

Jane Austen and the Militia

JOHN BREIHAN

Dept. of History, Loyola College, 4501 North Charles St., Baltimore, MA 21210

CLIVE CAPLAN

New York, New York

In 1796 Britain was in serious trouble. The three-year-old war against revolutionary France was being lost. The army had sustained heavy losses in the Low Countries and in the West Indies sugar islands. All the continental allies had fallen away in defeat. The victorious French armies threatened invasion, supported by the combined French, Dutch, and Spanish fleets. Ireland was seething with revolt. In England, revolutionary clubs had multiplied, and rising prices and poor harvests led to widespread food riots. The government responded with repression. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, and men were being imprisoned without trial. In the following year, 1797, things became still worse. There was a financial crisis – the Bank of England suspended gold payments. The British fleets at Spithead and the Nore mutinied, despoising their officers and refusing to put to sea. In the rectory at Steventon in Hampshire, a twenty-one-year-old woman was writing a book she called “First Impressions.” The woman was Jane Austen, and her book was to appear as *Pride and Prejudice*.

It has long been a commonplace assertion that Jane Austen lived a calm, intensely private life isolated from dramatic public events and pointedly ignoring them in her writing. Recently a different view (Kent, Roberts) points out that her work generally followed the polite convention that ladies then did not comment on public affairs, either in society or in print. Women could discuss the horrors of the Gothic novel, but not any actual horrors of their time. Jane Austen’s life was as active as her social circumstances could make it. Her brothers Francis and Charles were career officers in the Royal Navy and her brother Henry an officer in the militia. Her journeys between Hampshire and the home of her wealthy brother Edward in Kent took her through that part of England where invasion was most feared, and most heavily garrisoned. In society, she frequently met soldiers and sailors, Members of Parliament and the aristocracy. So she knew what was going on; how could she not? But she made a conscious choice as an artist not to make public events prominent features of her work, and this has helped to make her novels the timeless studies of character and relationship that they are. Nevertheless, she was a child of her times, and had a keen eye for accurate detail. This essay will analyze the military detail of that book which she drafted during those two eventful years of 1796 and 1797. *Pride and Prejudice* has been called “the story of a Militia regiment” (Rowland-Brown), and this study reveals the minute accuracy with which the novel describes the domestic military situation in England during the final year of the old system of quartering the militia, from the autumn of 1794 to that of 1795.

In the novel the anonymous regiment of _____ shires caused a considerable stir on its arrival in the quiet country town of Meryton – and among the Bennet family of five unmarried daughters. “. . . They were well supplied both with news and happiness by the recent arrival of a militia regiment in the neighborhood; it was to remain the whole winter, and Meryton was the head quarters.” (*P&P* 28). The regiment and its officers figure prominently in the fortunes of the Bennet family for the remainder of the novel. Jane Austen’s own experience of the militia was probably not too different from that of the Bennet sisters. From about the age of sixteen she began to attend the monthly assembly at the town of Basingstoke, about seven miles distant from her home village of Steventon. Here, during the winter of 1794-95, the assemblies would have been graced by officers of the South Devon Militia: three of their eight companies were quartered in Basingstoke. Their colonel was John Tolle, Member of Parliament for Devonshire since 1780, whose support for William Pitt, the Prime Minister, had made him the butt of the opposition Whigs in the mock-epic *Rolliad*. The officers of the South Devonshires would have enlivened local society just as the _____ shires did at Meryton. As they all came from the neighborhood of Exeter, it is likely that Jane Austen heard a great deal about that area from them, and it is probably not coincidence that when she wrote the beginnings of her first mature novel in the summer of 1795 about two girls called Elinor and Marianne, she set their new home, Barton, in South Devon “within four miles northward of Exeter” (*S&S* 25).

Jane Austen had another source of information about the militia that winter – her favorite brother, Henry. He had received a B.A. from St. John’s College, Oxford, and was intended for the Church, but, as he later wrote to the Bishop of Winchester,

not being old enough for ordination, and political circumstances of the times, 1793, calling on everyone not otherwise employd (*sic*) to offer his services on the general defence of the Country, I accepted a commission in the Oxfordshire Militia.

Henry and his Oxfordshires also went into winter quarters not far from Steventon during the winter of 1794-95. Their headquarters were at Petersfield, sixteen miles to the south. Three companies, perhaps including Lieutenant Austen, were quartered closer, at Alton, Faringdon, and at the family’s future home at Chawton. Henry Austen must have been pleased with this posting, which gave him every opportunity to tell his sister Jane stories of his regiment, and of the grand encampment at Brighton in which they had participated the summer before.

The origins of the English militia dated back to the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, a levy of all adult males summoned to war by the king. The Georges claimed the same prerogative as had King Harold, but the system of conscription was regulated by parliamentary statute. In each parish fixed quotas of men were chosen by lot or ballot from lists of able-bodied men between 19 and 45 years old. Up until 1796 about one man in eighteen was balloted; in the crisis of that year the rate went up to one in six. A balloted man often found, or paid

£10 for, a substitute, so many of the militiamen were poor and illiterate manual laborers, much the same as the recruits of the regular army.

The militia regiments were organized by county. Officers were drawn from the county gentry; often the Lord Lieutenant or a principal nobleman served as the colonel. During peacetime, the men were drilled periodically, but they really became soldiers only when “embodied” in wartime. Once embodied, the militia regiments usually marched away from their home counties. This had a number of advantages for the high command. Military discipline could be applied free from domestic distractions. Militiamen would be less hesitant about suppressing civil disorder if their own neighbors and family were not involved. Finally, the militia’s main duty was to defend the kingdom, not necessarily their home county, against foreign invasion. The militia could not be ordered out of England, but by manning the defenses they freed the regulars for service abroad.

George III had embodied the militia at the end of 1792; war was declared in February, 1793. During the next summer nine great military camps guarded the coast from Roughborough in Devon to Caistor in Norfolk. These camps were great training centers, where regular soldiers labored to teach the rudiments of military drill to raw county levies. Autumn storms reduced the threat of invasion and at the same time made the tented camps increasingly unhealthy. Regiments therefore marched off to winter quarters in inland towns. This was an annual cycle, repeated in 1794-95.

A militia regiment normally consisted of eight companies of sixty men each, with an official complement of twenty-four officers: three field officers (colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major), five captains, and a lieutenant and ensign for each company. Although a generous leave policy allowed two-thirds of militia officers to be absent from their regiments during the winter, a headquarters like Meryton with four companies in residence would just about account for the eight or nine officers followed so avidly by Kitty and Lydia Bennet.

In *Pride and Prejudice*, the _____ shires arrived in Meryton in early November. Scattering the regiments to fit the accommodations available in small towns and villages made effective training impossible (Houlding), and so the officers, with few military duties to distract them, were ready for fun. They exchanged visits with Bingley and Darcy, enjoyed good dining at Uncle Phillips’, dallied with the local belles at the lending library, and clustered in the ball rooms in their handsome red coats.

Mrs. Bennet joined heartily in her daughters’ fascination with the officers, remembering her own captivation by militia officers in previous wars: “I remember the time when I liked a red coat myself very well – and indeed I do still at my heart” (229). Her recollection of this a quarter-century earlier probably recalls the final days of the militia of the Seven Years War, which ended in 1763 (Mrs. Bennet characteristically lying a bit about her age). As usual, her first concern was with marriage, for which these bored young men far from home were prime candidates. Mrs. Bennet described her ideal: “if a smart young colonel with five or six thousand a year should want one of my girls, I shall not say nay to him” (29). Militia colonels were usually neither



smart nor young nor even present in winter quarters. Often the county's Lord Lieutenant or Member of Parliament, they spent their winters in London running the country rather than in the provinces managing regiments. This latter task they left to their lieutenant colonels, of whom the dashing Forster, with his young and irresponsible wife, was no doubt one – though entitled by courtesy to be addressed as “Colonel Forster.” The regimental major had probably obtained leave for the winter, leaving on the marriage market Captains Carter and several junior officers: Denny, Chamberlayne, Pratt, the newcomer Wickham, and “two or three more” (221). For Kitty and Lydia Bennet, of course, their mother's pecuniary calculations were beside the point, fortune being “worthless in their eyes when opposed to the regimentals of an ensign” (29).

After all, the officers of the _____ shires, even the ensigns, appeared to be “in general a very creditable, gentlemanlike set” (76). Indeed, the law should have guaranteed that, in financial terms at least, all of them would have been good matches for the Bennet sisters. Constitutionally suspicious of armies ever since Cromwell, Parliament had imposed “property qualifications” on all commissions in the land forces. The idea was that only those who possessed property could be trusted to defend it, and the political and

social order based upon it. Officers in the regular army had to produce hard cash to purchase their commissions, while those in the militia were supposed to certify that they possessed a landed fortune or a regular income. These requirements were often evaded, however, and a shortage of officers induced Parliament annually to indemnify those who failed to qualify. By 1795, Pitt told the Commons that no qualifications could realistically be applied to the junior officers in the militia; the security of property must lie instead with the captains. J. R. Western, the historian of the militia, concludes that:

the lieutenants and ensigns were frankly a disgrace. There was really only one copious source of supply: needy individuals in search of a living and youths of impecunious family who wanted a military career on the cheap. (314)

The historian Edward Gibbon, who served during the Seven Years War as a captain in the Hampshire Militia, held similar views of the “rustic officers” with whom he served. They were, he reported, “alike deficient in the knowledge of scholars, and the manners of a gentleman.”

Although no rustic, George Wickham of *Pride and Prejudice* was certainly impecunious, having squandered his fortune of £4,000 (200-201). The shortage of junior officers, along with his good looks and smooth conversation, had allowed him to secure a lieutenant’s commission (and “charming” “regimentals”). Unlike the scholarly Gibbon, who bemoaned the late hours, the drinking, and the utter want of privacy and leisure of his service, Wickham stated that he had enlisted for “the prospect of constant society, and good society . . . I have been a disappointed man, and my spirits will not bear solitude.” (79)

A militia regiment’s stay in a settled country district inevitably had its disruptive aspects. One was social change, as women of all classes found marriage partners from outside their district and from outside traditional patterns. Jane Austen gives examples of this both in *Pride and Prejudice* and in *Emma*. Lydia Bennet will be discussed later; in *Emma*, Captain Weston, of Highbury in Surrey

had satisfied an active cheerful mind and social temper by entering into the militia of his county, then embodied . . . when the chances of military life had introduced him to Miss Churchill, of a great Yorkshire family, . . . Miss Churchill fell in love with him. (*E* 15-16)

The marriage soon produced young Frank Weston-Churchill. This happy couple, from different regions and social positions, would never have met but for Captain Weston’s militia career—and the Churchills wished they never had. His career was fiction, but it was based on fact. The Surrey Militia, formed up at Chatham Barracks in 1792, spent the winter of 1794-95 at Portchester Castle in Hampshire; the regiment was then ordered to quarters in Hull and Beverley in Yorkshire, where it spent the next two years. Jane Austen may have encountered the Surreys in Hampshire, or learned of their stations from Henry or from the press. Once again, the accuracy of her detail is impressive—though perhaps not her arithmetic. Frank Churchill’s age of 23 in 1814-15 when the events in *Emma* take place (96) is impossible for a birthdate in the mid 1790s.

Other disruptions involved threats to public order. The ordinary soldiers, just as bored and idle as their officers but without elegant dinners or lottery-parties to amuse them, sought other, less genteel diversions. William Cowper, Jane Austen's favorite poet, had deplored the effect of military service on the simple countryman in his poem *The Task*, published in 1785: "The child of nature, without guile," . . . becomes a wretch. "To swear, to game, to drink; . . . to be a pest where he was useful once; are his sole aim and all his glory now!" (Book IV, line 632 *seq.*). Simply housing the men proved difficult. It was one of the cherished liberties of Englishmen, stated in the Bill of Rights, that soldiers could not be quartered on private houses. They were quartered instead on the public houses: by the provisions of the Mutiny Act of 1690, the keepers of inns, livery stables, and ale, wine, and coffee houses were obliged to feed and house soldiers for a fixed daily rate. The rate had not been altered since 1690, making the arrangement unpopular with innkeepers, particularly when the price of food was as high as it was during the mid 1790s. Moreover, the sheer size of the militia garrison necessary to counter the French revolutionary hordes overwhelmed the old system. Innkeepers complained that they even had to surrender their private chambers to the soldiers billeted on them, as well as their guest rooms and outbuildings. For their part, the soldiers themselves had many causes of complaint as the innkeepers lodged them in unheated and unsanitary stables and provided them with rotten food or watered beer.

In *Jane Austen and the French Revolution*, Warren Roberts notes the disruption caused in Meryton by the quartering system, but he is mistaken (106) in stating that it was an innovation. Quartering was in fact the traditional system of "housing the soldiers within the civilian population." What changed during the 1790s was that the old system broke down. Their grievances put the militiamen into an ugly mood during the early winters of the war. They sometimes took part in the food riots that began to spread with the onset of the great "subsistence crisis" of 1795-96 (Welles, ch. 7). Government ministers became alarmed about the sort of ideas that soldiers might be picking up during idle hours in taverns. The solution was to build barracks, hundreds of which were hastily constructed during the mid 1790s. Weary of the overcrowding and disorder of the old quartering system, the civilian population failed to raise the old cry of "No Barracks – No Tyranny" (Breihan).

The old system of quartering is evident in *Pride and Prejudice*. Billeting soldiers was supervised by local attorneys and government officials like Uncle Phillips and Sir William Lucas; their frequent meetings with the militia officers were not purely social. Indiscipline in the militia surfaces briefly in the novel: upon their return from their stay at Netherfield, Jane and Elizabeth Bennet were told by the impetuous Lydia that "much had been done, and much had been said in the regiment . . . a private had been flogged . . ." (60). The sudden intrusion of such a disagreeable incident comes as a shock, as was intended. Jane Austen has flouted convention. As she did with the brief airing of slavery in *Emma* (300), she manages to show us that she disapproves both of flogging and of the two younger girls for

bringing up the subject, and worse still callously sandwiching it between two items of idle gossip.

The topic of flogging may have been in Jane Austen's mind when she wrote because of a serious incident of rioting in Henry's Oxfordshire regiment. Leaving Hampshire at the beginning of 1795, the Oxfordshires were lodged near Brighton in one of the new barracks. The buildings had not been properly completed: roofs leaked snow and rain, there were no beds, fever broke out, and rationing arrangements broke down. On two days in April the men took out their frustration on the butchers and victuallers of Seaford and Newhaven, thoroughly alarming the whole district until the mutineers were surrounded and disarmed by loyal regiments. Drastic punishments were imposed: four ringleaders were executed, one transported to Australia, and five men cruelly flogged, the sentences ranging from 300 to 1,500 lashes (Welles). Elizabeth Bennet may have had more in mind than her sisters' embarrassing fancy for red coats when she hoped that there would be no "cruel and malicious arrangement at the War Office [by which] another regiment should be quartered in Meryton" (238).

By the end of May, the _____ shires left Meryton and marched to the great summer camp at Brighton. This was not yet the Brighton of the Regency, but the great gatherings there of fashionable redcoats during the summers of the 1790s played a role, along with the popularity of sea bathing and the patronage of the Prince of Wales, in making the old fishing town a rival to Bath, with "the streets of that gay bathing place covered with officers" (232). On the face of things, this was an army as it ought to be, not bored and undisciplined troops in scattered winter quarters: ". . . all the glories of the camp; its tents stretched forth in beauteous uniformity of lines, crowded with the young and the gay, and dazzling with scarlet" (232). Actually, the social problems associated with the military were still apparent. Booths for drink and gambling, housing prostitutes and hustlers of all sorts from London, formed an encampment of their own encircling the tents of the soldiers. In town, the giddy young officers and their ladies engaged in high-jinks like that favored by Mrs. Forster, who already in Meryton had been dressing up junior officers in women's clothes (221). A frivolous spa like Brighton gave them plenty of opportunity to broaden the scope of such uproarious games – or, as in the case of Lydia Bennet's affair with Wickham, to deepen them. Like the old quartering system, the great Brighton Camps were soon to be abandoned; other summer encampments also shrank as the new barracks opened along the invasion coasts.

Before many weeks had elapsed at Brighton, Wickham's "debts of honour" had grown out of hand (323), and he gave this as his excuse for eloping with Lydia. Lydia's only concern was "longing to know whether he would be married in his blue [civilian] coat" (319). Wickham's militia regimentals were soon put aside as Darcy arranged for the purchase of ensigncy in General _____'s regiment in the regular army, then "quartered in the North" (312). At this time purchase was used to acquire about one-fifth of new first commissions in the regulars, usually for posts in regiments of high reputation in particularly desired locations. For many, this meant London,

but here it meant getting the Wickhams as far away from the other Bennet sisters and Darcy as possible. Wickham had been a lieutenant in the militia; he now dropped back to the rank of ensign, the lowest commissioned rank in the army. One-fifth of ensigns at this time were boys under the age of fifteen; half of them were younger than eighteen. The cost of an ensign's commission was £400. For only £150 more Darcy could have purchased a lieutenantancy, but clearly enough was enough!

Jane Austen's choice of Newcastle as a posting for Wickham, "a place quite northward, it seems," as Mrs. Bennet says (336), fits the events of the mid-1790s, when the region was in the throes of a rapid military build-up. The French revolutionary armies had conquered Holland and acquired the Dutch fleet in their winter campaign of 1794-95. For the next three years the east coast of Britain was threatened by raiding, and even an invasion, across the North Sea. There were a host of internal security problems in the Tyne area. In 1796 for example, the seamen of South Shields were vigorously resisting impressment into the navy, the coal miners were rioting for better pay, and an Irish regiment in Newcastle showed signs of mutiny. A strong and reliable military presence was obviously desirable, and Jane Austen would have known this as she wrote "First Impressions" in 1796-97. Although she conceals the identity of the regiment of which "General _____" was the colonel, there were about half a dozen regular army regiments in the vicinity during the summer of 1795, licking the wounds from their mauling in the Flanders campaign.

The newly married Lydia was looking forward to starting her married life in the North with her beloved Wickham. She invited her parents and especially her sisters to visit: "We shall be at Newcastle all the winter, and I dare say there will be some balls, and I will take care to get good partners for them all" (317). Readers may smile, but these may be the most accurate words Lydia ever spoke. The Assembly Rooms in Newcastle, which had opened in 1776, were said to be "the most elegant and commodious edifice of the kind in the kingdom, except the Houses of Assembly in Bath" (Middlebrook 148). Lucky Lydia! Information on places and events in the Newcastle area was available to Jane Austen from her widowed cousin, Eliza de Feuillide. Eliza's husband, the Comte, had died by the guillotine in Paris in February, 1794. In July of that same year she went to stay for several months with some friends in the North. They were Charles Egerton and his wife: he was then incumbent of Washington, County Durham, and here Eliza was within ten miles of Newcastle.

On the book's penultimate page (387), we learn that the Wickhams' manner of living was "unsettled in the extreme," "even when the restoration of peace restored them to a new home." This would have been the brief Peace of Amiens (March 1802 to May 1803). We are also told on the same page that Darcy, "for Elizabeth's sake . . . assisted Wickham farther in his profession." How much farther we do not know, although at least he managed to survive – or avoid – the disastrous expeditions to the West Indies that lost so many of their men to disease later in the decade. We are only told that Wickham went

“on to enjoy himself in London or Bath.” It is rather unlikely that he distinguished himself on any battlefield.

Newcastle, Brighton, and Hertfordshire are real enough in *Pride and Prejudice*, but Jane Austen left three geographical puzzles in the book. We are told that Meryton was in Hertfordshire, but from what county did the militia regiment quartered there come? Was Meryton itself modelled on a real town? And finally, what was the actual name of the nearby town of _____ on the post road, where Mr. Bennet’s carriage was sent twice to pick up passengers from London: Jane, Elizabeth, and Maria Lucas (219), and Lydia and Wickham on their wedding journey (315)? Once again the militia records hold the vital clues.

The most appropriate regiment of militia to have been quartered in Meryton would be the Derbyshires, from the home county of both Darcy and Wickham. Militia regiments were after all supposed to take their officers from the gentlemen of the county. Wickham was familiar with the “_____ shires,” knowing them to be “a most respectable, agreeable corps” (79). This logical assumption holds true. It was indeed the Derbyshire Militia that was in winter quarters in Hertfordshire during the winter of 1794-95, the last winter when the traditional quartering system was in full operation. The Derbyshires’ headquarters was in the county town, Hertford, and the nine companies of men were scattered in billets around the neighboring towns and villages – including the town of Ware, three miles east of Hertford. Ware was a stage for coaches on the main road north from London known as the Old North Road or Ermine Street. Applying all this to the novel, Meryton, the regimental headquarters, was likely to have been Hertford. The town of _____ where travellers were met, and where Lydia and Kitty amused themselves by watching a sentinel (219), was likely to have been Ware. The High Street of Ware was lined with coaching inns, and one of these was the George, dating from 1570, where Kitty and Lydia “when [they] got to the George . . . treated the other three with the nicest cold luncheon in the world . . .” (222). Pepys, Defoe, and Isaac Walton had all stayed there, and the inn had housed the Great Bed of Ware in which twelve people could spend the night.

These identifications fit other facts. Longbourn, one mile from Meryton (28), was said to be 24 miles from London (152), as are both Hertford and Ware. In their elopement, Lydia and Wickham were presumed to have fled up the Great North Road, which runs north parallel to the Old North Road, ten miles to the west, through Barnet and Hatfield. It was there that Colonel Forster enquired about them in the inns (275). “They must have passed within ten miles of us,” said Jane, writing to Elizabeth from Longbourn (274). Hatfield on the Great North Road is just eight miles west of Hertford/Meryton, verifying Jane Bennet, and making it easy for Colonel Forster, who “with the kindest concern . . . came on to Longbourn” to report to the Bennet family on his lack of success (275). Hertford/Meryton, as the country town, was a suitably prominent borough for its mayor, William Lucas, to be granted the honor of knighthood for a timely Loyal Address to the Throne – perhaps on the occasion of George III’s recovery from his illness in 1789.

There are several country houses in the vicinity of Hertford/Meryton which might represent Longbourn, Lucas Lodge, and Netherfield, but exact identification seems unlikely. There is, though, an actual Netherfield estate five miles east of Hertford that might have suggested the name.

The presence of the Derbyshire Militia in Hertford/Meryton helps in understanding Darcy's behavior. As a substantial property holder in Derbyshire, he almost certainly knew the regiment's officers. This explains his lack of shyness in approaching Colonel Forster and Elizabeth (24), his early dinner visit with the officers (30), and a part of his involvement in Wickham's elopement. Perhaps his very reason for accompanying Bingley into Hertfordshire in the first place was his desire to see his militia friends?

The study of the movement and quartering of militia regiments has provided a useful insight into Jane Austen's work, and has shown that she was indeed influenced by these contemporary events and did write about them with great accuracy. Particularly valuable has been knowledge of the winter quarters of the South Devons in Basingstoke, the Oxfordshires in mid Hampshire, and the Derbyshires in Hertford and Ware. These postings all took place during the winter of 1794-95. A year later the completion of the new barracks had greatly reduced the need to quarter the militia in country towns; the stimulus of excitement and romance given to quiet places like Meryton was not to occur again. This is useful internal evidence for establishing when *Pride and Prejudice* was first conceived. We must be grateful that this exceptional set of circumstances did happen once, and that it became an inspiration to Jane Austen.

In January 1813 Jane Austen received her first copies of the newly published *Pride and Prejudice* and wrote to her sister Cassandra in two letters, dated 29 January and 4 February,

I want to tell you that I have got my own darling child from London . . . the work is rather too light, and bright, and sparkling; it wants shade; it wants to be stretched out here and there with a long chapter of sense, if that could be had; if not, of solemn specious nonsense, about something unconnected with the story; an essay on writing, a critique of Walter Scott, or the history of Buonaparte . . . (*Letters* 297-300)

Perhaps she succeeded better than she knew. In writing her book she *has* written a history, if not of Napoleon, at least of a part of the military response to the menace of the French Revolution, at one of the most critical moments in British history. This essay has revealed the skeletal structure of Jane Austen's history, which is indeed there, supporting the body of bright and sparkling narrative.

WORKS CITED

- Chapman, R. W., ed., *The Oxford Illustrated Jane Austen*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1966.
- Breihan, John R., "Army Barracks in the North East in the Era of the French Revolution," *Archaeologia Aelianna*, 5th ser., vol. 18 (1990), pp. 165-76.
- Gibbon, Edward, *Memoirs of the Life of Edward Gibbon*, George Birbeck Hill, ed., New York, 1900.

- Grey, J. David, "Henry Austen: Jane Austen's 'Perpetual Sunshine'," in *Persuasions*, Occasional Papers No. 1 (1984), pp. 9-12.
- , "Military (Army and Navy)," in Grey, et al., eds., *The Jane Austen Companion*, New York: Macmillan, 1986, pp. 307-13.
- Houlding, J. A., *Fit for Service*, Oxford, 1981.
- Kent, Christopher, "'Real Solemn History' and Social History," in David Monaghan, ed., *Jane Austen in a Social Context*, Totowa, NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1981, pp. 86-104.
- Middlebrook, S., *Newcastle upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement*, Newcastle: Kemsley House, 1950.
- Roberts, Warren, *Jane Austen and the French Revolution*, London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Rowland-Brown, Lilian (Rowland Grey), "The Navy, the Army, and Jane Austen," in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 82 (1917), pp. 169-84.
- Welles, Roger, "The Militia Mutinies of 1795," in John Rule, ed., *Outside the Law: Studies in Crime and Order, 1650-1850*, Exeter, 1982, pp. 35-40.
- , *Wretched Faces: Famine in Wartime England 1763-1803*, Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1988.
- Western, J. R., *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1965.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Henry Austen's letter regarding his militia service is with his papers at the Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, item 21M65 E1/4/2601.

The stations of the various regiments discussed above are taken from the monthly returns of army dispositions in the War Office Papers at the Public Records Office, Kew, WO5/66-70, WO5/101, and WO17/2782-2796.