

Jane Austen's Soldier Brother: The Military Career of Captain Henry Thomas Austen of the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia, 1793-1801

CLIVE CAPLAN
Islip Terrace, New York

It was February 1793. For just one week Britain had been at war with France. The country was mobilizing; militia regiments were hastening to their posts. This is the story of the Oxfordshire Regiment, and one of its officers—Henry Thomas Austen.

On Thursday last the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia, lately embodied here, marched from hence on their route to Newbery [*sic*], Berks. Their Military Department, and Alacrity for Service, did honour to the County. The whole Regiment manifested an Ardour for opposing and subduing the Enemies of this Country, internal or external. Opposite Christ Church they made a halt, whilst they struck up “God save the King,” joined by some thousands of spectators, and accompanied by the Band of the Regiment; after which they resumed their March amidst the Shouts and Acclamations of a vast Concourse of People. (*JOJ*, 9Feb1793)

At this moment Henry Austen was not yet a soldier, but a Fellow at Oxford University. He was to become a soldier and then an army agent, a banker and then a bankrupt, and at last, a clergyman. He would escort his sister Jane on her travels, become her literary agent, and after her death be her first biographer. In this biography his statement that Jane's life “was not by any means a life of event” (*NP&P* 3) received much attention from critics and unduly influenced much later Austenian commentary. This article illustrates how the military career of Henry, *Jane Austen's Soldier Brother*, relates to his sister's life and art. It also restores a balance between the army and navy. Jane Austen's naval connections have been often noted. This is because of the book *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers* by J. H. and Edith C. Hubback (1906) about the two youngest Austen brothers, Francis and Charles, who both became Admirals, and because of the prominence of naval characters in Jane's books *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*. Her soldier brother Henry's military experiences have hitherto been neglected.

Henry was born at Steventon on June 8, 1771. He was privately educated by his father, the Rev. George Austen, who ran a school in his Rectory for a few boys of good family. When Henry was fifteen his cousin, Eliza de Feuillide, wrote of him that “it is most probable that he will soon be obliged to reside at Oxford” (*AP* 122, 9Apr1787). His father had been sixteen at matriculating, and his eldest brother James only fourteen. The Austen men entered St.

John's College on a "Founder's Kin" scholarship, and there could only be six holders at any one time. A prospective entrant had to wait for one of those six incumbents to graduate, marry, or die—a situation known as "waiting for Dead Man's Shoes." Henry's Fellowship was delayed until July 1, 1788. He proceeded uneventfully to his BA in June 1792, after the standard four years, and was rewarded by the dedication of Jane's *Lesley Castle* (MW 109). He was twenty-one years old, and his profession was to be the church.

Henry set about the next stage of his university career in the most exemplary way. His College awarded him a scholarship with a small stipend; he also became an Assistant Logic Reader, and was employed teaching undergraduates. Three more years of residence would be required to obtain an MA, for university degrees then were not awarded by examination or thesis, but simply by continued residence. He could expect to be successively ordained deacon, and then clergyman, and then to look for a curacy. These cosy expectations were upset by the outbreak of war in February 1793. The King had already called out the militia in the previous December, and among those regiments mobilized was the Oxfordshire. Patriotic enthusiasm in Oxford was intense. Jane Austen had already noted in her *History of England* that "the inhabitants of Oxford . . . were always loyal to their King, & faithful to his interests" (MW 148). Now Thomas Paine was burned in effigy, and the town corporation voted that "kingly power, wisely limited, was the surest safeguard of the nation."

The Austen family in its home county of Hampshire was equally patriotic. The county faced France across the English Channel, and was the home of two strategic seaports—Portsmouth and Southampton. The immediate military priority, noted by the *Oxford Journal* (JOJ, 16Feb1793), was to guard against invasion: "The Militia from the Inland Counties are ordered down to the Sea Coasts, to relieve such of the Regulars as are destined for other services." The Oxfordshire Regiment, on the move towards the south coast, made its first halt at Newbury, Berkshire and stayed for two weeks. On February 21 it went on to Whitchurch and Overton, where it was almost in Jane Austen's back yard. Overton was where she did her shopping, where her oldest brother James was curate, and was only three miles from her home at the Steventon Rectory. Although the Regiment then moved on, through Winchester, to its post at Southampton, this "recent arrival of a militia regiment in the neighbourhood" (PP 28) might have been the stimulus for Jane to first think of a novel of the militia.

The Oxfordshires' appearance in Hampshire might also have played a part in Henry Austen's decision to abandon his clerical career and become a soldier. These two careers often conflict in

Jane Austen's later fiction. Edward Ferrars preferred the church, but his family recommended the army (*SS* 102). Wickham, who was originally meant for the church, says "A military life is not what I was intended for, but circumstances have now made it eligible" (*PP* 79). The anti-clerical Mary Crawford would have supported Henry Austen's choice, and says: "The profession, either navy or army, is its own jurisdiction. It has every thing in its favour; heroism, danger, bustle, fashion. Soldiers and sailors are always acceptable in society. Nobody can wonder that men are soldiers and sailors" (*MP* 109). Some of Henry's own words, written in 1816 to the Bishop of Winchester, briefly provide a rationale for his decision:

Soon after taking my degree of A.B., I, not being old enough for ordination, and the political circumstances of the times 1793 calling on everyone not otherwise employd [*sic*] to offer his services in the general defence of the Country, I accepted a Commission in the Oxfordshire Militia. (Hampshire RO, 21M65 E1/4/2601)

His description of "not being old enough for ordination" was not quite the whole truth. Officially, one would be ordained deacon at 23 and priest at 24, but exceptions could be made, and both his father and his older brother James had become deacons at 22 and priests at 24. Henry would have been 22 in June of 1793, just two months away, but he did not wait.

The Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia, like the other county militias, was essentially a private army. It was raised by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, who nominated all the officers and recommended all the promotions. Henry Austen at Oxford University was not like Mr. Collins (*PP* 70) who "had merely kept the necessary terms, without forming any useful acquaintance." If becoming a militia officer required patronage, Henry would go out and get patronage. Throughout his life he sought out and cultivated those who might help him to get on in the world: a necessary trait in those days for a younger son with no independent fortune. The Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire was George, 4th Duke of Marlborough; the Colonel of the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia was the Duke's younger brother, Lord Charles Spencer. Jane Austen's character Colonel Fitzwilliam follows in Colonel Spencer's footsteps as a sprig of a noble family—he was the younger son of an Earl (*PP* 183). The officers of the Oxford Regiment represented many of the county's landowning and aristocratic families. Even so, there was usually some difficulty in filling the junior officer posts of lieutenant and ensign, especially immediately after embodiment. Although the authorities tried to compensate by providing generous leave, it was a hardship to leave one's native county for the uncertain duration of the war, and pay and conditions were not ideal. In addition, militia officers needed a property qualification for their commission. A

lieutenant had to hold land of the value of £50 per annum, half of which had to be in the county of his commission. Because of the difficulty in finding good officers this qualification rule was often circumvented, especially for the junior subalterns, and presumably was waived for the profligate Wickham. At any event, by a combination of character, ability, and connection, Henry Austen received his commission as a Lieutenant in the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia on April 8, 1793, and joined his unit in Southampton.

Southampton was a small town of about eight thousand people. Henry would have been able to introduce his fellow officers to an Austen cousin, John Butler Harrison II, who was to be mayor of the town in the following year. The groundwork may also have been laid for the visit of Jane and her sister Cassandra to the Harrisons in December, when Jane celebrated her eighteenth birthday and became godmother to one of their children. One Harrison child had already been named after Henry himself—Henry Austen Harrison, born in 1791 (*Letters* 532). It is also likely that Henry at this time met George Henry Rose, who was to be elected to Parliament for Southampton in the following year. (More than twenty years later, when Henry really needed help after his ordination, it was Rose who invited him to become chaplain to his new embassy in Berlin.) Little was expected of the Oxfordshire on this first assignment. The spring and early summer were spent in garrison, and small parties of thirty men and an officer were sent to Portsmouth for training in artillery. The Regiment was then assigned to a summer camp to learn real soldiering. Departure was delayed for ten days by the Regiment's first big job—escorting a thousand French prisoners of war landed in Southampton, to Salisbury, on their road to Stapleton Prison, near Bristol. Four companies of the Regiment each escorted four successive parties of 250 prisoners. It was early in the war for such a large number of prisoners, but the British fleet had been active. Most prisoners were sailors, and hence the responsibility of the Admiralty, but guarding prisoners was a common assignment for the militia.

The Oxfords were at Waterdown Camp in July, and in August were assigned to the camp at Brighton. Summer camps for militia were distributed all along the southern and eastern coasts of England, for training, and to discourage invasion. Several militia regiments were encamped with one or two units of regulars. In *Pride and Prejudice* Jane Austen makes the Brighton Camp notorious as the place where Lieutenant Wickham built up intolerable gambling debts, and was attached by Lydia Bennet. Lydia had seen “with the creative eye of fancy . . . the streets of that gay bathing place covered with officers . . . 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" (*PP* 232). We don't know if Jane Austen visited Brighton to call on Henry; her whereabouts are unclear for most of 1793. From an author who rarely wrote descriptive passages this sounds like an eyewitness account, but the scene is set only in Lydia's imagination and we cannot be sure. The Regiment stayed for three months at Brighton, and then on November 14 moved to its winter quarters in western Sussex: at Petworth (headquarters), Midhurst, and Arundel. The camps were not substantial enough for the winter, so alternative accommodation was required from November to May. At the outbreak of war there had been but few barracks, and these were intended only for the regulars. The usual system of winter quartering had the militiamen packed into public houses, inns, livery stables, barns and other outbuildings. This was hardly a satisfactory arrangement, and under the tremendous wartime expansion in military manpower the system collapsed. In *Pride and Prejudice* the — shires wintered in Meryton but this was the last gasp of the old quartering system, for the government embarked on a crash program of barrack building.

For Henry Austen this winter posting to western Sussex was ideal. He was within easy reach of home, and he and Cassandra were recorded as attending a ball at Basingstoke, seven miles from Steventon on January 16, 1794. On February 17 all officers and men on leave were ordered to report to their regiments due to one of the many invasion scares of the long war: "The French have declared their intention to invade this Country towards the end of the present month . . . if the French are mad enough to come, we shall not be tame enough to suffer any of them to return" (*JOJ*, 22Feb1794). Henry was not deterred from later taking a month's leave, from March 20. While he was away the Regiment received an augmentation of 63 volunteers and expanded from eight companies of men to nine. This was part of a general militia expansion, the authorities offering enlistment bounties after having realized that the present number of men under arms was totally inadequate. The military defence of England was in the hands of the thirty thousand men of the county militia regiments, four thousand Guards, and some cavalry.

The Oxfords were now more capable, and more was expected of them. Marching orders came, and they proceeded on May 16 to Portsmouth, home port of the Channel Fleet. Unfortunately, they had to stay at the Hilsea Barracks, which were notoriously unhealthy, being situated on low lying swampy ground. The British war effort had so far been a complete disaster but the Navy now came to the rescue. Admiral Lord Howe defeated the French fleet out in the Atlantic on "The Glorious First of June" and sailed into Portsmouth harbour on June 13 with six French ships as prizes. Hungry for any success, the whole country went wild. For the first and only time in

British history a reigning monarch, with the Royal Family, travelled to greet and reward the returning commander. King George III arrived in Portsmouth on the 20th, to a rapturous reception. Doubtless the Oxfords were busy with guard duties and with crowd control, and they gladly moved out of the Hulsea Barracks to make room for the new French prisoners. The Regiment encamped at Portsea for the next two months. There was an incident on August 24, when one of the prizes, the *Impetueux*, caught fire, and went adrift. The prisoners danced about and sang the *Marseillaise*, but were disappointed in their hopes that the fire would spread. Henry would have been able to spend time with his fifteen-year-old brother Charles, who was finishing his three years of study at the Portsmouth Naval Academy and who left to go to sea in September. He was also granted two leaves of absence by Sir William Pitt, the commander of the garrison, from July 3 for three weeks, and from August 30 for 10 days, probably to accompany Cassandra and Jane to visit their elder brother Edward in Kent (*Letters* 125), and to get in some September partridge shooting. In September the Regiment moved to the neighbouring Portchester Castle, then the largest prisoner of war camp in the country, for more guard duty. As Colonel Spencer later related: "During the whole of the summer the Oxfordshire Regiment was encamped for the purpose of doing duty over near five thousand French Prisoners at Hulsea and Portchester, which duty they performed with perfect credit to themselves" (WO 17/170). On September 16 the Regiment performed splendidly in its only recorded Review. The Oxford Journal carries a rapturous report by an anonymous old soldier:

The Dress and Department of the Regt, with their Uniformity and Neatness surprized me. The Regularity of the Ranks, with their good Appointments and Military Appearance, surpassed what I had ever seen, though an old Soldier. I expected to have found what we call a Band Box Regiment; but my Surprize was greatly increased when I witnessed their Performances, which were at least equal to their Appearance. The Firings of the Regt by Division, from Flank to Centre and Centre to Flank, by Wings and Battalions, accompanied by two field pieces, were performed in a very superior style. After this commenced the Manoeuvres, which were performed with such Conformity to the King's Orders, that I am well convinced few Regiments can equal, and none surpass them.—Generals Pitt and Cuyler desired the Colonel to thank the Officers and Men for their Appearance and Performance. . . . (*JOJ*, 27Sep1794)

Major General Cornelius Cuyler was Deputy Commander of the Garrison. In 1793-1794 he had been Colonel of one of several new raised regiments of regulars—the 86th Regiment of Foot. Henry may have discussed with him at this time a topic which comes up later in Jane Austen's correspondence—the prospects for enlisting in the 86th. Even so, he still had some interest in a clerical career, for in October he and his brother Edward unsuccessfully tried to buy the

future living of Chawton in Hampshire. Edward's benefactor and adoptive father, Thomas Knight, had just died, and the inheritance included an estate at Chawton.

As the year grew late the Oxfords moved on to spend two weeks at Netley Camp, near Southampton. On November 14 they went into winter quarters even closer to Steventon than the year before. They were in eastern Hampshire: at Petersfield (4 companies and headquarters), Alton (3 companies), and Alresford (2 companies). A few days before, on the 8th, the Derbyshire Regiment of Militia had moved into the neighbourhood of Hertford and Ware in Hertfordshire, thereby unwittingly gaining immortality by becoming Jane Austen's model for the regiment in *Pride and Prejudice* (Breihan and Caplan, 1992). Henry began a three-week leave on November 28, and on December 3 at Harpsden in Oxfordshire became godfather to Edward-Phillip, eldest son of his Cooper cousins (*Letters* 510). Quartered near home, he would have been able to visit his family frequently, and regale them with stories of his Regiment, rather as Midshipman William Price in *Mansfield Park* told tales of his adventures to his sister Fanny. Henry could have been at home on December 16, Jane's nineteenth birthday, when her father gave her a writing desk. It was soon put to good use, Jane beginning an early version of *Sense and Sensibility*. The story was set in South Devon, presumably because Jane had come to know the officers of the South Devon Regiment of Militia which had been quartered in her own Basingstoke-Whitchurch neighbourhood for the past two winters. Henry's abilities were now recognized, for Colonel Spencer appointed him acting Paymaster, a post which he was to hold until the end of his military service in 1801. It was a position of great responsibility. All the money business of the Regiment passed through his hands, and he supervised the annual payroll, then £15,000 per annum. Henry must have demonstrated true competence, a virtue hard to find in regiments where the officers were chosen largely because of their status in society and their political reliability.

As 1795 opened, the Oxfords were living in quarters for the last time. Henceforth, they would know only the life of the camp or the barrack. The old way of billeting troops on towns and villages was ending, just as Jane Austen preserved a record of it for posterity in *Pride and Prejudice*. On January 20 the men marched off to their next posting—the newly constructed barracks of East Blatchington, on the south coast of Sussex, about ten miles east of Brighton. Colonel Spencer later described what they found there: "They arrived at the very worst time of the very severe season of the winter—the Barracks quite unfinished, and few conveniences or comforts, either for officers or men. Scarcely any cooking houses, neither

guardroom nor hospital, snow and rain beating through the roof, the men half way up their legs in mud, and very severe illness among them" (PRO, WO 71/170). Fortunately for Henry Austen he was not with his Regiment: to earn his Master of Arts degree he had needed to resume his academic life. On January 15 he began a generous period of leave of absence granted by Colonel Spencer: two solid months, and another month in April—the period of the Lent and Easter terms at Oxford. In being thus absent from his unit he avoided any direct involvement in the disastrous event which was now to occur, and which so blackened the next page in the Oxfordshire Regiment's history: The Riot!

All that spring there was unrest in the whole country about food prices. Bad weather, poor harvests, and wartime conditions had produced a 25% rise in the basic price of bread and meat. The men of the militia were not exempt from the general distress, for they had to purchase their own food supplies with a portion of their pay. The Oxfordshires took the law into their own hands. On Friday, April 17, about four hundred of the men marched to the neighbouring towns of Seaford and Newhaven and took over. They commandeered all stocks of meat and flour and sold them off at reduced prices. Ale flowed freely. The officers, of whom less than half were present in Blatchington, were unable to get the men to return to their duty. The disturbance lasted for two days before it was put down by a charge of the Lancashire Regiment of Fencible Light Dragoons and by the guns of the Royal Horse Artillery. The incident was widely reported in the press (e.g. *Times*, 21Apr1795). The Duke of Richmond considered disbanding the Regiment, and drafting the men into the Navy, or else sending them all to the West Indies, which would have been the equivalent of a death sentence (HO50/4, 277-83). The Duke of York reported that the King wished merely to remove them to the North East district (*ibid.*, 285-88)—a fate which actually did befall Wickham and Lydia in *Pride and Prejudice*. The final decision was to make an example only of the ringleaders. Two men were sentenced by court martial to be shot, one to be transported to Australia, and six to be flogged. The executions were carried out on June 13 by a firing squad of pardoned mutineers, in front of the entire ten-thousand-man Brighton garrison: the Royal Artillery with 12 loaded twelve-pounders, five regiments of militia, three of fencibles, and the Prince of Wales Light Dragoons (*Times*, 16Jun1795). The arms of the Regiment had been removed, but were restored at the earnest entreaty of Colonel Spencer. On the same day at Lewes two more men from the Regiment were hanged after a civil trial at the Assizes. Colonel Spencer concluded that the cause of the riot was that "the men were treated with more indulgences and more kindness than it was their nature to bear" (WO71/170).



Execution of two mutineers from the Oxford Militia, Brighton, June 1795.
FROM WILLAN'S HISTORY OF THE REGIMENT

At the time of the riot urgent country-wide recall notices had gone out to all militia officers to return to their regiments, but Henry Austen did not comply — a short note appearing against his name on the muster roll of the Regiment: “Austen, sick at Oxford.” He would have had to produce a medical certificate of course, but he was not too sick to pen a note to Warren Hastings on April 26 (*AP* 153-54), a little over a week after the riot. Henry congratulated him on his acquittal, three days earlier, from his trial before Parliament for alleged maladministration in India. Next day Henry may have seen the Surrey Militia as it arrived in Oxford, having left Portchester Castle on the 23rd and passed through Basingstoke. It, also, had behaved badly and was on its way to Hull and Beverly in Yorkshire, to remain there in exile for two years. Jane Austen must have known and remembered all this, for almost twenty years later in *Emma* (*E* 15) she assigned Captain Weston membership in the Surreys, and it was in Yorkshire that he met and married Miss Churchill, and fathered young Frank.

Henry was back on duty at Blatchington in May and was present for the executions. He then travelled with his Regiment to Sheerness Camp where the summer months were spent. Colonel Spencer had promised that “no Care shall now be wanting to restore the good Order and Discipline of the Regiment, trusting, that before long it will retrieve its lost Character, and recover from the Disgrace under which, by its late Misconduct, it now too deservedly lays”

(WO71/170). Henry may have been a part of these remedial plans, for—no doubt with the Colonel's encouragement—he began to think of purchasing the Adjutancy of the Oxfordshire Regiment, although it seems that the necessary financial arrangements could not be completed. He also still entertained the notion of joining the 86th Foot (*Letters* 2, below). On September 23 the Regiment broke camp and marched to its winter quarters at Chelmsford Barracks. While en route a small detachment escorted 150 prisoners of war from Chatham to Faversham.

On October 7 Henry took another leave, for the Michaelmas Term at Oxford, in final preparation for his MA degree. It was also about this time that he made another move, of a different kind, his first proposal of marriage! Eliza de Feuillide was ten years older than Henry. Her mother was the sister of Rev. George Austen and therefore Eliza was Henry's first cousin. She had married the French Comte de Feuillide in 1781, had an invalid child, Hastings, and was widowed in 1794 when her husband was guillotined. Henry and Eliza always seemed to have an affinity for each other. He stayed with her in London in 1787, and they would have travelled to France together in 1788 if Henry's Fellowship had not become available. Eliza visited Henry, and his older brother James, in Oxford soon after Henry matriculated, and they all went together to Blenheim Palace—the seat of the Duke of Marlborough. On October 26, 1792, she had written from Steventon to her cousin, Philadelphia Walter: "Henry is now rather more than six feet, I believe: He is also much improved, and is certainly endowed with uncommon abilities . . . you know that his family design him for the church" (*AP* 148). In the autumn of 1795, if a later letter of Eliza is to be credited (*AP* 168, below), Henry proposed marriage to her, and she refused him.

Seventeen ninety-six brings us a welcome new source of information—Jane Austen's surviving letters—and in the very first one (9Jan1796) there are two news items concerning Henry. First (*Letters* 1): "Henry goes to Harden [Harpden, about twenty miles from Oxford] to-day in his way to his Master's degree. . . ." His twin careers in church and militia were flourishing, and his degree was only six months delayed. Quite an achievement! Secondly, in the same letter (*Letters* 2):

Henry is still hankering after the Regulars, and as his project of purchasing the adjutancy of the Oxfordshire is now over, he has got a scheme in his head about getting a lieutenancy and adjutancy in the 86th, a new-raised regiment, which he fancies will be ordered to the Cape of Good Hope. I heartily hope that he will, as usual, be disappointed in this scheme.

This passage belittles Henry's military pretensions and doubts the accuracy of his information. Jane Austen, just twenty years old, was

probably apprehensive that if Henry did join the regulars he would be overseas for many years. Henry's "fancies" about the 86th were accurate. The Regiment did go to the Cape of Good Hope that year, to help to capture it from the Dutch, and then to India, and then to Egypt to help to expel the French. Henry may have contemplated the regulars because of dejection over Eliza's refusal of him. Nevertheless, his low spirits did not last long, for at some time early in 1796 he became engaged to somebody else! His new conquest was Mary Pearson, the daughter of Sir Richard Pearson of the Greenwich Hospital, whom he may have met while his Regiment was encamped at Sheerness.

The Oxfords were to spend the summer of 1796 at Yarmouth, and Henry left Chelmsford with them on April 15. They were stationed at Yarmouth Barracks, which soon turned out to be in need of repair. From July 18 the men had to encamp on the grounds while renovations were completed. Yarmouth was a fashionable watering place, and in August was at the height of its summer season. Suddenly the town was plunged into disorder. John Thelwall was a political radical who had found popular support in Yarmouth. On Friday, August 19 one of his meetings was broken up by a gang of ninety sailors from a man-of-war in the harbour. A tumult broke out, and spread through the town. Appeals were made to the town officials to call out the militia to restore order. The magistrates were opponents of Thelwall and declined to give the necessary authorization. Colonel Spencer was therefore obliged to keep the Oxfords quietly in camp. Henry missed all this excitement, for he had just taken a one-month leave, starting on the 15th.

The purpose of his leave was to spend some time with his fiancée, Mary Pearson. Jane Austen wrote to Cassandra later than month that he had driven Mary over to visit brother Edward at Rowling in Kent (*Letters* 5). Jane went to join them there but the gathering was cut short by Henry's poor health. He had not been well when he came, perhaps with a camp fever—it was not unusual for ten to fifteen percent of the men to be on the sick list. He decided to return to Yarmouth on September 2—two weeks early—to consult his physician there (*Letters* 6). Jane adds that he hoped to return in October. With Henry gone, Jane was marooned in Kent without a male relative to conduct her home, and wrote to Cassandra (*Letters* 12, 18Sep1796): “. . . as to Henry's coming into Kent again, the time of its taking place is so very uncertain, that I should be waiting for *Dead-men's Shoes*.” Disappointment makes her unkind, comparing her wait to Henry's earlier waiting for his Fellowship. She seems to lack sympathy for Henry's poor health, and does not understand his regimental responsibilities. But in October she did get home, and she then began her militia novel *First Impressions*, later renamed *Pride*

and *Prejudice*. In the book she satirizes the attraction of military men for certain young women, following Mary Wollstonecraft who wrote in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792):

. . . nothing can be so prejudicial to the morals of the inhabitants of country towns as the occasional residence of a set of idle superficial young men, whose only occupation is gallantry, and whose polished manners render vice more dangerous, by concealing its deformity under gay ornamental drapery.

Henry's health must have improved, for he did get away again on October 3, probably to escort Jane home, and then perhaps to visit Godmersham for some shooting. Also about this time, in September or early October, his engagement to Mary Pearson was broken off. On October 22 Colonel Spencer ordered him back early to Yarmouth, and the muster roll for November carries against his name: "Austen, Paymaster, absent to attend the Colonel of the Regiment on particular business." This was presumably financial and took him to London to see the regimental agents, Greenwood and Cox. Whenever Henry was in London he always seemed to make a point of visiting Eliza de Feuillide, who wrote sympathetically to Philadelphia Walter:

Our Cousin Henry Austen has been in Town: he looks thin & ill—I hear his late intended is a most intolerable Flirt, and reckoned to give herself great Airs—The person who mentioned this to me says She is a pretty wicked looking Girl with bright Black Eyes which pierce thro and thro, No wonder this poor young Man's heart could not withstand them.

(AP 155, 7Nov1796)

In the middle of November the Oxfordshire Regiment moved into winter quarters at Colchester Barracks. At this time the war was still going badly for Britain. The Triple Alliance with Austria and Prussia had ended with the allies' defeat. The country fought on alone, under constant threat of invasion. The Ministry made a major decision to greatly expand the size of its armed forces by the formation of a Supplementary Militia. This was to be billeted in the counties, and the new detachments were to have twenty days' training. To save money, the force was not to be embodied except in case of need. At the end of December, a major French invasion of Ireland by a large fleet and fifteen thousand men was thwarted only by a miraculous contrary wind which sprang up just as the ships reached Bantry Bay.

At the beginning of 1797 Henry's military career was considerably advanced by two promotions. First, on February 18, he finally became Adjutant of the Regiment, the position that he had sought for more than a year. As Adjutant he now supervised the entire internal management of the Regiment and the direction of the men's training—a highly responsible position, for which the King usually appointed an officer from the regular army. Henry must again have

proved himself a most able and reliable officer. His duties from now on became very onerous and in his time as Adjutant he took no personal leave. The other proof of his Colonel's esteem was the promotion, on March 29, to the intermediate rank of Captain Lieutenant. Each regiment could have just one officer of this rank, who was addressed by courtesy as Captain, and who functioned as the commander of the Colonel's company, the Colonel often being absent. Eliza, with the topic of Henry beginning to occupy her correspondence with increasing frequency, noted his preferment with as much satisfaction as Mary Crawford would have done. Writing to Philadelphia Walter:

Captain Austen has just spent a few days in town. I suppose you know that our Cousin Henry is now Captain, Paymaster, and Adjutant. He is a very lucky young man and bids fair to possess a considerable share of riches and honours. I believe he has given up all thoughts of the Church, and he is right for he certainly is not so fit for a parson as a soldier. . . . (AP 159-60, 3May1797)

In February, March and April of 1797 the men of the new Supplementary Militia were successively given their twenty days of training in their home districts, supervised by the Adjutant and by regimental NCOs. The Oxford recruits were complimented in the press for their very sober and orderly behaviour (*JOJ*, 8 & 22Apr1797). Then on May 9 the Oxfordshire Regiment marched to its summer assignment at Norwich, a major center of radical agitation, which was reached in time for another riot associated with John Thelwall, on the 29th. At the end of May at Spithead began the series of naval mutinies so nearly fatal to the British cause. The North Sea Fleet was based at Yarmouth where a small detachment of men from the Oxfordshire was assigned. This fleet, blockading the Dutch, was reduced by mutiny to just two loyal ships. The remainder sailed to join their rebellious fellows at the Nore, in the Thames estuary.

On July 3 Eliza wrote to Philadelphia Walter that she would not quarter herself near a camp for the summer, but would go to Brighton, adding in an offhand way "Henry is at Norwich" (AP 161-62). By August 4 she had developed a different plan: to go to Lowestoft, near Norwich, ostensibly on Doctor's orders for her son, Hastings (AP 163-64). This month Jane Austen finished writing *First Impressions*. She and Cassandra were home together at Steventon this year so there are no letters between them, but fortunately we do have Eliza's. Writing from Lowestoft on September 22 (AP 166), she denies that she is there for proximity to Henry in Norwich, for they are no less than 28 miles apart, and: "a person who cannot absent himself from his corps for more than a few hours at a time, cannot very conveniently travel 56 miles to pay a visit." Later she rather gives the show away: ". . . and what with walking, occa-

sionally driving over to Yarmouth, with which I am delighted . . . I contrive to fill up my time very tolerably. . . ." Henry, as Paymaster and Adjutant, would often have to visit the detachment of his Regiment stationed in Yarmouth, and it is quite likely that the couple arranged to meet. The North Sea Fleet, under Admiral Duncan, did return to its duty, and on October 11 soundly defeated the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. On November 14 the Oxfordshires moved to Ipswich Barracks where they were to remain for over a year. A company detachment remained at Yarmouth, and another was sent out to Landguard Fort. This was the only fortress on the east coast and guarded the entrance to the harbour at Harwich, a possible invasion target.

Henry and Eliza's long courtship now came to fruition. Henry again asked Eliza to marry him, and this time she said yes, thus joining Austen characters Elizabeth Bennet, Anne Elliot, and Harriet Smith, who all had the good fortune to receive a second proposal from the man they loved, after having rejected the first. Eliza wrote to her godfather Warren Hastings:

. . . I have consented to an Union with my Cousin Cap^l Austen who has the honor of being known to You. He has been for some time in Possession of a comfortable Income, and the excellence of his Heart, Temper, & Understanding, together with his steady attachment to me, his Affection for my little Boy, and disinterested concurrence in the disposal of my Property, in favor of this latter, have at length induced me to an acquiescence which I have withheld for more than two years.

(AP 168, 28Dec1797)

The wedding took place on December 31, 1797, and the Rev. George Austen sent £40 to the Regiment for the celebrations (WO13/1702). Henry's "comfortable income" to which Eliza refers consisted of the following monthly pay: Adjutant, £6-4-0; Captain Lieutenant, £7-4-8; and Paymaster, £10-0-0; making a total of £23-8-8 per month, or £281-4-0 per annum. In *Sense and Sensibility* (283-84) Colonel Brandon did not think that £200 would be a sufficient income to enable Edward Ferrars to marry, but Eliza did have an additional private income of her own. The happy couple settled down to married life in Ipswich. Eliza was so busy with the social whirl of visitations, invitations, walks and drives, and weekly balls, that she found it difficult to make a leisure hour (AP 169), though Henry was more occupied with the Regiment than ever. The threat of invasion had become progressively more serious. The French Directory's "Army of England," a hundred thousand strong, stretched along the Channel coast from Brest to Antwerp, and its new commanding general was Napoleon Bonaparte, fresh from his victories in Italy. In February 1798 he began a tour of inspection of his troops, and all manner of small craft were being made ready. Eliza

wrote her first letter after marriage and joining the Regiment to Philadelphia Walter:

... I am become excessively stingy & am scraping up all I can against the arrival of the French who will of course deprive me of everything but the few guineas which I may have contrived to hoard. I suppose you have seen a print of the rafts on which they mean to reach us. I can hardly believe that they seriously mean to trust to such a contrivance, which I should suppose a rough sea would soon render ineffectual—however I do believe that they will make an attempt on this country, & Government appears convinced of it, for *we* have received orders to add one hundred & fifty men to *our* regiment, and hold *ourselves* in readiness to march at the shortest notice so that I am going to be *drilled* & bespeak my regimentals without further delay. (AP 170, 16Feb1798)

Home defence was already stretched far too thin, and on February 20, out of dire necessity, the King mobilized the militia's reserves by embodying the Supplementary Militia. In March Henry found himself with a party of five other officers at Henley-on-Thames training the new men, and in April no fewer than 354 men from the Supplementary Militia joined the Regiment. It was now twice the size it had been in 1793, and mustered more than a thousand men, divided into ten large companies. Two of these companies were of picked men and were sent off for specialized training—the light infantry company to Clacton Camp, and the grenadier company to Colchester Barracks. A change in administration became necessary, for the Regiment had become too large for a single adjutant. It was now to be split into two wings, each with its own major, sergeant major, and adjutant. On July 9, having held the position of adjutant for sixteen months, Henry handed over his duties to two lieutenants, and probably did so with great relief. He was now able to take his first leaves of absence in almost two years, one in August and another in September, and probably joined his parents and Cassandra and Jane who were all visiting brother Edward in Kent.

Napoleon had left the Channel Coast in May 1798, remarking "the pear is not yet ripe," and sailed off across the Mediterranean to invade Egypt. Nevertheless, danger of the invasion of England still remained, and an ever greater threat had developed in Ireland. Rebellion broke out in the south and east of Ireland on May 24 with a rising of thirty thousand armed peasants. The British sent what reinforcements they could, but they were not enough to pacify the countryside and protect the province against French invasion. Two measures were taken to meet this new emergency: Lord Cornwallis, of Yorktown fame, went out to Ireland on June 20 as joint Viceroy and Commander in Chief; and the English militia regiments were asked to volunteer to serve in Ireland. Voluntary service was required, as the terms of enlistment would otherwise have forbidden

overseas service. Most militia regiments did volunteer. The Oxfordshires were among them but they were not selected to go. They were still needed to guard the east coast, and they were at too inconvenient a distance from the west coast ports. In June, even before many of the new reinforcements could arrive, the Irish rebels were defeated and dispersed, and resistance ground down to guerilla warfare. On August 22 a French regiment of regulars landed belatedly in Mayo, but surrendered to the forces of Lord Cornwallis on September 8. Jane Austen, in a letter of November 17 (*Letters* 19), indirectly alludes to the improving situation by telling Cassandra that Tom Lefroy—Jane's former object of flirtation—was now on his way back to Ireland where he was to practise law.

At Ipswich the Oxfordshires continued to organize themselves and to digest their new recruits, but they were hindered by a shortage of officers. The Regiment had but six of its establishment of ten captains; the long embodiment and distant postings made recruitment and retention of suitable officer candidates very difficult. Henry Austen was a prime prospect for promotion, having served the customary five years as a lieutenant, but he had a problem with his property qualification. A militia captain required a qualification of land worth £200 per annum, half of which had to be in the county of enrollment, and although the enforcement of all qualifications was rather lax, more attention was paid to officers of the rank of captain and above. Furthermore, on October 24, Lord Charles Spencer resigned as Colonel of the Regiment after twenty years of service. His place was filled by the promotion of the Lieutenant Colonel, William Gore Langton, who now himself needed to find a property qualification which was for him no less than £1,000 per annum. Langton's property was largely in Somerset, which he had represented in Parliament since 1795. Henry managed to qualify somehow, although the details have not survived. Jane Austen at Steventon wrote to Cassandra at Godmersham with the news:

I suppose you have heard from Henry himself that his affairs are happily settled. We do not know who furnishes the qualification. Mr. Mowell [*sic*] would have readily given it, had not all his Oxfordshire property been engaged for a similar purpose to the Colonel. Amusing enough!

(*Letters* 21-22)

James Morrell (not Mowell, *Letters* 362) was the most powerful attorney in Oxford. His office was at 1, St. Giles, Oxford (the firm remains there to this day, next to St. John's College) and he numbered among his clients the nobility, several colleges, including St. John's, and Jane's relatives, the Leigh Perrots. The Duke of Marlborough's town house was also in St. Giles, and Morrell was a frequent visitor to Blenheim.

On December 6 Henry was officially gazetted as Captain. There must also have been negotiations about his position as acting paymaster, for from December 25, 1798, the beginning of the new financial year, he was officially appointed Paymaster of the Regiment. Legislation had been passed making the paymaster a permanent member of the staff of each regiment. The paymaster received the payroll money from an army agent, and passed it on to the officers directly, and to the men through a pay sergeant. The appointment required financial guarantees, for the paymaster had to enter into a personal bond of £1,000 and find two sureties of £500 each. It is possible that Henry was never quite able to complete these arrangements satisfactorily, for he continued at intervals to sign his accounts as "Acting Paymaster."

As the new year of 1799 opened the problems in Ireland continued. Militia regiments already there were anxious for relief, and those at home were again solicited to volunteer for overseas service. Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for War, wrote to Colonel Langton (HO50/8, 15Jan1799): "The safety of Ireland . . . continues unfortunately to require the utmost exertion and vigilance to maintain internal tranquility and guard against foreign invasion." This time the Oxfords' offer was accepted. Eliza went to stay at Dorking, near Box Hill in Surrey. Henry and the ten companies of his Regiment left Ipswich and Colchester on March 23 and 25, and were two weeks on the road to their ports of embarkation at Gosport and Portsmouth, arriving on April 4 and 5. Here they met the West Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire Militias who were to accompany them to Ireland. The Oxfords were assigned three ships: *Experiment* (44 guns), Capt. J. Griffin Sayville; *Expedition* (44), Capt. Sir Thomas Livingstone Bt.; and *Inconstant* (36), Capt. Milham Ponsonby (*Naval Chronicle*, 1:444, 1799). The ships were all *armee en flute*, i.e. the guns had been removed to make room for the soldiers' bedding. Each ship boarded somewhat over 300 men; we do not know which one Henry took.

The convoy set sail on Monday, April 8, and from the start things went badly. The weather rapidly deteriorated, and the ships encountered strong gales and constant rain. Sails were split and blown from the yards. The *Inconstant* had rails, steps, and deck gear carried away. The ships lost company, and after three days at sea the *Inconstant* and the *Experiment* returned to the St. Helens anchorage, where the ships' logs speak laconically of "getting up the soldiers' beds to dry," and "scraping and cleaning below." The state of the men can only be guessed at. On Saturday the 13th the two ships set off again, and again met gale force winds and squalls of rain. On the 17th the three ships reunited off Wicklow Head in Ireland and sailed on together. The next day disaster struck. In continued strong winds and

heavy rains the *Inconstant* ran hard aground on the Arklow sand-bank. A hasty conference of officers decided to put out all boats, lighten ship, and make all sail, to try to force the ship clear. After five hours of strenuous effort the ship was refloated, only to find the rudder carried away, and a leak of an inch of water a minute. *Expedition* took *Inconstant* in tow, and the soldiers were called to the pumps, which were employed unceasingly. It may be imagined that the men required little encouragement. Late on the 19th the ship struggled into Dublin Bay and dropped anchor. Now in sight of safety, the exhausted soldiers refused to pump further, and were thankfully disembarked over the next three days. *Inconstant* was so badly wrecked that she had to be broken up (*Times*, 13May1799).

The Regiment landed in Dublin and was given a few days to dry out and collect its scattered wits. Davenport (1869) records that during the passage one of the field officers "was so irritated by sea sickness that, in his extremity, he vainly implored the Captain to stop the ship and let him get out." On April 26 the men marched north to their assigned positions at Drogheda Barracks (four companies), Dundalk (headquarters, six companies), and an outpost at Newry. With these dispositions they occupied the course of the strategic Royal Post Road between Dublin and Ireland's second city—Belfast. They also protected the coastline north of Dublin—Drogheda and Dundalk Bays—although these were not likely invasion targets. The Oxfords remained in these posts all summer, until the last day of August. There was now a major change in government policy towards the militia. French invasion forces along the Channel Coast were now partly dispersed, and the newly expanded militia was proving very expensive. Meanwhile, the regular army could find no recruits, and could therefore undertake no offensive operations. The simple solution to both problems was to permit the army to begin to recruit among the militiamen, for there were many men now embodied in the militia for years who had grown used to military life. The measure was a great success, and fifteen thousand men joined the regulars. This was one of the greatest contributions of the militia to the war effort. The augmented regular army became able to go onto the offensive, and campaigned in Holland, where the remnants of the Dutch fleet were taken, and in Egypt, which was captured from the French. The Oxfordshire Regiment itself contributed four ensigns and three hundred men. The men were so badly needed that when they arrived in Bath from Bristol and Ireland they were immediately met by waiting carriages and rushed off to London to join their new regiments (*JOJ*, 24Aug1799). If Henry Austen had still been "hankering after the regulars," this would have been his opportunity, for militia officers could now enter the army with their militia rank, and without purchase. But Henry had become a married man, his wife

was used to fine living, and she had an invalid son. He had other plans for his family's future.

At the beginning of September 1799, the Regiment returned to Dublin where it shared the Royal Barracks with several other regiments of militia. Its duties now included mounting guard over the public buildings, guarding prisoners, and trying to maintain peace between the loyalists and the disaffected. The militias' original term of six months' service in Ireland was expiring, but the government was still short of disposable manpower and still needed to maintain a substantial garrison. The grand plan for the Irish pacification was an Act of Union, bringing Ireland in to the same relationship with Westminster as in the successful Union with Scotland of 1707. While the Irish Parliament debated the matter, and until the Act went into force, a period of relative stability and tranquility was required. The militia regiments in Ireland were therefore asked to stay on until Christmas. Service in Ireland was not popular and the men were anxious to return home. Sir Edward Nightingale, Lieutenant Colonel of the Cambridgeshire Regiment, wrote to England from the Dublin Royal Barracks that he doubted that his own regiment would agree to stay, that the Yorks had determined upon going home, and that:

The Oxford too, declined staying except *thirty*, but partly by *Threats* on the part of the Officers, & partly by a liberal Distribution of *Ale* (neither of which Expedients I have held it advisable to resort to) one half of them I hear this Morning have offered to remain.

(BM, Add. Mss 35,672, ff 279-80, 24Sep1799, and HO50/32)

Eventually the whole Regiment did agree to stay until Christmas, and Henry himself seems to have put in his time in Dublin most productively with some prodigious social climbing, as we can read in a letter of Eliza from Dorking—her first extant letter for a year and a half, and the only one we have that was written during Henry's stay in Ireland:

Austen who has now been absent near seven months gives me hopes of his return some time in December; he is now in Dublin but is kind enough to say that he would prefer my hermitage, altho' the Irish metropolis is rendered particularly pleasant to him by the attentions which he experiences from the Lord Lieutenant in consequence of having been introduced to him by his very good friend Lord Charles Spencer. . . .

(AP 173, 29Oct1799)

Henry Austen hobnobbing with Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy! It is a pity that we know nothing more. Cornwallis was in Ireland only out of a sense of duty. He had said that his appointment was the most intolerable situation he had ever held, and that the life of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland came up to his idea of perfect misery. A personable young officer like Henry might have been a pleasant source of diversion for him. The pair did have India in common, for

Cornwallis had taken over command there from Warren Hastings upon Hastings returning to England. It is also a pity that there are no letters of Jane Austen surviving that mention Henry's sojourn in Ireland. We have four letters of hers to Cassandra from Bath in May and June of 1799, but there is no news of Henry in them.

With November came the usual winter exodus of officers. Regulations laid it down that one field officer, half the captains, and two-thirds of the subalterns must remain with the corps. Henry was one of those able to come home, his leave of absence dating from November 3. Lieutenant Henry Maunde, his future banking partner, was left behind as acting paymaster. The bulk of the Regiment did not arrive back in England until January 17, 1800, when 742 men landed at Liverpool, and Henry rejoined. They marched on to Birmingham for a one month's stop-over, and on March 3 set off through Stratford on Avon and the Cotswolds for home. They finally reached Oxford on the 8th, just over seven years since they had first left it. It must have been quite a homecoming!

But, this was not the end of the war. Lydia and Wickham had yet to wait two more years before "the restoration of peace dismissed them to a home" (*PP* 387). Fighting was still in progress on the Continent, and the militia was still embodied. Henry took an almost immediate one month's leave of absence from March 15, probably to support his family during the shoplifting trial of his aunt, Mrs. Leigh Perrot, which took place at Taunton in Somerset on the 29th. At this time his elder brother James was immobilized by a broken leg (*AP* 205). The Regiment, after only a short break at home in Oxford, left for the south coast on April 16. It spent the month of May in eastern Dorset, at Poole, Wimbourn, and Christchurch. Some of the men were vaccinated with the cowpox by Dr. Edward Jenner's method, which had just come into general favour. Jane Austen mentions Jenner's pamphlet being read to the family by her brother James in a letter of later that year (*Letters* 62, 20Nov1800). In June the Regiment moved to the Isle of Wight, first to Newport and then to Sandown Barracks. There was a company at Ryde, where the ferry left for Portsmouth, and a detachment at Cowes. Strength was now down to 477 men, some having volunteered for the regulars, and some been lost by attrition. The size of Henry's company was down to fifty-nine men, from the hundred and four when he first took it over two years before. There was much less to do and paymasters were now excused from many purely military duties. After September 1 Henry was away from his Regiment much of the time, preparing for the next major step in his life. He did rejoin for one period around November 25 for an inspection of his regimental accounts. Jane Austen mentions Henry's stop-over at Steventon for a night on his way back to the Isle of Wight for this audit (*Letters* 61 & 63, 20Nov1800). The paymaster

legislation of 1798 had caused a great deal of confusion, many new paymasters were frankly incompetent, and there was a large number of unsettled accounts. Henry's auditor found himself "perfectly satisfied with the accounts, and wished he could always make as favourable a report."

As regimental paymaster for the last several years, Henry had acquired an intimate knowledge of army finance. He had also made contact with many influential men in the army, in banking, and among the nobility. He decided to become an army agent. This decision was made easier by the continued energetic efforts of government to reduce public expenditure by shrinking the size of the militia, a policy now for the first time extended to the officers. They were encouraged to return to their private affairs, with the incentive that their pay was to continue for six more months after retirement (WO6/189, 147-58).

On New Year's Day 1801, after a short holiday visit to Steventon, Henry set off for London where he was establishing a home, and setting up a business office. Jane wrote that "he was as agreeable [*sic*] as ever during his visit, & has not lost anything in Miss Lloyd's estimation" (*Letters* 66). There was now to be as drastic a change in Jane's life as in Henry's, for this was her last Christmas with the Steventon Rectory as home. She had just learned that her father was retiring, and that the family was to move to Bath.

On January 24 Henry mustered his Regiment for the last time. He verified that all the officers, NCOs and men were paraded, and that there were signed certificates of excuse for all those absent. He issued pay to the officers and pay sergeants and was given signed receipts. His returns were examined and certified by the Commanding Officer and the Adjutant. Once these ceremonies were completed he was again a private citizen. Just one month later the pay list of the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia carried a new entry: "Agent: H. T. Austen & Co." But that would be another story. . . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank John Breihan, Deirdre Le Faye, John McAleer, and George Holbert Tucker, who have commented on an early version of this manuscript. Any errors are the author's own.

WORKS CITED

- Abell, Francis. *Prisoners of War in Britain 1756-1815* (Oxford, 1914).
 Austen, Jane. *The Novels of Jane Austen*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 3rd ed. (1966 reprint).
 ———. *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deirdre Le Faye, 3rd ed. (OUP, 1995).
 Austen-Leigh, R. A. (ed.). *Austen Papers 1704-1856* (London, 1942).
 Breihan, John and Clive Caplan. *Jane Austen and the Militia. Persuasions, 14*: 16-26 (1992).
 Bryant, Arthur. *The Years of Endurance, 1793-1802* (London and New York, 1942).

- Davenport, John M. *Oxfordshire Militia: A Sketch of the History of the Regiment* (Oxford, 1869).
- Fortescue, J. W. *The History of the British Army, Volume 4 Part 2, 1789-1801* (London, 1906).
- Jackson's Oxford Journal*. 1793-1801. On microfilm, Centre for Oxfordshire Studies, Oxford.
- Le Faye, Deirdre (ed.) *Jane Austen: A Family Record* (London, 1989).
- Militia Act. 26 Geolll, Cap 107, s 59 (1786).
- Militia List*, first eight editions.
- Pakenham, T. *The Year of Liberty: A History of the Great Irish Rebellion of 1798* (London, 1969).
- Thelwall, John. *An Appeal to Popular Opinion against Kidnapping and Murder* (London, 1796).
- Tucker, George H. *A Goodly Heritage: A history of Jane Austen's family* (Manchester, 1983).
- . *Jane Austen: The Woman* (New York, 1994).
- Wells, Roger, *The Militia Mutinies of 1795*, in *Outside the Law*, ed. John Rule (Exeter, 1982).
- Western, J. R. *The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1965).
- Willan, Frank. *History of the Oxfordshire Regiment of Militia, 1778-1900* (Oxford, 1900).

Public Record Office, Kew: Marching Orders for the Oxfordshire Regiment are in the War Office papers 5/101-105. WO9/19 has the pay warrants. Henry Austen's promotions are in Home Office 51/8.339 (Lieutenant), HO51/10, 213 (Adjutant) and 287 (Captain Lieutenant), and HO51/12.15 (Captain), and are also listed in the London Gazette. Muster Rolls and Pay lists are in WO13/1702-1706 and WO17/960 has the monthly returns of the Oxfordshires. The 1795 court martial is in WO 71/170. The captain's and master's logs of the *Inconstant* are in ADM51/1250 and ADM52/3113.