The Women's Print History Project

Jane Austen Adjacent, *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*

Produced by Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren
Mixed and mastered by Alexander Kennard
Transcribed by Hanieh Ghaderi and Sara Penn
Music by Joseph Haydn, "Concerto in C," arranged by John Andrewes, played by Kandice Sharren

Project Director: Michelle Levy (Simon Fraser University)

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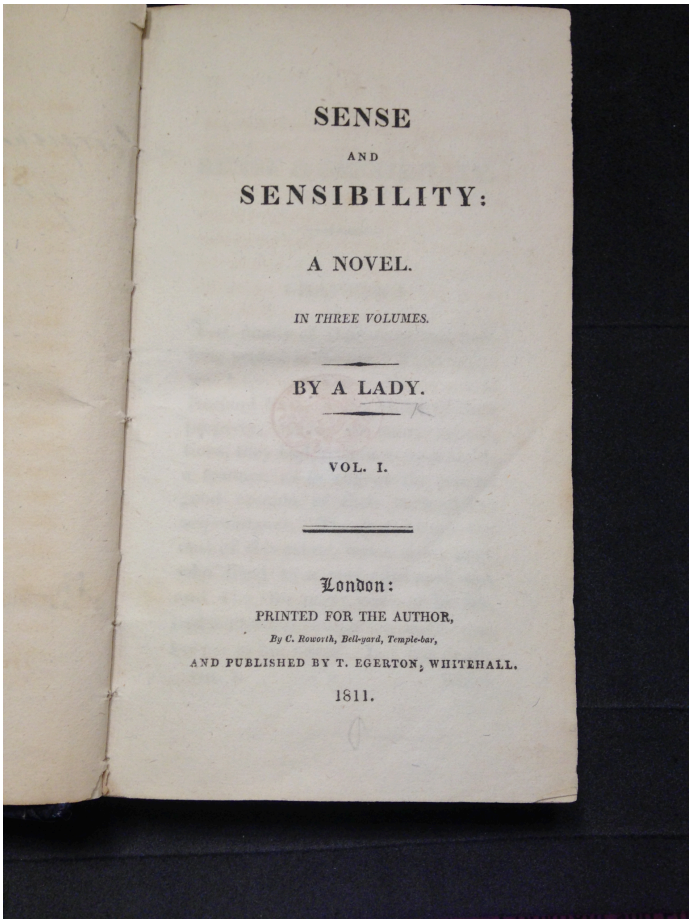
Jane Austen Adjacent

Kate Moffatt and Kandice Sharren



SENSE
AND
SENSIBILITY:

A NOVEL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY A LADY.

VOL. I.

London:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
By C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-bar,
AND PUBLISHED BY T. EGERTON, WHITEHALL.
1811.

Title page of Jane Austen's first edition of *Sense and Sensibility*, published by Thomas Egerton in 1811. Photo by Kandice Sharren.

In this first episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, "Jane Austen Adjacent," hosts Kandice Sharren and Kate Moffatt explore Jane Austen's publication history, from unpublished anonymity to well-beloved and canonical, to introduce you to *The Women's Print History Project*. They share the project's not-so-humble data collection beginnings at Chawton House Library and the types of bibliographic data collected on the database, and explain the role that bibliographic and publication data can play in understanding the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book trades. They delve into the networked system of the WPHP: its data model creates links between authors and the firms they worked with, and these links allow us to find obscure women authors by way of looking at the publishing history of other, more exceptional women. The publishing networks of canonical authors point towards numerous, more obscure women authors, and the fascinating potential of their stories outside of the limelight. With an enlightening and gothic glimpse at one publisher's titles—including a "sepulchral harmonist," a "mysterious count," and at least "three monks" (!!!)—as well as an exploration of publishing networks that results in the obscure authors Maryanne McMullan, Charlotte Richardson, and Emma Parker being linked to the famed Jane Austen, Episode 1: "Jane Austen Adjacent" offers an intriguing look at the current work and analytical potential of *The Women's Print History Project*.

WPHP Records Referenced

Austen, Jane (person, author)
Thomas Cadell and William Davies (firm, publishers)
Benjamin Crosby and Co. (firm, publishers)
Emma; or The Foundling of the Wood (title)
The Mysterious Count; or, Montville Castle (title)
Aurora, or, The Mysterious Beauty (title)
Frederick Montravers; or, The Adopted Son (title)
Lindorf and Caroline; or, The Danger of Credulity (title)
Moss Cliff Abbey; or, The Sepulchral Harmonist (title)
Right and Wrong; or, The Kinsmen of Naples (title)
The History of Perourou (title)
The Three Monks!!! (title)
Sense and Sensibility (title)
Thomas Egerton (firm, publisher)
Pride and Prejudice (title)
McMullan, Maryanne (person, author)
The Crescent, a National Poem [...] by Mrs. McMullan, relict of W. McMullan (title)
Parker, Emma (person, author)
Richardson, Charlotte (person, author)
John Murray II (firm, publisher)
Emma (title)
Mansfield Park (title, second edition)
Charles Roworth (firm, printer)
Northanger Abbey and Persuasion (title)
Richard Bentley (firm, publisher)
Porter, Jane (person, author)
Frankenstein (title)
Pride and Prejudice (title, Standard Novels edition)
Sense and Sensibility (title, Standard Novels edition)
Mansfield Park (title, Standard Novels edition)
Emma (title, Standard Novels edition)
Northanger Abbey (title, Standard Novels edition)

Further Reading

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00:00:00	🎵	[music playing]
00:00:08	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Hello and welcome to *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*, the podcast for *The Women's Print History Project*. The WPHP is a bibliographic database that collects information about women and book production during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. My name is Kate Moffatt—
00:00:22	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	and I'm Kandice Sharren—
00:00:24	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	and we are long-time editors of the WPHP and the hosts of this podcast. Each month we'll introduce you to anecdotes, puzzles, and problems related to recovering evidence of women's involvement in print.
00:00:35	🎵	[music playing]
00:00:41	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	In April 2015, Dr. Michelle Levy and her then-PhD student, now Dr. Kandice Sharren, visited the Chawton House Library to begin collecting bibliographic data about books that involved women in their publication for Levy's new digital database: *The Women's Print History Project*. Levy's project, of which Sharren is the lead editor and project manager, is seeking to establish what women's involvement in print and the book trades looked like during an explosive period in book history. Data collection began with importing women-specific data from the *English Short Title Catalogue* and the *Orlando: Women's Writing in the British Isles* database.
00:01:15	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Our process has evolved over the last five years to also include the scouring of various print and digital sources, which have been supplemented by research trips to libraries with relevant holdings, where we hand-check books that are otherwise unavailable. That the project's early days of data collection included Chawton House Library makes this inaugural episode's topic particularly fitting: we will be visiting the publication history of a very familiar author—one whose brother, Edward Knight, once owned Chawton House: Jane Austen.
00:01:43	🎵	[music playing]
00:01:47	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Although today regarded as a great novelist, Austen's success in print did not come easily. An early version of *Pride and Prejudice* was rejected, sight unseen, by Cadell and Davies in 1797. In 1803 she sold the copyright of *Susan* (which would later become *Northanger Abbey*) to Benjamin Crosby, for a mere £10. Much to Austen's chagrin, Crosby never got around to printing it, and she had to buy it back in 1816.

00:02:13	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	As a result, Austen did not appear in print until 1811 when Thomas Egerton published *Sense and Sensibility.* This was fourteen years after her first attempt at publication. Following the success of *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice* was published in 1813, followed by *Mansfield Park* in 1814. In 1815, she reached an agreement with John Murray, one of the most prestigious publishers of the period, to bring out a second edition of *Mansfield Park*, along with her new novel, *Emma*.
00:02:45	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	By the time of her death in 1817 at the age of 41, she had published four novels, for which she received only one major review (of *Emma*, in 1816, in the *Quarterly Review*) and earned only a few hundred pounds in total. Her final two novels, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* were published posthumously in 1818 with a Note on the Author written by her brother, Henry— it was the first time that her authorship was publicly acknowledged.
00:03:12	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	In 1821, three years later, hundreds of copies of her books remained unsold and were remaindered by her bookseller. Her novels were not reprinted until 1833, when Richard Bentley purchased the rights from Austen's sister, Cassandra, and issued the first inexpensive, single-volume illustrated editions in his *Standard Novels* series. As this brief history indicates, getting published in the early nineteenth century wasn't simply a matter of writing a book and sending it off.
00:03:42	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Instead, it involved navigating a stratified publishing industry, bound together by visible and invisible social networks. In this month's conversation, Kate and I are going to use Jane Austen's publishing history to introduce how *The Women's Print History Project* can help us understand the networked nature of the publishing industry during this period.
00:04:03	🎵	[music playing]
00:04:11	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	So, the trip to the Chawton House Library was the first time members of the WPHP team—in this case, you and Michelle—engaged in direct bibliographic data collection, looking at books by hand. Why did you start at Chawton House Library?
00:04:25	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Well, we started there for a few practical reasons, the main one being that at the time they offered resident fellowships, which were about a month long, so we applied together for a joint one and received it, and that was probably the most important element of why we ended up there. However, the library collection at Chawton House is ideal for the purposes of this database. So, it's focused on eighteenth century women's writing in general, which means that almost all of the books they hold are relevant to our project.

00:04:58	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	What was it like collecting that data by hand in the Library?
00:05:02	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The first couple of days were fairly standard practice, we had to order books from the library catalogue to one of the reading rooms, and one of the people who worked at Chawton House library would bring them up from the vault where we would look at them. However, we were ordering a very large number of books to look at, and they *very* quickly decided that they would just let us into the stacks, and I think this was probably because they were getting sick of running up and down the stairs with books every five minutes.
00:05:32	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So the fact that we were allowed into the stacks and specifically the basement vault was pretty amazing. It meant that we were able to handle large numbers of books, which was a really important step in just developing an overall sense for how books were made in the period, what they looked like, what the conventions of print were and how they shifted over time, which helped us refine our data model for the project. And since we were entering bibliographic data specifically, it meant that we were really focused on looking at things related to the production of books, not their content, things like who the publishers were, how authors signed their names, what conventions for titles were, etc. Even just how long a volume was.
00:06:22	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So, by sort of looking through all these books and refining our process we started to realize some things were missing from the database, and we ended up, during that month-long fellowship, adding a couple of different fields to our entries—so if you look at the title field or the title entry in *The Women's Print History Project*, you'll see we have a field for pagination, and a separate field for the different firms involved in producing books, and these were things that we added in during our time at Chawton House library. So it completely restructured our data system.
00:06:58	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	So the WPHP centers on data about how books were produced, rather than what they contained. Why does this matter? Is this information otherwise available?
00:07:07	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	The short answer to that is no, the longer answer is that yes, but in quite limited ways. So, what we are doing is we're amalgamating different types of data that is scattered across dozens of different sources, many of which have specific limitations like genre, or they don't allow you to track information, like a contributor's gender.
00:07:31	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So, for example, we have a lot of intensely detailed information about major authors of the period, like Jane Austen, but we don't always know as much about the other people who are publishing alongside them. Likewise, we have a lot of information

about genres that get studied in English classes like fiction and poetry, but we don't necessarily know as much about some of the genres that are stranger to people today, like spiritual autobiography, or, religious writing, or even things like cookbooks! So, what our database is doing is pulling together all of this different type of information and making it available in one place.

00:08:16 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And one of the most important elements of collecting bibliographical data at this scale is that it contextualizes those authors who we already do know quite a lot about within the larger industry of print. This allows us to see larger trends, like how often authors tended to publish, whether they used the same publishers throughout their careers or whether they switched. And it also starts to make clear to us how networked the publishing world was in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. So how many points of contact there are between authors and different members of the book trades.

00:08:54 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And that's something that can be hard to see without the data collected together and put in front of you, that there are these connections between so many of the various players. It's important that the WPHP allows us to see those networks—can you explain how that works?

00:09:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, so one of the really important things that the WPHP lets us do is explore connections beyond a single degree of separation relatively easily. So, what I mean by that is that you can look at for example one of Austen's titles in the database, see who published it, click on the publisher, and see all of the other titles by women that this particular publisher was involved in producing.

00:09:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, you don't just see which publisher published each novel, but you can look at who else was getting published alongside that particular author, and you can look at that just in terms of dates, you can look at it across their entire sort of publishing existence. One of the things that is also important to think about when you are considering these networks is that we are recording the ones that you can literally see on the pages of the book. So, we are looking at what gets recorded in the object itself.

00:10:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host) However these networks aren't just between authors and publishers, they aren't always straightforward relationships. So they can provide us with clues to the wider social networks and connections that authors were enmeshed in and publishers were enmeshed in. Social connections are not always going to be immediately apparent in the bibliographical data, but sometimes the bibliographical data can hint at them, and offer us with the opportunity for further investigation.

00:10:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	The WPHP is collecting a *lot* of really detailed data, which can obviously come with its own complications and necessary limitations. What are some of the known limitations of the project?
00:10:50	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So, right now, the project is just focused on printing in Great Britain and Ireland between 1750 and 1836. We are actually planning on expanding that back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. And we are thinking about adding in data from America and, I think, France.
00:11:12	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	At the moment, the data in the database up to and including 1800 is relatively complete because we had an incredible resource to draw on for a lot of our information, the *English Short Title Catalogu*e. However it ends at 1800 so after that we've been having to go through a number of different sources that aren't nearly as comprehensive, so we're still working on that post-1800 data.
00:11:40	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Another thing to keep in mind about our data is that everything in the database is included *because* it has a woman attached to it in some capacity, so you can't do the comparative work of looking at how many books were published by women versus how many books were published by men. And finally, we are also not doing periodicals, because just to do periodicals would be an even bigger project than this one already is. So we are leaving the periodicals to someone else [laughs] for now.
00:12:17	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	So, to explore some of the potential uses for this data, we wanted to walk through the publication history of Jane Austen, who is one of those writers that we do know a lot about, including which publishers she unsuccessfully sought to publish with. Why don't we start with the first one, Cadell and Davies? Why is this a publisher Austen would have tried to work with?
00:12:34	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So we don't have any specific evidence about why this publisher was chosen in Austen's letters. There isn't some letter where she's written: "Oh! I want to publish with Cadell and Davies because..." What we do know is that Austen's father wrote to Cadell and Davies on November 1, 1797, offering *First Impressions,* which is the early version of *Pride and Prejudice,* as, and this is a direct quote from the letter, "a Manuscript novel, composed in three volumes, about the length of Miss Burney's Evelina."
00:13:05	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	So, this letter and the reference it contains offers us a really important clue as to why they would have approached Cadell and Davies first. Frances Burney was a major, major novelist in the late eighteenth century and *Evelina* was her first novel.

00:13:23 Kandice Sharren (co-host) While *Evelina*, which was published in 1777 was not published by Cadell and Davies, they did publish her two subsequent novels: her second novel, *Cecilia*, was published in 1782 and her third novel, *Camilla*, was published in 1796. So this is the year before Austen's father wrote to Cadell and Davies.

00:13:45 Kandice Sharren (co-host) While this on the one hand does make sense, this is an author who is widely recognised as someone who had an important influence on Austen. The way that Austen's novel, *First Impressions,* gets framed in the letter may have actually made it seem derivative, which may have resulted in them being less interested than they would have been otherwise.

00:14:06 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Another reason they might have turned it down is—when you look at the entry for Cadell and Davies in the database, you can see that it wasn't just Burney who was was a big name who published with them—there are quite a few major women writers associated with the firm including Charlotte Smith whose *Elegiac Sonnets* and whose fiction were wildly popular in the 1790s, as well as Hannah More who wrote just an immense volume of works that were incredibly, incredibly popular.

00:14:42 Kandice Sharren (co-host) What you don't see in their publishing list, and this is me speaking as someone who is quite familiar with women's writing in the period, are a lot of unfamiliar names or first-time authors. And even in the cases when you do see a first-time author, it's often someone who would later become very, very well known, such as Felicia Hemans. So if you were a first-time author and you did manage to publish with Cadell and Davies, it was kind of like a mark of literary value, literary prestige.

00:15:16 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So when Austen reached out to Cadell and Davies and sought to publish with them, she was aiming very high without having any prior publishing experience or any kind of direct connection with the firm to kind of back up her wish to publish with them, so it's not very surprising that they would have turned her down.

00:15:34 Kate Moffatt (co-host) What about her next known attempt at publication, with Benjamin Crosby and Co.?

00:15:39 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So this was a correction in the opposite direction. They paid her £10 for the copyright of *Susan*—which would later become published as *Northanger Abbey* after undergoing some significant revisions—so £10 for the copyright is very low, and generally what was paid to first-time writers who were not recognised as being particularly prestigious, the absolute lowest I think that's been recorded is £5. When you compare that to an author like Ann Radcliffe, who was paid £500 for the copyright of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, you can see what the range is and where £10

falls.

00:16:28 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, the novel that she sold to Benjamin Crosby and Co. was as I've already said an earlier version of *Northanger Abbey*, entitled *Susan*; and we don't know exactly what *Susan* looked like, but going off of *Northanger Abbey* we can kind of guess that it was probably a gentle parody of the kind of gothic fiction that was popular at the time. If you look at our entry in the database for Benjamin Crosby and Co., and you specifically look at the titles published in 1803, you can see that Austen's choice of publisher actually really makes sense. So I've got a list of the titles from 1803 here just to kind of run through.

00:17:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So the first is *Emma*: *or, The Foundling of the Wood.* The second is *The Mysterious Count*: *or, Montville Castle.* We've got *Aurora*: *or, The Mysterious Beauty.* We've got *Frederick Montravers*: *or, The Adopted Son. Lindorf and Caroline*: *or, The Danger of Credulity*. *Moss Cliff Abbey*: *or, The Sepulchral Harmonist. Right and Wrong*: *or, The Kinsmen of Naples*, which actually was by the same author as *Moss Cliff Abbey*. *The History of Perourou*, by Helen Maria Williams, and, this is my personal favorite title in the database, it's *The Three Monks*!!! with three exclamation points, and I think those exclamation points are really important [laughs] to understanding this novel.

00:17:58 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So when we look at this list, what you see is a lot of fiction, and aside from Helen Maria Williams, who was a well known poet, translator, and memoirist, you don't really see any recognizable names. So this is a publisher who, unlike Cadell and Davies, is probably quite likely to take a risk on someone unknown with no connections to the publishing industry. And, if you are paying someone £10 outright for the copyright and then you just own the work and you can do whatever you want with it, that makes quite a lot of financial sense.

00:18:30 Kandice Sharren (co-host) The titles for many of these books also indicate their relationship to that popular gothic mode within *Northanger Abbey*, as we know it satirizes, and which *Susan* was probably doing to some extent as well. We see references to mysteriousness, dangers, orphans, foundlings, monks, and, by extension, Catholicism. So without even reading Crosby's books from 1803, you can use that information in the database to see *Northanger Abbey* or *Susan*—as it was then called— fits right in, you've even got a book with Abbey in the title already.

00:19:07 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So Crosby bought the manuscript but the book was never published?

00:19:11 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, he purchased the rights to Susan for £10, advertised it as forthcoming, and then it just never appeared, which was a matter, as I'm sure you can imagine, of deep frustration to Jane Austen. We actually have a letter that Austen wrote to Crosby in 1809, which she signed Mrs Ashton Dennis, the acronym of that name is M.A.D, and it's quite a mad letter demanding to know why they hadn't published it and threatening to go ahead and publish it somewhere else. This is actually a move that did catch their attention, and she got a reply which was basically a legal letter saying that if she wanted to do that, she would have to buy back the copyright, which she later did, and that's why *Northanger Abbey* was eventually published after all.

00:19:59 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So tell us about how and when she actually ended up actually getting published. Because the Jane Austen we know and love today was definitely published and is now very well-beloved!

00:20:09 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, in 1811, *Sense and Sensibility* was published by Thomas Egerton, and this is quite famously a work that's published anonymously, with the byline, "By a Lady"—and she remained anonymous throughout her career until after her death when her brother Henry Austen revealed her authorship in the posthumous edition of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, which were published together.

00:20:32 Kandice Sharren (co-host) That's not the only important information though that you can get from the book itself. You see in the imprint, which is where the publication information is, that the work was "printed for the Author", which essentially means that this novel was self-published. So she had tried a couple different routes of publishing, she'd sold her copyright outright, and finally with Thomas Egerton—she decided to go out on a limb and kind of self publish, or undertake to publish the work herself and take the risk.

00:21:04 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So, tell us more about this Egerton publisher.

00:21:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, long and short is that Thomas Egerton was a military publisher in the imprint of *Pride and Prejudice*, his address is listed as "Military Library, Whitehall", which essentially means that he owned a circulating library that focused on military works. So not exactly a publisher you would expect, given that Austen's genre was domestic fiction. We don't really have very many of his titles in the database because someone who published military works was mostly publishing works by men, as you can probably expect, but a search for him on *WorldCat* reveals a lot of catalogues of military publications that he was involved in publishing.

00:21:51 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So we can't in the database see this full range of the publications, but we can see that he did not publish very many women. Other than the six editions of Austen's first three novels, we only have eight other titles in total during the span of Austen's publishing career, so between 1811 and 1818, and these eight editions are linked to only three other women.

00:22:19 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Who were the other women who published with him? Are they names we would recognize?

00:22:23 Kandice Sharren (co-host) They are not names that we would recognize [laughs]. The first of them is a woman named Emma Parker, who published two works with him, and her two works that she published with him are actually out of sort of larger total of eight titles which she published between 1810 and 1817 with four different publishers and it's actually interesting to note that one of them was Benjamin Crosby [Kate laughs], so Austen's sort of failed publisher [laughs]. We don't know a ton about her, although she does have a short *Wikipedia* entry and a *Dictionary of National Biography* entry which is actually not particularly common for lesser known women writers in this period. Although it is probably worth it to note that both of those entries start out by telling us that very little is known about her.

00:23:17 Kandice Sharren (co-host) The second is a woman named Maryanne McMullan, who published four titles with Egerton, and there is absolutely no biographical information about her, aside from what the titles we have in the database can tell us, which actually is not nothing [laughs]. So, her first title was signed "By Mrs McMullan, relict of W. McMullan, Esq., M.D., Royal Navy." When she is calling herself "a relict", she's saying she is a widow and that her husband was involved in the Royal Navy, which offers us a bit of an explanation for why she might have gone with Egerton. Because there is that military connection, she knows military people, through them she might know Egerton, through them she might be able to get published.

00:24:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And our third author that, our third female author that published with Thomas Egerton during this period is Charlotte Caroline Richardson, who is a poet, who shares her name with a bunch of other poets [both laugh], so, while we do have again an ODNB entry for her and a *Wikipedia* entry for her, one of the first things that tells us is that she sometimes gets confused with these other poets and attribution to her works is a little bit uncertain.

00:24:39 Kandice Sharren (co-host) It's also worth it to note in this case the the title in the database, and there is just one that Egerton published of hers, was actually done in combination with a number of other London publishers, which was a fairly common practice, and suggests that he

may not have actively solicited her, tried to work with her, she may not have sought him out, it might have just been part of a larger agreement between a few other publishers. So these three women can give us some insight into Egerton's publishing practices as well as how women may have selected him and why a woman may have selected him as their publisher.

00:25:17 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So, why would Jane Austen go with someone who wasn't an obvious choice for her, based on their general publishing catalogue?

00:25:25 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Austen's brother Henry had ties to the military through his banking business, and he actually often acted as a go-between between her and publishers and was very involved in her publishing career. So this is a case actually where some of Austen's wider social network, her social connections, beyond just her publishing relationships, gets hinted at by her bibliographical data.

00:24:49 Kate Moffatt (co-host) So, she was actually eventually published by John Murray who, prestige-wise, was more in line with Cadell and Davies.

00:25:57 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Yeah, so Austen's novels that she published with Egerton, especially *Pride and Prejudice*, were pretty successful. I think there is often a narrative about how Austen during her lifetime was unappreciated, nobody knew who she was, she was obscured only to become popular later. But, actually, they got a fair amount of traction and there was actually quite widespread speculation about who the author of these works was, and a lot of people thought it might be someone involved in aristocratic circles.

00:26:30 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So she had some success with *Sense and Sensibility*, quite a bit of success with *Pride and Prejudice*, fair amount of success with *Mansfield Park,* but this move to Murray was also likely brokered again through Henry Austen's connections, although we do know from correspondence that's in the Murray archive that William Gifford, who was the editor of the *Quarterly Review* which Murray published and who often vetted manuscripts for Murray, was independently impressed by Austen's published novels and reading *Mansfield Park* very shortly after it first came out.

00:27:06 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, Murray initially offered Austen £450 for the copyright of *Emma*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Mansfield Park*, as a bundle. So Egerton had purchased the copyright of *Pride and Prejudice* for £350, which actually resulted in a loss for her. So you can see she's gone from getting paid £10 for a novel that never gets published to getting paid £350 for a copyright of one novel to £450 for the copyright of three novels. However, because she lost out on her other deal on *Pride and Prejudice*, she wasn't really a fan of this idea of letting Murray buy the copyright outright.

00:27:49 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, she ended up publishing by commission, which was the route she took for *Sense and Sensibility* and *Mansfield Park,* and in publishing on commission or kind of self publishing she takes on, or she took on most of the financial risk. And this ended up being the agreement that they came to. So, Murray published Emma and a second edition of *Mansfield Park* under this agreement that Austen would undertake the financial risk but also potentially gain more by it.

00:28:21 Kate Moffatt (co-host) And how did it go for her?

00:28:23 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Not well! [both laugh] If it had just been *Emma*, she would have been fine, but the second edition of *Mansfield Park* barely sold any copies, which meant that most of her profits were eaten up by the publishing costs involved in putting out that edition.

00:28:41 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Publishing costs? What kinds of publishing costs would have been involved in that?

00:28:46 Kandice Sharren (co-host) On a very basic level, things like cost of materials, so paper, ink, that kind of thing. But also things like contracting out the work to a printer, which would have been something that Murray did but Austen was probably involved in covering to a certain extent.

00:29:04 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, in this period, there is a distinction between printers and the publishers and the booksellers: publishers and booksellers were responsible for contracting and distributing works; while printers were the people who actually put words on the page. Usually, the author wouldn't have much contact with the printer, but Austen may have been an exception, and we can kind of speculate about this because when you look at all of Austen's novels together, a pattern emerges which is who printed them.

00:29:36 Kandice Sharren (co-host) At least one volume of each lifetime edition of Jane Austen's novels was printed by Charles Roworth, and Michelle and I actually noticed this first at Chawton House Library, when we were examining the actual books in the vault. We were very excited when we noticed this. We thought this was new information, and that we had discovered it during our second day of the fellowship, it was not [laughs], Kathryn Sutherland had got there first and talks about it in an article in a fair amount of detail.

00:30:08 Kandice Sharren (co-host) However, I do think that the significance of this connection to Roworth tends to get downplayed in favour of some of the other or major players, like John Murray, like Gifford whose editorial work, whose work as the editor of the *Quarterly Review* was very culturally important. And I think it kind of gets downplayed because printers are

not necessarily as visible. They aren't necessarily visible players in the book trades in this period to the same extent.

00:30:39 Kandice Sharren (co-host) The fact that Roworth printed so many of Austen's works also, indicates that Austen may have had a firmer hand in the printing process, in the book production process, than has generally been assumed. So, we know that some authors had a very hands on approach to publishing. For example Wiliam Wordsworth literally gave instructions about the margin width to his printer for *Lyrical Ballads*—but this was really an exception to the rule, not very many authors had much of a say in how their books were printed, especially if they had sold their copyright outright.

00:31:15 Kandice Sharren (co-host) As someone who generally had her works printed on commission, though, Austen and her brother may have had more say in who printed her works. Charles Roworth, in addition to being Austen's printer, was also a business associate of Henry Austen's, so Henry contracted him to print the notices for people with overdue debts for his banking business. So they may have actually known him separately from Austen's publishing life. Their use of Roworth, though, was probably also helped by the fact that Roworth was a printer regularly contracted by Murray. And we know from letters between Murray and William Gifford, that he was probably a bit of a favoured printer. So there are some letters that are praising his accuracy at the expense of another printer who they didn't like as much. They wanted to get him to contract something.

00:32:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, we have all these different points of connection between Austens and Charles Roworth, Charles Roworth and the various publishers. And there are references to Roworth embedded in Austen's correspondence, as well as the correspondence in the Murray archives, but it's really only once you see this bibliographical data you see how frequently he did print her works, that you start to recognize that he's someone you might want to ask questions about. And there are still all kinds of questions to be asked about what this particular connection means.

00:32:40 Kandice Sharren (co-host) We do know some things about Roworth outside of his work as a printer for Austen, in large part because he printed Jane Austen, but also because he wasn't just a printer—he was actually the author of a military manual, *The Art of Defence on Foot with the Broad Sword and Sabre*, so these two things— his status as an author of a book that was fairly widely disseminated as well as his status as a printer for one of the major english novelists—make him a lot more visible than the average printer.

00:33:20 Kandice Sharren (co-host) That said, considering how well documented all things Austen are, we still really don't know that much about him, all things considered, which speaks to the relative obscurity of a lot of members of the book trades who weren't high-profile publishers.

Bibliographical data like what we collect in the WPHP helps us identify connections like this which in turn allow us to ask bigger questions, and this is particularly important when it comes to helping us uncover information about less visible members of the book trades.

00:33:58 Kate Moffatt (co-host) Following Austen's death in 1817, Henry Austen had two further manuscript works published by Murray: *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*. But following that, Austen's works remained out of print for about fifteen years. How did they find their way back into print posthumously?

00:34:13 Kandice Sharren (co-host) Austen's sister Cassandra sold the copyright of Austen's novels to the publisher Richard Bentley in 1832. He also acquired the copyright to *Pride and Prejudice* separately, so remember she has sold the copyright of that novel to Thomas Egerton. And all six novels were reprinted as part of his *Standard Novels* series.

00:34:36 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, this series was originally intended to compete with *The Waverley Novels* by Walter Scott, which were being reprinted as a matching affordable set—and you can see this intention to compete with Walter Scott because the first volume in Bentley's *Standard Novels* is actually a reprint of James Fenimore Cooper's second novel, *The Pilot*, and the series eventually went on to reprint all of his works.

00:35:07 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, like Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper is the author of kind of rugged adventure fiction, and the series also printed other works in this vein, including Jane Porter's fiction, so Jane Porter was regularly in competition with Scott throughout her career. However, Bentley's *Standard Novels* didn't just reprint this specific sort of subset of fiction. It also reprinted works like Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, so that means that two of the most important works of the romantic period were reprinted and popularized within the same series.

00:35:48 Kandice Sharren (co-host) And this series was reprinted throughout the nineteenth century, so it played a really important role in keeping Jane Austen's works in print, and accessible, and relatively affordable. It's also worth noting that within this series, Austen is particularly visible. After James Fenimore Cooper who published I think roughly eight million novels [laughs]—that's statistically accurate—Austen is the most frequently reprinted author in the series, so all six of her novels were reprinted in the series, which was not the case for all authors because of the availability of various copyrights.

00:36:33 Kandice Sharren (co-host) So, this gives her a degree of prominence and visibility that other authors reprinted in this series didn't have. And while we were working on this, we came to this part of Austen's publishing history for this podcast episode, we actually realized that this is a

		very important element of Austen's publication history and we haven't actually indicated it in any way in the database, so we've actually had to go back and edit our title records to indicate which editions are part of the Bentley's *Standard Novels* series [Kate laughs], and we've been indicating that in the notes.
00:37:15	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	And I wanted to just briefly mention this as we wrap up to say that this is what our process is so often like on this project! We're always encountering bibliographical data that we haven't considered might be important, and then somehow trying to find some way to integrate it retroactively. One of the joys and frustrations of this project is very much that we don't always know what we're going to need, in terms of metadata fields until we encounter the need for them.
00:37:50	🎵	[music playing]
00:37:59	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	Jane Austen is not a typical woman author in the WPHP. The information that we have about the majority of the women writers whose titles we've collected and their book titles is more comparable to the amount of information we have for Maryann McMullen, or Charlotte Caroline Richardson—bits and pieces, but nothing nearly as concrete as Austen's detailed publishing history. For some of the anonymous titles in the database, we do not even have an author's name.
00:38:24	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	By contrast, as a major canonical author of the period and a beloved novelist, Austin's publishing history has been thoroughly documented, and most of the bibliographical information we've shared today is readily available. However, as this month's episode has shown, despite the sustained study of Austen and her publishing history, the networked nature of the book trades means that we can always learn more by studying these connections. There are gaps that still exist as well as new avenues for inquiry about figures in the book trades who were Jane Austen adjacent.
00:38:56	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	We use the term "Jane Austen adjacent" as our title for this episode to signal how we can use a major canonical author like Austin as a starting point to discover other women, such as McMullen and Richardson. As evidenced in today's episode exploring Austen's relationships with her publishers and would-be publishers can direct us to multiple lesser known women authors. Discovering their existence, either by name or by title, is the first step. Further information about these women and the titles they were involved in producing is more often than not scattered across various sources and sparse on the ground. Much of the data about the titles in the database is a result, therefore, of the time-consuming work of creating data from digitized copies or physical books.

00:39:38	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	While some curated bibliographical sources have been extremely useful such as James Raven, Peter Garside, and Rainer Schöwerling *The English Novel*, the *Jackson Bibliography of Poetry*, the biographical source *Orlando*, or the *English Short Title Catalogue*, bibliographical and biographical information about many women authors and their books have not been compiled in any form and we are by necessity creating new biographical and bibliographical data from digital and print copies of their books and other sources. By amalgamating these bits and pieces of information into newly created WPHP records we create knowledge about women and their books and make accessible what has previously been dispersed and unavailable for analysis.
00:40:19	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Using the publishing histories of well-known women authors as case studies makes the broader implications of this data for recovery and discovery work clear. When combined with the narratives constructed by existing scholarship the amalgamated and more systematic data in the WPHP allows us to identify where the gaps are and how these gaps can direct our research. The WPHP allows us to view firm and author networks which has important implications for the process of finding and creating data. However, as Jane Austen's publishing history illustrates, there are networks at play, including social ones, that don't always make sense from the bibliographical data alone.
00:40:59	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	Henry Austen's military connection to Thomas Egerton is a prime example. A network is indicated by the bibliographical data but can only be understood after further research. The unseen networks that bibliographical data does not immediately make apparent remind us that there is much we still don't know about even the most canonical of women authors and their publishing histories. We had questions arise even as we were researching for this podcast episode, like, why did Austin choose to publish specifically with John Murray? Why were so many volumes printed by Charles Roworth?
00:41:39	🎵	[music playing]
00:41:46	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That we still have publishing questions about even the well-documented women authors makes it no surprise that we are left with many more about the more obscure women we find. Stay tuned for next month’s episode where we discuss one such woman bookseller, Ann Sancho, about whom we can find some bibliographical data due to a famous husband and son, but next to no information about the books that she sold or published while running a bookselling business.
00:42:10	Kate Moffatt (co-host)	That she does not appear in imprints prompts serious questions for us. We know that she co-owned the business due to some surviving insurance records, but her lack of

		imprint inclusion throws her involvement into question. What circumstances resulted in her partly owning the business but not appearing as such in imprints as was typical for the period?
00:42:29	🎵	[music playing]
00:42:37	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	As our firms' editor, Kate has had to grapple with questions like these in identifying printing, publishing, and bookselling businesses that were owned or run by women. Next month, I'm going to talk to her about her strategies for uncovering evidence of women who, like Ann Sancho, were involved in book trade businesses, but have only left a patchy record.
00:42:57	🎵	[music playing]
00:43:05	Kandice Sharren (co-host)	This has been the first episode of *The WPHP Monthly Mercury*. We will be releasing an episode every third Wednesday of the month. If you're interested in learning more about what we discussed today, we've compiled a list of suggestions for further reading and links to some relevant entries in the WPHP which you can find in a blog post at womensprinthistoryproject.com.
00:43:26	🎵	[music playing]