

The Boys at Steventon: Mr. Austen's Students 1773–1796

By **Azar Hussain**

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Between around 1773 and 1796, from a couple of years before Jane Austen's birth to the year in which she turned twenty-one, her father, George Austen, tutored a number of boys who lived with him as boarders at the rectory at Steventon. What follows provides biographical details for nineteen students who were probably at Steventon; there may well have been more. I have ordered the students chronologically based on their dates of attendance at Steventon, and I believe I have identified at least one student, Philip Pinnock (1784–1831), who has hitherto not been placed at Steventon. I have attempted to summarize what we know of the students in the table that forms Appendix 2. Most of these students stayed for multiple years, ranging from around two to five on average. They usually went on to university and from there entered the standard professions available to young men of Austen's time—i.e., the law, the church, medicine, etc.—although it seems some were fortunate enough to have independent means. Tracking their lives into the nineteenth century is not only interesting in and of itself but provides additional context and background to Austen's own novels and the lives that her young male characters would have led.¹

The details around Mr. Austen's students and their subsequent lives have received relatively little attention to date. In some cases, very little has survived, but in others we know, or can find out, a fair amount. Some of our information comes from Austen herself, and, as we

¹ For a detailed investigation of professions open to young men in Austen's time see Rory Muir's *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune: How Younger Sons Made Their Way in Jane Austen's England*.

shall see, Mrs. Austen wrote at least three poems relating to the students. Much of the information below has been gleaned from records now available online via the Ancestry website or from archives and record offices.² The lives of these men are of especial value to those of us interested in Austen. As boys, they would have been tutored alongside the Austen sons and possibly Jane and Cassandra. They would have slept under Mr. Austen's roof and eaten at his table. They would have been part of the household, with Mrs. Austen no doubt being a maternal figure.³ They would have seen the young Jane Austen and her siblings growing up at first hand and, indeed, would have grown up alongside them. Many of them lived well into the nineteenth century. It is tantalizing to think what they could have told us, had they only been asked.

One of our earliest sources for Mr. Austen's tutoring activities is James Edward Austen-Leigh (hereafter JEAL), who stated in his *Memoir of Jane Austen* that as "a good scholar [Mr. Austen] was able to prepare two of his sons for the University, and to direct the studies of his other children, whether sons or daughters, as well as to increase his income by taking pupils" (15).⁴ An earlier source is Mrs. Austen's cousin, Mary Leigh (1731–1797), who wrote in her 1788 *Leigh Family History*, "Mr Austen educates a few youths of chosen friends and acquaintances. When among this liberal society, the simplicity, hospitality, and taste which commonly prevail in affluent families among the delightful valleys of Switzerland ever recurs to my memory" (qtd. in Le Faye, *Family Record* 45). One wonders just how much Mary Leigh at Adlestrop knew about the rectory at Steventon, or indeed Switzerland; nonetheless, with a large family to raise, teaching would have been an obvious way for Mr. Austen to improve his income. He had, in fact, relevant experience, having been Usher, or Second Master, at his old school, Tonbridge, between 1754 and 1757 (Southam 293).

Deirdre Le Faye estimates that by 1778, Mr. Austen charged about £35 per annum to cover tuition, board, and lodging and that by the 1790s this figure had increased to about £65 annually. It should be noted, however, that no specifics are provided for these figures as Le Faye refers to George Austen's banking records at Hoare's Bank but does not always cite

² All dates without a specific source derive from parish records accessed via Ancestry.

³ Anna Lefroy, however, stated that Mrs. Austen was qualified, "in an unpretending way, to assist in [Mr. Austen's] labours of tuition" (Le Faye, *Family Record* 10).

⁴ Unless stated otherwise, all references to the *Memoir* are to Kathryn Sutherland's 2002 edition.

individual entries.⁵ Nonetheless, as we shall see, the figure of £65 per annum does appear to be borne out in the case of Francis Newnham, although George Shum Storey appears to have been paying around £70 per annum in the late 1780s. As Le Faye notes, in Richard Buller's case a higher figure of £150 on average per annum was paid, indicating that he may have needed special care. I have examined Mr. Austen's ledgers at Hoare's Bank. In what follows I will refer to individual entries that I believe relate to the various students and that help us estimate when they attended Steventon.⁶ It is important to note, however, that in most cases we cannot be sure when students either arrived or departed: all dates must be tentative. Also, in some cases the sources that supposedly prove a student's attendance at Steventon are questionable. Rather than exclude such doubtful cases, I have presented the evidence so that readers can decide for themselves.

Mr. Austen was most likely preparing the students for university with a steady diet of Latin and Greek. Le Faye suggests that part of Mr. Austen's motivation was that the Austen boys needed "classmates to help them compete in their studies." If so, it appears to have worked, as we know that James Austen had an impressive command of the classics, matriculating at St. John's College, Oxford, at the age of fourteen (*Family Record* 41). His brother Henry also had some proficiency in Greek and would, in fact, follow his father's footsteps, becoming a schoolmaster at Steventon after the collapse of his banking career. Caroline Austen stated that "to hear him discourse you would have supposed he knew of no employment so pleasant and honourable, as the care and tuition of troublesome young men" (*Family Record*

⁵ The figure of £35 is mentioned in *Family Record* (42) with the endnote stating, "Mr Austen's account with Hoare's Bank shows some payments that are associated by name with particular pupils, and others which, by their regularity and similarity of amount, seem likely to relate to pupils as well" (291 n4). The rate of £65 is also given, but the endnote reference simply reads, "Mr Austen's account at Hoare's bank" (72–73, 296 n48). In some cases, certain entries are tentatively linked to specific students: e.g., Le Faye states of the Fowles that "Mr Austen's account at Hoare's bank shows payments from the firm of Birch and Hercy stretching from 1780–90, which would seem to be the fees for four pupils" (294 n25). But even here the basis of this claim is not clear. Le Faye also notes that "payments are received from Newnham during 1793–5" (296 n45); see below for discussion of Francis Newnham.

⁶ For the reader's convenience, I have summarized all the entries referred to in Appendix 1. While comparing the ledgers to Le Faye's *Chronology*, I have found a small number of discrepancies. For example, the *Chronology* states that Mr. Austen paid £10 to Henry Austen on 7 December 1792 (151), but the ledger states the sum as £60, which Elizabeth Jenkins, who also examined the original ledgers, confirms (61). In all cases referencing Mr. Austen's ledgers I have verified the figures against the ledgers themselves.

235, 262). We also have an account of Mr. Austen teaching Edward Austen Latin (43),⁷ and one of Mrs. Austen's poems refers to "Of Dan: Virgil we say / Two lessons each day" (Selwyn 25). In this context it is worth repeating JEAL's statement quoted above that Mr. Austen was able to "direct the studies of his other children, *whether sons or daughters*" [emphasis added]. Aside from the classics, Robin Vick notes that the advertisement for the sale at Steventon in 1801 included "an 18 inch terrestrial globe (by Adams), and microscope," which might have also been used by Mr. Austen in his classroom (295–298).

We have an idea of when Mr. Austen kept terms, as a letter from Eliza de Feuillide, dated 23 May 1786, helpfully notes: "my Uncle informs us, that Midsummer & Christmas are the only Seasons when his Mansion is sufficiently at liberty to admit of his receiving his Friends" (Le Faye, 'Outlandish Cousin' 71). This statement suggests that Mr. Austen's terms coincided with the public schools of the time (Tomalin 24, 300–01). During Austen's childhood and teenage years, there would therefore have been a steady stream of students living in the rectory, and Austen's brothers would also have been at home for a fair amount of this period. The Austen girls would therefore have grown up in a perhaps rather boisterous environment, surrounded by teenage boys.

Almost all the students we know of went on to Oxford, often to St. John's, Mr. Austen's college and also that of James and Henry Austen. Through Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* we can usually trace when the students matriculated, or enrolled, at their colleges but we cannot therefore infer that they remained with the Austens up until just before. For example, Tom Fowle matriculated at St. John's on July 9, 1783, but he did not come into full residence until a year later, the long vacation (i.e., the summer) of 1784. Where was he in the intervening year? Did he, like Edward Ferrars, find himself drifting back to the familiar surroundings of his former tutor's home at Steventon? James and Henry matriculated in the summers of 1779 and 1788 respectively but did not take up residence at college until the autumn term. Such erratic arrivals at various times of the year

⁷ Henry Austen's account, quoted by Le Faye, states that Mr. Austen almost prevented Edward accepting an invitation to stay with the Knights, who eventually adopted him, on the grounds that he might fall behind in his Latin grammar. Mrs. Austen overruled her schoolmaster husband. But if Mr. Austen had had his own way, the story of Edward's life, and indeed Jane Austen's, might have been very different. On the question of Jane's and Cassandra's inclusion in these lessons and Jane Austen's knowledge of Latin see Benario, DeForest, and *Family Record* (58, 294 n39). Although Le Faye's endnote refers to Letter 6, Letter 66 is intended.

seem to have been commonplace and are another reason why we cannot be sure about dates of residence at Steventon.⁸

During this period Austen and her sister were also away from home at school for two intervals. The first was from March to September 1783, initially in Oxford, then in Southampton (*Chronology* 91, 93). The second was from around July 1785 to December 1786, when they were at the Reading Ladies Boarding School (102, 107). Linda Robinson Walker suggests that they were sent away to make room for additional students; this notion does indeed seem plausible and has been suggested by others (JEAL 209 n26; M. A. Austen-Leigh 21; Tomalin 34). The years immediately before this period and during it, from about 1779 to 1786, had a particularly high volume of students; the number of students both before and after this period was lower.

Le Faye's comment on the girls' tuition has implications for our understanding of the fees Mr. Austen charged: "It was possible for girls to stay on at the Abbey House School until well into their teens, but it seems that the Austens found they could not afford to keep both their daughters there for so many years—like Mr. Austen, Mrs. La Tournelle charged about £35 p.a. per pupil—and the girls were brought back to Steventon for good before the end of 1786" (*Family Record* 52). If Mr. Austen charged the same amount as he was paying to have his own daughters at a boarding school, his motive in sending them away would not appear to have been financial. By 1785 Mr. Austen may have put up his fees since the £35 of 1778 (42), or he may have intended to squeeze more than two boys in the space previously occupied by Jane and Cassandra. The narrator's comment in *Emma* about Mrs. Goddard's school may be relevant here: it is described as "a real, honest, old-fashioned Boarding-school, where a reasonable quantity of accomplishments were sold at a reasonable price, and *where girls might be sent to be out of the way* and scramble themselves into a little education, without any danger of coming back prodigies" (21, emphasis added). Whether Austen herself saw things in this light, either at the time or later in life, and how, if at all, it might have affected her are unknown.⁹

⁸ Via email from Michael Riordan, Archivist, St. John's College, Oxford (4 March 2022).

⁹ Claire Tomalin describes Oxford as a "second banishment from home," but this statement can only be speculation (35).

For most of the time, the boys would have been older than Jane Austen, but by the early to mid 1790s, she was about the same age, if not slightly older. It is unclear when the last boy left, but it could have been 1796 as is shown in the account of Philip Pinnock below and the fact that Fanny Caroline Lefroy (1820–1885), Anna Lefroy’s daughter, states in her *Family History*, “I think my mother must have spent most of her time at Steventon during the widowhood of her father for she would remember being noticed and played with by the pupils, and hearing ‘Pride and Prejudice’ (begun 1796) read aloud by it’s youthful writer to her sister.”¹⁰ Some of the boys left the rectory and disappeared into obscurity, but we can trace the course of a number of them, and in some cases they stayed in touch with the Austen family throughout their lives. The question of romance is an obvious one, and Cassandra’s fiancé, Tom Fowle, was indeed a former student at Steventon. There are some seemingly flirtatious references to John Willing Warren and Charles Fowle in Austen’s surviving letters, but it seems nothing serious ever developed.

Having detailed the general background and context, we will now review the lives of each of the nineteen students in turn.

George Hastings (1757–1764?)

A precursor to Mr. Austen’s students may have been Warren Hastings’s son, George, although the sources are unclear on a few points. JEAL traces some of this history in the *Memoir*:

Mr. and Mrs. George Austen resided first at Deane, but removed in 1771 [actually 1768] to Steventon, which was their residence for about thirty years. They commenced their married life with the charge of a little child, a son of the celebrated Warren Hastings, who had been committed to the care of Mr. Austen before his marriage, probably through the influence of his sister, Mrs. Hancock, whose husband at that time held some office under Hastings in India. Mr. Gleig, in his ‘Life of Hastings,’ says that his son George, the offspring of his first marriage, was sent to England in 1761 for his education, but that he had never been able to ascertain to whom this precious charge was entrusted,

¹⁰ HRO 23M93/85/2. Anne Mathew died on May 3, 1795, and James married again on January 17, 1797. Le Faye states “Payments for the final pupil cease after the summer of 1796,” but the endnote simply says, “Mr Austen’s account at Hoare’s Bank.” The date of summer 1796 could be a reference to Philip Pinnock (see below), but he is not mentioned at all (*Family Record* 73, 296 n51).

nor what became of him. I am able to state, from family tradition, that he died young, of what was then called putrid sort throat; and that Mrs. Austen had become so much attached to him that she always declared that his death had been as great a grief to her as if he had been a child of her own. (13)

Le Faye states that Mrs. Austen's mother, Jane Leigh, brought young George with her when she moved from Bath to Deane to join her daughter and son-in-law. Warren Hastings, Le Faye suggests, had known the Leigh family as neighbors during his childhood and considered them as suitable guardians to look after his infant son. George died in the autumn of 1764, aged about seven, much to Mrs. Austen's distress; no trace of his burial has been found in any of the likely parishes (*Family Record* 18, 289 n20). As Claire Tomalin observes, given that the Austens married in April 1764, if George Hastings were subsequently brought to Deane by Mrs. Leigh, he cannot have been with them for more than six months if he died that autumn (21).

Le Faye notes that Hastings's friend Francis Sykes (c.1730–1804) brought the child back to England in 1761 and made a few payments to Mr. Austen during 1763–64 on the child's account (*Family Record* 18; *Chronology* 25–26). Francis Sykes's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry also asserts that George Hastings was left in the care of the Austens, although it is unclear where this statement is derived from.¹¹ One possible source may be in Grier's commentary in her edition of Hastings's letters to his wife (401, 456). Kathryn Sutherland points out that R. W. Chapman found it "very doubtful" that Hastings would have committed his son to the care of George Austen before he was married (202). Chapman remarks that "Mr Austen-Leigh" (probably Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh) "suspects a confusion with Hastings de Feuillide, who undoubtedly did stay at Steventon and did die young" (JEAL, Chapman ed. 215). Sutherland questions whether Hastings knew either the Leigh family or George Austen in childhood (202–03). Tomalin states that the Adlestrop connection is "convincingly argued but not proved" (300 n16). She agrees with JEAL that it was probably Mr. Austen's sister Philadelphia who "recommended her brother to Hastings as an experienced schoolmaster with a wife and a suitable country residence, with the thought that he would make a kindly foster father, and that the income would be useful to him" (21).

¹¹ For further information on Sykes see <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/sykes-francis-1732-1804>.

It is also worth noting that Catherine Anne Hubback (1818–1877), daughter of Frank Austen, wrote a memoir of her father, perhaps around 1850, which also mentions George Hastings. Hubback states that the child was entrusted to George Austen via a recommendation from his sister, an assertion that agrees with Tomalin. Hubback puts this event “a year or two before he married,” which tallies with Sykes’s payments (Le Faye, “Catherine” 122–124). Hubback’s source, however, is unknown. At this distance, it seems unlikely that we will unravel the exact circumstances surrounding the Austens and George Hastings, but the details are worth noting due to his being a potential forerunner to Mr. Austen’s later charges.

John Charles Wallop, 3rd earl of Portsmouth (1767–1853)

John Charles Wallop was born on December 18, 1767, son of John Wallop, 2nd earl of Portsmouth, of Hurstbourne Park. As a child, he was under the care of Mr. Austen, but only for a few months. He appears to have been the first pupil since George Hastings’s death in 1764. A letter written by Mrs. Austen from June 1773 dates his arrival at the rectory: “Jemmy & Neddy [James and Edward Austen] are very happy in a new Play-fellow, Lord Lymington [Portsmouth’s title at the time], whom Mr Austen has lately taken the charge of—he is between five & Six years old, very backward of his Age, but good temper’d and orderly; he is the Eldest Son of Lord Portsmouth who lives about ten miles from hence” (qtd. in *Family Record* 26). Around the summer of 1773, when Portsmouth arrived, James Austen would have been eight and Edward five, just a couple of months older than Portsmouth. As an adult, James at least must have had some memories of him.

Portsmouth was next mentioned in a letter from December that year. Mrs. Austen wrote, “Ld. Lymington has left us, his mamma began to be alarm’d at the Hesitation in his Speech, which certainly grew worse, and is going to take him to London in hopes a Mr Angier (who undertakes to cure that Disorder) may be of service to him” (*Family Record* 26). Unfortunately, Portsmouth’s condition worsened, and he did not develop normally. Surviving accounts indicate that he was deeply troubled: his speech impediment remained; he became obsessed with funerals to the point of forcing his servants to stage mock burial services; he appears to have been a sadist, cruelly beating animals and servants. Rather surprisingly, he was married twice, but his second marriage was annulled in 1823, when a commission for lunacy ruled that he was insane. Yet he lived on for another thirty years, inhabiting the family home, Hurstbourne Park, where he died on July 14,

1853. During her lifetime Austen must have been aware of the rumors surrounding her neighbor, but she only makes opaque references to Portsmouth and his family in her letters. What she and the rest of the family really thought of their father's former charge is unknown.¹²

William Vanderstegen (1760–1831)

The Vanderstegen family were of Henley, Oxfordshire, although originally of Dutch origin. They lived at Cane End and were known to Mrs. Austen's family, she herself having grown up in nearby Harpsden (*Family Record* 8). She appears to have kept in touch, as William Vanderstegen senior (1736–1797)¹³ was godfather to Frank Austen (born 1774). Mr. Austen may also have known Vanderstegen as the latter had matriculated at St. John's College on May 19, 1756; Mr. Austen returned to Oxford in 1758 to become assistant chaplain there and was Junior Proctor for the 1759–1760 academic year. William's son, another William, was born in 1760 and was one the earliest students at Steventon. Perhaps at this early stage, Mrs. Austen was seeking potential students among her acquaintances.

Unlike most of the other students, we know when he arrived. A letter has survived from Mrs. Austen dated 12 December 1773, where she states, "Our new Pupil, Master Vanderstegen, has been with us about a month, he is near fourteen years old; is very good temper'd and well disposed" (qtd. in *Family Record* 26). In a subsequent letter, dated 20 August 1775, Mrs. Austen wrote: "Master Van is got very well again, and has been with us again these three months; he is gone home this morning for a few holidays" (*Austen Papers* 31). Vanderstegen matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, on November 26, 1778 (Foster 4: 1463). On 5 November 1793 he married Frances Letherman, who died in 1802. On December 18, 1806,

¹² For a full treatment of the sad history of the earl, see Elizabeth Foyster's *The Trials of the King of Hampshire: Madness, Secrecy and Betrayal in Georgian England* (2016). For briefer accounts, see Tomalin (89–92) and Hussain, "Corsair." Christine Kenyon Jones's forthcoming book *Jane Austen and Lord Byron: Regency Relations* (Bloomsbury, 2024) contains material on Lord Portsmouth, but I was unable to benefit from reading it prior to writing this article.

¹³ Paula Byrne states that William Vanderstegen was one of the first Commissioners of the Thames, deeply involved in a campaign to make the river more navigable (21). No source is given, but this statement appears to have been taken from Stuart Oliver, who has a list of additional useful sources on the Vanderstegens, but whose work also contains a number of errors. For example, William Vanderstegen junior was not born twenty years after his parents' marriage (103), which Byrne repeats (21), and his father was baptized in 1736, not born in 1737 (Oliver 102).

he married Elizabeth Grace Kirby. He had issue by both wives and died on June 10, 1831. There is a letter from Mrs. Austen's brother, James Leigh-Perrot, which mentions Vanderstegen. Unfortunately, it is not dated, but it states that a Vanderstegen is to accompany him to his home, Scarlets, and that Vanderstegen's son and two nephews would meet him there on the next day. There are no further details, but it indicates that Vanderstegen did perhaps stay in touch with the family, or, at least, the Leigh branch, whom he could have known from his childhood (*Austen Papers* 244).

Fulwar Fowle (1764–1840)

Fulwar Fowle was one of four brothers, all of whom were pupils of Mr. Austen. The families would remain close for the rest of their lives. Fulwar's father was the Revd. Thomas Fowle (1726/7–1806),¹⁴ vicar of Kintbury, Berkshire, as his father had been before him and as Fulwar would be afterwards. Thomas Fowle and Mr. Austen are thought to have known each other at Oxford (*Family Record* 42), a notion supported by the fact that Thomas Fowle matriculated at Wadham College on May 23, 1750. Mr. Austen was also at Oxford during this period, with St. John's College being just opposite Wadham. Fulwar Fowle was born on May 14, 1764, and is thought to have been a pupil at Steventon between 1778 and 1781, when he entered St. John's College, Oxford on June 19 (*Foster* 2: 485). James Austen appears to have been a particular friend, and two of his poems address Fulwar. The first, from 1780, is titled "An Epistle to Fulwar Craven Fowle Esq^r"; the second is "An Elegy Written at Kintbury Berks, Addressed to FCF" (1–4). In 1788 Fowle married Eliza Lloyd (1767–1839),¹⁵ his cousin and sister of Martha and Mary Lloyd; there are references to him and his wife throughout Austen's letters.

Fulwar Fowle was curate at Hampstead Marshall, where his father was rector, before becoming rector at Elkstone in Gloucestershire. He became the incumbent at Kintbury in 1798, and, despite James Austen's prediction of high office, he remained there for the rest of his life. Alongside his clerical duties he earned some fame due to his service in the Berkshire Volunteers, highly active due to the threat of wartime invasion. According to

¹⁴ I have not been able to find a conclusive birth year for Thomas Fowle via parish records. The *Chronology* states 1726 (738), *Family Record* 1727 (370), and *Letters* 1726 (523).

¹⁵ *Family Record* (69) and *Chronology* (738) state Eliza Lloyd's birth year as 1768, whereas *Letters* states 1767 (550). Parish records confirm a baptism date of 15 June 1767.

George Sawtell, no less a personage than George III is reported to have said of him, “He is the best preacher, the best officer and the best rider to hounds in all my royal county of Berkshire.” Fowle outlived his three younger brothers by some years, dying at seventy-five on March 9, 1840, less than a year after his wife (Sawtell 227–28). He was described as “physically rather short and slight, with fair hair, very blue eyes, and a long nose, and also as having an impatient and rather irascible nature” (Austen, *Letters* 524).¹⁶ Jane Austen records that he read only the first and last chapter of *Emma* “because he had heard it was not interesting” (*Later Manuscripts* 238).

Thomas Fowle (1765–1797)

Thomas Fowle was baptized on December 4, 1765, making him over a year younger than his brother Fulwar. He is thought to have arrived at Steventon in 1779 (*Chronology* 73). Fanny Caroline Lefroy’s *Family History* also states that “he was a pupil at Steventon as early as 1779.” Mrs. Austen’s poem “Epistle to G. East, Esq^r,” thought to date from the same year, helpfully includes a list of East’s fellow students in the final line: “Fowle, Stewart, Deane, Henry, & Ned.” David Selwyn states that the Fowle to which Mrs. Austen refers is Fulwar, so Tom Fowle’s arrival may have postdated the poem (91). Tom Fowle read the epilogue to the play *Matilda* when it was performed at Steventon in 1782. Le Faye and Selwyn state that the play was performed in December, although neither its epilogue nor prologue state this date (*Family Record* 46, Selwyn 8, 150). It is possible, however, that one of the manuscript versions has a December date and that Fowle stayed with the Austens for the Christmas season.

Fowle matriculated at St. John’s College, Oxford, on July 9, 1783 (Foster 2: 485), although, as noted above, he did not come into residence until the following year. He was ordained and was appointed curate at Welford, near Kintbury, in 1790. He went on to receive the rectory of Allington, Wiltshire, from Lord Craven, a relative and patron. Tom Fowle is best remembered for being the fiancé of Cassandra Austen. He arrived at Steventon when Cassandra was about six and left when she was still only ten. Cassandra was away at school during his final year, in 1783, so their relationship must have developed during subsequent visits. They are thought to have become engaged in December 1792, when Cassandra would have been nineteen (*Family Record* 81). At this point, his income did not allow him to marry,

¹⁶ There is a representation of Fulwar in Sawtell’s article (223) available online: https://archive.org/details/austencollreport_1976_1985_202004/page/223/mode/1up?view=theater

but Lord Craven appears to have promised him a living in Shropshire, as is apparent in a letter by Mrs. Austen, which indicates that she expected Cassandra to settle there one day (*Family Record* 99).

In 1795 Lord Craven purchased the colonelcy of the 3rd Regiment of Foot, part of General Abercromby's expedition to the West Indies, where the French were inciting rebellion. Craven asked Fowle to accompany him as his private chaplain, and just prior to his departure Cassandra was probably in Kintbury for the Christmas and new year season of 1795–1796 (*Family Record* 91). Sadly, she never saw him again. Like so many of his compatriots, he died of fever. There has been some confusion over the place of his death. Le Faye states in the *Family Record* that he died *off* St. Domingo and was buried at sea, but also that he died *at* St. Domingo (101, 165). A recently discovered letter written by Fulwar on April 23, 1797, indicates that Tom died at Martinique on February 13, 1797 (Fowle 49). On May 3, a letter from Cassandra's cousin Eliza shows that the news had travelled back to England (Le Faye, 'Outlandish Cousin' 138).

Lord Craven was seemingly unaware of Fowle's engagement as he is subsequently reported to have said that if he had known of it, he would not have allowed him to go. Fowle had prudently made his will before departing in October 1795, leaving to Cassandra £1,000 of his modest savings, which totaled more than £2,000, though not necessarily much more, with the balance going to his father.¹⁷ In February 1797 this figure would have yielded about £53.20 per annum, a small, but not insignificant contribution to Cassandra's income.¹⁸ Cassandra was only twenty-four when Tom Fowle died, but she seems never again to have considered marrying. James Austen, who was just under a year older than Fowle, wrote a moving elegy for him in 1812, mourning the fact that they would never be brothers-in-law and describing him as "Friend of my Soul, and Brother of my heart!" (43).

Frank Stuart (1764–1833)

We know little of Frank Stuart (or Stewart). He appears to have been the son of James Stuart of Brewer Street, London, who was Charles Austen's godfather (*Family Record* 41–42). The

¹⁷ I am grateful to Michael Fowle for assistance on this point.

¹⁸ I am grateful to Dr. John Avery Jones for calculating this figure. Le Faye stated in *Family Record* "about £35 a year" (101), as did I (Hussain 597).

one thing we do know is that Mrs. Austen wrote a poem for him titled “To F.S. who accused the Author of partiality in writing verses for F C Fowle, & not for him.” An alternate version of the title, according to Selwyn, in the *Lefroy Manuscript* has a variant spelling of Frank’s surname: “To F Stewart who accused the writer of partiality in writing verses to F C Fowle & not to him” (Selwyn 27, 72). The poem also appears, undated, in Fanny Caroline Lefroy’s *Family History*. Selwyn dates this poem to c. 1780 (72), but the catalogue of the Hampshire Record Office, which holds the manuscript, states c. 1779.¹⁹ An examination of the manuscript reveals it to be a sheet folded once, containing first the “Epistle to G. East Esq^r,” followed by this poem. At the beginning at the top right, we find “Steventon 1779,” but it is unclear whether this date relates only to the first poem or to both. In fact, the date’s origin is itself not entirely clear, the manuscript being a copy made by Anna Lefroy and not Mrs. Austen’s holograph. It is therefore uncertain how Selwyn arrived at his date of c. 1780.

The question of dating is an important one as it bears on when Stuart could have been at Steventon. The poem shows that Stuart thought Mrs. Austen favored Fulwar Fowle and complained to her of it. Mrs. Austen’s inclusion in the poem of the line “Serve that Man first who first is” probably did little to assuage Stuart’s jealousy. Stuart is also mentioned in Mrs. Austen’s poem written for Gilbert East, mentioned above. The poem concludes, “Pray return to your Friends / Fowle, Stewart, Deane, Henry, & Ned!” (26). If this poem does date from 1779, it allows us to plot when Stuart was in attendance.

To add to this point, there are four payments to Mr. Austen from a James Stuart spanning 1779–1782, supporting the notion that Mr. Austen charged around £35 per annum.²⁰ Le Faye states that Stuart seems to have left Steventon in 1782 and that it appears that he did not attend university or keep in touch with the Austens (*Family Record* 42). There is indeed no record of a Francis Stuart, or Stewart, in Foster or John Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigienses* that would fit the dates. There was, however, a John Francis Stuart born on December 28, 1764, the son of James Stuart of Westminster. He appears in Foster, matriculating at St. John’s College on June 24, 1782 (4: 1369). He went on to become rector of Lower Gravenhurst, Bedfordshire, in 1792, married Caroline Stiell in August 1802 at St. Mary Abbots Church, Kensington, and became rector of Market Weston, Suffolk, in 1805, where he appears to

¹⁹ <https://calm.hants.gov.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=93023%2f1%2f58%2f1>

²⁰ Note also that Mr. Austen made a payment of £21 to a James Stuart on 19 November 1766.

have remained until his death on July 9, 1833. Could he have been Mr. Austen's jealous student?

George Deane (1769–1828) and Henry Boyle Deane (1768–1840)

Mrs. Austen's 1779 poem to Gilbert East, quoted above, encourages East to "return to your Friends, / Fowle, Stewart, Deane, Henry, & Ned!" Le Faye identifies Deane as either George or Henry Deane, sons of Henry Deane of Reading, but no source is provided (*Family Record* 42, 56). According to Foster, however, George and Henry Boyle Deane both entered St. John's College, Oxford, on May 25, 1786, making it possible that perhaps both were at Steventon (Foster 1: 359). There was also at least one other brother, Ralph, who matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, on June 20, 1796. Given the precedent of the Fowle brothers, perhaps he too was also at Steventon at some point. There is a payment to Mr. Austen from August 2, 1792, for £64.15s.6d by "Mrs(?) Reade per H Deane," which could relate to him. We can deduce from Foster that George was born around 1769. George Deane was a fellow of St. John's from 1786 to 1811 and vice president of the college from 1808 to 1809. He went on to receive a college living, becoming rector of Kingston Bagpuize, Berkshire, from 1810 until his death in 1828.²¹

Foster states that Henry Deane was about a year older than George, but he had a very different career path. Their father, a mayor of Reading, was a partner in a local bank, Marsh, Deane & Co, founded in 1788 while both boys were probably still at university. Mr. Deane's cousin John was Receiver-General of Taxes for Berkshire. Rather alarmingly, he was also an "inveterate gambler" and was declared bankrupt in 1790. His post was divided, with Henry Boyle Deane becoming Receiver-General for the eastern division of the county in 1791 (Corley, "Earliest Reading Bank" 122–23). Henry joined the Berkshire Militia, becoming a Lieutenant in 1793 (*London Gazette* 6 Aug. 1793).²² On September 22, 1796, he married Elizabeth Wyborn, and one of his sons, Sir James Parker Deane (1812–1902), had a long and distinguished legal career.

Marsh, Deane & Co. had fallen, however, into serious difficulties. None of the partners appears to have had much experience in business, and they seem to have been careless in

²¹ Via email from Michael Riordan (2 March 2023).

²² <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/13555/page/670>

their approach to lending. Mr. Deane died in 1799, and the last of the original partners, Sir Charles Marsh, followed in 1805. The partnership was then reformed, with Henry Deane becoming a full partner and even his mother putting up some capital. Yet things went from bad to worse, and a constant pressure point was the need to make provision for Henry's tax remittances to London. The inevitable reckoning came on January 14, 1815, when Henry was declared bankrupt (*London Gazette*).²³ He owed a significant sum to the Exchequer, which had to be repaid from his estate and by his sureties. The commission dragged on for decades, and creditors only ever received a fraction of what they were due (Corley 127). Henry Deane died November 25, 1840, in Devizes (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1841).²⁴ Recounting Henry's story, Margaret Dawes and Nesta Selwyn assert that both he and his brother George had been students at Steventon (61). Given the overlap of their university careers, it is possible that Henry Austen and Henry Boyle Deane may have known each other at St. John's, if only by sight. Yet, even if they were not acquainted, the curious parallels in the lives of the two Henrys are worth recording.

Gilbert East (1764–1828)

Gilbert East was born on April 17, 1764, the son of Sir William East (1738–1819) of Hall Place, Hurley, Berkshire. Mrs. Austen's poem referenced above appears to be the sole witness for his attendance at Steventon, and it seems that he was there from at least 1779.²⁵ The poem would seem to indicate that East was of a truant disposition, neglecting his studies for more social activities, such as dancing, at which he seems to have been an adept (*Family Record* 42). It appears he did return however, as he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on July 1, 1783, as an upper commoner (a commoner was a student who did not receive a scholarship or exhibition—i.e., help with his fees) (Foster 2: 403). The college records show that East was in residence fairly consistently during term time from July 1783 until March 1785, at which point he appears to have left, although his name remained on the books until December 1785,

²³ <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/16975/page/74>

²⁴ <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000068790561&view=1up&seq=120&q1=deane>

²⁵ Selwyn states that there are three manuscript copies of this poem. One is at the Hampshire Record Office and the other two are in the *Lefroy Manuscript* (71). There is a slim chance that the latter two might provide further clues on dates, but my attempts to view these were unsuccessful.

another reminder of the need for caution when making inferences about a student's whereabouts.²⁶

In a letter dated 3–5 January 1801, Austen wrote, “As to our Pictures, the Battlepiece, M^r Nibbs, Sir W^m East, & all the old heterogenous, miscellany, manuscript, Scriptoral pieces dispersed over the House are to be given to James.” Mr. Nibbs (see George Nibbs below) and Sir William East seem to be portraits of the students' fathers given as tokens of appreciation to Mr. Austen for his tutoring of their sons. They appear to have been subsequently lost. Gilbert East married Eleanor Mary Jolliffe in 1788; they had no children. He died on 11 December 1828, and his wife outlived him by ten years.

There is a curious link between the East family and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797). Sir William East was a friend and neighbor of Austen's uncle James Leigh-Perrot. Tomalin notes that Mrs. Leigh-Perrot referred to him as a sympathizer when she was accused of theft at Bath (Tomalin 320 n4). Another neighbor was the Mrs. Cotton with whom Wollstonecraft found shelter after her second suicide attempt of 1796, following an unhappy love affair. Sir William was also supportive, a fact that William Godwin mentioned in his 1798 *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, a year after Wollstonecraft died. The reference to Sir William East was removed in the second edition. Given the controversy that surrounded the work, Sir William probably felt it best not to be associated with Wollstonecraft and her husband (Tomalin 160–161, 320). How much, if any, of this information got back to the Austens, either via Gilbert East or another channel, is unknown.

William Fowle (1767–1801)

William Fowle was born on May 9, 1767, the same year as Edward Austen (Austen, *Letters* 524). He is thought to have been a pupil at Steventon from about 1780, but it is unclear when he left. Le Faye states that he was a student “in the early 1780s” (*Letters* 524), whereas her *Chronology*, under 1780, surmises that “William Fowle may possibly come to Steventon this year as a pupil” (77). The *Family Record* states that he was at Steventon in autumn 1786 (56), but William Fowle did not follow his older brothers to Oxford, as by 1787 he was instead apprenticed to his uncle in London to study medicine (*Chronology* 108). He was also at the United Hospitals Medical School and spent a year in Edinburgh, and then at

²⁶ Via email from Amy Ebrey, Assistant Archivist, Queen's College, Oxford (6 March 2023).

Leyden University, where he matriculated on October 5, 1791 (Sawtell 225). In the same year he published a short work on erysipelas, a copy of which, inscribed to Thomas Gisborne, president of the Royal College of Physicians,²⁷ can be found in the Wellcome Library.²⁸ The work is written in Latin, so it seems he must have paid attention in Mr. Austen's classroom.

On July 19, 1792, he was married by his brother Tom to Maria Carpenter at Devizes. They would have two children, Marianne (1796) and Charles (1797). (Austen made Mrs. William Fowle the subject of a very bad pun in a letter of 17 May 1799.) Fowle published at least two other books. *New Experiments with Mercury in the Small Pox*, which he translated from the French and dedicated to his uncle, appeared in 1793.²⁹ Fowle joined the army as a military physician at around the same time as his brother Tom did in 1795 and was also struck down by fever while on the Leeward Islands. He survived, however, going on to write *A Practical Treatise on the Different Fevers of the West Indies and their Diagnostic Symptoms* (1800).³⁰ Sent to Egypt in 1800, he died in 1801. Two documents relating to Maria's pension after Fowle's death survive. The first, from January 1802, gives Fowle's date of death as August 10, 1801; the second, from 1820, states it as August 11. The second states Maria's place of residence as Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where she was living with her husband, Thomas Grantham, whom she married in 1816.

George Nibbs (1765–1832)

George Nibbs was the son of James Langford Nibbs (1738–1795), who was born in Antigua and who would subsequently inherit a plantation there. Having returned to England, Nibbs matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, on November 9, 1758; as with William Vanderstegen senior and Thomas Fowle senior, it is likely that he encountered George Austen at this point, as Austen was made junior proctor in 1759. Their relationship appears to have been close. When Nibbs married at St. Clement Danes Church, London, on February

²⁷ Not to be confused with Thomas Gisborne the clergyman (1758–1846), or his son Thomas Gisborne the politician (1789–1852). Austen mentions the former in a letter of 30 August 1805.

²⁸ Available via the Wellcome

Library: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/qqbpi5j3/items?canvas=4>

²⁹ Available online via the Wellcome

Library: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/dycumttk/items?canvas=1>

³⁰ Available online via the Wellcome

Library: <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/dqxgzvcm/items?canvas=1>

12, 1760, Mr. Austen performed the service (Looser 27). Furthermore, Nibbs was godfather to Jane Austen's eldest brother, James (*Family Record* 18). Nibbs's son George is thought to have been born in 1765 (Austen, *Letters* 557). Regarding his attendance at Steventon, Le Faye notes, "In 1781 the pupils at Steventon, in addition to Stuart, East and Deane, were probably Tom Fowle, the second son of the Kintbury family, and George Nibbs"; no source for this statement is provided (*Family Record* 45). Jane Austen's House possesses a letter from Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh (hereafter RAAL) to Chapman dated December 7, 1928, which contains details relating to Gilbert East and a partial transcription of Mrs. Austen's poem about him but concludes, "I am afraid I cannot help with Nibbs" (presumably in response to an enquiry from Chapman).³¹

Le Faye estimates that Nibbs's time at Steventon spanned c. 1781–1783 (*Letters* 557) as he matriculated on October 18, 1783, at Oriel College, Oxford (Foster 3: 1019). Nibbs was appointed vicar of Cutcombe, Somerset, in 1791; on August 20, 1799, he married Agnes Clatworthy (1764–1821) and had at least one son, George Langford Nibbs, born in 1801. As noted above (see Gilbert East) Austen refers in a letter dated 3–5 January 1801 to a picture of Mr. Nibbs, possibly given to George Austen as a thank-you present. Nibbs was buried at Cutcombe on October 16, 1832, the entry for his burial noting that he had served there as vicar for more than forty years. George was a co-heir of his father and a beneficiary of his grandfather's will. University College London's Legacies of British Slavery database (hereafter UCL LBS), however, indicates that his own will includes no reference to property or enslaved people in Antigua, suggesting that he disposed of his interests there between 1806 and 1834.³²

Nibbs had an elder brother, James, who appears to have been very different from George. According to their father's will, he was in some difficulty, "having reduced himself by his imprudence to great streights and Necessities and involved himself in Debt" (Avery Jones 37). I have been unable to find a date of birth for James, although John Avery Jones estimates that he attained twenty-one probably in about 1784 (37) and may have been born around 1763. By 1788 he was resident in Antigua, perhaps having been sent there to curb his spendthrift ways. With little alternative, he agreed to accept an annuity of £150 a

³¹ Jane Austen's House 161122/275. I am grateful to Stephanie Emo and Sophie Reynolds at Jane Austen's House for very kindly facilitating access to Chapman's papers held there.

³² <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639621>

year. It appears he never returned home, and he died in Antigua around July 1817, not long before Jane Austen (Avery Jones 38). Given the various connections between the two families, it seems unlikely that she was unaware of these family troubles—suggesting that parallels with *Mansfield Park* are not merely coincidental.

John Willing Warren (1770–1854)

John Willing Warren was born in London on April 11, 1770, only son of Peter Warren of Mildred Court, Cornhill, London, an insurance broker, who died in 1811. His mother was Elizabeth Warren (1745–1771), daughter of William Steers. Le Faye states that he may have been at Steventon c.1785 but no source is given (Austen, *Letters* 582). *Family Record* notes that he “had come some time in the 1780s,” but again there is no source for this statement (56). Walker suggests he arrived in 1783, plausible given that some of the boys seem to have arrived in their early teens. Warren matriculated at St. John’s, Oxford, on February 11, 1786, at the age of fifteen (Foster 4: 1504). In an article published in 1931 in the *Times Literary Supplement*, Chapman stated that Warren was a contributor to *The Loiterer*. His reasoning is open to question,³³ although, aptly enough, Warren did win the Chancellor’s English Prose Prize in 1790.

Warren, a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, stayed with the Austens during the Christmas season in 1795. Jane Austen danced with him twice (9–10 January 1796). It may have looked like he had feelings for her, but shortly after their dances she wrote in a letter of 14–15 January 1796 that he drew a portrait of Austen’s admirer Tom Lefroy, which he serenely handed over to her, thus dispelling this notion. Warren went on to pursue a legal career. He

³³ In his introduction to the facsimile text of *The Loiterer* Li-Ping Geng does not mention Chapman’s article or Warren’s supposed authorship. Chapman refers to pages 4–5 of issue number sixty of *The Loiterer*, written by James Austen, which provide some details as to the contributors. Chapman suggests that John Willing Warren was the author of number 42, but Geng points out in his preface that the errata states that 42 should be 41, so even if he were the author, it would be of number 41 (11). Le Faye’s position seems to have shifted on this question. In the *Letters* there is a clear statement: “He was one of the contributors to James Austen’s Oxford magazine *The Loiterer*” (582). *Family Record* notes, however, that “Henry contributed several papers, and the remainder came from their cousin, Edward Cooper, now up at Queen’s College, and other undergraduate friends”; John Willing Warren is not mentioned, but her sources are issue number 60 and Chapman’s *TLS* article (68). Le Faye’s *Chronology* is more opaque, stating under November 14, 1789, that issue number 42 was “probably” written by Warren and quoting Chapman again (126). The question of Warren’s contribution is thus uncertain.

was admitted to Gray's Inn on March 26, 1785, just under a year before he matriculated at St. John's, but he subsequently transferred to the Inner Temple on February 5, 1790, and was called to the bar on June 22, 1798.³⁴ The explanation for this seemingly odd set of dates is that it was normal for students to join both an Inn of Court and Oxford college at around the same time. A student could be admitted to an Inn of Court at any time, as long as he paid the fees. Once he had joined, he was a member for life and could study for the bar when he wished. It is possible that his chambers were in the Inner Temple, and it was more convenient for him to use its facilities—or perhaps he just had a larger social network there.³⁵

There are significant links between the Warren family and John Julius Angerstein (1735–1823), a key figure in the history of Lloyd's Bank, as noted by Sarah Palmer in Angerstein's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry. The entry for Warren in the UCL LBS notes that Warren's father had been Angerstein's partner, and Warren attended Angerstein's funeral in 1823 (Twist 192).³⁶ Angerstein had made a significant fortune in marine insurance and underwriting and was also a noted collector. Some of his paintings were purchased by the British government on his death and became the nucleus of the National Gallery (Palmer). Angerstein was also a subscriber to Frances Burney's *Camilla* along with Mrs. and Miss Angerstein, their names appearing just above Austen's.³⁷ We can explain this association by the fact that William Lock and his wife Frederica of Norbury Park, near Great Bookham, were close friends of Burney, and the Locks' daughter Amelia married Angerstein's son John in 1799 (Harris).³⁸ Frederica Lock played a key role in organizing the campaign to attract subscribers for *Camilla*, as Burney acknowledges in the Advertisement of the

³⁴ <https://archives.innertemple.org.uk/#/names/a4ffc5cf-10a6-4854-a5d8-757d03007573>

³⁵ Via email from Celia Pilkington, Archivist, Inner Temple (16 May 2023).

³⁶ Twist's 2002 Ph.D. thesis on Angerstein is available online:
<https://dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=f15db0f1-19da-4fcb-a3ef-436c8582046d>.

³⁷ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Camilla_Or_A_Picture_of_Youth/3SMJAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR10&printsec=frontcover

³⁸ For further information on John Angerstein, see:

<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/angerstein-john-1774-1858>. For William Lock see Garlick.

novel.³⁹ Given the nature of his business activities, Angerstein’s possible involvement in slavery and the slave trade has been much debated and remains unclear.⁴⁰ Warren’s UCL LBS entry states that he and Henry Samuel Eyre received the considerable sum of £852 0s 3d as compensation for the enslaved people on Nantons estate in Antigua.

The 1851 census finds Warren in Kentish Town, London, “Barrister retired from practice,” living with his wife, his cousin Frances Steers (1787–1867), whom he had married in 1807, and two sons, Alfred, 25, an engineer, and Frederick, 22, an architect. Warren died a few years later at the age of 83 and was buried on March 29, 1854, in Highgate Cemetery.⁴¹ The 1851 census shows that his neighbor was the young poet and essayist Coventry Patmore (1823–1896), then working at the British Library. Patmore went on to write a rather odd and dismissive piece on Austen in 1886, stating, among other things, that there “is scarcely a trace of the imaginative faculty in Miss Austen” (67). Did Patmore ever know that his quondam neighbor had known her personally?

Charles Fowle (1770–1806)

Charles Fowle was born on the October 24, 1770, the youngest of the Fowle brothers (*Chronology* 45). He is thought to have been a pupil at Steventon in the 1780s, possibly arriving in 1784.⁴² He may have stayed until 1789, as he joined Lincoln’s Inn on January 22, 1790,⁴³ and was called to the bar on November 17, 1800.⁴⁴ The year before, he married

³⁹ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Camilla_Or_A_Picture_of_Youth/3SMJAAAAOAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR7&printsec=frontcover

⁴⁰ For further information see Angerstein’s entry on UCL LBS: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146631640>. This entry also contains links to papers by Nick Draper (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/angersteinmarine.pdf>) and Rachel Lang (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/angersteinownership.pdf>), which explore the matter further.

⁴¹ Note that his year of death is given as c.1831 in *Letters* (582).

⁴² *Letters* states 1780s (524); *Chronology*, 1784 (94); and Walker, 1783.

⁴³ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/1420_1799/Ehw1AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA534&printsec=frontcover&dq=fowle. Note that *Chronology* says January 22, 1790, the source being Sawtell (127). This entry, however, merely states January with no specific date; Lincoln’s Inn confirms January 22.

⁴⁴ <https://archive.org/details/VOL417761845/page/n265/mode/1up?q=fowle>. Note that the *Chronology* states 18 November 1800, the source being a private communication from Sawtell (246).

Honorina Townsend of Newbury.⁴⁵ It is unclear how many children they had, but *The Gentleman's Magazine* records the death of his daughter Ellen, aged fifteen, on February 16, 1818.⁴⁶ Like his brother Fulwar, Charles was active in the volunteer service. In 1798 he was a major in the Hungerford Pioneers, and a few years later he became a major in the Hungerford Voluntary Infantry (Austen, *Letters* 524).

Austen mentions Fowle several times in her letters, the earlier ones in particular sounding somewhat flirtatious, with Le Faye describing him as “Jane’s particular friend” (*Family Record* 165). A possible explanation could be that Charles Fowle might have been the only student at Steventon during 1789. Austen’s first surviving letter, from 9–10 January 1796, mentions him in connection with a ball: “I was very much disappointed at not seeing Charles Fowle of the party, as I had previously heard of his being invited.” In the following letter she makes a curious reference to Fowle’s possibly being commissioned to buy stockings, or buying them on his own initiative (14–15 January 1796). Following his brother Tom’s engagement to Cassandra, Le Faye describes him as “more . . . a brother than a potential admirer” (92).

He seems to have suddenly fallen ill in 1805 and, rather like Richard Buller, made his way to Bath to seek a cure. Austen notes that he had taken a house in Bath from September (8–11 April 1805); she mentions only the house number, twenty, which could mean that he was in the same street as they were, Gay Street (*Chronology* 309). His sojourn in Bath does not seem to have done him much good as he subsequently returned to his brother’s home at Kintbury, where he died on February 12, 1806, leaving Fulwar, the eldest, as the only surviving brother of the four (*Chronology* 325).

George Shum Storey (1775–1845)

In his 1996 article on Mr. Austen’s bank account, Tony Corley suggested that a payment from December 28, 1786, from George Shum Junior may have related to a student (26). To my

⁴⁵ Curiously, Deacon Morrell (see below) had a cousin, Robert (1773–1849), who lived with a Townsend family in Newbury. He was rebuffed in no uncertain terms when he proposed to their daughter Honorina in 1797. He subsequently left the Townsends’ house for Oxford to stay with his uncle James, Deacon’s father. Brigid Allen describes Honorina as “pretty, nubile but disagreeable” (*Morrells of Oxford* 15). Robert remained a bachelor for life.

⁴⁶ <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015027525032&view=1up&seq=518&q1=ellen%20fowle>

knowledge, this article is the only reference to there being a student named Shum at Steventon. Corley notes that the payments continued until 1789; in fact, between December 1786 and July 1789 Mr. Austen received six payments, which could well be school fees, from George Shum Junior (1751–1805).⁴⁷ These amounts suggest that by this point Mr. Austen was charging perhaps £70 per annum. Shum was a sugar refiner and MP for Honiton from 1796 to his death in 1805. He had a son, another George, who was baptized on April 6, 1775, having been born on March 8. There is no record that the younger George attended university, and, in fact, *The Gentleman's Magazine* reports that on October 24, 1795, the year he (and Jane Austen) turned twenty, he eloped and married Anne Storey in Gretna Green⁴⁸—although the same source states that the ceremony was repeated the following year on January 5, perhaps in more conventional circumstances.⁴⁹ Shum took his wife's name making him George Shum Storey. His father-in-law was Robert Storey, a physician who spent much of his life in India and who appears to have served the Nawab of Arcot. It seems that through Storey the family came into Arcot Hall in Cramlington, near Newcastle.

The report in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1795 refers to Shum as a sugar baker, although other sources, including Pevsner, claim that Shum was an “Indian adventurer” —but without providing a source (248). *The London Gazette* of March 25, 1800, does mention a cornet George Shum, who is to be made a captain.⁵⁰ Pevsner also claims that Shum was present at the Siege of Arcot, but, given that the siege occurred in 1751, it seems more likely that Shum's father-in-law was present. In a brief online history of Arcot Hall, now a golf club, Steve Halsall states that Storey emigrated to India early in life, was physician to the Nawab of Arcot, and was involved in the siege.⁵¹ Having made his fortune, Storey returned to England and bought the site on which Arcot Hall would be built. Shum's son Henry would

⁴⁷ For further details see: https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/shum-george-1751-1805#footnote2_l2tlhf1

⁴⁸ 65:2 967 available online: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015018405426&view=1up&seq=491>

⁴⁹ 66:1 80 available here: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015014812682&view=1up&seq=102&q1=shum>

⁵⁰ <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/15242/page/298>

⁵¹ <https://www.arcothall.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/6897/2018/03/Arcot-Hall-the-history-and-the-golf-club.pdf> There are documents in the British Library relating to the Nawab of Arcot that mention a Robert Storey (IOR/H/322).

subsequently live at Arcot, and Shum's obituary describes him as being of Arcot in the county of Northumberland.

Shum and Anne appear to have had at least nine children before Anne's death on April 27, 1831. Her obituary states she was fifty-six, suggesting that she was the same age as her husband. In the 1820s he is in Ham, Kingston; the 1841 census finds him living there with five of his children. There is an entry for Shum in the UCL LBS in connection with a claim seemingly made on behalf of his sister-in-law, Margaret Gillies, née Storey, relating to her marriage settlement as she had an annuity secured on an estate in Jamaica.⁵² Margaret had married into the Barrett family, who were prominent in Jamaica, and their descendants included the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861). Like his father before him, Shum was a director of the Phoenix Fire Office and Pelican Life Assurance. He died on December 11, 1845,⁵³ and was buried on December 19 at St. James, Westminster, in accordance with his will.

Richard Buller (1776–1806)

The Clergy Database states that Richard Buller was born in Morval, Cornwall, on August 23, 1776, and baptized on August 29. According to a transcription on Ancestry, however, Richard Buller was baptized on July 2, 1776, in Wonston, not far from Steventon, in Hampshire. It is worth noting that Foster's entry for Richard states that his father was of Wonston, and Foster specifically states in a footnote that the place of residence for a subject's father is that at which he resided at the time of the child's birth (1: viii). Among Chapman's papers at Jane Austen's House is a letter from Lady Georgiana Buller (1883–1953), a collateral descendant, which states that Buller was born in Wonston. This confusion may explain why Le Faye simply states in the *Letters* that he was born in 1776, although she does state that he was born in Wonston (502), as does Maggie Lane (17).⁵⁴ Buller had two sisters, Anne and Susanna, and Austen mentions writing to a Miss Buller in her letter of 7–8 January 1807.

⁵² <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43306>

⁵³ *York Herald* 20 December 1845. Available online:

https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=BNCN&u=wes_ttda&id=GALEIR3211056272&v=2.1&it=r&sid=bookmark-BNCN&asid=96bac49a

⁵⁴ Jane Austen's House 161122/231. See also 161122/279 for another letter on Richard Buller to Chapman from Lady Georgiana. Note that in Chapman's edition of the letters, Richard Buller's place

Richard's father was William Buller (1735–96), subsequently Bishop of Exeter (1792–96), yet another Oxford contemporary of George Austen as well as a pluralist with a number of livings, one of them being at Overton, near Steventon, where he was rector. James Austen became his curate there in 1790, so perhaps it was through one of these routes that Richard Buller became Mr. Austen's pupil (*Family Record* 71). Le Faye states that Buller was at Steventon from 1790 to 1795, when he would have been between fourteen and nineteen (*Letters* 502). There are two sources that help us date Buller's attendance at Steventon: Mrs. Austen's poem "The humble petition of R^d Buller & W. Goodenough," possibly dating to c. 1791, and payments made to Mr. Austen, from March 1791 to January 1795. Given these dates, Buller may have arrived later than 1790 and left before 1795.

Buller kept in touch with the Austens, and Jane in particular, for the rest of his life, although there is no evidence of any romantic interest. Le Faye has suggested that, coming from a west country family, he may have been a source for the Devonshire background of *Sense and Sensibility* (Le Faye, "Devonshire Roots" 36). He matriculated at his father's college, Oriel, on February 3, 1795 (Foster 1: 188). We know from Austen's letter of 14–15 January 1796 that he was back at Steventon and staying with the Austen family for the Christmas and new year season of 1795–1796, when Austen met Tom Lefroy.

In 1799, Richard Buller became vicar of Colyton, Devon, perhaps through the influence of his late father. In 1800, he married Anna Marshall, and Austen commented on her briefly in a letter from 8–9 November 1800, indicating the closeness he felt to the Austens: "throughout the whole of his letter indeed he seems more engrossed by his feelings towards our family, than towards her [Buller's wife], which You know cannot give any one disgust.—He is very pressing in his invitation to us all to come & see him at Colyton, & my father is very much inclined to go there next Summer." The Austens are believed to have carried out this plan and may have visited him in his Colyton vicarage in the summer of 1801 (*Family Record* 135).

Austen mentions Buller again in a letter of 8–11 April 1805, after she encountered him in Bath, fruitlessly seeking a cure to ill health: "His Habit has always been billious, but I am

of birth is given as "Winston." This slip is because Lady Georgiana's handwriting was almost as bad as Chapman's.

afraid it must be too late for these waters to do him any good; for tho' he is altogether in a more comfortable state as to Spirits & appetite than when I saw him last, & seems equal to a good deal of quiet walking, his appearance is exactly that of a confirmed Decline.—

” Austen’s apparent composure at her friend’s impending death may seem surprising to us, but her words suggest that his health had perhaps always been poor, or her attitude may just be a reflection of the reality of her times. Le Faye suggests that he needed particular care and attention at Steventon and that, due to this requirement, his father paid Mr. Austen the surprisingly high amount of approximately £150 per annum, a sum confirmed by Mr. Austen’s ledgers (*Family Record* 72). Buller died on December 19, 1806, at thirty, a few days after Jane Austen’s thirty-first birthday, leaving behind his wife and an infant son and daughter.

William Goodenough (1776–1843)

William Stephen Goodenough was born on December 10, 1776, the son of Stephen and Anne Goodenough of Winterborne Stoke, Wiltshire. Le Faye includes him among a group of three or four boys who were at Steventon between 1791 and 1796, stating that his fees were around £65 per annum. The source for this assertion is simply “Mr Austen’s account at Hoare’s Bank,” and I have been unable to identify specific entries in the ledger that can confidently be linked to Goodenough (*Family Record* 72–73, 296 n48). The rectory at Steventon had a weathercock, and Anna Lefroy recollected with pleasure, “How pleasant to childish ears was the scrooping sound of that weathercock, moved by the summer breeze!” (qtd. *Family Record* 21). Not everyone felt the same way: Goodenough, along with Richard Buller, appears to have complained about the noise it made. This incident caused Mrs. Austen to write her poem “The humble petition of R^d Buller & W. Goodenough,” where the students promise they will study all day if only the weathercock is removed so they can get a good night’s sleep (Selwyn 28).

Goodenough may have left Steventon late in 1794 as he entered St. John’s College, Oxford, on January 31, 1795 (Foster 2: 537), and was subsequently ordained, becoming rector of Yate in Gloucester in 1801, where he remained for the rest of his life. On February 5, 1816, he married Anne Mair at nearby Iron Acton, by whom he had at least two children, Ann (1819–1886) and William Stephen (1826–1913). It appears that he did not keep in touch with the Austens. He was buried in Yate on March 17, 1843.

Deacon Morrell (1775–1854)

Deacon Morrell was christened on March 5, 1775, the son of James Morrell of Oxford (1739–1807) and his second wife, Anne. James Morrell rose to become one of Oxford’s most prominent solicitors, and his firm would last until the late twentieth century. In 1797 two of his nephews, Mark (1771–1843) and James (1773–1855), moved to Oxford and, with a loan from him, went into partnership with a brewer, Edward Tawney. The brewery was incredibly successful, and the brothers laid down the foundations of a business that would last over two hundred years (Allen, *Morrell Family*).

A different path awaited their cousin Deacon. Like the Austens, the Morrells had connections with St. John’s College, with several generations serving as stewards of St. John’s and the family living virtually next door to the college at St. Giles (Allen, *Morrells of Oxford* 22). Nonetheless, Deacon Morrell matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, on October 23, 1792 (Foster 3: 984), where one of his contemporaries was novelist Matthew “Monk” Lewis (1775–1818), who matriculated on April 27, 1790 (Foster 3: 847). Morrell entered Lincoln’s Inn on April 14, 1796,⁵⁵ and, although he was also ordained priest in 1802, it seems he never held a living. In 1812 Morrell came into a considerable estate from his childless uncle, Robert, which was divided with his brother Baker (*Morrells of Oxford* 12).

Jane Austen makes a cryptic reference to Deacon Morrell in a letter from 30 January 1809: “I am sorry to find that Sir J. Moore has a Mother living, but tho’ a very Heroick son, he might not be a very necessary one to her happiness.—Deacon Morrell may be more to M^{rs} Morrell.” An earlier letter from 25 November 1798 states, “We do not know who furnishes the qualification. Mr Mowell would have readily given it, had not all his Oxfordshire property been engaged for a similar purpose to the Colonel.” Both Le Faye and Chapman believe that “Mowell” is a misreading for “Morrell,” which seems plausible given the family’s landholdings. The census of 1841 finds Morrell in Sackville Street, Westminster. His age is given as sixty, and he is described as a clergyman. He was still at Sackville Street (No. 35) in the census of 1851. Morrell seems to have been generous with his wealth, recorded in the 1848 *Medical Times* as giving £500 to Middlesex Hospital, where he also served as a vice-

⁵⁵ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/1420_1799/Ehw1AQAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22deacon+morrell%22&pg=PA557&printsec=frontcover

president.⁵⁶ He also gave a “munificent donation” of £1,000 to University College Hospital in 1850, where he was treasurer (*Literary Gazette*, 1850).⁵⁷ *The Gentleman’s Magazine* states that Morrell died at the age of seventy-nine on March 10, 1854, at Sackville Street. He was unmarried.⁵⁸

Deacon’s brother Baker (1778–1854) was an Oxford solicitor, like his father. Both Baker’s son and grandson followed him into the family law firm, but the break finally came with his great-grandson, Philip Edward Morrell (1870–1943), who became an MP and husband of Lady Ottoline Morrell (1873–1938), both firm fixtures of twentieth-century Bloomsbury (Austen, *Letters* 556). Jane Austen’s House possesses a letter from Philip Morrell to Chapman dated September 28, 1931, written in response to a query from Chapman. Morrell states that he cannot explain Austen’s reference to Deacon in her letter of 30 January 1809 but that his grandmother knew Deacon well. Deacon had a fine collection of china, pictures, etc. at Sackville Street, some of which was in the possession of Philip, as was a mother of pearl box that Deacon gave to Philip’s grandparents on their marriage.⁵⁹

It is unclear, however, when Morrell was at Steventon, or, indeed, if he was ever there at all. Le Faye states in the *Family Record* that during the period 1791–1796 there were three or four boys at Steventon at different intervals: Richard Buller, William Stephen Goodenough, and two other unknown boys, who may have been Francis Newnham and Morrell (72–73), with Morrell possibly being there 1791–1792 (Austen, *Letters* 556). To support the claim regarding Newnham, Le Faye mentions payments made by “Newnham” during 1793–1795 but says nothing further about Morrell (*Family Record* 296 n45). I have been unable to identify any entries in Mr. Austen’s ledger during this period that can be confidently linked to Morrell. Le Faye, in the 1989 edition of the *Family Record*, appears to have been the first to have suggested that Morrell and Francis Newnham were pupils at

⁵⁶ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Medical_Times/-RkCAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA484&printsec=frontcover&dq=morrell

⁵⁷ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Literary_Gazette_and_Journal_of_the/A9duaPuNWUkC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22deacon+morrell%22&pg=PA365&printsec=frontcover

⁵⁸ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Gentleman_s_Magazine/0A9IAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22deacon+morrell%22&pg=PA552&printsec=frontcover

⁵⁹ Jane Austen’s House 161122/283

Steventon (W. Austen-Leigh 262 n42). Le Faye has been followed by Walker and then Byrne (20).

Joan Impey's preface to the 1989 *Family Record* states that RAAL's copy of the 1913 *Life and Letters* was filled with annotations as well as papers, clippings, and correspondence, indicating that he planned a revision (W. Austen-Leigh vii). This task was subsequently undertaken by Le Faye, resulting in the 1989 edition. RAAL's copy of the 1913 *Life and Letters* is now in the Hampshire Record Office (HRO 23M93/97/3), and Mrs. Austen's letter of 1773 regarding Lord Portsmouth, quoted above, appears on page 21. An annotation on this page states, "Two other pupils were R^d Buller & W. Goodenough. See some verses of Mrs Austen, but query date. Yet another pupils were G.East [xxx], F C Fowle & Frank F.Stewart. See also Mrs A's verses, dated 1779."⁶⁰ So there is no reference to Morrell, and the page where Austen's letter mentioning Morrell is quoted (229) contains no annotation regarding him. I did not find any reference to Morrell in the various papers that were once contained in the volume (HRO 23M93/97/4). These documents, then, provide no clue as to why Morrell (or Newnham) are mentioned in the 1989 revision.

It can be argued that, given Deacon Morrell's unusual name, Austen cannot have been referring to a different person in her letter of 30 January 1809, but it does not follow that he was therefore a pupil at Steventon. Furthermore, Brigid Allen states that Morrell was at Westminster School (*Morrells of Oxford* 12), a contention supported by G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, who place him there on July 13, 1790 (2: 1069).⁶¹ This source might seem like conclusive evidence that Morrell could not have been at Steventon, but Robert Southey, a contemporary of Morrell's at Westminster, recounts in an 1802 letter that Morrell got into a fight with a fellow pupil, Joseph Phillimore, in 1791 that triggered a school rebellion. Hugh Pagan has suggested that, following this event, the headmaster perhaps intimated to Morrell's father that he should be removed and that he was subsequently sent to Steventon prior to his matriculation at Christ Church in October 1792—all of which tallies with Le Faye's dating.⁶² A possible family connection is referenced by Allen, who states that

⁶⁰ Given my own uncertainty about the dating of Mrs. Austen's poems, I found it interesting that RAAL also seems to have had doubts.

⁶¹ <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015006984473&view=1up&seq=537&q1=morrell>

⁶² http://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Two/HTML/letterEEd.26.705.html James Boswell junior, son of the biographer, who was also at the school at the time, provides a detailed

as a young man, James Morrell, Deacon's father, counted the Leigh-Perrots as clients. Perhaps a recommendation for George Austen came from them; at the very least, it provides a link between the families that explains Austen's reference to him (*Morrells of Oxford* 10, 159 n10).⁶³

Francis Newnham (1779–1870)

Francis Newnham was born on September 1, 1779, the son of Thomas Newnham of Hatton Garden, London (1735–1817), and his wife, Mary. Le Faye states that Mr. Austen received payments from "Newnham" between 1793 and 1795 that may relate to Francis (*Family Record* 296 n45). Newnham & Co., however, was the name of the bank, and no explanation is provided as to why these payments would relate to a student who may have just happened to have had the same name. Hilton Price provides details of the banking partnership of Newnham, Everett, Drummond, Tibbitts, and Tanner, founded in 1785 and based at 65 Lombard Street (58).⁶⁴ Nathaniel Newnham (c.1742–1809), one of the co-founders, was an Alderman, Mayor of London, and Master of the Mercers' company. Francis's father, Thomas, was Nathaniel's older brother and succeeded to his brother's banking partnership after his death, although he relinquished it in 1812.⁶⁵ Therefore, the Nathaniel Newnham of the banking partnership would have been Francis Newnham's uncle, so Le Faye's supposition may well be right. It is also worth noting that the 1851 census describes Francis's older brother, another Nathaniel, as a retired banker.

account. I am very grateful to Elizabeth Wells for providing these references and for passing on Hugh Pagan's opinion.

⁶³ The endnote refers to the cash book of James Morrell and Thomas Walker 1763–1766. The firm of Morrell, Peel, and Gamlen was subsumed into Manches & Co in 1997. The bulk of the firm's archive is held at the Oxfordshire History Centre, but unfortunately this cash book does not appear to be present. I am very grateful to Katherine Kinrade, who kindly carried out a detailed search. The Berkshire Record Office also has papers relating to the firm, but it does not hold it either. My thanks to James Mould for his assistance. There is a collection of deeds relating to the firm at Lincoln College, Oxford, but they do not seem relevant. There are also papers relating to the family held at the Bodleian; these may also not be relevant, but I received no response to my enquiry. I would be very interested to hear from anyone with any further information about the current whereabouts of this cash book.

⁶⁴ https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/A_Handbook_of_London_Bankers/HzovAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PA58&printsec=frontcover&dq=newnham

⁶⁵ <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/newnham-nathaniel-1742-1809>

Newnham matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, on June 18, 1798, but migrated to Worcester College on February 1, 1799, where he received a Bachelor of Civil Law degree in 1805 (Foster 3: 1017). During this period, students would often migrate from one college to another, sometimes to take up a scholarship, although Newnham did not move for this reason. He entered Worcester as a fellow commoner, which gave him additional privileges such as dining with fellows, so perhaps he moved because of the privileges as he was just a commoner at Wadham.⁶⁶

A search of the British Library catalogue reveals Newnham to have been an author with a number of works attributed to him, such as *The Drone in the Ball Room; or Lucky Escape from a Mess of Distresses. A poem, Written Without any Intervention of the Letter S* (1829)⁶⁷ and *The Pleasures of Anarchy. A Dramatic Poem in Five Acts and in Verse* (1829),⁶⁸ which both appear to have been published privately. Perhaps unsurprisingly given his family background, Newnham appears to have been comfortably off. The 1841 census has a Francis Newnham, clerk, aged sixty-one, living in Alfred Street, Marylebone. He does not seem to be in the 1851 census, but in 1861 he appears as a “clergyman without cure of souls,” aged eighty-one. Letters of administration of the personal estate and effects of the Reverend Francis Newnham, who died on March 12, 1870, were granted to David Anderson Blane, Newnham’s nephew by his sister Honoria. If Newnham really was at Steventon, he was the longest lived of the known students, dying at ninety and living long enough to see the publication of JEAL’s *Memoir*.

Philip Pinnock (1784–1831)

Between November 18, 1794, and June 13, 1796, there are four payments in Mr. Austen’s ledger from G or George Pinnock that might relate to school fees. To my knowledge, however, there has been no suggestion to date that Mr. Austen had a student named

⁶⁶ Via email from Emma Goodrum, Archivist, Worcester College, Oxford (28 February 2023).

⁶⁷ Available online

https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_drone_in_the_ball_room_or_Lucky_esca/jNAIAAAAQAAI?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR1&printsec=frontcover This copy appears to be heavily annotated by the author.

⁶⁸ Available online

https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_pleasures_of_anarchy_a_dramatic_poem/BvoTAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PR5&printsec=frontcover

Pinnock at the rectory. There is a reference to a George Pinnock (1749–1834) in the will of Sir George Hampson (1738–1774), 6th baronet, of Jamaica, details of which appear in Le Faye’s *Chronology*.⁶⁹ This Sir George was the nephew of Rebecca Austen (1693–1733), Jane Austen’s grandmother, and he was George Austen’s cousin. His wife, who had died before her husband, in 1772, was Mary Pinnock, daughter of Thomas and Mary Pinnock, whom he had married in 1759. Sir George’s will states that his kinsman, John Cope Freeman (1726–1788), is to be guardian of his two children, Thomas Philip and Mary. In 2009, Le Faye published a new transcript of the letters contained in the second section of *Austen Papers*. Letter number 8, from Mrs. George Austen to Mrs. Walter, dated 20 August 1775, concludes: “I am very glad to find Mr Freeman undertakes the care of the little Orphans.” In a note, Le Faye states that “the ‘little orphans’ referred to here are unidentified” (“Austen Papers” 30, 32 n13), but there is a case to be made for its being a reference to Sir George’s two children. Freeman’s name may be familiar, as he was Charles Austen’s godfather and Mr. Austen’s cousin (*Family Record* 41).⁷⁰ He would also have been Sir George’s cousin. (See Appendix 3 for a simplified Hampson family tree.)

The will stipulates that in the event of Freeman’s death William Walter and George Pinnock would be responsible for the children. William Hampson Walter (1721–1798) was Mr. Austen’s half-brother, and George Pinnock was Mary Pinnock’s brother, thus Sir George’s brother-in-law and uncle to his two children. The executors are named as James and Philip Pinnock, presumably George’s two brothers. (See Appendix 4 for a simplified Pinnock family tree.) Sir George’s will indicates that he left Jamaica and returned to London, and a codicil of December 14, 1774, states that his executors are now William Hampson Walter and Capel Cure (*Chronology* 63).

To return to George Pinnock: UCL LBS states that he was President of the Council in Jamaica and owner of the New Shafston estate.⁷¹ He had attended Westminster school and served as

⁶⁹ June 1773 (*Chronology* 58), December 14, 1774 (63), November 25, 1775 (66), January 10, 1776 (66). Note that Le Faye quotes a reference number of PROB 11/1015/17 for the will, whereas it is PROB 11/1015/112.

⁷⁰ Note that Freeman’s will is in Spence (32–41) and précised in the *Chronology* under 29 December 1779 (76). He also owned land and enslaved people in Jamaica. He paid Mr. Austen the sum of £30 on September 6, 1765.

⁷¹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633810>

a midshipman in the navy. In 1774 he married his cousin Grace (1748/9–1808), and they had a number of children, including a son, Philip, born December 13, 1784.⁷² Philip's son, another George (1824–1901), wrote a memoir in 1899, stating that his father, like his grandfather, attended Westminster School.⁷³ The records of the school do indeed indicate that Philip was admitted on June 23, 1796, and that his father, George, had also attended the school. The last payment from George Pinnock to Mr. Austen was received on June 13, 1796. The coincidence of these dates, along with the many family relationships that connect the Pinnocks and the Austens, makes it possible that George Pinnock was recommended to send his son to the care of Mr. Austen before his admission to Westminster. Philip would have been around nine to eleven years old during this period, and Mr. Austen would have been used to teaching older boys. (See Appendix 2.) If Philip was indeed at Steventon, perhaps he was taken on as a family favor.

Aside from the four payments that George Pinnock made, there is potentially a fifth that relates to Philip. This payment, dating from May 22, 1794, was for £53 0s 9d from “Thos P Hampson,” apparently Sir Thomas Philip Hampson, 7th baronet (1765–1820), son of Sir George. Could this payment be the first relating to Philip Pinnock's school fees? If so, why would Sir Thomas be paying his cousin's school fees on behalf of his uncle? Was it perhaps in recognition of some assistance given in the winding up of his father's estate? Or to acknowledge some care or protection that George Pinnock offered the young Sir Thomas? Or perhaps it was completely unrelated. In any case, “Thos P Hampson” does not appear again in Mr. Austen's ledgers during this period.

Philip Pinnock returned to Jamaica, where he owned a plantation, and in January 1821 he married Charlotte Anna Caroline Lee (1802–1870), eldest daughter of David Grant of Somerset Hall, Jamaica.⁷⁴ He died in Jamaica in 1831.⁷⁵ According to his daughter Grace, her father, during his daily round over his estate, got caught in a thunderstorm. He was

⁷² For a genealogy of the Pinnocks, see <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/RPinnockGrant.htm>

⁷³ <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/MemoirGeorgePinnock.htm>

⁷⁴ UCL LBS has entries for both Philip <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650569> and his wife <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16691>

⁷⁵ His son George's memoir states it was towards the end of 1830, at the age of 45, whereas his daughter Grace says 1831.

drenched and “got a chill,” which subsequently led to the fever from which he died. Philip’s children included George and Grace already mentioned. Grace remembered, “He was about six feet in height and extremely handsome. I never saw a more beautiful expression of countenance, a true indication of his character which was affectionate, kind and benevolent. He was of a calm placid temper, but firm in exacting obedience”⁷⁶ (Pinnock).

The family left Jamaica to return to England shortly after the revolt of 1831. By the time George came of age, the value of their father’s estate had plummeted, and George states in his memoir that he was eventually forced to sell for a low price. He and Grace subsequently emigrated to Australia. It should be noted that Philip had a cousin, Mary Stevenson (d. 1840), the daughter of Sir George Hampson, 6th baronet, and Mary Pinnock, both mentioned above. Mary Stevenson owned an estate in Jamaica, and her UCL LBS entry states that she left £100 to Philip’s wife as well as £1,100 each to Philip’s children, including Grace and George.⁷⁷ We also know from the UCL LBS entry for Philip’s wife, Charlotte, that she also received fairly significant sums in compensation, so it seems it wasn’t all bad news.



Pinnock may have been one of the last pupils at Steventon. Most likely a number of factors contributed to the end of Mr. Austen’s tutoring. By this point, Mr. Austen would have been in his mid-sixties, his own sons had all left home, and he was in relatively comfortable financial circumstances. After just over two decades of bustle and noise, the rectory was finally free of teenage boys. The quiet must have been striking. It was in this environment that Austen drafted “First Impressions,” which, according to Cassandra, was begun in October 1796 (*Chronology* 188), just a few months after Pinnock entered Westminster School.

⁷⁶ Grace Pinnock’s account of her childhood can be accessed online <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/MemoirPinnock.htm> as can that of her brother George

<http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/MemoirGeorgePinnock.htm>

⁷⁷ See Sir George’s entry <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650217> and his daughter Mary’s <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146641423>. It may be of interest to readers that the Hampson arms contains three hempbrakes.

Yet the presence of the boys may well have left its mark on Austen in other ways. Tomalin has pointed out the strong element of boys' humor in the juvenilia, written during part of this period (31), and, as we have seen, the Austens kept in touch with many of their former charges. The above vignettes are intended to capture a sense of the career trajectories and life experiences of some of Austen's male contemporaries. Much has been written on the lives of women in Austen's time, and rightly so, but I hope these brief sketches provide some additional context that allow us to better understand the experiences of their fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons.

APPENDIX 1

Payments Made to Mr. Austen 1779–1796

The table below summarizes the entries in Mr. Austen's ledgers at Hoare's Bank referred to above, which I believe relate to student fees. The Source column indicates the ledger and folio number where the entry is found, and the Chronology column contains the page number on which it appears in Le Faye's *Chronology*.

Date	Amount	Paid By	Source	Chronology
4 September 1779	£36.2s.6d	Ja ^s Stuart	98, fo.109	75
7 April 1780	£33.18s.1½d	J. Stuart	98, fo.109	78
10 November 1781	£32.1s.6d	Ja ^s Stuart	7, fo.302	85
14 October 1782	£15.17s.4d	Mr Stuart	11, fo.293	89
28 December 1786	£35.2s.3d	Geo. Shunn Jnr	23, fo.117	107
31 July 1787	£34.6s.6d	Geo. Shumm	29, fo.76	110
27 December 1787	£34.12s.2d	G. Shum Jnr	29, fo.76	112
11 August 1788	£35.0s.0d	G Shum Jnr	29, fo.76	117
3 February 1789	£35.15s.4d	G.Shum Jnr	29, fo.76	120
7 July 1789	£36.0s.0d	Mr Shum Jr	33, fo.396	124

18 March 1791	£55.0s.0d	Dr Buller	33, fo.396	132
21 April 1792	£83.0s.0d	Dr W. Buller, per Croft & Co	41, fo.406	142
2 August 1792	£64.15s.6d	Mrs(?) Reade per H Deane	41, fo.406	147
10 October 1792	£73.8s.0d	Dr Buller per Croft & Co	41, fo.406	150
15 May 1793	£91.11s.0d	Bp of Exeter per Croft & Co	41, fo.406	154
8 November 1793	£68.15s.3d	Bill on Newnham & Co	47, fo.347	159
9 November 1793	£69.11s.6d	Bishop of Exeter per Croft & Co	47, fo.347	159
14 April 1794	£81.2s.10d	Bishop of Exeter per Croft & Co	47, fo.347	165
22 May 1794	£53.0s.9d	Thos P Hampson	47, fo.347	165
18 November 1794	£56.3s.2d	G Pinnock	47, fo.347	170
19 November 1794	£80.5s.0d	Bishop of Exeter per Croft & Co	47, fo.347	170
29 November 1794	£65.14s.0d	Bill on Newnham & Co	47, fo.347	170
7 January 1795	£54.0s.0.d	Bishop of Exeter per Croft & Co	47, fo.347	173
1 May 1795	£68.7s.0d	Bill on Newnham & Co	47, fo.347	175
9 June 1795	£56.9s.3d	Geo. Pinnock	47, fo.347	176
13 January 1796	£53.1s.0d	G Pinnock	53, fo.439	180
13 June 1796	£70.13s.0d	G Pinnock	53, fo.439	183

APPENDIX 2

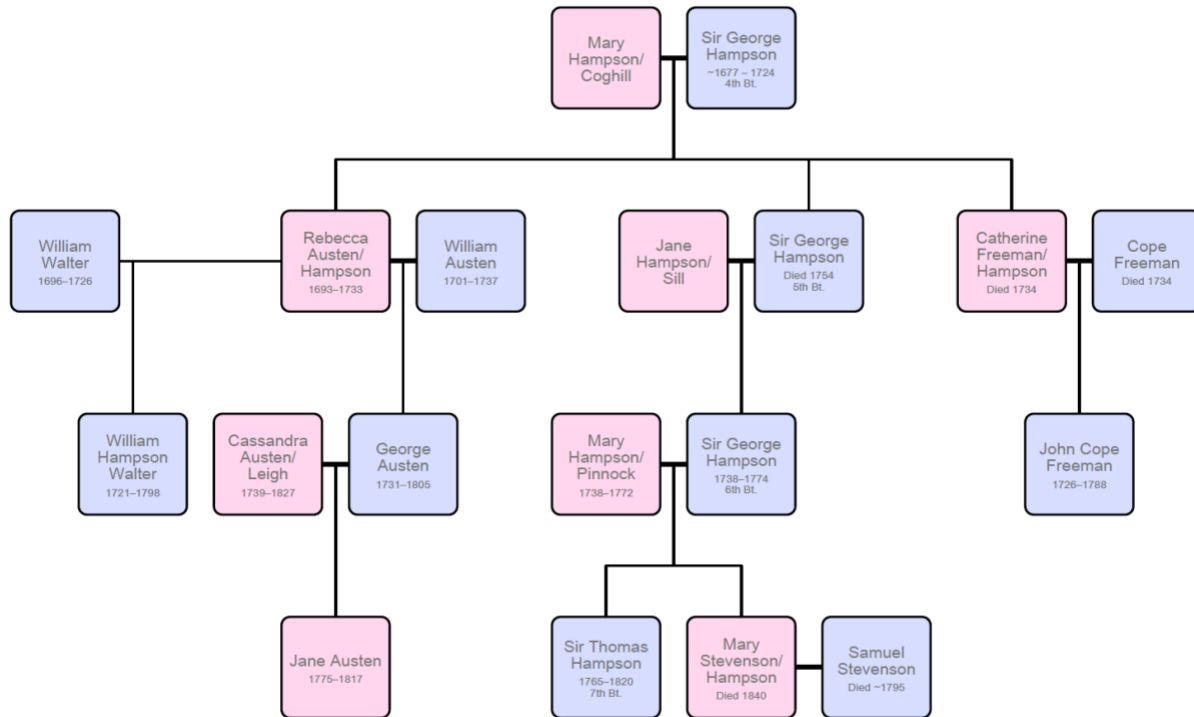
Table of Students

The below table attempts to provide a summary of information regarding the students. In some cases, we cannot be sure when students arrived and left, or indeed, if they were even at Steventon at all. The information below is therefore merely tentative and not intended to be definitive.

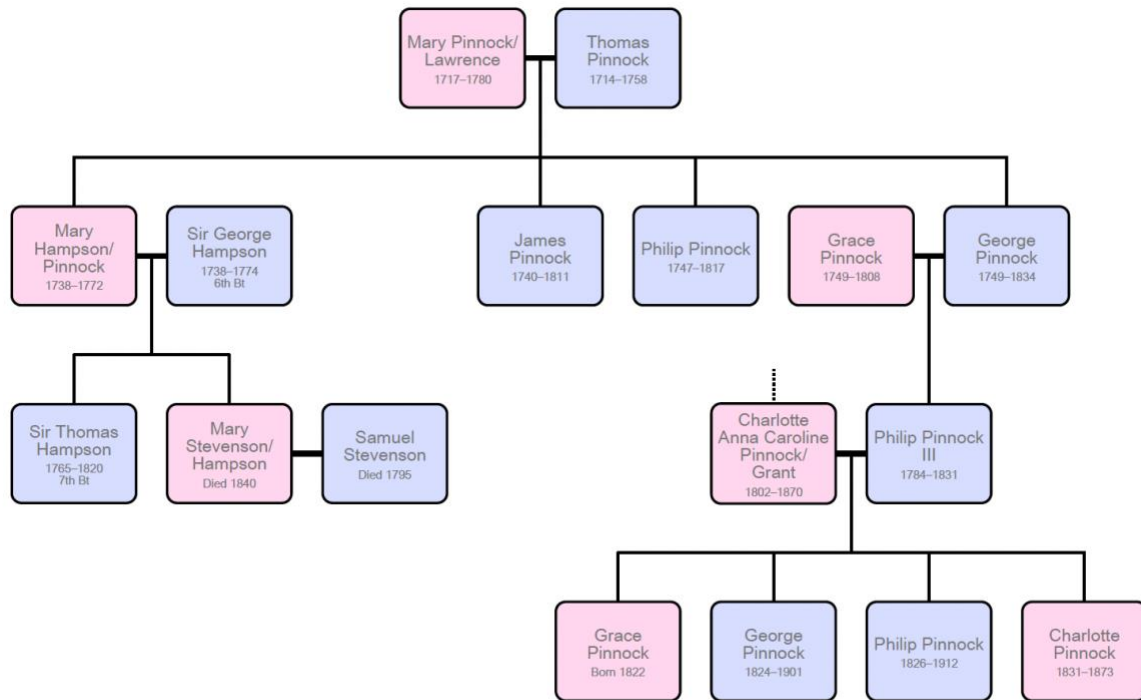
Name	Dates	At Steventon	Age	Subsequent Destination
George Hastings	1757–1764?	1764? (At Deane)	7	Died young
Lord Portsmouth	1767–1853	Summer–Winter 1773	5	London
William Vanderstegen	1760–1831	1773–1778	13–18	St. John's College, Oxford
Fulwar Fowle	1764–1840	1778–1781	14–17	St. John's College, Oxford
Thomas Fowle	1765–1797	1779–1783	13–17	St. John's College, Oxford
(John?) Francis Stuart	c.1764–1833	1779–1782	13–16	St. John's College, Oxford?
Henry Deane	c.1768–1840	1779–1786	11–18	St. John's College, Oxford
George Deane	c.1769–1828	1780–1786	11–17	St. John's College, Oxford
Gilbert East	1764–1828	1779–1783	14–19	Queen's College, Oxford
William Fowle	1767–1801	1780–1786	13–19	London
George Nibbs	1765–1832	1781–1783	16–18	Oriel College, Oxford
John Willing Warren	1770–1854	1783–1785	13–15	St. John's College, Oxford
Charles Fowle	1770–1806	1784–1789	13–18	Lincoln's Inn, London
George Shum Storey	1775–1845	1786–1789	11–14	?
Richard Buller	1776–1806	1790–1795	14–19	Oriel College, Oxford
William Goodenough	1776–1843	1791–1794	14–18	St. John's College, Oxford
Deacon Morrell	1775–1854	1791–1792	16–17	Christ Church, Oxford
Francis Newnham	1779–1870	1793–1795	14–16	Wadham College, Oxford
Philip Pinnock	1784–1831	1794–1796	9–11	Westminster School

APPENDIX 3

Simplified Hampson Family Tree



Simplified Pinnock Family Tree



A NOTE ON THE UCL LEGACIES OF BRITISH SLAVERY DATABASE

I have drawn on the UCL Legacies of British Slavery database for information on several individuals mentioned in this article. The database highlights the various connections between individuals and enslaved people or the slave trade. In drawing on this source and highlighting these links, there is no intended value judgment regarding the persons concerned.

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