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Appendix 7

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APPENDIX 7

THE PAPERS USED BY JANE AUSTEN*

Andrew Honey

Jane Austen may well be the first major author to have written solely on English paper. Twenty different stocks are found in her fiction manuscripts, and though it is not possible to identify papermakers in every instance, they all appear to have been made in England. Her choice of paper was not a conscious or patriotic one, but rather a reflection of her times. Her writing career coincided with a maturing of the English paper industry, when for the first time the writing paper purchased from English stationers would have been a domestic product rather than an import.¹ The total quantity of paper she used in her surviving manuscripts is surprisingly small, only 251 sheets or slightly more than half a ream.² This amounts to approximately one-twentieth of the daily output of a one-vat paper mill, or almost enough paper to print seven copies of the first edition of *Sense and Sensibility*.³

With such a small sample, the study of the 20 different stocks used by Austen has inevitably produced evidence of her working methods rather than information about the wider paper industry. This evidence is presented in the Headnotes of the edition; additional information underpinning some of these findings is presented here. Grouping information about Austen's papers into an appendix allows comparisons to be made and some conclusions to be drawn.

Austen used writing papers; that is, paper designed as a suitable support on which to write with water-based iron gall inks. To prevent the ink from spreading or sinking the paper was coated with a gelatine size in the paper mill as one of the last stages of manufacture.⁴ The papers Austen used, however, were not in the same form as when they left the mill. The papermaker's complete sheets of paper with their uneven deckle edges had been converted into either bound notebooks or letter paper, both commercially

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produced and sold over the counter in standard formats and sizes by stationers.⁵ This intermediary step, and her preference for two common formats and sizes, foolscap quarto notebooks and post quarto letter paper, mean that Austen most frequently used paper in half sheets, the edges of which had been commercially cut prior to purchase.⁶

By examining, measuring, and recording the position of watermarks in Austen's paper, it has been possible to calculate the sizes of the original sheets for 15 of the 20 paper stocks. They fall into three sizes: post, foolscap, and pot in descending size order.⁷ This is significant, as the size of the original sheet largely correlates to the format in which the paper was purchased from the stationers. For example all her quarto notebooks are made from foolscap paper, and eight of the nine half sheet quarto letter papers are folded from post paper. The two examples of full sheet folio letter paper used by Austen are both folded from paper smaller than post, one being foolscap and the other pot, making a more manageable folio page.

Watermarks incorporating dates are found in 11 of the 20 paper stocks, the dates ranging from 1796 to 1815. Dates appear in paper as a consequence of changes in taxation regulations which came into effect in 1794. The new regulations allowed publishers of some types of printed books, and those exporting printed books or stationery in the form of ruled account books, to reclaim the duty paid by papermakers as long as the paper had 'visible in the substance thereof a mark, commonly called a water mark, of the date of present year of our Lord in the following Figures 1794, or in a like manner of some subsequent year'.⁸ This mandatory requirement for dates within watermarks was repealed in 1811, but the practice had become customary and was continued by most papermakers.⁹ Dates within watermarked paper used by James Ballantyne in Edinburgh to print works by Sir Walter Scott show that the paper was 'by and large [...] used within a year of its manufacture'.¹⁰ A wider, and more varied interval between production and use can be seen in Austen's surviving letters, 54 of which were written on paper incorporating watermark dates.¹¹ Seven letters were written in the year of manufacture, twelve one year after, eleven two years after, twelve three years after, eleven four years after, and one five years after.¹²

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The evidence to be derived from watermark dates for Austen's manuscripts should be used with caution.

Austen's writing career coincided with the first major changes to the paper moulds used to make European paper and this too is reflected in the stocks. Austen used both laid and wove papers, and papers made on single- and double-faced moulds, though no pattern or preference for these features can be seen in her choice.¹³ Towards the end of her lifetime,

paper began to be made by machine, but no machine-made paper is found among her fiction manuscripts.

The paper stocks

In the following descriptions all sizes are given in millimetres as height × width, except the original sheet sizes which are long side × short side. The original sheet sizes of the paper were calculated by adding a standard 5 mm for each trimmed edge. Where the paper was trimmed as half sheets, the additional trim has been allowed for. The named sizes of post, foolscap, and pot are assumed to be approximately 495–533 × 388–419, 425 × 343 and 394 × 318 mm.¹⁴

Each watermark has been given a unique number and they are listed as twins.¹⁵ Watermark twins are numbered and countermark twins are distinguished by a letter, unless it has been possible to match the halves for a complete sheet, in which case the countermark is also numbered. The position of each watermark and side of the paper from which they correctly read is shown by the abbreviations fLF^o, mRF^o etc., the first indicating a watermark centred on the left-hand half of the sheet when viewed from the felt side, and the second a watermark centred on the right-hand half of the sheet when viewed from the mould side of the paper. For watermarks found on half sheets, where it is not clear which half they represent, the abbreviations fF^o or mF^o have been used.¹⁶ For laid paper the size of watermark is followed by the chain-line spacing measured at the widest part of the watermark, with '|' indicating a chain-line and the watermark enclosed by square brackets.

Where the papermaker of a stock has been identified, brief details are given with any previously recorded watermarks incorporating dates similar to the stock. Finally, the 'notes' list other papers used by Austen which are similar to the stock.

VOLUME THE FIRST

Stock 1: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a single-faced mould.

Extent: 98 leaves, leaf size 199 × 160 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto notebook with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 199 × 160 mm.

Sheet size: 418 × 330 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: Britannia within a crowned oval.

1.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 125 × 90 mm, |19[7|26|23.5|25.5|7]18|.

1.2 Twin 2: fF⁰, 123 × 89 mm, |18[5.5|27|25.5|25.5|5.5]18.5|.

Countermark: crowned 'GR'.

1.3 Twin A: fF⁰, 35.5 × 31 mm, |22[2.5|25|3]22.5|.

1.4 Twin B: fF⁰, 34 × 33 mm, |21[3.5|27|3]22|.

VOLUME THE SECOND

Stock 2: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a single-faced mould.¹⁷

Extent: 144 leaves, leaf size 195 × 163 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto notebook with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 195 × 163 mm.

Sheet size: 418 × 336 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: 'Pro Patria'.

2.1 Twin 1: mF⁰, 128.5 × 120.5 mm, |26.5|[26|26.5|26.5|27|14.5]12|26|.

2.2 Twin 2: mF⁰, 125.5 × 120 mm, |26.5|[25.5|26.5|26.5|26.5|15]12.5|26|.

Countermark: 'GR' within a circle.

2.3 Twin A: mF⁰, 39.5 × 40.5 mm, |26|25.5|20.5[7|26.5|7]19.5|26.5|26.5|.

2.4 Twin B: mF⁰, 41 × 40 mm, |25.5|26|19[6.5|26.5|7]19.5|26.5|26.5|.

VOLUME THE THIRD

Stock 3: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a single-faced, end-to-end mould.¹⁸

Extent: 74 leaves, leaf size 196 × 161 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto notebook with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 196 × 161 mm.

Sheet size: 412 × 332 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: Britannia within a crowned oval.

3.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 135 × 94 mm, |27|17.5|7.5|26|25.5|26.5|8.5|18|25|.

3.2 Twin 2: fF⁰, 135.5 × 93 mm, |26.5|18|8.5|27|24.5|26.5|6.5|19|26|.

3.3 Twin 3: fF⁰, 134 × 93 mm, |27|17.5|8|26|25.5|26|7.5|18|25|.

3.4 Twin 4: fF⁰, 135 × 90.5 mm, |26.5|18.5|6.5|25.5|25.5|26.5|6.5|19|25.5|.

Countermark: crowned 'GR'.

3.5 Twin A: fF⁰, 43 × 30 mm, |26|11|15|15|10.5|26|26|26|.

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3.6 Twin B: fF⁰, 43 × 31 mm, |24.5|11|15.5|15.5|11|24.5|25.5|26|.

3.7 Twin C: fF⁰, 44 × 32 mm, |25|10|17|15|10|25|26|25|.

3.8 Twin D: fF⁰, 40.5 × 30.5 mm, |25|12|15|15.5|11|25|26|26.5|.

LADY SUSAN

Stock 4: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a single-faced mould by William Sharp, Romsey, Hampshire.

Extent: 81 leaves, leaf size 192 × 157 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto notebook with all edges commercially cut, leaf size >192 × >157 mm.

Sheet size: >402 × >324 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: Lion of the Seven Provinces within a crowned oval.

4.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 122 × 75 mm, |28|1|24|27|24.5|1.5|25.5|.

4.2 Twin 2: fF⁰, 123 × 75 mm, |27|1.5|25|25|25]2|25.5|.

Countermark: 'SHARP | 1805.'.

4.3 Twin A: fF⁰, >41 (20 + >9 + 12) × 67.5 mm, |27|9|16|28|23]3|26|.

4.4 Twin B: fF⁰, >45 (20 + >11 + 14) × 68 mm, |28|8.5|17.5|26.5|24]2.5|26|.

Papermaker: William Sharp operated two paper mills in Romsey, Hampshire, from 1770 until the 1790s, and continued with one mill until at least 1810.¹⁹ Watermarks with 'W SHARP', which incorporate a date, are recorded for 1795, 1797 and 1810, and a watermark with 'W & S SHARP' for 1814.²⁰ Romsey Mill is listed under Stephen Sharp in the 1816 *Excise List of Paper Mills and Pasteboard Manufactories*.²¹

Notes: William Sharp also made paper stock 19, and probably paper stock 6.

SUSAN

Stock 5: Laid writing paper made on a single-faced mould.

Extent: 1 fragment, 45 × 122 mm.

Sold as: Not known, probably quarto format.

Sheet size: Not known.

Watermark: None.

THE WATSONS

Stock 6: Wove post writing paper made on a double-faced mould, probably by William Sharp, Romsey, Hampshire.

Extent: 42 leaves, leaf size 193 × 122 mm.

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Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 244 × 193 mm.

Sheet size: 508 mm × 396 mm, 70 gsm, post.²²

Watermark: 'WS'.

6.1 Twin 1: fLF⁰, 20 × 58 mm.

6.2 Twin 2: fLF⁰, 18 × 47 mm.

Countermark: '1803'.

6.3 Twin A: fRF⁰, 13 × 52 mm.

6.4 Twin B: fRF⁰, 13.5 × 53 mm.

Papermaker: See paper stock 4 for details of William Sharp.

Notes: A matching watermark (6.2 Twin 2) to this paper stock is found on a letter written by Jane Austen to Cassandra Austen and dated 24 August 1805.²³ The letter is written on half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut (leaf size 243 × 191 mm). There is a tear to the tail fore-edge corner of the first leaf, caused during trimming by the stationer. This is similar to the tear in one leaf of *The Watsons* (Booklet 5 [pp. 1–2]), which occurred before Austen used the paper and which she avoids when writing.

Stock 7: Laid post writing paper made on a single-faced mould by Thomas Curteis, Carshalton, Surrey.

Extent: 2 leaves, leaf size 191 × 118 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 236 × 191 mm.

Sheet size: 490 × 390 mm, 70 gsm, post.

Watermark: 'CURTEIS & SON | [...]'.
The watermark is a rectangular stamp with the text 'CURTEIS & SON' on the left and a vertical line followed by a bracketed ellipsis on the right.

7.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 16 × 148 mm, |10[14|23|25|23|24|24|14]10|.

Papermaker: William Curteis was making paper at Carshalton Mill, Surrey, by 1777 and by 1787 had formed a partnership, as Curteis and Sons, with his sons John and Thomas. After 1794–5 the business was run solely by Thomas and continued into the early 1800s.²⁴ Watermarks with 'CURTEIS & SONS', which incorporate a date, are recorded for 1794, 1795, 1800 and 1802.²⁵

Stock 8: Laid post writing paper made on a single-faced mould by Joseph Molineux, Thomas Johnson and Arthur Lee, Lewes, Sussex.

Extent: 3 patches (125 × 121, 133 × 121, and 222 × 119 mm.) cut from one piece of paper.

Sold as: Either a full sheet of untrimmed paper with deckle edges, or a half sheet quarto letter paper with only one edge commercially cut.

Sheet size: >420 × 386 mm, 90 gsm, post.

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Watermark: Post-horn in a crowned shield over 'MJL'.

8.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 126 × >53 mm, >13|26|14|13|.

Papermaker: Joseph Molineux, Thomas Johnson, and the Lewes printer Arthur Lee established a paper mill at Lewes in 1802 and another at Isfield in 1808-9.²⁶ By 1816 the Lewes and Isfield mills are listed under Molineux & Johnson in the *Excise List*.²⁷ Watermarks with 'MJL' and the date 1806, and 'MJ&L' and the date 1812 are recorded.²⁸

Notes: This is not the same paper stock as that used for a letter written by Jane Austen to Frank Austen and dated 21 January 1805.²⁹ The letter has the countermark 'MOLINEUX JOHNSON | & A LEE | 1803' (fF⁰, 73 × 203 mm, |1|25|24|24|24|24|24|24|12|11|). It might be assumed that this could be the countermark for the watermark found in the paper used for the patches. However, its regular chain-line spacing of 24 mm is narrower than the 25-27 mm spacing found in the patches.³⁰ The letter is written on half sheet post quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut (leaf size 229 × 185 mm).

PERSUASION

Stock 9: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a double-faced mould.

Extent: 16 leaves, leaf size 154 × 93 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size >186 × >154 mm.

Sheet size: >392 × >318 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: Britannia within a crowned oval.

9.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, >121.5 × >75.5 mm, |26|26|14|12|>14.5 + >11|26|12|13.5|26|.

9.2 Twin 2: fF⁰, >120 × >75.5 mm, |26|26|14|12|>12.5 + >13|25.5|12.5|12.5|26|.

Countermark: Crowned 'GR' over '1812'.

9.3 Twin A: fF^0 , $>62.5 \times >42$ mm, |26|25.5|5[21|>10 + >11]4|26|26|.

9.4 Twin B: fF^0 , $>64 \times >43$ mm, |26|25.5|4.5[21|>10 + >12]4|25.5|26|.

Stock 10: Laid writing paper made on a single-faced mould.

Extent: 1 patch, 69×90 mm.

Sold as: Letter paper, unknown format and size.

Sheet size: Not known.

Watermark: None.

SANDITON

Stock 11: Wove post writing paper made on a double-faced mould.

Extent: 40 leaves, leaf size 190×120 mm.

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Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with the head edge commercially cut, the other two edges retain their deckle edges, leaf size 240×190 mm.

Sheet size: 490×380 mm, post.

Watermark: 'KENT | 1812'.

11.1 Twin 1: Reads from the felt side and is positioned parallel to the long side in the lower right hand corner of the sheet, 36×65 mm.

11.2 Twin 2: Reads from the felt side and is positioned parallel to the long side in the lower right hand corner of the sheet, 39.5×66.5 mm.

Papermaker: A papermaker or paper mill named Kent does not appear in the 1816 *Excise List*, and a 'KENT' watermark is not recorded in the catalogues of watermarks for this period.³¹ The watermark presumably refers to the county of origin rather than a particular papermaker or mill.

Notes: A matching watermark (11.2 Twin 2) to this paper stock is found on a letter written by Jane Austen to James Edward Austen and dated 16–17 December 1816.³² The letter is

written on half sheet quarto letter paper with only the head edge commercially cut, the other edges retain their deckle edges (leaf size 242 × 189 mm).

Stock 12: Laid foolscap writing paper made on a double-faced, end-to-end mould by Joseph Coles, Wookey Hole, Somerset.

Extent: 40 leaves, leaf size 162 × 101 mm.

Sold as: Full sheet folio letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 324 × 202 mm.

Sheet size: 414 × 334 mm, foolscap.

Watermark: Britannia within a crowned oval.

12.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 116.5 × 75.5 mm, |27|27|1.5|23.5|27.5|24.5|1.5|26.5|25|.

12.2 Twin 2: fF⁰, 116 × 74.5 mm, |25.5|27|1.5|25|25|24.5|1.5|26|26|.

12.3 Twin 3: fRF⁰, 118 × 77 mm, |25.5 |26.5|2|24|28|25|1.5|22.5|29|.

12.4 Twin 4: fF⁰, 115 × 73.5 mm, |27|25|2.5|23.5|26.5|23.5|2|26.5|25.5|.

Countermark: 'JOSEPH COLES | 1815'.

12.5 Twin A: fF⁰, 32 × 154.5 mm, |14|12|25.5|26.5|27|26|27|10.5|15|.

12.6 Twin B: fF⁰, 34.5 × 157.5 mm, |15|12|26.5|26.5|28.5|27|26.5|10.5|16|.

12.7 Twin 3: fLF⁰, 31.5 × 150.5 mm, |14.5|11.5|25.5|27|26|25.5|26|10|17|.

12.8 Twin C: fF⁰, 32 × 157.5 mm, |13.5|13.5|26.5|26.5|26|26|27.5|12.5|13|.

Papermaker: James Coles operated a paper mill at Lower Wookey Hole, Somerset, from 1758 until after 1816. Joseph Coles is first recorded as a papermaker in 1788, and in 1803 both men are associated with a single mill, each working one vat. By 1816 they are

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operating separate mills, both at Lower Wookey Hole.³³ Watermarks with 'JOSEPH COLES', which incorporate a date, are recorded for 1797, 1799 and 1822.³⁴

OPINIONS OF MANSFIELD PARK

Stock 13: Laid post writing paper made on a single-faced mould by John Budgen, Dartford, Kent.

Extent: 4 leaves, leaf size 225 × 183 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 225 × 183 mm.

Sheet size: 470 × 376 mm, post.

Watermark: Post-horn in a crowned shield over 'B'.

13.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 154 × 56 mm, |7[16|24|16]8|.

Countermark: 'J BUDGEN | 1813'.

13.2 Twin A: fF⁰, 32 × 111.5 mm, |1[23.5|24|24|23.5|16.5]7|.

Papermaker: Thomas Budgen operated a paper mill at Dartford, Kent, from 1778. John Budgen is listed as operating one mill in Dartford in the 1816 *Excise List*.³⁵ A watermark of J BUDGEN with the date 1818 is recorded.³⁶

Notes: This is possibly the same paper stock as that used for a letter written by Jane Austen to Fanny Knight and dated 20 November 1814, described as 'Two leaves quarto, laid; watermark J BUDGEN 1813'.³⁷ Three further Austen letters with possible John Budgen watermarks survive.³⁸

OPINIONS OF EMMA

Stock 14: Laid post writing paper made on a double-faced mould.

Extent: 2 leaves, leaf size 234 × 189 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 234 × 189 mm.

Sheet size: 488 × 388 mm, post.

Watermark: Post-horn in a crowned shield over '1813'.

14.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 157 × 53 mm, |26|11[15|24|14]13|26|.

Notes: This is probably the twin to the watermark of paper stock 15.1

PLAN OF A NOVEL

Stock 15: Laid post writing paper made on a double-faced mould.

Extent: 2 leaves, leaf size 233 × 186 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 233 × 186 mm.

Sheet size: 486 × 382 mm, post.

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Watermark: Post-horn in a crowned shield over '1813'.

15.1 Twin 1: fF⁰, 162 × 57.5 mm, |8.5|16|26|15.5|10.5|.

Notes: This is probably the twin to the watermark of paper stock 14.1

PROFITS OF MY NOVELS

Stock 16: Wove writing paper made on a double-faced mould.

Extent: 1 torn and cut piece, 95 × 115 mm.

Sold as: Not known.

Sheet size: Not known.

Watermark: None.

SIR CHARLES GRANDISON

Stock 17: Laid writing paper made on a single-faced mould.

Extent: 2 irregularly cut leaves, 104 × 93 mm and 102 × 95 mm.

Sold as: Not known.

Sheet size: Not known.

Watermark: '17[...]'.³⁹

17.1 Twin 1: probably fF⁰, 13 × >21 mm, |24.5|25|13|13.5|7.5|>5.

Stock 18: Laid writing paper made on a single-faced mould.

Extent: 4 leaves, 93 × 93 mm.

Sold as: Possibly half sheet quarto letter paper, unknown leaf size.

Sheet size: Not known.

Watermark: The top half of a post-horn in a crowned shield.

18.1 Twin 1: probably fF⁰, >63 × 52.5 mm, |25.5|25|11|13|25.5|13.5|12|25|25|.

Stock 19: Laid pot writing paper made on a single-faced mould by William Sharp, Romsey, Hampshire.

Extent: 22 leaves, leaf size 152 × 92 mm.

Sold as: Full sheet folio letter paper with all edges commercially cut, leaf size 304 × 184 mm.

Sheet size: 378 × 314 mm, pot.

Watermark: Arms of England within a crowned shield.

19.1 Twin 1: fRF⁰, 117.5 × 67 mm, |26|3.5|22.5|25.5|25.5|10|17|26|26|26|26|18|8|26|25.5|7.5|14|25.5|.

19.2 Twin 2: fRF⁰, 114 × 66.5 mm, |26|5|22|25.5|25|9.5|17.5|26|26|26.5|26.5|18.5|7.5|25|26|8|18.5|>25.5.

Countermark: 'W SHARP | 1799'.

19.3 Twin 1: fLF⁰, 31 × 83.5 mm.

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19.4 Twin 2: fLF⁰, 31 × 82 mm.

Papermaker: See paper stock 4 for details of William Sharp.

Stock 20: Laid post writing paper made on a single-faced mould by John Portal and William Bridges, Laverstoke, Hampshire.

Extent: 4 leaves, leaf size 185 × 115 mm.

Sold as: Half sheet quarto letter paper, leaf size 230 × 185 mm.

Sheet size: 480 × 380 mm, post.

Watermark: 'PORTAL & C^o | 1796'.

20.1 Twin 1: ff^o, 26.5 × 113 mm, |24.5|11|14.5|24.5|25.5|24|24|1.5|25.5|25|.

Papermaker: The Portal family operated three paper mills in Laverstoke, Hampshire, from the second decade of the eighteenth century. From c.1794, after the death of Joseph Portal in 1793, the business was operated in partnership by John Portal and William Bridges as Portal & Co, and they are listed as operating the mills in the 1816 *Excise List*.⁴⁰ Watermarks of 'PORTAL & C^o', which incorporate a date, are recorded for 1795, 1796 and 1801.⁴¹

Notes: Two letters written by Jane Austen using paper with 'PORTAL & CO' watermarks incorporating 1797 survive.⁴² A further letter, which survives as a single leaf with a partial watermark, is described as 'One leaf quarto, laid; watermark PORTAL & CO. [...] second leaf missing'.⁴³

All watermarks were recorded by transmitted light photography with the exceptions of stocks 1.1-4, which were recorded by beta-radiography, and stocks 4.1-4, which were recorded by transmitted infra-red photography.

Watermark images: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, MS. Don. e. 7, stock 1.1: pp. 75, 65; stock 1.2: pp.103, 101; stock 1.3: pp. 5, 7; stock 1.4: pp. 37, 39. MS. Eng. e. 3764, stock 6.1: fols. 27-9, 31; stock 6.2: fols. 19-22; stock 6.3: fols. 32-5; stock 6.4: fols. 36, 38-40; stock 7.1: fols. 46-7; stock 8.1: fols. 30, 42. The British Library, Add. MS. 59874, stock 2.1: fols. 8, 3; stock 2.2: fols. 10, 1; stock 2.3: fols. 111-2; stock 2.4: fols. 110, 113. Add. MS. 65381, stock 3.1: fols. 51-2; stock 3.2: fols. 48, 55; stock 3.3: fols. 49, 54; stock 3.4: fols. 50, 53; stock 3.5: fols. 32, 45; stock 3.6: fols. 37, 40; stock 3.7: fols. 36, 41; stock 3.8: fols. 34, 43. MS. Egerton 3038, stock 9.1: fols. 2, 15, 12, 5; stock 9.2: fols. 3, 14, 4, 13; stock 9.3: fols. 1, 16, 6, 11; stock 9.4: fols. 10, 7, 8, 9. Add. MSS. 41253A, stock 13.1: fols. 5-6; stock 13.2: fols. 7-8; stock 14.1: fols. 9-10. The Morgan Library stock 4.2: pp. 39, 37; stock 4.3: pp. 55, 85; stock 4.4: pp. 97, 107. MS. MA 1034.1, stock 15.1: pp. 1, 3. King's College, Cambridge, stock 11.1: 2 [pp. 43, 5]; stock 11.2: 2 [pp. 27, 21]; stock 12.1: 3 [pp. 35, 25, 33, 47]; stock 12.2: 3 [pp. 31, 49, 29, 51]; stock 12.3: 3 [pp. 17, 63, 15, 65]; stock 12.4: 3 [pp. 13, 67, 11, 69]; stock 12.5: 3 [pp. 41, 39, 43, 37]; stock 12.6: 3 [pp. 53, 27, 57, 23]; stock 12.7: 3 [pp. 59, 21, 61, 19]; stock 12.8: 3 [pp. 71, 9, 73, 7]. Chawton House Library, S1 MS Aus, stock 19.1: Group 3 pp. 13, 15, 9, 19; stock 19.2: Group 5 fols. 6, 3, 5, 4; stock 19.3: Group 3 pp. 1, 27, 3, 25; stock 19.4: Group 5 fols. 2, 7, 8, 1; stock 20.1: Group 4 fols. 1, 4, 2, 3.

Stock 1.1 watermark twin 1 [1x]

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Stock 1.2 watermark twin 2 [1×]

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Stock 1.3 countermark twin A [1×]

Stock 1.4 countermark twin B [1x]

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Stock 2.1 watermark twin 1 [0.85x]

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Stock 2.2 watermark twin 2 [0.85x]

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Stock 2.3 countermark twin A [0.85×]

Stock 2.4 countermark twin B [0.85×]

Stock 3.1 watermark twin 1 [0.75x]

Stock 3.2 watermark twin 2 [0.75x]

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Stock 3.3 watermark twin 3 [0.75x]

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Stock 3.4 watermark twin 4 [0.75x]

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Stock 3.5 countermark twin A [1x]

Stock 3.6 countermark twin B [1x]

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Stock 3.7 countermark twin C [1x]

Stock 3.8 countermark twin D [1×]

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Stock 4.1 watermark twin 1 [0.9×]

.....
pg 383

Stock 4.2 watermark twin 2 [0.9×]

.....
pg 384

Stock 4.3 countermark twin A [0.9×]

Stock 4.4 countermark twin B [0.9×]

.....
pg 385

Stock 6.1 watermark twin 1 [1.5×]

Stock 6.2 watermark twin 2 [1.5x]

.....
pg 386

Stock 6.3 countermark twin A [1.65x]

Stock 6.4 countermark twin B [1.65×]

.....
pg 387

Stock 7.1 watermark twin 1 [0.9×]

.....
pg 388

Stock 8.1 watermark twin 1 [1×]

.....
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Stock 9.1 watermark twin 1 [0.9×]

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Stock 9.2 watermark twin 2 [0.9×]

Stock 9.3 countermark twin A [1x]

Stock 9.4 countermark twin B [1x]

.....
pg 392

Stock 11.1 watermark twin 1 [1x]

Stock 11.2 watermark twin 2 [1x]

.....
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Stock 12.1 watermark twin 1 [0.85x]

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Stock 12.2 watermark twin 2 [0.85x]

Stock 12.3 watermark twin 3 [0.85x]

Stock 12.4 watermark twin 4 [0.85x]

Stock 12.5 countermark twin A [0.8×]

Stock 12.6 countermark twin B [0.8×]

Stock 12.7 countermark twin 3 [0.8×]

Stock 12.8 countermark twin C [0.8×]

.....
pg 399

Stock 13.1 watermark twin 1 [0.85×]

.....
pg 400

Stock 13.2 countermark twin A [1×]

.....
pg 401

Stock 14.1 watermark twin 1 [0.8×]

.....
pg 402

Stock 15.1 watermark twin 1 [0.95×]

.....
pg 403

Stock 17.1 watermark twin 1 [1.25×]

.....
pg 404

Stock 18.1 watermark twin 1 [0.85x]

.....
pg 405

Stock 19.1 watermark twin 1 [0.85x]

.....
pg 406

Stock 19.2 watermark twin 2 [0.85x]

.....
pg 407

Stock 19.3 countermark twin 1 [1x]

Stock 19.4 countermark twin 2 [1x]

.....
pg 408

Stock 20.1 watermark twin 1 [1x]

Notes

*The study of the manuscripts at the Morgan Library & Museum was made possible by travel bursaries from the Jane Austen Society, and Jane Austen Society of North America (New York chapter); thanks are also owed to Reba Fishman Synder, Morgan Library & Museum; Christina Duffy and Helen Melody, The British Library; Jacqui Grainger, Chawton House Library; Laura Larkin and William Stoneman, Houghton Library, Harvard University; Patricia McGuire and Peter Monteith, Archive Centre, King's College, Cambridge.

1 For the growth of the English paper trade during this period, see D. C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495–1860* (Oxford, 1958; repr. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), pp. 89–121, and for the tax regime that placed disproportionately higher duties on imported papers see H. Dagnall, *The Taxation of Paper in Great Britain 1643–1861* (Edgware: Published by the Author in collaboration with The British Association of Paper Historians, 1998), pp. 20–43.

2 A ream was defined for most papers as 480 sheets, that is 20 quires each of 24 sheets, under 21 Geo. III c.24 (1781), *An Act for repealing the present Duties upon Paper [...] and for granting other Duties in lieu thereof*.

3 The expected daily output in reams for the three sizes of writing paper used by JA were 10 (post), 10 (foolscap), and 12 (pot) (R. Johnson, *New Duty on Paper. The paper-maker and stationers assistant* (London: Debrett, Johnson, Bladon and Symonds, 1794), A5^v–A6^r). A complete copy of the three volumes of *Sense and Sensibility* (see Gilson A1) contains 38 sheets of demy printing paper.

4 Printing used oil-based inks and printing papers were less heavily sized than writing paper.

5 Letter paper defines the common form of paper used for correspondence before the introduction of the envelope, being a piece of paper folded once, to produce a bifolium or four pages. JA's preferred size of letter paper was post quarto, where each piece was folded from a half sheet of post paper.

6 The two halves of the individual sheets of paper were separated and disassociated during their conversion into notebooks and letter paper. Although it has proved possible to identify the separate half sheets for some of her paper stocks, it has not been possible to identify the two separate halves that formed individual sheets.

7 The maximum dimensions of papers are defined in 21 Geo. III c.24 (1781). Those for writing papers are given in the first table, for thick and thin post 15.25 × 19.5 inches, foolscap 13.5 × 16.75 inches, and pot 12.5 × 15.5 inches. Large thick and thin post are defined as not exceeding 16.5 × 21 inches under 27 Geo. III c.13 (1787), *An Act for repealing the several Duties of Customs and Excise, and granting other Duties in lieu thereof*.

8 34 Geo. III c.20 (1794), *An Act for repealing the Duties of Paper [...] and for granting other Duties in lieu thereof*.

9 51 Geo. III c.95 (1811), *An Act to explain and amend certain Laws of Excise [...] and to the Water Mark of the Year on Paper intended for Exportation*.

10 B. J. McMullin, 'Watermarks and the Determination of Format in British Paper, 1794–circa 1830', *Studies in Bibliography*, 56 (2003–4), 297.

11 Basic information about the watermarks found in her letters, though this is not indexed, is given in the 'Notes' section of *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 368–468.

12 The letters written on paper made the same year date from October to December. One further letter dated 11 April 1805 was written on paper with 1794 within the watermark (*Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 103–7, 394). This anomaly is probably due to the ambiguity of the wording of the act, 'or in a like manner of some subsequent year', which led some papermakers to continue using moulds with a 1794 watermark after that year (McMullin, 'Watermarks and the Determination of Format', 296).

13 Single-faced moulds have the mould cover sitting directly on the supporting ribs of the mould and produce paper with shadows coinciding with their chain-lines when viewed with transmitted light. Double-faced moulds, introduced in the later eighteenth century, have a secondary wire layer between the mould cover and supporting ribs and produce a paper which is more even and without 'rib shadows'.

14 See note 7 above for the original imperial measurements.

15 Hand-made paper was made using pairs of paper moulds, each with its own identifiable watermark. For the importance of identifying the resulting watermark twins see A. Stevenson, 'Watermarks are Twins', *Studies in Bibliography*, 4 (1951), 57–91.

16 These have been adapted from A. Stevenson, *The Problem of the Missale Speciale* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1967), p. 38.

17 This is the only paper stock used by JA where the watermark was designed to be read from the mould side of the paper. Barker-Benfield has noted that the majority of English papers at this date, unlike papers produced on the continent, had watermarks designed to be read from the felt side of the paper (B. C. Barker-Benfield, 'Shelleyan Writing Materials in the Bodleian Library: A Catalogue of Formats, Papers and Watermarks', in *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, Vol. 23 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), p. 13). The use of the royal cipher within the countermark probably indicates that this is also English paper.

18 End-to-end paper moulds are two-sheet moulds, used in England to increase productivity for smaller paper sizes from the later eighteenth century. The mould, double the usual size and with a central bar to the deckle, produced two sheets at once and paper stocks made with them have four twins; see Gaskell, pp. 63–5.

19 A. H. Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495–1800* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1957), p. 172, and W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Co., 1935), p. 53.

20 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, p. 350, T. L. Gravell and G. Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks found on Paper used in America 1700–1835* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1983), p. 178 and Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, p. 53.

21 Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, pp. 247–76 at p. 260.

22 It was possible to weigh the loose leaves of the portion of *The Watsons* now at the Bodleian Library. Stocks 6 and 7, at 70 grams per square metre, probably correspond to thin post, and stock 8, at 90 gsm, to thick post.

23 Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS. Lowell Autograph File, series A (16); *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 111–13, 395–6.

24 Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 224.

25 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, pp. 287, 289, and Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 66.

26 D. Stidder and C. Smith, *Watermills of Sussex*, Vol. 1: *East Sussex* (npl: Baron Birch, 1997), p. 38, and C. Brent, *Georgian Lewes 1714–1830* (Lewes: Colin Brent Books, 1993), pp. 55–6.

27 Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 257.

28 Barker-Benfield, 'Shelleyan Writing Materials', p. 101.

29 British Library, Add. MSS. 42,180; *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 100–1, 393.

30 The chain-line measurements found on the largest patch (9[p.2a]) are |26|27|25|27|26|27|27|26|.

31 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, pp. 247–76; Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*; Barker-Benfield, 'Shelleyan Writing Materials'; and P. Bower, *Turner's Papers: A Study of the Manufacture, Selection and Use of his Drawing Papers 1787–1820* (London: Tate Gallery, 1990).

32 British Library, Loan 19; *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 336–8, 460–1.

33 Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 223, and Shorter, *Paper Mills*, p. 233.

34 Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 63; Shorter, *Paper Mills*, p. 284; and Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, p. 49.

35 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, pp. 181–2; and Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 222.

36 Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper*, p. 48.

37 *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 290–4, 442.

38 Dated 30 November 1814, described as 'Two leaves quarto, laid; watermark device (Heawood 2752–62) above monogram JB[?]; 31 December 1815, described as 'Scrap, laid; watermark fragmentary device (Heawood 2752–62) above monogram JB[?]; and 31 December 1815, described as 'One leaf, approximately octavo irregularly trimmed, wove; fragmentary watermark —DGEN—813', *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 297–300, 322–3, 444–5, 454–5.

39 The watermark is unlikely to be before 1794, the year that dates became a mandatory part of a watermark.

40 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, pp. 168–9, and Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 259.

41 Shorter, *Paper Mills*, pp. 169, 342, and Gravell and Miller, *Foreign Watermarks*, p. 565.

42 Dated 21–22 January 1801, described as 'Two leaves quarto, laid; watermark PORTAL & CO 1797', and 13 May 1801, described as 'Two leaves quarto, laid; watermark PORTAL [&] CO 1797', *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 78–80, 87–90, 388, 390.

43 Dated 8 April 1798, *Jane Austen's Letters*, pp. 13–14, 373–4.