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Cover illustration. – "He protested that he never read novels." Mr. Collins as rendered by Hugh Thomson in George Allen's 1894 illustrated edition of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.

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Making Heritage and History:

The 1894 Illustrated

Pride and Prejudice

ANDREW MAUNDER

On 27 October 1894, the *Westminster Gazette* introduced its readers to a new arrival in the world of popular fiction, "[a] charming romance decked out with Mr. Hugh Thomson's illustrations":

Nowhere has the successor to Caldecott used his art to greater purpose than here, and nowhere, not even in *Cranford* is he seen to greater advantage. When we remember the hideous, though beloved, illustrations that used to adorn the title pages of the early two volume edition of Miss Austen's novels – the caricature of the lively Lizzy with her hair done in exaggerated puffs and bows, her dress almost falling off her shoulders, and the affected and silly attitudes then thought so entrancing – we have indeed reason to be grateful to her new portrait painter.¹

This "new" novel, symbol of the commercial literary marketplace, was Jane Austen's (1775–1817) *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), as published in 1894 by George Allen (1832–1907) – a book that quickly assumed almost mythic status as a cultural signifier.²

As an attempt to introduce Jane Austen to a new readership, Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* capitalized on the vogue for illustrations. Such features were important for the late-Victorian publishing industry since, then as now, novelists and books were sold in a competitive marketplace. As George Du Maurier (1834–96) noted in 1890, the illustrated novel was "a 'felt want.'" The "majority," he wrote, "likes to have its book . . . full

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FIGURE 1

Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1870), front cover.

book market?]" the London booksellers A. and F. Denny remarked how "[t]he publication of dainty illustrated and well-printed editions has had the effect of drawing attention to some writers hitherto somewhat neglected, such as Jane Austen." Other contributors to the symposium concurred with the commercial value of illustrated editions for older authors: "Jane Austen," a spokesman for Messrs. Thomas Brear and Company (Darlington) told the *Academy* bluntly, "sells only in illustrated editions."⁵

The aim of this essay is to use Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* as a starting point for uncovering an aspect of Jane Austen in the history of popular culture that, until very recently, has tended to be forgotten as having a history: Austen and her illustrators. In recent years, the subject of nineteenth-century novelists and their illustrators has attracted substantial scholarly attention from literary critics, art historians, and those working in the field of publishing history. Scholars have explored a diverse range of themes: the relation between word and image and the re-creation of the reading experience, the competition between illustration and text, illustration as narrative, illustration as marketing ploy, and the ideological role played by illustration within discourses, for example, of gender and national identity with which specific novels engage.⁶ In the case of the publishing history of Jane Austen, illustrated editions of her novels are intricately involved with the rehabilitation of the novelist in the later nineteenth century as a cultural icon.

As the *Westminster Gazette* noted, the first illustrated edition of Austen published in Britain was by Richard Bentley (1794–1871), who released the six novels as part of his "Standard Novels" series.⁷ The illustrations, steel-engraved by William Greatbach (1802–85) after, probably, George Pickering (1794–1857), were reused by Bentley in various reissues through 1892;⁸ they included a frontispiece and a second page with a vignette for each of the six novels, each engraving illustrating a key moment in the story. In 1851, a similar format was followed by George Routledge (1812–88), who issued *Pride and Prejudice* with a frontispiece. In 1857,

of little pictures. . . . To have the author's conceptions adequately embodied for them in a concrete form is a boon, an enhancement of their pleasure."³ A few years earlier, Philip Gilbert Hamerton (1834–94), the editor of the *Portfolio*, argued that illustration "would do a real service," especially in the case of a writer "who had genius deserving durable fame, yet who might be overlooked and forgotten by a mere change of fashion." "The illustrator, in that case," Hamerton went on, "would be a sort of camel carrying the [author] . . . across a stretch of desert . . . that would be death to him if he were alone."⁴ By 1897, in a symposium printed in the *Academy* responding to the question, "Are the older novelists holding their own [in the

FIGURE 2

Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1883), front cover.

Routledge also published four of the novels in his "Railway Library" series as yellowbacks, replete with wood engravings on the front, colored boards. He followed with new illustrated editions in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1870, Chapman and Hall followed suit with pictorial covers, the cover of *Mansfield Park*, for example, showing Mary Crawford playing the harp (fig. 1), whereas Routledge's 1883 edition chose the incident of Fanny and Edmund discussing the infamous necklace (fig. 2). Both illustrations are symptomatic of the mid-Victorian tendency to dress Austen's characters in modern rather than Regency costume.⁹

The earliest edition with more pictures than just a frontispiece or a cover illustration seems to have been Groombridge's 1875 edition of *Mansfield Park* illustrated by A. F. Lydon (1836–1917), which again shows characters in modern dress¹⁰ – Fanny Price in a fashionable porkpie hat and Henry Crawford with a luxuriant (post-Crimean) beard. This was followed by a series of eight illustrations by John Proctor for John Dicks's (1818–81) 1887 issue of *Pride and Prejudice*.¹¹ It was in the 1890s, however, that this growing interest in illustrating Austen really took off, with a raft of collected editions from J. M. Dent (1892) with illustrations by William Cuthbert Cooke (1866–1951).¹²

Readers who have encountered *editions de luxe* of the 1890s – and, indeed, many twentieth-century editions – will know that the format is often extravagant. The illustrations evoke favorite characters, from Henry Tilney chasing Catherine Morland, to Mr. Collins inspecting the Bennet sisters, to Mary Crawford tempting Fanny Price with diamonds, to Louisa Musgrove skydiving off the Cobb at Lyme Regis – glamorous livers, passionate lovers, and symbolic representatives of exceptional human "romance" and also of "heritage" and "history," or, at least, commercial publishing's idea of it.

This last characteristic is significant, for the illustrated edition often introduces us by way of thick paper, quaint typeface, and delicate shading to a time and place different from our own. According to these volumes, events in the early nineteenth century always took place in delicate pencil and



pastel shades, with clean and clear lines surrounding every movement. The illustrated edition also confirms our sense of the delightful clothes people wore, although there are usually plenty of anachronisms to go with the territory. The conjuration, as Sheila Kaye Smith and G. B. Stern recalled of Allen's 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*, showed "so many quaintly old-fashioned tailors' and dressmakers' dummies [who] strode and tripped, drank tea, rode on horseback, danced quadrilles, all quaintly dressed in cutaway coats and high-waisted frocks, with their hair falling in ringlets or rolling in quiffs."¹³ So we notice of people living in Austen's time that the women almost always wore elaborate, low-cut ball dresses,

that no one wore cloaks out of doors, and that many were good at anticipating trends in early-twentieth-century hairdressing. This interest in what Austen's characters wore is complemented by an interest in how they lived: a riot of homes and gardens, elegant mansions filled to bursting point with Chippendale furniture, tree-lined avenues, balls and parties, sleek carriages and thoroughbred horses with whimsical expressions. Illustrators and editors regularly turned the books into "historical" souvenirs of English domestic and hierarchical order – a mythic agrarian National Trust England, where all (even the smiling servants) knew their place. The illustrated Austen volume formed subtle Tory propaganda for the masses.

At first glance, such illustrations seem interesting only as a kind of literary necrophilia. Insofar as such work is ever mentioned, the prevailing orthodoxy often seems to derive from the contemptuous line taken by Henry James (1843–1916), for whom the illustrated edition is the literary equivalent of the video nasty: a disgusting and inflated display of greed, a scam hatched up by publishers and illustrators on the bed of commercialism, excited by thoughts of their abilities to "defile" Austen for the sake of pictures and profits. James's reaction to "the body of publishers, editors, illustrators, producers of the pleasant twaddle of magazines; who have found their 'dear,' our dear, everybody's dear, Jane so infinitely to their material purpose, so amenable to pretty reproduction in every variety of what is called tasteful, and in what seemingly proves to be saleable, form" was visceral.¹⁴ His sarcasm in 1905 can be matched in the 1990s by what Judy Simons describes as some critics' aggrieved sense that to move from Austen's words to image is to "pander to the tastes and abilities of an audience untrained in the subtleties of reading complex texts."¹⁵ However seriously the illustrated edition presents itself to us, and however persuaded we are by its pictures of a beautiful Elizabeth Bennet or a handsome Mr. Darcy astride some magnificently virile beast – catching us up in the lazy, self-indulgent "fantasying" that Q. D. Leavis and later critics of popular culture attacked¹⁶ – the illustrated edition as such seems hardly complex or sig-

nificant enough to be worth much analysis. So naive are some of these editions that it is often argued that Austen (unlike Dickens) is impossible to illustrate, that her illustrators are, as Brian Southam puts it, too much concerned with "prettification" to be able to "catch the spare precision and economy of her vision."¹⁷ Certainly, looking at this extravagant kitsch and phony history, one might ask what these productions have to do with what we think of as "proper" literary interpretation.

This essay argues that, to the extent that they engage readers of a given culture at a certain moment with that particularly accommodating writer who is "Jane Austen," illustrations are as important as all those other examples of critical history – literary essay, play, film, television adaptation – whereby different generations take part in acts of "revision." The term *revision* is here used in John Wiltshire's sense of "the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction" at a particular moment.¹⁸ Illustrations play a central role in how readers construe novels, the pictures performing a distinctive form of literary work, by means of which a writer is recast for successive generations in relation to particular "desires, needs, and historical circumstances," as Claudia Johnson puts it.¹⁹ By looking at the ways Austen has been repackaged, we can observe how illustrations modify, challenge, and even dictate readers' understandings of her "classic" novels, both "within the literary system" and, more significantly, in terms of their participation in wider ideas about meanings, identities, and "definitions of nationality" that are continually being reworked.²⁰

The argument that follows is based on a key example of this process: George Allen's 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*, illustrated by Hugh Thomson (1860–1920). Allen's edition demonstrates how responsive these editions and their makers were to the demands of popular or mass culture and to the demands of the historical moment. The success of Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* – a text that, to quote Tony Tanner, is intricately wrapped up in acts of "recognition-re-cognition, that act by which the mind can look again at a thing and if necessary make revisions and amendments until it sees the thing as it really is"²¹ – hinges on this kind of responsiveness, which in 1894 allowed the work to

function as a source of Englishness in answer to a crisis of nationhood.

THE IMPACT OF GEORGE ALLEN'S
PRIDE AND PREJUDICE

The 1894 *Pride and Prejudice* is not a "great" illustrated book, a milestone in the history of book illustration, or even an especially superior example of "the major mode of popular fiction," the illustrated novel, which from the 1830s to the 1850s had assumed "pervasive importance as a cultural product."²² It is in many ways a typical product of the time – an illustrated gift book, one of a large number flooding the market by publishers who were taking it on themselves to fill the demands by "the great army of readers" for entertainment and education.²³ Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* was, however, an outstanding commercial success. When, on Monday, 22 October 1894, the first copies hit the bookshops, the edition created a sensation and sold more copies than either its publisher or his competitors expected. "I have felt painfully during the past few weeks," wrote the poet Austin Dobson (1840–1921), who had his own new collection to sell, "like a blind fiddler who has been unfortunate enough to take up his post in front of the drums and the roar of the circus."²⁴ Estimates vary, but, by November, the *Review of Reviews* was reporting that *Pride and Prejudice* "has a place among the half-dozen best-selling books of the month," lagging just behind *My Lady Rotha* by the popular novelist Stanley Weyman (1855–1928) and the memoir *Fifty Years of My Life in the World of Sport* by the wealthy sportsman Sir John Dugdale Astley (1828–94).²⁵ In the first twelve months, 11,605 copies were sold, with an additional 3,500 copies going to North America; by December 1895, sales had risen to 12,605. By 1907, the publisher claimed to have sold 25,000 copies.²⁶

The success was deserved for an illustrated Austen edition that, as the critic J. W. Comyns Carr (1849–1916) commented, "in felicity of actual workmanship . . . is certainly in advance of all that has preceded."²⁷ Its thick paper, elegant typeface, green and gold binding, and wealth of illustrations – sixty-five full-page and twenty-nine head-page illustrations, two tail pieces, and fifty-six decorated capital letters – ensured awed responses that the edition was "a brilliant show," as the *London Globe and Traveller* put

it.²⁸ In 1894, George Allen and Company already had a reputation for producing "tasteful" (and expensive) illustrated "art" editions of works by well-regarded writers (Edmund Spenser, John Ruskin, Mary Russell Mitford) and of works about heroic figures (Lord Nelson, Henry V, Sir Christopher Wren).²⁹ As Brian Maidment has noted, these reprints were viewed as valuable and worthy achievements by Allen, who was unwilling to compromise his standards even in the face of stiff competition.³⁰ In addition to the *Pride and Prejudice*, such elegant editions as the 1894–97 *Faerie Queene* (with illustrations by Walter Crane [1845–1915]) and the 1895 *Sir Charles Grandison* (with illustrations by Chris Hammond [1861–1900]) were praised for their lavish production values.³¹ Allen's books were status symbols, indications of the consumer's taste and discernment, to be displayed at home in the drawing room or the "boudoir" (as the *Leeds Mercury* suggested), objects over which readers might "linger for hours" (as the *Glasgow Herald* commented about the illustrations).³² The firm was notable for its "unusually sumptuous work, only within the reach of book lovers possessed of fairly long purses," although *Pride and Prejudice* was available in an ordinary edition priced at six shillings, the same as for a one-volume novel, as well as in a limited edition printed on handmade paper and sold by subscription.³³ To top previous efforts at reproducing Jane Austen, he aimed at an edition in which everything would be bigger, more lavish, and more glamorous featuring an acknowledged leader in illustration, Hugh Thomson, and deploying all his firm's substantial resources for packaging and printing. Thomson (perhaps one of the artists that Southam has in mind when regretting the "prettification" that Austen has suffered) was an acknowledged force in the publishing field in the 1890s, having established his reputation as an illustrator through contributions to high-quality illustrated magazines, such as the *English Illustrated Magazine*, edited by J. W. Comyns Carr.³⁴ By 1894, his "style" was, as the Aesthetic writer Richard Le Gallienne (1866–1947) observed, "the vogue,"³⁵ and his insistence on inserting a personal dedication following the title page of *Pride and Prejudice* suggests his awareness that his name – as

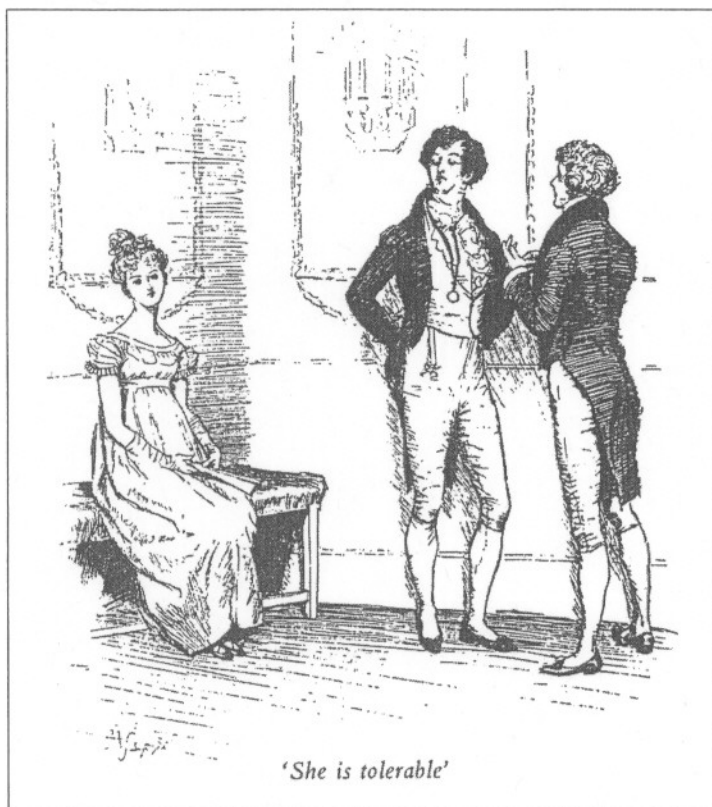


FIGURE 3

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), "She is tolerable," in Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

men of letters." Austen and Thomson were an ideally matched team. George Allen – "always," as he announced, "interested in works where the illustrations constitute an important part" – was confident that he had a winning formula.⁴⁰

The prominence of Thomson's name in all the advertisements (bold type, large font) and even in the reviews, compared to the billing given Jane Austen, does not necessarily mean that Austen was pushed aside.⁴¹ One happy reason for reviewers to elevate this *Pride and Prejudice* lay in their perception of what Thomson stood for: that the very name of its illustrator and his work had become a symbol for a cultured, aesthetic grace and refinement "*de luxe*." This evocation did signal that Austen's written narrative must compete with these alluring images; and, as the comments of several contemporary reviewers suggest, in 1894 the visual image was just as powerful as the text: "The main attraction of the volume," announced the *Globe and Traveller*, "is . . . the share taken in it by Mr. Hugh Thomson."⁴² Such was the influence of the Thomson cult. At the same time, the charm of the edition could return readers to Austen: as another reviewer commented, the "peacock-bedecked covers" of *Pride and Prejudice* "irresistibly invite the lovers of this immortal tale to another reading of a book that will bear re-reading indefinitely."⁴³

In their 1931 biography of Thomson, M. H. Spielmann and Walter Jerrold describe the production of the 1894 edition and Thomson's 160 drawings for the illustrations.⁴⁴ A lavish budget, together with Thomson's customary penchant for elaborate costumes and cute animals, results in a gentle, nostalgic evocation of a serene, eighteenth-century world of formality and good manners, populated by modest but beautiful heroines, silent servants, and quaint, cheerful country folk. Elizabeth Bennet is (very) young, beautiful, and modest with downcast eyes; Mr. Darcy is handsome and haughty (fig. 3). Thomson focuses on characters caught in moments of confrontation, a method that suits Austen, whose important scenes tend to involve one or

least as much as, if not more than, Jane Austen's – was one of the valuable commodities on offer.³⁶ A good name is, to use Pierre Bourdieu's phrase, a kind of "symbolic capital," with immediate exchange value in the literary field. That is, the more fame one has, the more one might be expected to accumulate, much as economic capital helps one amass still more economic capital.³⁷

Thomson felt that he had become better known than almost any competitor in the field. Writing of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, which he illustrated for Macmillan in 1890, he boasted: "They predict in Macmillans that in half-a-dozen years a copy of the first edition, published at [six shillings] will sell to book collectors at [thirty-five shillings] or maybe [three pounds]."³⁸ In 1894, contemplating the contract for *Pride and Prejudice*, he had similar hopes that the edition, linked with the value of his talents, would bring "the golden shekels . . . roll[ing] in."³⁹ Moreover, among illustrators, Thomson's name was as familiar to consumers of popular culture – "the public," such as the lower-middle-class readers of the *Graphic* – as it was to the cultural and artistic elite, "the

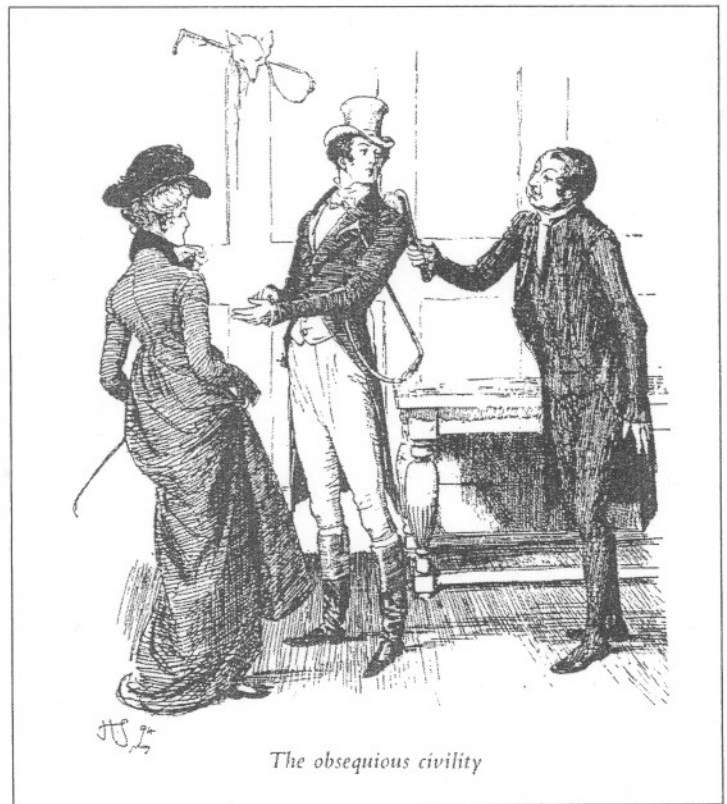
FIGURE 4

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), "The obsequious civility," in Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

two characters: Elizabeth and Darcy, Mr. and Mrs. Bennet, Lady Catherine de Bourgh and Elizabeth.

The edition also gives prominence to Mr. Collins, who serves in the illustrations as a kind of low comedian, alongside a series of whimsical animals and eccentrics. Some of the illustrations of Mr. Collins are based on tangential incidents, such as in the half-page "The Obsequious Civility" (p. 466; fig. 4), which begins chapter 60. This is based on a brief reference to the visit of the Collinses to Lucas Lodge after Darcy and Elizabeth have announced their engagement. Austen comments on Elizabeth's pleasure at being reunited with Charlotte and on her irritation at seeing "Mr. Darcy exposed to all the parading and obsequious civility of . . . [Charlotte's] husband" (p. 471). In Thomson's illustration, the incident is developed into a full-fledged comic moment: Mr. Collins interrupts the engaged couple, brandishing a large clothes brush with which he brushes Darcy's dusty shoulders in the manner of a sycophantic hairdresser, his body inclining slightly toward Darcy. The sense of disturbance is well captured, not only in the couple's annoyed expressions, but also in the way the Austenian symmetry of the scene is thrown out of kilter. The focus of the illustration seems to be expectedly centered on the hero and heroine, with a smirking fox looking down on them, but Mr. Collins's arrival at the edge of the picture unsettles these proportions.

The whimsy of this edition had much to do with Thomson's main notion – namely, that earlier illustrators had missed Austen's sense of fun. Austen's novels, the critic Joseph Grego (1843–1908) insisted in 1895, have gained "a new lease on life" because "[y]ou," he told Thomson, "have revived the gently humorous Jane."⁴⁵ So, for example, in chapter 20, in which Mr. Collins realizes that Elizabeth is really refusing his proposal, Thomson decorates the initial capital (*M* for *Mr.*) with a cupid falling down, vanquished (p. 139). Another decorated capital shows Mrs. Bennet fishing by a stream with a question mark serving for a hook, chapter 3 opening with the Bennet women riddling Mr. Bennet



with questions (p. 10; fig. 5). Austen, Thomson insisted, is a humorist, although the illustrator's idea of giving life back to Austen extended beyond whimsy to opening up the text – a sin that some Janeites are not always ready to forgive. In 1894, however, scarcely anyone objected to Thomson's freedoms.

Indeed, the reviews of Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* reveal not simply the edition's popularity but its multiple appeals, crossing the tenuous boundaries between gender spheres, political factions, and metropolitan and provincial spheres. For example, the conservative evening paper the *Globe* congratulated Allen on "one of the handsomest and daintiest of gift books . . . a delightful volume," while *The Times* similarly offered "a cordial welcome" to this new edition with its "host of delightful illustrations by Mr. Hugh Thomson" that seem "to have caught the very spirit of Jane Austen's inimitable pen."⁴⁶ With these testaments to literary respectability, the gossipy society magazine the *Sketch* was in complete agreement, gushing that *Pride and Prejudice* was both "adorable" and "felicitous."⁴⁷ "Sappho,"



FIGURE 5

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), decorated capital, in Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

writing for the *Gentlewoman*, noted how the edition had been “beautifully illustrated by Mr. Hugh Thomson, who has entered thoroughly into the spirit of Jane Austen’s work,” while the *Publishers Circular* pronounced it “one of the most attractive gift books of the season,” remarking that “no recent or living illustrator could do better justice to Miss Austen than is done in this exceedingly pretty book.”⁴⁸

Among the weekly literary magazines, the high-culture *Saturday Review* – a magazine written by university men for university men and one that was not inclined to rate novels very highly and had little regard for illustrated gift books – announced that Thomson’s Austen drawings were “the most perfect illustration that an English artist has supplied to an English book in our times.”⁴⁹ Likewise, the local papers, such as the *Glasgow Herald*, thought the edition “charming” and its illustrations “so delicate, so clever, so instinct with life and humour”; and the *Leeds Mercury*, a Liberal daily paper directed at the large manufacturing communities of Leeds, Bradford, and Heckmondwite, pronounced *Pride and Prejudice* a work of “good taste and artistic fitness,” evincing a “delicate and poetic appreciation of the story” by the illustrator.⁵⁰

Outside Britain as well, the edition appeared to please at all levels. The *Review of Reviews* recommended sending the book to subjects in the far-flung outposts of the empire via the Christmas mails, while, in an ex-colony, the Boston-based *Literary World* thought the \$2.25 edition simply “perfect”: “The Bennets, the Bingleys, Mr. Darcy, Mr. Collins, Lady Catherine Brough [*sic*], and all

the other personages who figure here in Miss Austen’s words display themselves not otherwise in Mr. Thomson’s faithful and spirited drawings.”⁵¹

Summing up, the *Sunday Times* announced that the success of *Pride and Prejudice* indicated that there was now “a fairly large public always ready to buy the works of the older romancers . . . [in] tasteful form.”⁵² For these first reviewers, *Pride and Prejudice* belonged in a cultural mainstream – and one (at least on this occasion) seemingly untroubled by separating currents of elite and popular culture. What is also apparent is that many observers brought to their discussions of the packed yet elegant contents of *Pride and Prejudice* the sense that George Allen and, in particular, Hugh Thomson had engineered nothing less than a revolution in Austen’s fortunes. “Jane Austen has had a curious revival,” announced the Bristol bookseller William George’s Sons.⁵³ Observers assigned *Pride and Prejudice* a symbolic role, its success generating a wave of imitations that eventually constituted a distinct family of Austen reprints, one whose characteristics were clear enough to be used by publishers as a way of defining the market for new editions.⁵⁴ Editor and illustrator were seen not just as producers of a new style of publication – an affordable commodity text for a new kind of audience – but as having rescued Austen from oblivion.

AUSTEN ILLUSTRATION AND “ENGLISHNESS”

Whether Hugh Thomson or Jane Austen was its chief attraction, the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice* offered something in its terms of reference that appealed to the tastes of a quite astounding number of readers in Britain, the empire, and – surprisingly, perhaps – the United States. The breadth of appeal seems all the more striking in view of the consensus that Austen’s novels commanded only “a minority interest” for most of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ To understand the cultural significance of *Pride and Prejudice* in 1894 we need to situate it within broader developments in 1890s commodification – not only of literature, but also of heritage and history.

Michael Bommers and Patrick Wright have described how the production of a national heritage depends on "a particular version of the past [being] produced, privileged, installed and maintained as a public and national 'consensus' by means of 'a whole battery of discourses and images.'"⁵⁶ This national past, Judy Giles and Tim Middleton have suggested, is "a state of mind" that is always being redefined out of the needs of the present.⁵⁷ The formation of the national heritage – which is always "a fiction," as David Trotter argues⁵⁸ – is a matter of handpicking "key" values from the past (or what are seen to be key values) and matching them with modern needs.

Trotter goes on to show how, in the 1890s, a central part of the British national heritage was articulated through a "subsoil" of "signifying systems" – landscape, estate culture, pastoralism, conservationism, and history. These fields "provided the basis for an account of the emergence and development of national identity" that became part of the national public imagination.⁵⁹ This process of "reinvention" involved the creation of England as a "south country," in the phrase invented by the poet/essayists and travel writers Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953) and Edward Thomas (1878–1917); Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Dorset, and the "Home Counties" were part of this new vision, the landscapes of which were green, smooth, and cultivated, as opposed to bleak, sparse, and craggy.⁶⁰

This vision was part of a more general reproduction and marketing of an idea of the English nation. Philip Dodd describes the process by which, from the 1880s, "the past cultural activities and attributes of the people were edited and then acknowledged, as contributions to the evolution of the English national culture which had produced the present."⁶¹ The establishment of such bodies as the Commons Preservation Society in the 1880s and the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty in 1895 (started in the national interest) encouraged this sense of history and community by promising to safeguard those "records written in brick and stone, in the presence of which, more movingly than anywhere else, a people recalls the dim centuries of its past."⁶² The National Trust also helped mythologize countryside landscapes and homes of the aristocracy according to a specific system of (bourgeois) values and aesthetics, rendering

them as mythic spaces whose geography became identified with a powerful range of symbolic codes.⁶³

Nor was this a uniquely English trend. Encouraged by the Centennial Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia, North Americans witnessed the emergence of the so-called Colonial Revival, prodding an interest in prerevolutionary architecture and furniture. John Wilmerding has shown how American audiences were charmed by such evocative paintings as Thomas Eakins's (1844–1916) *In Grandmother's Time* (oil on canvas, 1876; Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass.), *Seventy Years Ago* (watercolor, 1877; Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.), and *Homespun* (watercolor, 1881; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).⁶⁴ In Britain, this nostalgic discourse could be found also in the illustrated gift book with its repackaging of "old" authors. Editions like Allen's were used in the 1890s to recapture and fix dominant representations of the past and to identify certain things as characteristically English, just as the Colonial Revival in America served allegedly to recapture a lost past in quaint images of cottages and spinning wheels.

This nostalgic desire can be linked to what historians and literary critics have described as a backlash against modernity, a widespread sense that Britain was in the throes of "social decrepitude."⁶⁵ The anxiety was prompted by a long list of symptoms – poor standards of national health, widespread unemployment, falling birthrates, mass alcoholism, mass culture, mass democracy, and apparently widespread nervous exhaustion. Numerous social surveys of the period suggested an England in which many were dispossessed and excluded as a result of unemployment and poverty.

At the other end of the social scale, in the best seller *The Sorrows of Satan* (1895) Marie Corelli (1855–1924) captured a sense of moral bankruptcy and sexual excess allied to upper-class upbringing – both male and female, but particularly as manifested in the specters of the "erotomaniac," the "New Woman," and the "Wild Woman."⁶⁶ The latter was characterized by Eliza Lynn Linton (1822–98) as "a woman [who] does anything specially unfeminine and ugly."⁶⁷ These fears were made more acute by other malevolent

"undesirables" – Fenians, socialists, homosexuals, spiritualists, mesmerists, and foreigners. In addition, commercial and political competition on the world stage from the United States and Germany, challenges to English imperialism from new competitors, and the resurgence of Irish nationalism fostered a belief that the nation's energies were being exhausted by colonial expansion. The sense that England was going down and out helped produce a cultural climate ripe for the return to an older ideal of Englishness rooted in a pastoral (premechanized) way of life, one that was natural, purer, "self-sustaining,"⁶⁸ ordered, restful, pretty – everything modern society was not. As Martin Weiner has suggested, this vision helped develop a powerful self-image of England as an "old country," and "the new national self-image dressed itself in the trappings of an older tradition."⁶⁹

Contributing to seeing the past as a place of refuge and order, reviewers recommended Jane Austen's novels as old-fashioned, "healthy," "invigorating" works, an antidote, *Good Words* advised, to "the diseased appetite of the present novel-reading public." The present public, the reviewer mourned, "digests 'Dodo,' relishes 'Tess' and the 'Twins' and is seemingly not squeamish over 'Esther Waters.'"⁷⁰ The implication that Austen's novels could serve as healthier entertainment for the family home is revealing, as promising purchasers a particular moral and social order – what George Steiner describes as "a *bourgeois* order founded on certain hierarchies of literacy, of purchasing power, of leisure, and of caste."⁷¹

The centrality of Austen to this reactionary mood is evinced in 1900 by a contributor to the *Westminster Review*, Janet Harper, who, in "The Renaissance of Jane Austen," writes of the "peaceful, homely element in . . . [Austen's] writings that gives them the place they are rightfully reclaiming in English literature." Harper's explanation of Austen's popularity hones in on the intense feeling ("glow") of nostalgia produced toward "that enviable class of people who had assured futures." She continues: "[W]hat a rest it is to go back to the contemplation of a peaceful, homely, healthy existence like that." This nostalgia, as Harper makes clear,

goes against the grain of decadence and naturalism and counters the "feverish" feelings inculcated by contemporary writers and artists like Aubrey Beardsley (1872–98). The point of Harper's reappraisal is that, for all her "thoroughly English, realistic and moral solidity," Jane Austen is a good deal more complex than this single seductive image. Yet, as Harper explains, because this is an image that has great (political) appeal for "us as a nation, and equally so as individuals," it overshadows all others. There is, as she notes, a powerful and coherent image of the English people in Austen's novels, a sense of community that has a well-defined hierarchy, that seems natural, and that is bound up with a persuasive sense of "Anglo-Saxon patriotism": "[Austen] has not said one word on the subject, she has not touched on the virtues of England, nor yet has she hinted at any particular love or admiration for her native land. No, but she has faithfully depicted the manners, and ways of life and thought of a class of English society which is said to be rapidly dying out – namely, that of the rural gentry." Harper also establishes a connection between Britain's needs as an empire and the historical civilizing values that Austen expounds, in that, thanks to the spate of inexpensive new illustrated editions, "the Saxon can introduce Miss Austen's novels to our colonists in Australia, or to Americans, or to any foreigners with a glow of patriotism, for he knows he is presenting something entirely English."⁷²

In an analysis of canon formation, Barbara Herrnstein Smith suggests that interpretation and value are products of classification: "In perceiving an object or artifact in terms of some category – as, for example, 'a clock,' 'a dictionary,' . . . – we implicitly isolate and foreground certain of its possible functions and typically refer its value to the extent to which it performs those functions more or less effectively."⁷³ In the case of Austen, the categories that late-Victorian critics used to critique *Pride and Prejudice* were informed by a nationalist poetics that betrayed particular historical needs.

It is true that, as first published in 1813, *Pride and Prejudice* might be read, similarly to its 1894 republication, as a nostalgic, pastoral, and diverting response to early-nineteenth-century industrialization and social upheaval. The novel contains no obvious signs of rev-

olutionary discontent, revolting workers never trespass onto its pages, and even the professional activities of the militia (Wickham and company) are shrouded in ambiguity. Mr. Darcy is, as his happy, contented housekeeper, Mrs. Reynolds, is at pains to point out, "the best landlord, and the best master," a good steward and pastor (p. 306 [chap. 43]), a man who is happiest outdoors among the reassuringly patriarchal and cultivated surroundings of Pemberley.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, to locate the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice* in the columns of the weekly and monthly magazines and newspapers, where it is framed by other articles and advertisements participating in the nostalgic mood of the 1890s, is to realize how enticing the lure of its idea of the past was made for the new edition's first readers. In both the *Leeds Mercury* and the *London Evening News* in October 1894, the attention of the reading public was sought for such escapist fare, which ranged from the photographic gift book *Beautiful Britain: The Scenery and Splendours of the United Kingdom* to the historical romances of Elizabethan swashbucklers and seafarers or of Regency dandies popularized by such writers as Edna Lyall (1857–1903) and Stanley Weyman. Such works explicitly contrasted old-time English values with the sordid attitudes of a "thrusting" new age, projecting readers, as Len Platt has noted, into a fictionalized past that offered as a model for imitation the codes of behavior through which earlier English men and women had solved particular personal and national dilemmas.⁷⁵ As a period piece by an author who was fast gaining a reputation as the "most thoroughly English" writer of fiction,⁷⁶ *Pride and Prejudice* could be taken in a similar way. It was seen, not as some in 1813 saw it, as an "unsettling" piece of writing,⁷⁷ but as a celebration of "traditional" values of high-class conduct and propriety; it was a rediscovery of an English heritage, executed with "good taste and artistic fitness," as the *Leeds Mercury* put it.⁷⁸

In 1894, this tendency to see Austen as the emblem of timeless, patriotic values was helped by Hugh Thomson and the kind of work for which he was famous – "popular, middle-brow, . . . widely disseminated," as John Harthan characterizes the "genteel book" trade of the 1890s.⁷⁹ By this point, Thomson had developed a reputation as an ambassador to a nostalgic vision of national culture through his illustrations for a series of stylish editions of English clas-

sics – *Days with Sir Roger De Coverley* (1886), compiled from Addison and Steele's *Spectator*; *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways* (1888); *Cranford* (1891); *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1891); *Our Village* (1893).⁸⁰ Relevantly, as noted by the writer for the *Westminster Gazette* cited earlier,⁸¹ Thomson was seen as the disciple of Randolph Caldecott, who had died in 1886, and whose legacy was carried throughout the work of a large number of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century illustrators who achieved fame for illustrating eighteenth-century and historical fiction (e.g., the brothers Charles Edmund Brock [1870–1938] and Henry Matthew Brock [1875–1960] and Chris Hammond). These illustrators specialized in images of stately Palladian mansions, neat cottages, skating parties, hunts, and frothy, stylish costumes from "the Past," especially the last days of the eighteenth century. While neither Caldecott's nor Thomson's work was always an exercise in nostalgia, when their illustrations are set alongside the debates about English heritage of the 1890s and 1900s, they can be seen to have helped dilute texts into something less threatening and more wholesome. As the *Leeds Mercury* commented in 1894, Thomson's drawings captured "a phase of English life which the cackle of the mill and the shriek of the locomotive and much else that is more painfully modern have banished from country and town alike."⁸²

This is the mythic version of rural England, the England of Meryton and Netherfield as imaged in the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*. Beginning with the headpiece to George Saintsbury's introduction (p. ix; fig. 6), which shows an old man and a boy sitting on the side of a hill flying a kite and looking over a vista of unspoiled, deserted countryside, the illustrations to *Pride and Prejudice* serve as one of the means by which certain types of landscape (e.g., the Home Counties' Hertfordshire) came to be posited as quintessentially English. Austen's subversive, bitter subtext – her cynical exploration of the marriage market and her probing of female opportunities for individualism and of female sexuality, topics that some Victorian critics certainly picked up on – is made safe, sweetened, and tamed in what we might call an *act of colonization*, whereby the illustrations envelop the text in the



FIGURE 6

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), illustration for preface, in Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

wholesome ideology of a bygone age, a densely imagined pseudoculture.

How this works in practice is evident in the full-page frontispiece to the edition (fig. 7), showing Elizabeth reading Jane's letters from London. The image not only offers Elizabeth's body to the reader as a subject for eroticized rereading but also feeds the popular manifestation of Austen as the representative of a particular historical style. Sitting at a graceful antique desk in an uncluttered room, a neatly dressed Elizabeth turns modestly away from the spectator, engrossed in her mail. The elegant curved lines of the desk and chair signal that this is a world of understated simplicity and refinement, as, of course, do Elizabeth's own upright posture, delicate features, and dainty feet. Depicting Elizabeth kitted-out in this way, and acting as a visual marker for the reader, the frontispiece helps fix Austen as an "old" rather than a "modern" author. Her characters become tasteful leftovers from the past, spirits that pander to a nostalgia for old-fashioned social cohesion and for the spaces destroyed by England's relentless industrial transformation.⁸³ There is a clear attempt to restore the perceived "essence" of Austen, if not as a downright apologist for an old order, at least as the moral and spiritual touchstone for and exponent of gracious living.⁸⁴

Austen's own narrative must compete with these alluring images, to the cost of Elizabeth's point of view, from which the

novel is written. The heroine is the intelligent daughter of a gentleman, a woman who is coming to terms with her depressing future within the confines of early-nineteenth-century patriarchy. She is stuck at home with two appalling parents and three foolish sisters, and she has received proposals of marriage from two patronizing suitors, both of whom she outranks in intelligence.⁸⁵ The illustrations to the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice* do not attempt to convey this intelligence in any way, and they mislay (intentionally) the more subversive elements of the written text – namely, the elements of gender discord encapsulated in Elizabeth's expressions of indignation. As Nina Auerbach has observed, Austen's own "radical ambivalence" about the common sense of her age as it relates to women is difficult to miss.⁸⁶ The novel is fairly explicit about the disadvantages that the Bennet daughters labor under – thanks in no small part to their irresponsible, misogynist father – and how miserably placed they are. The other men Elizabeth encounters likewise have little to recommend them: Mr. Bingley is nice, but dim; Mr. Wickham is an amoral adventurer and a liar; the romantic hero, Mr. Darcy, might be an exception, but he is also a haughty, wounding snob. Worst of all is Mr. Collins, a university-educated man of the cloth but still a "conceited, pompous, narrow-minded, silly man" who is welcomed

FIGURE 7

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), frontispiece to Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

by parents as an appropriate match for their intelligent daughters (p. 172 [chap. 24]). As critics have noted, the text's articulation on almost every page of a "woman's point of view" depends on a sense of the potentially explosive list of women's grievances in the early 1800s, about which the male characters of *Pride and Prejudice* seem fairly ignorant. The world of the novel is both sad and cynical because of the seemingly impassable chasm between these two outlooks.

But the 1894 edition loses this female perspective altogether. Although there is a head illustration depicting Mr. Collins inspecting the Bennet sisters, one of whom (presumably Elizabeth) has a "Not For Sale" sign above her head, and another of Charlotte Lucas outside her new marital home, complete with an imprisoning fence above her head (fig. 8) – both illustrations positing social-sexual relations as potentially hostile and exploitative – most of the illustrations suggest otherwise. Relations between the sexes are presented as natural, even glamorous. Elizabeth's loud articulations of what Margaret Kirkham terms "English enlightenment feminism" are not enough to overturn the "authentic" visual details.⁸⁷ The women's reliance on men's carriages to get around is part of the "charming" images. The period details of clothing noted by reviewers ("the costumes of our grandfathers and grandmothers . . . ably and agreeably reproduced")⁸⁸ signal a familiar discourse: the Austenite past is understood as a glorified catwalk; the emphasis is placed on clothes, display, and spectacle, all designed to attract the admiring gaze of the reader/viewer. In the hands of a male publisher and a male illustrator, *Pride and Prejudice* becomes part of a well-established repertoire of lavish, reconstituted images associated with the English home and a powerful expression of a prelapsarian ideal of conventional femininities.⁸⁹

The 1894 *Pride and Prejudice* unites and reconciles its diverse ideological concerns through its illustrations. This re-visioning of Austen and of the historical past and the literary tradition that she represents, whereby the novel is repackaged in terms of what



Patrick Wright describes as "an obsessive accumulation of comfortably archival detail," is not, of course, the province solely of the 1890s gift book. It is at the very heart of Austenmania and of the heritage industry more generally – a tendency built on "a perspective in which 'the past' is defined entirely as bits and pieces which can be recovered, commodified and circulated in exchange and display."⁹⁰

What differentiates the illustrated book from, say, the flood of film adaptations that appeared in the 1990s is that the printed images designed to signal and recapture the past are always motionless. This is not his-



FIGURE 8

Hugh Thomson (British, 1860–1920), "At the door," in Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: George Allen, 1894).

tory itself but a pen-and-ink sketch of History, reproduced by modern technology but still beyond our reach and unrecoverable. This sense of remoteness and insubstantiality is intensified in *Pride and Prejudice* by the fineness and lightness of Thomson's open-pen technique – a style that replaced the dark crosshatching used by the previous generation of Victorian illustrators – along with the feathering at the edges of the drawings. Add to this Thomson's refusal (or inability) to draw characters close up, which intensifies the sense of remoteness, and it is little surprise that it is easy for the reader to feel distanced from the characters. As Smith and Stern remark, Austen's characters are never recoverable as protagonists contemporary with us, nor are they necessarily objects of easy identification.⁹¹

This essay has dealt at length with one late-Victorian illustrated edition in order to show something of how attempts to illustrate Austen are tied up with some of the processes that shape culture and politics. The peak period of the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*'s success coincided with an urgent

fin de siècle cultural politics, and it would be fruitful to speculate further on the relation between such politics and the "political unconscious" (to use Fredric Jameson's phrase) symbolically enacted between the covers of the illustrated gift book.⁹² What we find, of course, is that, as with any visual image, what "signifies" Austen is not universal or fixed or dependent on its content alone but the product of wider cultural and historical determinants. "There will always be," Lynda Nead has demonstrated, "other conditions and contexts which will affect the way in which a picture is understood at a specific historical moment and it is these broader historical considerations which have to be identified in order to discover the ways in which visual images produce meanings."⁹³ And, in the case of the 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*, its reproduction of meaning can be encoded as within a particular series of imaginative conventions based on loss, longing, and nostalgia for a version of England that the edition itself helped create. In the 1890s, George Allen was forced to meet head-on both the upheavals of the decade and the burgeoning strength of those cheap mass-publishing houses that were suggesting that "literary culture was available to be claimed by all."⁹⁴ To fastidious and "genteel" men like Allen, both "England" and its literature appeared as if they were under attack. Allen's idealistic attempts to publish an English literature made up of gift books and old, established authors involved both an attack on contemporary bookselling and publishing practices and a turning away from modernity toward authors like Jane Austen, Mary Russell Mitford, and even Samuel Richardson, who could be taken as fixed and unswerving within the mythic traditions of Englishness.⁹⁵

There is some irony here since Austen's usefulness as a "classic" author stems not from fixed aesthetic qualities – timelessness, purity, and truth – but from her adaptability across generations. This is a point made by Frank Kermode in *The Classic*, in which he attempts to rescue the term *classic* from connotations of the decrepit by suggesting: "The books we call classics possess intrinsic

qualities that endure, but possess also an openness to accommodation which keeps them alive under endlessly varying dispositions." For Kermode, imaginative rereadings on the part of "readers whose language and culture is different" are needed for a work to be awarded the label *classic*.⁹⁶ The 1894 *Pride and Prejudice*, often ignored, is an example of just this kind of rereading. The measure of the edition's success as an exercise in applied national mythology lies in the history of its subsequent usage by publishers. *Pride and Prejudice* helped kick off a tradition of generic practice among publishers and a distinctive Austenite mythology that continued through the twentieth century and are still ongoing.⁹⁷

AUSTEN ILLUSTRATION SINCE 1900

A history of Austen illustration after the turn of the century is beyond my scope here, but such an account would have to begin with the refinement between the 1890s and the 1940s of the type of editions represented by the George Allen *Pride and Prejudice*. These range from the collected novels of Austen with sepia illustrations by William Cubitt Cooke, published by J. M. Dent in 1892, through a collected Austen with yet more illustrations by Hugh Thomson, published by Macmillan in 1895–97, to a reissue with new drawings by Charles and Henry Brock, again from Dent in 1898.⁹⁸ In 1897, George Allen employed Chris Hammond, another illustrator in the Thomson mold, to draw *Emma* and *Sense and Sensibility*.⁹⁹ In 1908–9, Chatto and Windus took on A. Wallis Mills (1878–1940) for a ten-volume set.¹⁰⁰ Notable, too, are Dent's 1899 "Temple" edition¹⁰¹ and the appearance in 1907–9 of all six Austen novels in the firm's "Series of English Idylls" with new illustrations taken from watercolors by Charles Brock.¹⁰² Dent has been perhaps the most frequent publisher of illustrated Austen, reissuing such editions in 1922 (C. E. Brock), 1933–34 (7 vols., with newly commissioned illustrations by Maximilien Vox [Theodore Monod, 1894–1974]), and 1945 and 1950 (C. E. Brock again).¹⁰³ In the United States, the Roberts Brothers of Boston issued a twelve-volume set in 1892 with new frontispieces by Edmund H. Garrett (1853–1929); and, in 1906, Frank S. Holby of New York brought out the "Old Manor House Edition," reproducing the Brock brothers' illustrations from the 1898 Dent set.¹⁰⁴

Most bibliographers agree that, in the twentieth century, the opening salvo against such editions was fired in 1923 – the year that the Oxford University Press launched, with considerable fanfare, *The Novels of Jane Austen*, edited by Robert W. Chapman (1881–1960).¹⁰⁵ In the story of Austen's reputation and her rehabilitation as a national treasure, Chapman's edition tends to be seen as being as important as Allen's, if not more so. Kathryn Sutherland has analyzed how Chapman wanted to rescue Austen from the apparent textual sloppiness of the Victorians and submit the novels to a "massive weight of learning, in the form of philological principles and expertise in textual recension and verification."¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere, Sutherland adds that Chapman's "concern to establish an accurate text, after the careless reprint history of the later nineteenth century, not only inaugurated the modern critical engagement with Austen but also the serious scholarly investigation of the English novel as a literary form." This move included, according to Sutherland, driving "out the sentimental visuals of the later years of the previous century, such as Hugh Thomson's."¹⁰⁷ "For God's sake," Chapman's adviser J. Arthur Platt (1860–1925), a professor of classics, counseled, "don't have any pictures. The miscreants who illustrate Jane Austen will have a special bolgia to themselves in the next world."¹⁰⁸

Acting on this advice, Chapman abandoned the practice of commissioning illustrators to visualize Austen's characters; instead, he tried to re-create her world, and "correct" the Janeites' understanding of it, by providing "a dizzying level of detailed annotation and commentary, learned appendices on 'Miss Austen's English,' on 'Punctuation,' on 'Carriages and Travel' in Regency England; and he sourced and reproduced authentic period illustrations to embellish the new edition."¹⁰⁹ The resulting editions, with their fashion plates from contemporary prints, manuals of dancing and gardening, tradesmen's advertisements, and picturesque views, seemed to represent a more purist approach to the novels and were acclaimed as such. According to a correspondent signing as "Affable Hawk" in the *New Statesman*: "The only illustrations appropriate to Jane Austen are the

kind Mr Chapman supplies. . . . These remind us of the age. They help the imagination to visualise the setting of the stories without tying it down to particulars. But we do not want any artist's conception of, say, Elizabeth Bennett [*sic*] to come between us and our own conception of her, however vague that may be."¹⁰ The *Times Literary Supplement* was equally fulsome. Noting "the fitness and discreet beauty of the reprint," the reviewer praised the editor for choosing "all his illustrations from sources which Jane Austen might have seen": "Could she have seen this reprint she would have felt no shock from changed manners . . . and she would have found familiar things in a charming epitome. There is a full-page plate of bonnets which she might have tried on. As to the ravishing 'autumnal walking dress' (frontispiece *Persuasion*) we may wonder whether it would have suited Anne Elliot, Elizabeth Bennet, or Emma Woodhouse best."¹¹

And so the tributes went on, with Chapman's textual choices hailed as scientific, authentic, and objective – the latter attribute, in particular, a central theme. Chapman was praised for filling in the visual gaps properly, allowing the reader to return to the origins of Austen, to the "real right thing," as E. M. Forster (1879–1970) put it, purging the "mind of the lamentable Hugh Thompson [*sic*]" and "waking the Jane Austenite up."¹² Yet one wonders how objective such a project could hope to be? The responses of many readers indicate that Chapman was also extending the ideological work begun by George Allen. The two men were of different generations, and they used different visuals, but they both encouraged an emotional and nostalgic response to Austen. The pleasures of nostalgia available in the Chapman edition were registered by the usually hard-nosed *London Quarterly Review*: "[W]e love Jane Austen and all her works. . . . [S]he wafts us into the early part of the nineteenth century and introduces us to the elegant and genteel men and women of Steventon, Chawton and Bath. . . . She gives to her readers a way of escape from the psychological world, from 'complexes' and 'fixations,' from strikes and lock outs, from railways, aeroplanes and motor-cars."¹³ Chapman's dressing up of Austen's novels with sketches,

maps, and carriages was one of the means of shaking off modern life. If, by the late 1920s, this craving for recapturing the past was very familiar, it was still remarkably effective, with the "buttressed completeness" of Chapman's editions and its fashion plates acting, as Sutherland notes, as "a healing gesture, directed towards the Austen text but also towards the incompleteness of the war-torn modern world"; Austen had become "a refuge."¹⁴

While Chapman's edition set new editorial standards, whether Austen was thereby enriched or smothered depended then, as it does now, on how readers felt about the novelist being embedded in what another 1920s reader, Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), termed layers of "quilts and blankets." Woolf, who counseled readers to "really read Jane Austen by ourselves for the first time," claimed that the comfort of editors' textual bedding was becoming oppressive. She feared, however, that the layers would never be "shake[n] off" because the effort had become too "frightful," too threatening to the now "great Jane Austen of mythology," the classic writer.¹⁵ And, as it turned out, twentieth-century publishers were only partially willing to shake off the coverings. By the 1930s, while publishers released fewer illustrated editions, they were often content when they did to rely on the drawings of the 1890s rather than commissioning new ones; and, when they did commission new illustrations, the results were often judged against the long-familiar ones. In 1933, Maximilien Vox's illustrations, for example, were described by the *Times Literary Supplement* as "a more than worthy successor in the tradition of Hugh Thompson [*sic*]."¹⁶ As Joan Hassall (1906–88) noted of her own work for the Folio edition of Jane Austen in the 1950s and 1960s, later-twentieth-century illustrators had absorbed the material and manner of earlier editions as part of their artistic vocabulary.¹⁷ In fact, Hassall's own wood engravings for the Folio Society were exceptional, portraying Austen's world as dark and sinister; more usual were the renderings of Vera Willoughby (1870–1939), Philip Gough (b. 1908), and Helen Sewell (1896–1957).¹⁸ In all, the illustrators attempt to make Austen appear either old or elegant – or both – whether by mixing post-impressionism with the Empire style, as does Willoughby, or by taking inspiration, as David Gilson shows, from Rex Whistler

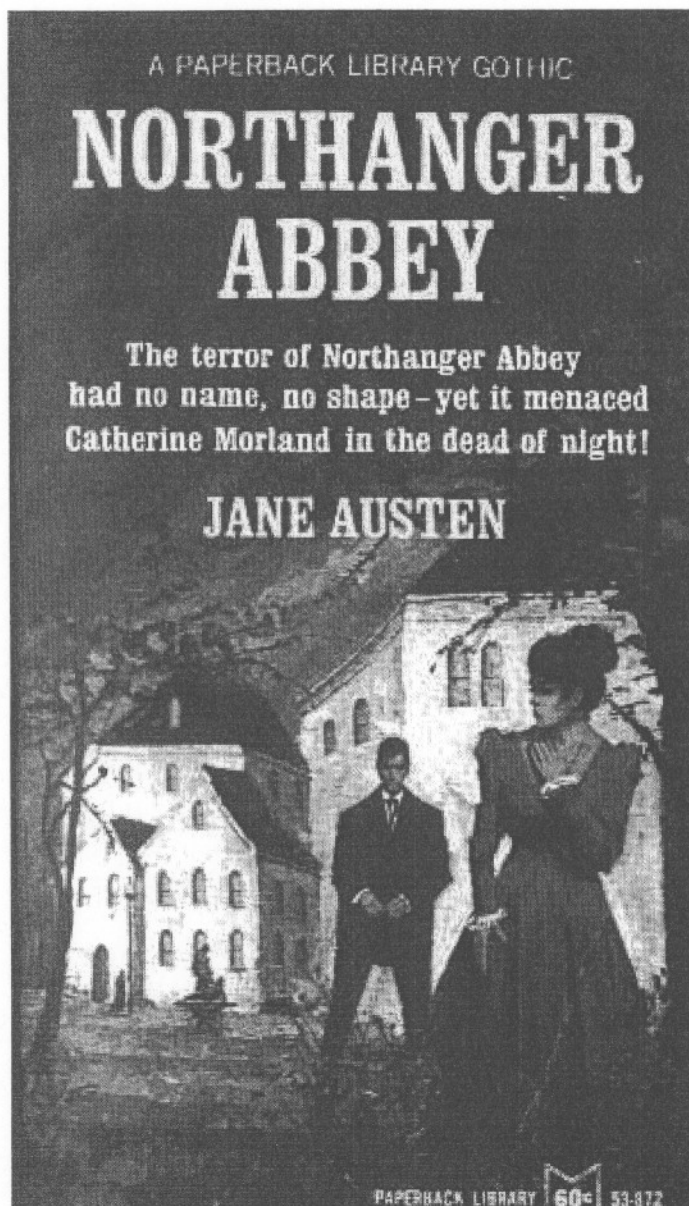
(1905–44), another popular illustrator drawn to eighteenth-century rococco, and giving careful attention to fine furniture.¹¹⁹ Fifty years later, publishers are still recycling such material, albeit with some revisions; and the older illustrations reappear on numerous Austen Web sites, perpetuating the “right” way to illustrate the novelist.

In the later twentieth century, owing to this reverence for Austen and her association with ideas of good taste, adventurousness in illustration has tended to occur in a different part of the book trade, the cheap illustrated paperback. By comparison with the elegant collected edition, the paperback is bold-faced, exploiting techniques of contemporary advertising, such as the attention-grabbing film poster. The sixty-cent Paperback Library edition of *Northanger Abbey* (1965; fig. 9) and the more scholarly Courage Classics edition of *Pride and Prejudice* (1993) are a far cry from the elegant world of decorum and manners that George Allen and Hugh Thomson re-created: they are lurid, brash, and, above all, anxious to liberate Austen from what Wiltshire terms “the taint of the staid.”¹²⁰ Gone is the whimsical, Old World prettiness of Thomson’s drawings or the heavy textual accessorizing of Chapman. The cover of the Paperback Library *Northanger Abbey* is an intertextual adaptation that, in its visual style, embraces the passionate sensationalism associated with the covers of “Harlequin” romances (along with a suggestion of Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind* [1936]) and images from 1960s horror. To present *Northanger Abbey* as a Gothic horror story, the cover relies on a tagline above the picture (“The terror of Northanger Abbey had no name, no shape – yet it menaced Catherine Morland in the dead of night!”) as well as on the picture itself, with its sinister trees that seem almost animate, a defenseless heroine, a penitentiary-like house, and a menacing hero recalling Anthony Perkins in Alfred Hitchcock’s *Psycho* (1960). Never intended for bibliophile Janeites, this *Northanger Abbey* exhibits how publishers use jacket design to denote a particular brand, relying on would-be readers to identify with a genre rather than an author.¹²¹ The publisher and his designer clearly felt no compunction about using Austen’s satire to suit their own creative and commercial aims, recalling how Austen herself appropriated and played with the conventions of different genres.

The Courage Classics paperback is similarly intertextual, incorporating *Pride and Prejudice* in the cinematic world of Greer Garson (1904–96) and Laurence Olivier (1907–89), who in 1940 starred in the MGM film adaptation of the novel directed by Robert Z. Leonard (1889–1968). On the cover, the film’s trademark is apparent in the figures of an auburn-haired Elizabeth Bennet in a lurid green dress (clearly modeled on Garson) and of a surly Mr. Darcy (who bears unmistakable traces of Olivier). The edition is an eccentric one, questioning the authority of its contributing scholars (Virginia Woolf, Julia Prewitt Brown) and their respect for the literary text by flaunting MGM’s lavish, excessive rendering of the novel. The cover gives the impression of a frothy period romance, appealing through its chocolate-box ballroom setting, its apparently flirtatious heroine, and the idea of a society dependent on chatter.

In these more audacious visualizations of Austen’s novels, discourses of gender once again play a crucial role. The Paperback Library *Northanger Abbey* contradicts the reading of Catherine Morland as a foolish young girl with an overactive imagination, confronting readers instead with the idea that her sense of terror does, to quote Austen, have “foundation in fact,” that her “fears” have “probability” and lie within the domestic confines of the abbey.¹²² On the cover, the hidden menace, which may be only a figment of Catherine’s imagination, is given credence both in the person of Henry Tilney, a man in a black tuxedo staring grimly at the reader, and in Catherine herself. It is a melodramatic and sinister picture of a woman fleeing from a threatening-looking man and a genuinely creepy stone mansion.

These two twentieth-century paperbacks reflect the particular and varied discursive fields in which earlier Austen illustrators worked while also preparing the way for new readings. The editions raise too the complex question posed by John Wiltshire of how one “reconcile[s] loyalty to Jane Austen with contemporaneity”: how do you manage the transition between a writer thought to be genteel and elitist with the modernity you seek necessarily to embrace?¹²³ There is little doubt that, in the present-day book market, as in George Allen’s, cover design and



presentation matter; and publishers – notably Penguin, Everyman, and Oxford World's Classics – appear to hold firmly fixed ideas about what constitutes a suitable cover for Jane Austen. They stick resolutely to Old Master-type paintings of family groups or of stately homes to valorize (as if valorization were needed) Jane Austen's worth as a cultural commodity, with the accompanying legacy of unifying tradition and history. Other publishers sex up Austen with erotically charged covers in the fashion of romantic best sellers – photos of Colin Firth or Greg Wise in breeches. In 2006, Headline Publishers relaunched the six novels replete

FIGURE 9

Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (New York: Paperback Library, 1965), front cover.

with wistful, foil-embossed covers showing Regency love scenes. The publisher, Adam Freudenheim, promised “desirable and seductive cover designs,” the intention being to entice teenage girls to Austen.¹²⁴

So far, so familiar. But, for some publishers, Austen has become a far trickier proposition. As the values and meanings assigned to icons of English tradition and heritage change, so do the ways in which they can be represented satisfactorily. We do not even know what Jane Austen signifies any more. So it is that, as an example of the kind of postmodern representation that Fredric Jameson has described as “inverted millenarianism,”¹²⁵ the look of *Emma* (fig. 10) as published by Nick Hern Books in 2001 (a stage adaptation by Doon MacKichan and Martin Millar) displays a much more tenuous sense of belonging to a historical past. The paperback is characterized by a sense of fragmentation – by collage, kitsch, and selective foraging for bits of the past. In so doing, the cover perhaps does not differ from earlier attempts to picture Austen. Yet, in a move that appears deliberately designed to shock, and in stark contrast to the demure feminized image that played an important part in the marketing of George Allen's *Pride and Prejudice* a century earlier, this cover presents Jane Austen and her heroine in terms of pastiche. Standing against a lurid pink background, Emma stares boldly out at the reader; and, although she is wearing a white, Regency-style ball gown and a tiara that would have pleased Mr. Knightley, she also sports a tattoo. This liberated Emma (who is perhaps only nominally Emma) leans suggestively against a wall, a feisty but dubious exponent of “Girl Power,” that much-hyped voice of late-twentieth-century sexual politics. In this instance, Austen's “historicality” is not just interrupted; it breaks down, and the sense of Austen as a byword for “placid elegance” is thrown aside. Yet, while this postmodern representation is bent on rejecting inherited tradition, it can be viewed in positive terms, as determinedly historical with an awareness of Austen's connection to the past and the present.¹²⁶ The image repeats the same old gendered tropes (tiara, white ball gown), but parodi-

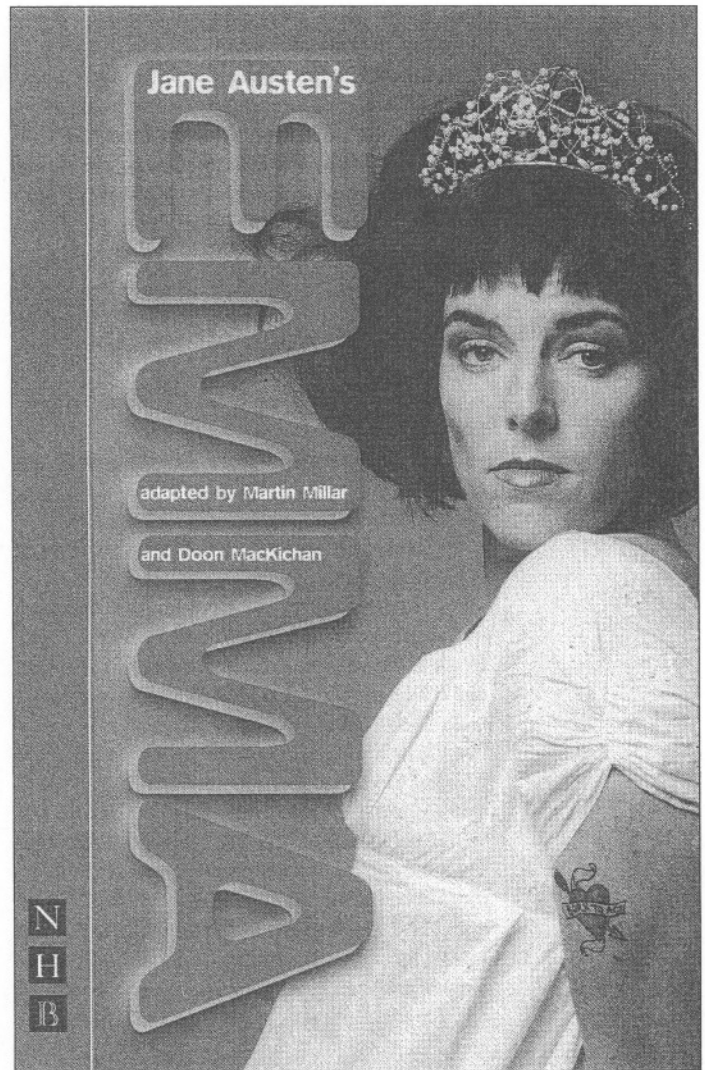
FIGURE 10

Jane Austen, *Emma*, adapted for the stage by Martin Millar and Doon MacKichan (London: Nick Hern, 2001). Cover image © Geoff Brightling. Reproduced with permission. <http://www.nickhernbooks.co.uk>.

cally – that is, with a deliberate detachment that creates a sense of irony. It splinters the cozy relation we know as Jane Austen in History into what that relation actually is: an assorted mixture of histories, each with its own inscriptions, vested interests, and debates. In this latest cover, one history of Jane Austen and her illustrators starts to interrogate another.

NOTES

1. "Pride and Prejudice Illustrated," *Westminster Gazette* 4 (27 October 1894): 3. Thomson's illustrated edition of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Cranford* and his discipleship to the illustrator Randolph Caldecott, which the reviewer mentions, are explained below.
2. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, with a preface by George Saintsbury and illustrations by Hugh Thomson (London: George Allen, 1894). Subsequent citations are from this edition; page numbers are given parenthetically in the text.
3. George Du Maurier, "The Illustrating of Books: From the Serious Artist's Point of View, [Part] I," *Magazine of Art* 13 (1890): 349–53, 349–50.
4. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, "Book Illustration: Conversation I – the Rivalry between Art and Literature," *Portfolio* 19, no. 217 (January 1888): 17–21, 17. Hamerton's piece is a dialogue; the first sentence quoted is a statement by the "Critic," the second sentence an answer by the "Poet."
5. "The Book Market: Are the Older Novelists Holding Their Own? – a Symposium of Booksellers," *Academy* 51 (9 January 1897): 56–57, 56.
6. See Karl Josef Höltgen, Peter M. Daly, and Wolfgang Lottes, eds., *Word and Visual Imagination: Studies in the Interaction of English Literature and the Visual Arts* (Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1988); J. Hillis Miller, *Illustration* (London: Reaktion; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); Stuart Sillars, *Visualisation in Popular Fiction, 1860–1960: Graphic Narratives, Fictional Images* (London: Routledge, 1995); Stephen C. Behrendt, "Sibling Rivalries: Author and Artist in the Earlier Illustrated Book," *Word and Image* 13, no. 1 (1997): 23–42; and Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Printed Page: Representing the Nation in the "Illustrated London News"* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
7. "Pride and Prejudice Illustrated" (n. 1 above), 3.
8. David Gilson, "Later Publishing History, with Illustrations," in *Jane Austen in Context*, ed. Janet



Todd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121–59, 127–28.

9. See *ibid.*, 128–30; as well as David Gilson, *A Bibliography of Jane Austen*, new ed. (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, 1997), 209–367.
10. Gilson, "Later Publishing History," 135.
11. Gilson, *Bibliography of Austen*, 262.
12. Gilson, "Later Publishing History," 138.
13. Sheila Kaye Smith and G. B. Stern, *Talking of Jane Austen* (London: Cassell, 1944), 2.
14. Henry James, "Extract from 'The Lesson of Balzac,'" in *Jane Austen: Critical Assessments*, ed. Ian Littlewood, 4 vols. (Mountfield: Helm, 1998), 1:436–37.
15. Judy Simons, "Classics and Trash: Reading Austen in the 1990s," *Women's Writing* 5, no. 1 (1998): 27–39, 32. Simons, it should be noted, is referring to films rather than illustrations.
16. Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932; New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), 138–219.
17. B. C. Southam, ed., introduction to vol. 2 of

Jane Austen: The Critical Heritage, 1870–1940 (London: Routledge, 1987), 1–158, 59.

18. John Wiltshire, *Recreating Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 38.

19. Claudia L. Johnson, "Austen Cults and Cultures," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen*, ed. Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 211–26, 224.

20. Deidre Lynch, "At Home with Jane Austen," in *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, ed. Deidre Lynch and William B. Warner (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), 159–92, 159.

21. Tony Tanner, *Jane Austen* (London: Macmillan; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 105. See also Wiltshire, *Recreating Jane Austen*, 99.

22. Sillars, *Visualisation in Popular Fiction*, 16, 31.

23. "News," *Newsagents and Booksellers' Review*, 13 October 1894, 1.

24. Austin Dobson writing Hugh Thomson, quoted in M. H. Spielmann and Walter Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson: His Art, His Letters, His Humour, and His Charm* (London: A. & C. Black, 1931), 91.

25. "Book Sales," *Review of Reviews* 10 (November 1894): 492–500, 492; "Our Monthly Parcel of Books," *Review of Reviews* 10 (November 1894): 492–95, 492. See also "Monthly Report on the Wholesale Booktrade," *The Bookman* 6 (December 1894): 74–75, 75. In the same issue of *The Bookman*, "Sales of Books during the Month" (p. 97) puts *Pride and Prejudice* as heading the list of the books most in demand at London bookstores between 15 October and 15 November. Bradford and Newcastle stores place it second, Aberdeen sixth.

26. Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson*, 91 n. 1; George Allen to Hugh Thomson, royalty statement, 31 December 1895, in *The Archives of George Allen and Co., 1893–1915*, 27 vols. (Cambridge: Chadwyck Healey, 1974), microfilm, vol. 7, reel 2, letter 99.

27. Carr is quoted in Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson*, 93.

28. "The Library Table," *London Globe and Traveller*, 29 October 1894, 3.

29. F. A. Munaby and Francis A. Stallybrass, *From Swan Sonnenschein to George Allen and Unwin Ltd.* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955), 76.

30. Brian E. Maidment, "George Allen; George Allen and Company Limited," in *British Literary Publishing Houses, 1820–1880*, ed. Patricia J. Anderson and Jonathan Rose (London: Gale, 1991), 6–11, 9–10.

31. Edmund Spenser, *Spenser's Faerie Queene . . . with the Fragment Mutabilitie*, ed. T. J. Wise with illustrations by Walter Crane, 6 vols. (London: George Allen, 1894–97); Samuel Richardson, *Letters from Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. George Saints-

bury with illustrations by Chris Hammond, 2 vols. (London: George Allen, 1895).

32. "Literary Arrivals," *Leeds Mercury*, 29 October 1894, 2; "Christmas Books," *Glasgow Herald*, 1 November 1894, 11.

33. "Books and Their Writers," *Sunday Times*, 30 September 1894, 8. For the pricing of *Pride and Prejudice*, see "Publications of the Week," *Publishers Circular* 60 (3 November 1894): 525–28, 525. Bibliophiles could reserve in advance the "Large-Paper Copies on Arnold's Unbleached Hand-made paper," and these were "all taken up" by November 3 ("George Allen's Announcements," *Athenaeum*, no. 3497 [3 November 1894]: 591).

34. Olivia Fitzpatrick, "Hugh Thomson (1860–1920)," in *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxford.dnb.com/view/article/36503/htm>, accessed 25 January 2007). See also Michael Felmingham, *The Illustrated Gift Book, 1880–1930* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1988), 40–42.

35. Richard Le Gallienne, "From a Crowded Bookshop," *Realm* 1 (7 December 1894): 134–35, 135.

36. Following the title page is a facsimile of Thomson's handwritten dedication to "J. Comyns Carr."

37. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 241–58.

38. Hugh Thomson to John Thomson, 22 December 1890, quoted in Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson*, 58. See Oliver Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, with a preface by Austin Dobson and illustrations by Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1890).

39. Thomson quoted in Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson*, 91.

40. Allen quoted in Maidment, "George Allen," 9. Thomson was pronounced "a favourite artist" with the public by the *London Globe and Traveller* ("The Library Table" [n. 28 above], 3).

41. For the prominence of Thomson's name over Austen's in the notices, see, e.g., "George Allen's New Books," *Publisher's Circular* 60 (17 November 1894): 569.

42. "The Library Table" (n. 28 above), 3.

43. "Pride and Prejudice," *Literary World*, 1 December 1894, 422.

44. Spielmann and Jerrold, *Hugh Thomson*, 85–91.

45. Grego writing Thomson, quoted in *ibid.*, 98.

46. "The Library Table" (n. 28 above), 3; "Books of the Week," *The Times*, 2 November 1894, 3.

47. "The New 'Pride and Prejudice,'" *Sketch*, 5 December 1894, 9.

48. "Sappho," "Writers and Their Writings," *Gentlewoman* 10 (17 November 1894): 652; "Gift Books of the Season," *Publishers Circular* 61 (December 1894): 5–80, 6.

49. "Miss Austen's Novels," *Saturday Review* 54 (23 December 1882): 827–28, 828; "New Books and

- Reprints," *Saturday Review* 77 (10 November 1894): 520–22, 520.
50. "Christmas Books" (n. 32 above), 11; "Literary Arrivals" (n. 32 above), 5.
 51. *Review of Reviews* (n. 25 above); "Pride and Prejudice" (n. 43 above), 422.
 52. "Books and Their Writers," *Sunday Times*, 30 December 1894, 2.
 53. "The Book Market" (n. 5 above), 56.
 54. "Reputations Reconsidered: Jane Austen," *Academy* 53 (5 March 1898): 263–65.
 55. Joanne Shattock, "The Construction of the Woman Writer," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 8–34, 22. Shattock dates the Austen revival from 1870, when James Austen-Leigh, Austen's nephew, published his *Memoir of Jane Austen*, which awakened interest in an author whom most had forgotten about. The memoir prodded a host of reviews and articles that, if not immediately establishing a new readership, at least suggested reasons why Austen might be worth reading.
 56. Michael Bommers and Patrick Wright, "Charms of Residence: The Public and the Past," in *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*, ed. Richard Johnson, Gregor McLennan, Bill Schwarz, and David Sutton (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Hutchinson, 1982), 253–301, 253.
 57. Judy Giles and Tim Middleton, introduction to *Writing Englishness: An Introductory Sourcebook on National Identity, 1900–1950*, ed. Judy Giles and Tim Middleton (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–12, 5.
 58. David Trotter, *The English Novel in History, 1895–1920* (London: Routledge, 1993), 154.
 59. *Ibid.*, 144, 154. Trotter quotes the term *subsoil* from Sir Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1868), 2:403.
 60. Alun Howkins, "The Discovery of Rural England," in *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920*, ed. Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 62–88, 63–64. See also Sillars, *Visualisation in Popular Fiction*, 96–98.
 61. Philip Dodd, "Englishness and the National Culture," in Colls and Dodd, eds., *Englishness*, 1–28, 22. See also Sillars, *Visualisation in Popular Fiction*, 96–98.
 62. "The National Trust and Public Amenities," *Quarterly Review* 214 (1911): 157–78, 165, cited in Trotter, *The English Novel in History*, 159.
 63. See also Deidre Lynch's description of National Trust sites as "places where time had stood still" ("At Home with Jane Austen," 172).
 64. See John Wilmerding, ed., *Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) and the Heart of American Life* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1993), 93–96.
 65. Trotter, *The English Novel in History*, 159.
 66. Marie Corelli, *The Sorrows of Satan; or, The Strange Experience of One Geoffrey Tempest, Millionaire* (London: Methuen, 1895).
 67. Eliza Lynn Linton, "The Partisans of the Wild Women," *Nineteenth Century* 31 (1892): 455–64, 460, quoted in Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 16.
 68. Sillars, *Visualisation in Popular Fiction*, 97.
 69. Martin J. Weiner, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 41.
 70. Lady Magnus, "Modern Novels," *Good Words* 35 (1894): 741–44, 741. The references are to E. F. Benson's (1867–1940) *Dodo* (1893), Thomas Hardy's (1840–1928) *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891), Sarah Grand's (1862–1943) *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), and George Moore's (1852–1933) *Esther Waters* (1894).
 71. George Steiner, "After the Book," in *On Difficulty and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 186–203, 189, quoted in Bill Bell, "Fiction in the Marketplace: Towards a Study of the Victorian Serial," in *Serials and Their Readers*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's; New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, 1993), 124–44, 137.
 72. Janet Harper, "The Renaissance of Jane Austen," *Westminster Review* 153 (April 1900): 442–46, 442–44. See also the *Westminster Gazette*'s review of *Pride and Prejudice*: "These simple natural everyday stories after the vain striving after the indescribable of the present day, are refreshing as the pure draught of water to the toilers in Sahara" ("*Pride and Prejudice* Illustrated" [n. 1 above], 3).
 73. Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," in *Canons*, ed. Robert von Hallberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 5–39, 17.
 74. See Alison G. Sulloway, *Jane Austen and the Province of Womanhood* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 207.
 75. Len Platt, *Aristocracies of Fiction: The Idea of Aristocracy in Late-Nineteenth-Century and Early-Twentieth-Century Literary Culture* (New York: Greenwood, 2001), 30.
 76. G. E. Mitton, *Jane Austen and Her Times* (London: Methuen, 1905), quoted in Roger Sales, *Jane Austen and Representations of Regency England* (London: Routledge, 1994), 11.
 77. William Galperin, "Austen's Earliest Readers and the Rise of the Janeites," in *Janeites: Austen's Disciples and Devotees*, ed. Deidre Lynch (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 87–114, 94 (see also 92–96).
 78. "Literary Arrivals" (n. 32 above), 5.
 79. John Harthan, *The History of the Illustrated Book: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981), 238.
 80. Joseph Addison, *Days with Sir Roger de Coverley: A Reprint from the Spectator*, with illustrations by Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1886);

W. Outram Tristram, *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, with illustrations by Herbert Railton and Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1888); Elizabeth Gaskell, *Cranford*, with a preface by Anne Thackeray Ritchie and illustrations by Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1891); Mary Russell Mitford, *Our Village*, with a preface by Anne Thackeray Ritchie and illustrations by Hugh Thomson (London: Macmillan, 1893).

81. See text at n. 1.
82. "Literary Arrivals" (n. 32 above), 5.
83. See Platt, *Aristocracies of Fiction*, 26–47.
84. Lynch, "At Home with Jane Austen," 163.
85. See Margaret Kirkham, *Jane Austen, Feminism, and Fiction*, new ed. (London: Athlone, 1997), 91.
86. Nina Auerbach, "Jane Austen and Romantic Imprisonment," in *Jane Austen in a Social Context*, ed. David Monaghan (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1981), 9–27, 23.
87. Kirkham, *Jane Austen, Feminism, and Fiction*, xvii.
88. "The Library Table" (n. 28 above), 3.
89. The front cover of George Routledge's 1883 yellowback edition of *Pride and Prejudice* likewise celebrates these qualities and confirms that this is what Austen is all "about." Elizabeth Bennet sews, looking modestly at the floor, as a bearded Mr. Darcy (or perhaps it is Mr. Collins) stands over her; Darcy's top hat (that symbol of Victorian prosperity, respectability, and virility) sits neatly on its own chair. This Elizabeth is a naturalized woman, a moral safeguard of society, whose proper place is the domestic sphere.
90. Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain* (London: Verso, 1985), 252, 74.
91. Smith and Stern, *Talking of Jane Austen*, 2.
92. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), 141.
93. Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 16.
94. Stuart Sillars, *Structure and Dissolution in English Writing, 1910–1920* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 13.
95. Maidment, "George Allen," 6–10.
96. Frank Kermode, *The Classic: Literary Images of Permanence and Change* (New York: Viking, 1975), 44, 43.
97. See Kathryn Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives: From Aeschylus to Bollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
98. The two Dent editions were *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R. Brimley Johnson with illustrations by William C. Cooke and ornaments by F. C. Tilney, 10 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1892); and *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R. Brimley Johnson with illustrations by C. E. and H. M. Brock,

10 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1898). The Macmillan series began in 1895 with a *Pride and Prejudice* illustrated by C. E. Brock; then Thomson took over as illustrator for *Emma* (1896), *Sense and Sensibility* (1896), *Mansfield Park* (1897), and, in a single volume, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion* (1897). Prefaces to all the Macmillan editions were written by Austin Dobson.

99. Jane Austen, *Emma*, with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs and illustrations by Chris Hammond (London: George Allen, 1898); and Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs and illustrations by Chris Hammond (London: George Allen, 1899). See Allen's letter to Hammond, commissioning illustrations for *Emma*: "I have been bearing in mind my promise to let you know what book you should illustrate for me this year, but I have found it very difficult to decide on anything suitable to your powers that has not already been done. . . . My suggestion is that you should illustrate for me Jane Austen's *Emma* but that you will be in competition with the edition recently issued with drawings by Mr. Hugh Thomson (which should stimulate you to greater efforts in every way), it is also necessary that the book should be properly illustrated after the manner of my edition of *Pride and Prejudice*" (George Allen to Chris Hammond, 15 April 1897, in *The Archives of George Allen and Co.*, vol. 9, letter 330).

100. *The Works of Jane Austen*, ed. R. Brimley Johnson with illustrations by A. Wallis Mills, 10 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908–9).

101. *The Works of Jane Austen*, 10 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1899). According to Gilson ("Later Publishing History," 138), this edition drew on the Brock illustrations from the 1898 Dent edition along with Johnson's editing of the text.

102. The volumes were each issued by Dent with twenty-four illustrations by C. E. Brock, reproduced in color halftone, in each (Gilson, "Later Publishing History," 138): *Northanger Abbey* (1907), *Pride and Prejudice* (1907), *Sense and Sensibility* (1908), *Mansfield Park* (1908), *Emma* (1909), and *Persuasion* (1909).

103. See Gilson, "Later Publishing History," 138, 143.

104. *Ibid.*, 143, 148.

105. *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923).

106. Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives*, 33.

107. Kathryn Sutherland, "On Looking into Chapman's *Emma*: How R. W. Chapman's Classicists Made Jane Austen a Classic," *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 January 2006, 12–13, 13.

108. Quoted in Sutherland, *Jane Austen's Textual Lives*, 32.

109. Sutherland, "Chapman's *Emma*," 13.

110. "Affable Hawk," "Current Literature," *New Statesmen*, 10 November 1923, 145.

111. "The Oxford Jane Austen," *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 November 1923, 725.

112. E. M. Forster, "Jane, How Shall We Ever Recollect," *Nation and Athenaeum*, 5 January 1924, reprinted in *Abinger Harvest and England's Pleasant Land*, ed. Elizabeth Heine (London: Andre Deutsch, 1996), 142–44.
113. W. Bardsley Brash, "Jane Austen," *London Quarterly Review* 149 (January–April 1928): 21–34, 21, 22.
114. Sutherland, "Chapman's *Emma*," 13.
115. Virginia Woolf, "Jane Austen Practising" (1922), in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, vol. 3, 1919–1924, ed. Andrew McNeillie (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 331–35, 331–32. See Katie Trumpener, "The Virago Jane Austen," in Lynch, ed., *Janeites*, 140–65, 143.
116. Simon Nowell, "Familiar Faces," *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 November 1933, 834.
117. See Joan Hassall, "Illustrating Jane Austen," in *The Jane Austen Handbook*, ed. David J. Grey (London: Athlone, 1986), 215–18.
118. Vera Willoughby illustrated *Pride and Prejudice* for Peter Davies in 1929. The Macdonald Illustrated Classics series of Austen's novels was published between 1948 and 1961, all illustrated by Philip Gough, but with introductions by various writers. Helen Sewell illustrated *Pride and Prejudice* and *Sense and Sensibility* for the Limited Editions Club in 1940 and 1957, respectively.
119. For an extended discussion of twentieth-century editions, see Gilson, "Later Publishing History," 150–9.
120. Wiltshire, *Recreating Jane Austen*, 9.
121. See Alan Powers, *Front Cover: Great Book Jackets and Cover Design* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2001).
122. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*, in *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 3d ed., 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 5:227 (chap. 28).
123. Wiltshire, *Recreating Jane Austen*, 57.
124. Joel Rickett, "The Bookseller," *Guardian*, 28 January 2006, <http://books.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,1696511,00.html> (accessed 26 January 2007).
125. Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism; or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (July–August 1984): 53–92, 53.
126. See Linda Hutcheon, "Beginning to Theorize Postmodernism," *Textual Practice* 1, no. 1 (1987): 10–31.