* (Friday, 17 November 1815) for what is described as 'a new Edition' of *Sense and Sensibility*. It has been suggested that Egerton was seeking to dispose of the remaining copies of the second edition since Jane Austen was at that time leaving him for John Murray (p. 16).

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with pleasure, during her final revisions of *Sense and Sensibility*.²⁰ Her niece Anna's casual rejection of *Sense and Sensibility* when she saw it at the Alton library, 'rubbish I am sure from the title', must have prompted some amused, if uneasy, reflections in the author.²¹ Those who actually read the novel, however, were impressed with its superiority to the usual stock of the circulating libraries. Princess Charlotte had 'heard much' of the novel by 1 January 1812, and reported on 22 January, "Sence and Sencibility" [*sic*] I have *just finished* reading; it certainly is interesting, & you feel quite one of the company. I think Maryanne [*sic*] & me are very like in *disposition*, that certainly I am not so good, the same imprudence, &c, however remain very like. I must say it interested me much.²² Mary Russell Mitford's 'Literary Pocket-Book' for 28 November 1819, simply notes: 'Read Sense & Sensibility—very good'.²³ A French translation, *Raison et Sensibilité, ou Les Deux Manières D'AIMER*, by Isabelle de Montolieu (1751–1832) appeared in 1815 with an introduction filled with praise for the two heroines, especially for Elinor, the perfect model for '*jeunes personnes*' and someone you would like to have for a friend. The minor characters are painted with such '*vérité*' that you think you know them.²⁴

The two brief reviews in the English press were equally favourable. The earlier of the two appeared in the *Critical Review* in February 1812, three months after publication, and the second in the *British Critic* three months later, in May.²⁵ Both recommended *Sense and Sensibility* as above the customary fare of the circulating library – 'a work which has so well pleased us', said the critic for the *Critical Review*, and a 'performance' the reviewer for the *British Critic* admired so much as to lament his inability to include it 'among our principal articles' in the journal. The *Critical Review*

²⁰ Le Faye (ed.), *Letters*, 10–11 January 1809, p. 164.

²¹ Le Faye, *Family Record*, p. 191.

²² *The Letters of Princess Charlotte, 1811–1817*, ed. A. Aspinall (London: Home and Van Thal, 1949), p. 26, and note 6.

²³ Unpublished MS, British Library, shelf mark C.60.b.7.

²⁴ Cited by Gilson, *Bibliography*, pp. 149–55.

²⁵ *Critical Review*, fourth series, 1, 2 (February 1812), pp. 149–57; *British Critic*, 39 (May 1812), p. 527.

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valued the new novel on two counts, distinguishing the plot from the predictable formulae of the contemporary novel, where readers know, 'after reading the first three pages', 'how they will end', and separating it as well from novels where 'something new', or sensational, is pressed into service. Instead, *Sense and Sensibility* was 'a genteel novel', like a genteel dramatic comedy, with an author, 'who displays a knowledge of character, and very happily blends a great deal of good sense with the lighter matter', the good sense justifying it as 'a most excellent lesson to young ladies to curb that violent sensibility which too often leads to misery, and always to inconvenience and ridicule'. The *British Critic's* reviewer especially appreciated the characters, 'happily delineated and admirably sustained', but also felt it incumbent to offer the novel's social and moral utility as the final recommendation: 'We will, however, detain our female friends no longer than to assure them, that they may peruse these volumes not only with satisfaction but with real benefits, for they may learn from them, if they please, many sober and salutary maxims for the conduct of life, exemplified in a very pleasing and entertaining narrative.' Paradoxically, as Clara Tuite notes, both these early reviewers of *Sense and Sensibility* seem mildly unsettled at not finding the clichés they had expected, hastening with their reassurances to prospective female readers, or their minders, of its socially normative status.²⁶

The two best-known early reviews of Austen's work, a review by Walter Scott (1771–1832) of *Emma* in the *Quarterly Review* (March 1816), and a review of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* by Richard Whately (1787–1863) in the *Quarterly Review* (January 1821), bear very slightly on the critical history of *Sense and Sensibility*.²⁷ Scott's review scarcely mentioned Austen's first novel and Whately's did not touch on *Sense and Sensibility* at all, but concerned itself with the issue of Austen's realism, her fiction's relation to the

²⁶ Clara Tuite, *Romantic Austen: Sexual Politics and the Literary Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 57–61.

²⁷ Walter Scott, *Quarterly Review*, 14 (March 1816), pp. 188–201; Richard Whately, *Quarterly Review*, 24 (January 1821), pp. 352–76.

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probable and the possible, topics however that surface repeatedly in later discussions of that novel. Scott, like the two earliest reviewers of Austen's first published novel, takes note of Austen's work as a break with the conventional fiction of 'watering-places and circulating libraries' through its introduction of the familiar appearances of every day life. In this, Scott argues famously, 'she stands almost alone'. Despite his praise, however, the 'ordinary life' of *Sense and Sensibility* unnerves him. Austen's rejection of the romantic Willoughby for Marianne's other suitor, a 'very respectable and somewhat too serious admirer', causes Scott to turn aside from his main task, the review of *Emma*, for a wholly unexpected addendum concerning *Sense and Sensibility*. Here he registers his lingering disappointment in the conclusion of Austen's first novel:

Who is it, that in his youth has felt a virtuous attachment, however romantic or however unfortunate, but can trace back to its influence much that his character may possess of what is honourable, dignified, and disinterested? . . . [They] are neither less wise nor less worthy members of society for having felt, for a time, the influence of a passion which has been well qualified as the "tenderest, noblest and best".
 (pp. 200–1)

After Scott, the next resurgence of critical interest in *Sense and Sensibility* followed the reissue of Austen's novels in Bentley's *Standard Novels* in 1833. There had been no further printing of Austen's novels in England after 1818 until Bentley's series, his reprints costing less than half the original price for the three-volume sets. *Sense and Sensibility* was advertised on 28 December 1832, although dated 1833 on the title page. In Philadelphia in February 1833, Carey and Lea published *Sense and Sensibility*, probably 1,250 copies, but edited for an American readership with emendations of 'Oh Lord' changed to 'Oh!', 'Good God' to 'Why!', 'Good heavens' to 'Is it possible' and 'Lord' changed to 'Truly'.²⁸ The next

²⁸ David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's *Emma* in America', *Review of English Studies*, 53 (2002), pp. 518–20.

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significant edition of *Sense and Sensibility* was issued by Routledge in 1849, and reprinted without change until 1883 when all six novels were reset. In 1892 J. M. Dent published a set of the novels in ten volumes, edited by Reginald Brimley Johnson, a landmark as the first edition of the novels to have any editorial matter and according to Gilson, the first 'to acknowledge the existence of distinct early editions, and to make any attempt at serious consideration of the text'.²⁹ After the 1890s there was a proliferation of editions of the novels, many of them illustrated.

CRITICISM: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The general reaction to Jane Austen's novels in Britain largely took the form of an appraisal and appreciation of her characters, but with the influence of the Reform Bill of 1832 weighing heavily on contemporary culture, the response was coloured by the sensibilities of a newly minted, politically empowered middle class. Readers of *Sense and Sensibility*, for example, signed on to membership in the upper reaches of this now highly self-conscious class in an article entitled 'Miss Austen', appearing in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (July, August 1866): 'Jane Austen [wrote] like a cultivated lady', claims the writer, and, 'Miss Austen, though she may not be much read by the general public, is, perhaps, more completely appreciated than ever by minds of the highest culture . . . Who does not know Lady Middleton?'³⁰ W. F. Pollock, in *Fraser's Magazine* (January 1861),³¹ makes a particular point of the moral suitability of Austen's arrangements of class hierarchies:

Mr. Palmer, a gentleman when he pleases, but spoiled by living with people inferior to himself, and discontented, even to rudeness, with his silly wife, is brought out with much humour. We

²⁹ David Gilson, 'Jane Austen's Text: A Survey of Editions', *Review of English Studies*, 53 (2002), pp. 74–5.

³⁰ Citations from the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (July, August 1866) are found in *Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage*, ed. B. C. Southam (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 139, 200, 208.

³¹ W. F. Pollock, 'British Novelists – Richardson, Miss Austen, Scott', *Fraser's Magazine*, 61 (January 1861), pp. 20–38.