

© 2012 American Physical Society. Access to this work was provided by the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) ScholarWorks@UMBC digital repository on the Maryland Shared Open Access (MD-SOAR) platform.

Please provide feedback Please support the ScholarWorks@UMBC repository by emailing scholarworks-group@umbc.edu and telling us what having access to this work means to you and why it's important to you. Thank you.

Three Pamphlets on the Leigh-Perrot Trial: Why Austen Sent *Susan* to Crosby

Margie Burns

As devotees of Jane Austen's novels may know, Austen submitted the manuscript that became *Northanger Abbey* to a publisher in 1803, long before it was finally published, posthumously, with *Persuasion*. The novel at that time was titled *Susan*, and the publisher she sent it to, Benjamin Crosby, accepted it—but then sat on it until Austen was able to buy it back in 1816. As the author commented in her Advertisement to *Northanger Abbey*,

This little work was finished in the year 1803, and intended for immediate publication. It was disposed of to a bookseller, it was even advertised, and why the business went no farther, the author has never been able to learn. That any bookseller should think it worth while to purchase what he did not think it worth while to publish seems extraordinary. (12)

Why did Jane Austen choose to send her novel *Susan* to the firm of Benjamin Crosby in the first place, among all the publishers out there in 1803? No explanation is available from surviving letters, which (except for Austen's letter to the firm of 5 April 1809) do not mention Crosby. One possibility is that she may well have thought of Crosby's company only as one of several publishers to try. The author could not anticipate that her manuscript would be purchased by the first publisher she sent it to, and there is no evidence that Benjamin Crosby was the sole publisher whom she would consider. That said, Austen did submit *Susan* to Crosby first, conveying the manuscript through her brother Henry's agent, William Seymour (Le Faye, *Chronology* 280). The question of why she chose Crosby has never been definitively answered.

Authors in general had good reason to submit work to Crosby; he was an active publisher with a growing business. According to Henry Curwen's 1873 *History of Booksellers*, a valuable resource, Crosby "was one of the first London booksellers who travelled regularly through the country, soliciting orders for the purpose of effecting sales and extending his connections" (413). Curwen gives Crosby substantial credit. Interchanges between town and country were no small matter in the book world, and the middlemen between city and country were the wholesalers, who supplied "all

the country, colonial, and smaller London orders” (412). These would be the suppliers for circulating libraries, local booksellers, and individuals. Indeed, Curwen identifies Crosby as the wellspring of this literary commerce between London and the provinces and between the major publishers and small booksellers: “The real founder of this enormous traffic was, Benjamin Crosby” (413).

That Crosby published novels and that he published female authors would also place him on a short list for Austen. His dealing in remaindered books and in multiple categories from agriculture to children’s literature also meant that he did not seem inaccessible, unlike the perhaps snootier firm of Thomas Cadell. Furthermore, he published family-friendly material rather than anything too warm, as Aunt Norris would put it. Thus on several grounds Crosby’s firm must have appeared eligible.

Austen had, however, a further, more personal reason. In 1800, Crosby displayed an editorial change of heart that must have pleased her. He advertised and then jettisoned a book that would have caused her family great pain—a pamphlet on the trial of her aunt, Mrs. Jane Leigh-Perrot.

The trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot

The primary sources are illuminating. In August 1799, Austen’s maternal aunt Jane Leigh-Perrot was arrested in Bath for allegedly stealing a length of lace from a shop. The accusation was grand larceny, Mrs. Leigh-Perrot spent seven months in pre-trial detention, and the *cause célèbre* took place in a roar of publicity that included newspaper coverage, magazine articles, and a spate of pamphlets. On April 10, 1800, the London *Oracle and Daily Advertiser* announced the publication of another trial pamphlet, from none other than Benjamin Crosby:

In a few Days will be published, Price Eighteen Pence,
The Trial of Mrs. Leigh-Perrott,
With Marginal Notes.
By William Legge, Esq.
Of the Temple.
Sold by Crosby and Letterman, No. 4, Stationers’-court
Pater-noster-row.¹

Crosby and then-partner Charles James Letterman ran the same *Oracle* advertisement again the next day.² As Gilson showed in his authoritative Austen bibliography, Crosby also advertised the pamphlet in the *Bath Chronicle*: on April 24, 1800, *The Trial of Mrs. Leigh-Perrot* was (ostensibly) “this day published, price Eighteen-pence, with marginal notes, sold by Crosby, Stationer’s Court, Pater-noster-row, London; and Mr. Cruttwell, Bath” (454).

**EXCHEQUER BILL OFFICE, April 3, 1800.
EXCHEQUER BILLS**

On Consolidated Fund, Anno 1799, Cap. 114, dated the 7th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 21st, and 22d of October, 1799.

TO BE PAID OFF.

THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS of HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY have given Directions for paying off Exchequer Bills, dated the 7th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 21st, and 22d of October, 1799, issued pursuant to Act, 39 Geo. III. Cap. 114, on the credit of the Consolidated Fund; and that the Principal and Interest on the said Exchequer Bills shall be paid at the Exchequer Bill Office, in St. Margaret's-street, between the two Palace Yards, Westminster, on **THURSDAY** the 24th of April inst. on which Day the Interest on the said Exchequer Bills will cease. And attendance will be given on **THURSDAY** the 10th inst. April, and every succeeding Day (Sundays and Holidays excepted) until **MONDAY** the 23d inst. April inclusive, from Ten o'Clock in the Morning till One in the Afternoon, for the purpose of receiving the same; and for the greater dispatch, the Bearers of the said Bills are desired to bring Lists thereof containing the Number in numerical order, according to the value of the said Bills; times of commencement of Interest, with the principal Sums and Interest due on such Bills, to be computed at 5d. by the Day on every 100l. from the time of commencement to the said 24th Day of April inst. on which Day the Interest on the said Exchequer Bills will cease; and they are desired to write their Names and Places of Abode on such Lists, and indorse their Names on the said Bills.

If the Holders of any of the aforesaid Bills are desirous of receiving Payment of the Principal and Interest thereof previous to the said 24th Day of April inst. they may be accommodated by computing the Interest to the Day on which they wish to be paid, and leaving the said Bills for examination one Day prior to the Payment.

CUSTOM-HOUSE, LONDON,

April 1, 1800.

FOR SALE, by Order of the Honourable the COMMISSIONERS of HIS MAJESTY'S CUSTOMS, on Tuesday the 3th, Wednesday the 9th, and Thursday the 10th of April, 1800, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon of the said Days in the **LONG ROOM, CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON;**

THE FOLLOWING GOODS,

Which are allotted in small Quantities, for the better accommodation of the several Dealers, as well as private Persons, who choose to become Purchasers.

FOR EXPORTATION,

East India prohibited Goods, Lace, Silks, Stockings, Silk Ribbon, &c.

FOR HOME CONSUMPTION,

Mullins, Calico, Nankeen Cloth, Linens, Cottons, Checks, Shawls, Crapes, Mercery, Hosiery, Raw Silk, Silver Plate, Mother of Pearl Fish and Counters, Fans, Ostrich and Vulture Feathers, Hardware, Leaf Metal, Birds of Paradise, Perfumery, Sugar and other Grocery, Anchovies, Olives, Quills, Bugles, Elephant's Teeth, Tallow, a Fracting Mill, Zaffre, Feathers, Wool, Indigo, Cordage, Dealt, Oaker, Wood, Tobacco, Snuff, and Tobacco Ashes, French Plate Glass, Tonguin Beans, Skins, and sundry other Sorts of Goods, as mentioned in the Catalogues.

Also, such Goods as have remained in his Majesty's Warehouse upwards of Three Months, not cleared, or the Duties paid, viz.

Pictures, Prints, Books, Linen, Indigo, Hides, Safflower, Pepper, Drugs, Copper, &c.

Italian Opera in Paris, each Set 5s.

HAIQH's Divertisements for Piano-forte French-horn, Accompaniments ad Libitum. Two English Ballads, set to Music by Each 1s.

LORENZO, Song, by Mrs. Bland. 1s.
CRAZY JANE, by ditto, 1s. 6d.
New **MAMMA MIA**, with Variations, Monteani and Cimador humbly acquainted the Public, that they can with confidence superior sort of French Horns, with slides, tried by Messrs. Leanders; likewise every other required by a Military Band, ready to be sent England, &c. at the shortest Notice, for Also their new Pattern Anglo and Spanish Gu Article in the Musical Line, of the first quality

This Day is published, Price 6d

THE First Number of the JOURNAL of the ROYAL INSTITUTION, BRITAIN.

Orders for these JOURNALS are received by Messrs. Cadell and Davies, Booksellers, Strand; and by the Clerk, at the House of 31 in Albemarle-street.

In a few Days will be published, Price Eighteen Pence, Part II.

THE TRIAL of Mrs. LEIGH WITH MARGINAL NOTES.

By **WILLIAM LEQGE**, Esq. Of the Temple.

Sold by Crosby and Letterman, No. 4, St. Peter-noster-row.

To-morrow will be published, Price 1s

REFLECTIONS on the RESITUATIONS of MASTERS and Servants, the Employment of Foreigners, and Inconveniences resulting from the want of

Printed for W. Miller, Old Bond-st

This day is published, Translated from the French of **MADAME**

LA BRUYERE the LESS; or, **CHARACTERS and MANNERS of the CHILDREN of the PRESENT AGE**; Written for the Use of Twelve or Thirteen Years of Age; with the ten last Chapters, which apply to Persons of 15 Years. Price 3s. 6d. boards.

A NEW METHOD of INSTRUCTION for CHILDREN from FIVE to TEN YEARS OF AGE; Moral Dialogues, the Children's Island, a Tale and Maxims, Models of Composition in Writing, Ten or Twelve Years old, and a new Method of Teaching Children to Draw. Price 4s. boards.

Printed for T. N. Longman, and O. R. Paternoster-row.

Of whom may be had, lately published, by the same Author, **RASH VOWS**: a Novel, in 3 vols. price to

This day is published in Quarto, **LETTERS from his EXCELLENCY GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States of America, to SIR JOHN SINCLAIR on AGRICULTURAL and other interesting Subjects**, engraved from the Original Letters, to as 1

1800 Crosby Legge Advertisement
(Click here to see a larger version.)

Crosby and Letterman also advertised the pamphlet in *The Edinburgh Magazine* for "Mar. and Apr. 1800" and *The Monthly Epitome*, both naming Crosby as publisher and Legge as author.³ *The Monthly Epitome* categorized new publications so conveniently

that Crosby's title appeared just above that of another trial pamphlet from a different publisher.

The Office of Sheriff: History, Antiquity, Duties; the Manner the High Sheriff, his and other Deputies: tion of the Sheriffs of Middlesex, with the City relating thereto useful Matter. Together Nature of Actions by Sheriffs. Including a Determinations, to the nity Term last; with Cedents of Return to The second Edition, improved. To which Office and Duty of an Appendix of useful By JOHN IMPEY, of Temple, Author of a Pleader," calculated of an Attorney; and of the Court of King Common Pleas." 8vo. Butterworth.

The Trial of John Taylor before the Hon. Mr. B at Chelmsford Assizes March 1800; corrected Short-hand. 8vo. 1s. Chalk, Chelmsford; A The Trial of Jane Leigh of James Leigh Perrot ed with stealing a Card the Shop of Elizabeth Haberdasher and Mill before Sir Soulden La one of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench Assizes, on Saturday, of March 1800. Taken JOHN PINCHARD, Taunton. 8vo. 2s. ton; Carpenter, Hurst, The Trial of Mrs. Leigh marginal Notes. By Esq. of the Temple. Crosby and Letterman.

MISCELLANEOUS

Moderation is Salvation the People of England Scarcity. By a PLAIN 1s. Hanchard, Sewell Lavater's Looking-glass on the Face of animals from Man to Plants. SUE, and Co. With 8vo. 5s. Richardson

History—Antiquities.

ive of the Expedition to Hol- the Autumn of 1799. Illus- with a Map of North Holland. ven Views of the principal occupied by the British Forces. Walfh, M. D. 4to. 1l. 1s.

l Remarks on the Topogra- Troy, &c. as given by Homer, and the ancient Geographers; ver to Mr Bryant's last Publi- By J. B. S. Morrill, Esq. Cadell and Davies.

nt of some Roman Antiquities ed in 1796, at Ribchester, in ire. By Charles Townley, R. S. F. S. A. With four engraved by Basire. Folio. in sheets. Sold by the Society quaries.

ary of Universal History, exhib- the Rise, Decline, and Revolu- the different Nations of the from the Creation to the pre- time. Translated from the of M. Anquetil. 9 vols. 8vo. boards. Robinsons.

Law.

ce of Sheriff: showing its His- tiquity, Powers, and Duties. ich is added, the Office and f Coroner: with an Appendix al Precedents. By John Impey, Inner Temple. 8vo. 14s. 6d. worth.

al of John Taylor for Forgery, the Hon. Mr Baron Hotham, msford Assizes, on the 7th of 1800; corrected in Short- 8vo. 1s. Meggy and Chalk, sford; Newbery, Hurst.

l of Mrs Leigh Perrot; charg- Stealing a Card of Lace: with al Notes. By Wm. Legge, f the Temple. 8vo. 1s. 6d. and Letterman.

Miscellanies.

on is Salvation: addressed to ple of England at the present y. By a Plain Man. 8vo. 1s. rd, Sewell.

Looking-glass; or, Essays on ce of animated Nature, from o Plants. By Lavater, Sue, and With a Frontispiece. 8vo. 5s. dson, Symonds.

ical and miscellaneous Prose of John Dryden, great Part of has never before been publish- Edmond Malone, Esq. 4 vols.

large 8vo. 2l. 2s. Fine Paper 3l. Cadell and Davies.

A Dissertation, moral and political, on the Influence of Luxury and Refine- ment on Nations, &c. By Adam Sibbitt, A. B. Rector of Clarendon in the Island of Jamaica. 8vo. 4s. Cadell and Davies.

Physiognomical Travels, preceded by a physiognomical Journal. Translated from the German of J. C. A. Mulsæus, by Anne Plumtre. 3 vols. 12mo. 12s. Longman and Rees.

Effectual Means of providing, according to the Exigencies of the Evil, against the Distress apprehended from the Scarcity and high Prices of different Articles of Food. By Geo. Edwards, Esq. 8vo. 1s. Johnson.

An Essay on the Nature of the English Verse, with Directions for reading Poetry. By the Author of the "Essay on Punctuation." 12mo. 2s. 6d. Walter.

A Letter to S. F. Waddington, Esq. in Reply to an Appeal to the British Hop Planters. 8vo. 1s. Grant.

A Short Story; interspersed with Poetry. By a Young Lady. 2 vols. 12mo. 7s. Cawthorn, Symonds.

The Cambridge University Calendar, for the Year 1800. By a Member of Trinity Hall. 12mo. 3s. Nicholson, Cambridge; Rivingtons, Hatchard, London.

Reflections on the relative Situations of Masters and Servants, historically and politically considered; the Irregularities of Servants; the Employment of Foreigners; and the general Inconvenience resulting from the Want of proper Regulations. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Miller.

Scattered Thoughts, No. 1. Price only 6d. that all may buy who wish to read. West and Hughes.

Leonard and Gertrude: a popular Story, written originally in German; translated into French, and now attempted in English with the Hope of its being useful to the lower Order of Society. 3s. Hazard, Bath; Cadell and Davies.

The Spectator of the Stage: addressed to the King. 8vo. 1s. 6d. (To be occasionally continued.) Symonds.

Letters from his Excellency General Geo. Washington, President of the United States of America, to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. M. P. on agricultural and other interesting Topics. Engraved from the original Letters, fo

Knowledge and genteel Accomplish- ments; containing the most approved Theory and Practice of the follow- ing Subjects; English Grammar and Elocution; Penmanship and Short- hand; Arithmetic, vulgar and decim- al; Stockholding and Merchants' Accompts; Mensuration and Archi- tecture; Optics; Algebra; the Doctrine of Annuities; Trigonome- try; Logarithms; Geography; As- tronomy; Mechanics; Electricity; Pneumatics; Hydrostatics; Hydraul- ics; Drawing, Engraving, and Painting; and other useful Matter. By THOMAS HODSON. With 20 Plates and 6 Maps. 2 vols. 8vo. 17s. Vernor and Hood, Wright.

Puerilia. Progressive Exercises, adapt- ed to the Eton Accidence: to be written or repeated whilst Boys are learning the Nouns and Verbs. To which are added, a few of the most obvious Rules, with easy Examples, to teach Boys to construe or translate from the Latin. 12mo. 1s. Chester printed; Saal and Co. London.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Oriental Geography of Ebn Hau- kal, an Arabian Traveller of the tenth Century. Translated from an original Manuscript in his own Possession, collared with one preserved in the Library of Eton College. By Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY, Knight, L.L. D. 4to. 5s. Cadell and Davies.

HISTORY—ANTIQUITIES.

A Narrative of the Expedition to Hol- land, in the Autumn of 1799. Illus- trated with a Map of North Holland, and seven Views of the principal Places occupied by the British Forces. By E. WALSH, M. D. 4to. 1l. 1s. Robinsons.

Additional Remarks on the Topogra- phy of Troy, &c. as given by Ho- mer, Strabo, and the ancient Geo- graphers; in Answer to Mr. Bryant's last Publications. By J. B. S. MORRITT, Esq. 4to. 4s. Cadell and Davies.

An Account of some Roman Antiqui- ties discovered in 1796, at Ribches- ter, in Lancashire. By CHARLES TOWNLEY, Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A. With four Plates, engraved by Basire. Folio. 1l. 1s. in sheets.— Sold by the Society of Antiquaries.

As he did later with *Susan*, Crosby advertised a book in 1800—this one five times—that then was lost to view. That publication date of April 24 turned out to be wishful thinking if not pure fantasy: unlike Austen’s *Northanger Abbey*, the book seems never to have appeared in finished form. As Gilson noted, “I have found no copy of this version” (“Jane Austen’s Text” 454). The catalogue of the global library cooperative OCLC (Online Computer Library Center) and the giant text repositories of the Hathi Trust, Google Books, and Project Gutenberg show no trace of a book on the Leigh-Perrot trial by a William Legge, nor did any print periodical refer to it, in 1800 or later, aside from the five advertisements. By May 1800, Crosby’s own listings in *The Edinburgh Magazine* (460–63) and in the *Monthly Epitome* (191–200) did not include it. Crosby and Letterman’s choice not to publish the pamphlet already advertised must have been early and decisive.

Besides the vanished title, another anomaly is that the vanished author, William Legge, shares the name of a series of Earls of Dartmouth, including the second, after whom the American university was named, who died in 1801, and the fourth, who was fifteen at the time of Leigh-Perrot’s trial and whose father, George Legge, became Earl of Dartmouth and Viscount Lewisham in 1801.⁴ Perhaps the younger Legge, who later received an honorary Doctorate of Law, freelanced as a fledging court reporter in 1800. Regardless of who authored it, most likely the reason the Legge pamphlet left so little footprint is that Crosby did not publish it.⁵ Like Austen’s *Susan*, it may have been purchased by Crosby; it was even advertised; but it never appeared in print.

The Leigh-Perrot trial pamphlets

The trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot began and ended on March 29, 1800. After deliberating for fifteen minutes, the jury pronounced Austen’s aunt not guilty—very fortunately for her, since shoplifting twenty shillings’ worth of lace was defined as a capital crime, and conviction would probably have meant transportation to Botany Bay. All the London papers ran stories on the trial. A search of the Burney Collection database of seventeenth and eighteenth century newspapers at the Library of Congress turns up reports of the trial in *The London Chronicle*, *The Evening Mail*, *The London Packet*, *The Times*, *The St. James Chronicle*, *The Whitehall Evening Post*, and *The General Evening Post*.⁶ Naturally, the affair, which was news in the nation’s capital, was local news in Bath; Gilson cites accounts in *The Bath Chronicle*, *The Bath Journal*, and *The Bath Herald* newspapers (*Bibliography* 454).

lenstein, a Drama, translated from the German of Schiller, by S. T. Coleridge, 4s. sewed. Longman and Rees.

Crime from Ambition. A Play in Five Acts, translated from the German of Wilhelm August Iffland, by Maria Geisweiler, translator of the Noble Lie, Poverty and Nobleness of Mind, &c. &c. Price 2s. 6d. C. Geisweiler.

EDUCATION.

A Hebrew Grammar for the Use of Students of the University of Dublin, by the Rev. Gerald Fitzgerald, D. D. printed at the University Press, Dublin. Vernor and Hood.

A Practical German Grammar, by Dr. Render, 6s. H. D. Symonds.

Mrs. Trimmer's Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature, and to the reading of the Scriptures, translated into French by Nicolas Hamel, 12mo. 2s. Law.

HISTORY.

The History of the Helvetic Confederacy from its Origin to its late Dissolution, by Joseph Planta, esq. 2 vol. 4to. Stockdale.

Two Historic Dissertations, on the Silesian War, and on the Character and Conduct of Louis XVI. by William Belsbam, 4to. and 8vo. Robinsons.

Political and Military Memoirs of Europe during the Year 1799, part I. 7s. Crosby and Letterman.

LAW.

The Trial of Mrs. Jane Leigh Perrott, at Taunton, on a Charge of having stolen a Card of Lace, 1s. West and Hughes.

The same, by John Pinchard, with a Plan of the Shop, 2s. Hurst.

The Proceedings of the House of Lords in the Case of Benjamin Flower, Printer of the Cambridge Intelligencer, for a supposed Libel on the Bishop of Llandaff, with prefatory Remarks by Mr. Flower; to which are added the Arguments in the Court of King's Bench, on a Motion for an Habeas Corpus, and a Postscript, containing Remarks on the Judgment of that Court, by Henry Clifford, 4s. boards. Crosby and Letterman.

MISCELLANIES.

Number 1, 2, and 3, of the German Museum, conducted with the assistance of several Literary Friends, by the Rev. P. Will. Price 1s. 6d. each Number. C. Geisweiler.

The Cambridge University Calendar for the Year 1800, materially corrected and improved; containing a List of the respective Colleges, and their present Members; with all the Fellowships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, Patronage, &c. the present Professors and Officers; Copies of the Tripodes for nearly fifty Years past; Medallists and Prize-men from their first Institution; with a Table of University Honours obtained by

several Colleges, particular Days observed by the University, &c. by a Member of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 3s. Rivingtons.

Graduatorum Cantabrigiensium Catalogus, ab Anno 1659, ad Annum 1800, 4to. 8s. Lunn.

Kearsley's Annual Tax-Tables for the Year 1800, 1s. Kearsley.

Thoughts on Non-Residence, Tithes, Inclosures, Rare Landlords, Rich Tenants, Regimental Chaplains, &c. 2s. West and Hughes.

An Enquiry into the Elementary Principles of Beauty in the Works of Nature and Art, to which is prefixed an Introductory Discourse on Taste, by William Thomson, 4to. 18s. bds. Johnson.

Observations on the Claims of the Carriers, as opposed by the wholesale Tea-Dealers, &c. 1s. West and Hughes.

A System of Short Hand, by Samuel Richardson, 8s. 6d. Vernor and Hood.

The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden, now first collected, with Notes and Illustrations: the Life of the Author, and a Collection of his Letters, the greater part of which has never before been published, by Edmond Malone, Esq. 4s. bds. 8vo. Cadell and Davies.

Etiologia, or an Answer to the Question, When does the Nineteenth Century commence? 1s. Johnson.

The Will of the late General Washington, from the authenticated American Edition, with the Oration delivered on the Occasion of his Death by Major-General Lee, 1s. West and Hughes.

The Journals of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, No. 1. 6d. Cadell and Davies.

The Complete Confectioner, or House-keeper's Guide to the Art of Confectionary, by Mrs. H. Glasse, with Additions by Maria Wilson, 8vo. 5s. boards. West and Hughes.

Epistle from the Marquis de la Fayette to General Washington, 2s. Longman and Rees.

Letters from his Excellency George Washington, to Sir John Sinclair, Bart. on Agricultural and other interesting Topics, engraved from the Originals so as to be an exact fac-simile, 4to. 1l. 1s. 2l. 2s. 5l. 5s. Nicol.

Moderation is Salvation, addressed to the People of England at the present Scarcity, 1s. Sewell.

The following correct alphabetical list of the Magazines, Reviews, and other Monthly Publications which exist at this time in London, will probably amuse and interest all our readers:

	s.	d.
Army List	-	-
Anderfon's Recreations in Agriculture	1	0
Anti-Jacobin Review	2	0
Arminian Magazine	-	0 6
British Critic Review	-	2 0
British Magazine	-	1 6
Britannic ditto	-	1 0
Botanical ditto	-	1 0

Advertisement
([Click here to see a larger version.](#))

Following the newspaper articles came three pamphlets about the trial. Two were written by John Pinchard, an attorney in Taunton, where the trial took place.⁷ The first was *The Trial of Mrs. Leigh-Perrot, Wife of — Leigh-Perrot, Esq.*, published by West and Hughes, in London. The second was *The Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, Wife of James Leigh-Perrot, Esq.*, published by Thomas Norris, in Taunton. *The Monthly Magazine* dated May 1, 1800, listed both as “Law” publications for April, not clarifying that Pinchard authored both (380).

Pinchard’s West and Hughes pamphlet, *The Trial of Mrs. Leigh-Perrot, Wife of — Leigh-Perrot, Esq. which Came on at Somerset Assizes, Holden on the 29th of March, 1800, at Taunton*, came out in London, probably by April 9 (Gilson 455). Over the next two days, Crosby and Letterman advertised their forthcoming Legge pamphlet, also in London. West and Hughes ran classified advertisements for their pamphlet in the London papers *The Star*, *The Sun*, and *The Morning Chronicle*.⁸ Odds are that Crosby quickly became aware of the rival pamphlet; the April 11 *Sun* advertisement appears just below Crosby’s. Not incidentally, James Fletcher Hughes went from partnering with West in 1800 to partnering with Crosby in 1802–1803 (Mandal 515–17). Clearly, Hughes and Crosby were acquainted; perhaps the Leigh-Perrot trial became a topic of conversation between them.

Almost immediately after the West and Hughes pamphlet was published, Pinchard’s second pamphlet, *The Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, Wife of James Leigh-Perrot, Esq; Charged with Stealing a Card of Lace, in the Shop of Elizabeth Gregory*, came out, from Thomas Norris in Taunton. Pinchard may have doubled down on the trial by publishing the second pamphlet, but he went local, and provincial, to do so, returning to his own place of residence and business, as well as to the site of the trial, for publication. Why did Pinchard write the second version? There may have been more of a chilling factor in London, where the Leigh-Perrots had allies, than in Taunton, where the family did not visit, as an Austen narrator might put it. In London, the negatives of polite disapproval might affect the market, especially once Leigh-Perrot was acquitted. Although some London booksellers sold the second Pinchard pamphlet, local interest was presumably more of an angle in Taunton; the book concerned a Taunton trial, was written by a Taunton lawyer and author, and came from a Taunton publisher.

Pinchard’s second publisher (Norris) must have thought that the market could bear another account of the trial; he brought it out even at twice the length and twice the price, two shillings. The second, expanded, two-shilling Pinchard pamphlet was listed in *The Monthly Epitome* (155) and was reviewed in the May *London Review* (478–79), the May *Monthly Review* (95), and later in the January 1801 *British Critic* (95–96), the last very sympathetic to the defendant. Pinchard’s Taunton pamphlet was the one recorded in Reuss’s 1804 *Alphabetical Register of All the Authors Actually Living in Great Britain* (200) and reproduced in Sir Frank Douglas MacKinnon’s influential *Grand Larceny* in 1937.

While Austen scholars have drawn on Pinchard's Taunton pamphlet, the London pamphlet has gone almost unnoticed.⁹ Therefore, the dissimilarities between the two pamphlets have been overlooked. Pinchard himself said, in an "Advertisement" dated April 8, that the newer pamphlet was intended to set the record straight:

At the time this Trial was taken by the Editor, he had not the most distant idea of publishing it *under its present form*; but the many various and contradictory accounts contained in the public prints respecting the transaction, the general curiosity which has been excited, and the repeated requests of his friends, who were desirous that a full and impartial account of it should be published; have induced him to *commit his minutes to the press*. (my italics)

Pinchard's advertisement highlights both that the new account differs from others and that this account is based on the author's trial notes. Pinchard attests to its objectivity: "Unconnected, and unacquainted, with either of the parties, he gives the Trial without comment or embellishment; and pledges himself that he has not intentionally either added to it, or omitted, any word which can materially affect its accuracy" (x).

Pinchard's Taunton pamphlet was indeed not just an embellished reprint; it corrected errors in Pinchard's previous writing. A haberdasher with whom prosecution witness Charles Filby had partnered is called "Croup" in the London pamphlet (18); the Taunton pamphlet corrects the name to "Crout" (20). The name matters because Filby and Richard Crout went bankrupt as partners.¹⁰ (This point has not been examined closely by scholars assessing the charges against Leigh-Perrot; Filby, one of her accusers, was less than a credible witness.) Mistakes in the transcription of other testimony are also corrected, and the specific edits of detail confirm the chronology of the two Pinchard pamphlets; the second corrects the first. Again, Pinchard must have produced the second pamphlet to set the record straight.

Changes and additions in the Taunton pamphlet go beyond a few corrections. Justifying Pinchard's claim, it is considerably more detailed than the London pamphlet, with more quotation, more documentation, and almost twice as much material—48 pages of text, with more print per page, compared to 26 pages of text (plus 4 pages of advertisements for other West and Hughes books), in the London pamphlet. The Taunton pamphlet adds the author's page-long "Advertisement" (x) and incorporates case documents—a map of Miss Gregory's shop (viii); a separate full page for the parties, prosecutors, and counsel in the trial (xi), noted only briefly in the London pamphlet, near the end; and the two-page indictment of the prisoner, verbatim. (The London pamphlet condensed the indictment to a one-sentence paraphrase.) Even the new title page provides additional detail, giving the presiding magistrate his full title and the defendant and her husband their full names instead of blanks. Naming names may have been less deferential but was also less coy, since the ridiculous blank in Leigh-Perrot's name fooled nobody anyway; the full names make a better impression despite the ignominy.

Much has been written on the trial and on Austen's relationship with the Leigh-Perrots, with some recent writers finding the defendant guilty.¹¹ The possible significance of the

trial to Austen's dealings with Crosby, however, has almost never been mentioned.¹² Whether or not Legge finished his pamphlet, in any case Crosby had more than one reason not to publish it. As with the competing *Susans* later, there were competing pamphlets on the Leigh-Perrot trial. Besides the pamphlets authored by Pinchard, another was published by William Gye, in Bath, *Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, at Taunton Assizes, Saturday the 29th of March, 1800; Charged with stealing a Card of Lace, in the Shop of Elizabeth Gregory, Haberdasher & Milliner, of the City of Bath, as taken in short hand.*

Here again, the primary documents are important and illuminating. If local interest was an angle in Pinchard's Taunton pamphlet, at least as much local interest was involved in Gye's pamphlet in Bath, where the alleged shoplifting took place. The Bath angle is played up in the title page, which like the other title pages gets the reader well into the narrative. On the back page, dated "BATH, APRIL 5, 1800," Gye explains why he published the pamphlet:

In Reply to a Hand-Bill distributed about this City, the Printer hereof respectfully informs the Public, that in consequence of repeated Applications for this extraordinary Trial, and being informed that an Attorney of Taunton, had taken the same in Short Hand, solicited the indulgence of a Copy, informing him he intended to print it (not having the least Idea that he purposed publishing the Trial himself) but receiving no answer to the Letter, he applied to another Person, from whom a Copy was procured, taken in Short Hand at the Trial on Saturday last.

The references to "short hand" on the title page and the back page suggest that notes were taken by a court reporter; however, neither Gye nor anyone else named the unknown shorthand-taker.

William Gye himself was known in Bath, where he had ample standing. In fact, he was one of the trustees for the shop where the alleged larceny took place. When Elizabeth Gregory took over the haberdashery that had belonged to her brother-in-law and her sister, it was with an arrangement in which she turned over a percentage of the shop's revenues to its creditor, Baron Thomas Dimsdale (*Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot* 9). The trustees who received the money from Gregory and conveyed it to Dimsdale were Lacon Lander Lambe and William Gye (Pinchard, Taunton pamphlet 12).

Remarkably, Gye's connection with both the premises and this pamphlet has almost never been noticed in Austen scholarship.¹³ Frank MacKinnon mentioned Gye's pamphlet but had incomplete information, so the pamphlet featured only as an asterisk:

In the *Bath Herald* of Saturday, 5 April 1800, there is also an advertisement of a forthcoming printed account of the trial, with the addendum:

"It is necessary to apprize the Publick that a Person at Bath (a party interested in the Prosecution), applied to the Editor for his Manuscripts, which not being complied with, a Sixpenny account is, it seems, to be published to-morrow, in order to forestall the above." (MacKinnon 67–68)

As Gilson pointed out, the advertisement suggests that Gye's pamphlet was published first (450). In 1937, MacKinnon asked rhetorically, "Was the Person at Bath Mr. William Gye? I have not discovered that the 'sixpenny account' was in fact brought out" (67–68). But in fact, the sixpenny pamphlet was brought out, and with Gye's name on it.

While three pamphlets were published about the trial, only one has been thoroughly examined. William Gye's pamphlet in particular is rare, held in very few libraries.¹⁴ It is also not electronically accessible, though it can be obtained by print-on-demand. Gye's pamphlet and Pinchard's first pamphlet have remained so obscure that cataloging does not always clarify that they are actually separate works. Even Gilson's monumental 1982 bibliography, with images of all three title pages, characterizes the three pamphlets as "editions" (449–55).

It is significant that Crosby had planned to bring out his Leigh-Perrot trial pamphlet together with Richard Cruttwell of the *Bath Chronicle*.¹⁵ The Cruttwells, father and son, had longstanding business ties with William Gye, ties that would give Crosby another reason not to publish. If there were further good reasons, such as a flawed case against Mrs. Leigh-Perrot, the Cruttwells would also be well positioned to serve as local informants for Crosby.

Assuming that Austen and her relatives saw Crosby and Letterman's advertisements for the William Legge pamphlet—and under the circumstances, they must have seen them—they could anticipate that yet another publisher was trying to cash in, prolonging the humiliation. Whetting these apprehensions would be the fact that Crosby had published on famous trials before—by 1795 at least three books about high-profile trials, by an unnamed court reporter.¹⁶ When Crosby did not publish a pamphlet on the Leigh-Perrot trial, the relief of the Austen family must have been correspondingly intense. Austen's relief and gratitude for Crosby's forbearance might help to explain her remarkable forbearance with Crosby later, when, after he accepted *Susan*, she waited six years before trying to nudge him into publishing.

On a separate note, it must be remembered that Austen was not only unknown but anonymous when she submitted *Susan* to Crosby. Given her family connections, she was probably worse off, in transactional terms, for being anonymous. With some publishers, she might have fared better had she been willing to trade on her social network, drumming up a list of subscribers as some authors did, perhaps among the Leigh-Perrots' circle of friends. She might have fared better still had she been willing to market her novel as "By the Niece of the Lady formerly Accused, and Acquitted . . .," with a suitable frontispiece and advertisement. But Austen wasn't wrapped that way. Quite the contrary; with regard to the Leigh-Perrot trial, she chose a publisher who did *not* bring out a book on it.

NOTES

¹*Oracle and Daily Advertiser* 10 Apr. 1800. Accessed from 17th–18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers, Library of Congress.

²*Oracle and Daily Advertiser* 11 Apr. 1800. Accessed from 17th–18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers, Library of Congress. Unfortunately, the image quality is too poor to copy well for an illustration.

³*Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* n.s. 15 (1800): 383. *Monthly Epitome* (1800): 155.

⁴For the younger Legge, see at www.thepeerage.com/p1276.htm#i12759. Viscount Lewisham was later connected to some key trial personnel.

⁵A Thomas Legge, attorney, authored a book on law, *The Law of Outlawry, and Practice of Civil Actions* (London, 1779; reprinted 1797), listed in Reuss (237). I have not found any title on the Leigh-Perrot trial connected to a William Legge.

⁶*Evening Mail* 28–31 Mar. 1800; *Times* 12 Jan. 1799; *General Evening Post* 29 March–1 Apr. 1800; *Morning Post and Gazetteer* 31 Mar. 1800. See also E. Johnson's *British Gazette and Sunday Monitor* 6 Apr. 1800; and *Caledonian Mercury* 3 Apr. 1800.

⁷Gilson's *Bibliography* refers to the two pamphlets by Pinchard as editions (450–53).

⁸*Star* (London) 9 Apr. 1800; *Sun* (London) 9 Apr. 1800; *Morning Chronicle* (London) 12 Apr. 1800.

⁹The earlier London pamphlet by Pinchard is referenced in Gilson, though as an edition (452, 454, 455). It is also cited Hammond (138).

¹⁰*London Gazette* (11–15 Feb. 1800: 149–50), announcing creditors to meet for dividends April 29; *London Gazette* (4–7 Feb. 1809: 172), announcing creditors to meet February 11; and *London Gazette* (28–31 Oct. 1809: 1714), creditors to meet November 28.

¹¹See for example Borowitz; Worsley (180–82); Moody. On the other side of the dispute, see Le Faye's *Family Record* (118–31).

¹²One exception is Worsley. Worsley, however, discusses the Legge pamphlet as published and posits that its publication led Austen to Benjamin Crosby (182). I have reached different conclusions.

¹³The exception is MacKinnon, who almost made the connection but concluded that Gye's pamphlet never came out (67–68).

¹⁴Gilson lists a copy in the British Library and two other copies in private collections (450).

¹⁵British Newspaper Archive; see at <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/bath-chronicle-and-weekly-gazette>.

¹⁶*State Trials for High Treason* (1794), advertised as *The Trial of Thos. Hardy, for High Treason, complete; The Trial of John Horne Tooke, complete; and The Trial of John Thelwall* (Halhed 36).

WORKS CITED

- Austen, Jane. *Northanger Abbey and Persuasion*. Ed. R. W. Chapman. 3rd ed. Oxford: OUP, 1969.
- Borowitz, Albert. "The Trial of Jane's Aunt." *Legal Studies Forum* 29 (2): 723–44.
- Curwen, Henry. *History of Booksellers, the Old and the New*. London: Chatto, 1873.
- *Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* n.s. Vol. 15. London: Symington, 1800.
- Gilson, David. *Bibliography of Jane Austen*. New York: Oxford UP, 1982.
- _____. "Jane Austen's Text: A Survey of Editions," *Review of English Studies* n.s. 53.209 (Feb. 2002): 61–85.
- Halhed, Nathaniel Brassey. *An Answer to Dr. Horne's Second Pamphlet*. London: Crosby, 1795.
- Hammond, Mabel C. "Ilchester Letters—After the Trial." *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 18.140: 135–38.
- Le Faye, Deirdre. *Chronology of Jane Austen and her Family 1600–2000*. Cambridge: CUP, 2013.
- _____. *Jane Austen: A Family Record*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.
- *London Review; or Monthly Report of Authors and Books*. Vol. 3 (Jan.–June 1800). London: Vernor and Hood, 1800.
- MacKinnon, Frank Douglas. *Grand Larceny: Being the Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, Aunt of Jane Austen*. London: Oxford UP, 1937.

- Mandal, A. A. "Making Austen Mad: Benjamin Crosby and the Non-Publication of 'Susan.'" *Review of English Studies* 57.231 (Sept. 2006): 507–25.
- Moody, Ellen. "How Jane's Aunt Jane Stole that Lace—Her Premeditated Petty Shoplifting." <https://reveriesunderthesignofausten.wordpress.com/2012/10/13/janes-aunt-janes-premeditated-petty-shoplifting/>.
- *Monthly Epitome and Catalogue of New Publications*. Vol. 4 (Jan.–Dec. 1800). London: Clarke, 1801.
- *Monthly Magazine; or, British Register*. Vol. 9, part 1 (Jan.–July 1800). London: Phillips, 1800.
- *Monthly Review, or Literary Journal*. Ser. 2. Vol. 32 (May–Aug. 1800). London: Strahan, 1800.
- Pinchard, John. *The Trial of Mrs. Leigh-Perrot, Wife of — Leigh-Perrot, Esq. which Came on at Somerset Assizes, Holden on the 29th of March, 1800, at Taunton, Before Mr. Justice Lawrence, on a Charge of Stealing a Card of Lace: To which are added, some circumstances attendant on that interesting trial*. London: West and Hughes, 1800.
- _____. *The Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, Wife of James Leigh-Perrot, Esq; Charged with Stealing a Card of Lace, in the Shop of Elizabeth Gregory, Haberdasher and Milliner, at Bath, Before Sir Soulden Lawrence, Knight, One of the Justices of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench. At Taunton Assizes, On Saturday the 29th Day of March, 1800*. Taunton: Norris, 1800. Sold by Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1800.
- Reuss, Jeremias David. *Alphabetical Register of All the Authors Actually Living in Great Britain (Das Gelehrte England oder Lexikon der Jetztlebenden Schriftsteller)*. Supplement and Continuation, Part 2, L.-Z. Berlin: Nicolai, 1804.
- *State Trials for High Treason, Embellished with Portraits [. . .] Reported by a Student in the Temple*. London: Crosby, 1794.
- *Trial of Jane Leigh-Perrot, at Taunton Assizes, Saturday the 29th of March, 1800; Charged with Stealing a Card of Lace, in the Shop of Elizabeth Gregory, Haberdasher & Milliner, of the City of Bath, As Taken in Short Hand*. Bath: Gye, 1800.
- Worsley, Lucy. *Jane Austen at Home*. New York: St. Martin's, 2017.