

Notes

Introduction

1. The portrait depicts Richard Lovell Edgeworth, his second wife Elizabeth, and ten of his children from his current and previous marriages, including young Maria. While I argue that the type of activity represented in the scene was representative, the size of the Edgeworth family was atypical, with Edgeworth having twenty-two children over the course of his four marriages. The average size of most families at the time, as I discuss below, was much smaller.
2. Existing studies focus on a specific network of family relations. For example, the Wollstonecraft–Godwin–Shelley family circle has been explored in books and articles by St. Clair (*Godwins*), Clemit (*Godwinian*), Hill-Miller, and Labb.
3. Arthur Marotti, in his ground-breaking examination of the Renaissance lyric, argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these distinctions were “nearly meaningless” (137, 207).
4. Important scholarly monographs addressing manuscript culture in Early Modern England include those by Crane, Ezell, Hobbs, Love, Marotti, and Wall. According to Marotti, outside the two universities, the Inns of Court and the royal Court, “the main environment with which manuscript compilation of poetry was associated was the family, especially the households of the nobility and gentry” (40–1). Marotti also notes the important role played by women in contributing to compiling such manuscripts (48–61). Crane’s final chapter considers a series of poetical miscellanies from the 1570s and 1580s, some prepared by editors and others by authors, which had their origins in commonplace books and provided an alternative model to single-authored collections of lyrics. Ezell’s study of the endurance of manuscript practices into the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has been particularly influential to this project, which seeks to extend certain of Ezell’s findings about literary practice into the early nineteenth century.
5. Moyra Haslett’s study, *Pope to Burney, 1714–1779: Scriblerians to Bluestockings*, offers one of the fullest treatments of eighteenth-century literary sociability.
6. See, for example, books on the Bluestockings by Myers and Pohl and Schellenberg.
7. In her recent study, Leah Price observes that, after 1774, anthologies began to take on a historicizing function (67).
8. Similar arguments have been made in other fields, particularly in relation to the recovery of women writers. Heather Hirschfeld, writing about Early Modern literary scholarship on collaborative authorship, insists that “it is incumbent on scholars who wish to reclaim lost or forgotten female voices to move beyond the dominant Romantic definition of the individual author and to recognize, in the diversified processes of textual production, alternative formulations or experiences of authorship” (615).

9. White's main interest lies in showing how Barbauld attempts to domesticate Dissenting religious values, thereby enabling them to be disseminated through print to the nation (511). Another consideration of this topic, which also focuses heavily on Dissent, is Scott Krawczyk's unpublished dissertation, filed the year after my own.
10. This study concentrates on the expanding middle classes, encompassing a wide range of economic positions, from the Godwins, who were under almost constant threat of bankruptcy and debtor's prison, to the comparably more comfortable Wordsworths of the 1820s. However, nearly all of the families considered, at various times, struggled over money. The question of how the lower classes participated in print culture is a fascinating one. Perhaps because their access to texts was more limited—largely to out-of-copyright titles and new books deemed “without property” (such as *Queen Mab* and *Don Juan*)—they contributed less as authors to discussions of family life. (The precedent for denying copyright protection to books that were deemed contrary to the public interest—as seditious, blasphemous, or indecent—was decided with respect to Southey's *Wat Tyler* in 1817, with Shelley's *Queen Mab* and Byron's *Don Juan* similarly believed to be without property and so made available at very low prices, RN 315–7, 436.) Working families were, however, critical to the dissemination of radical print culture, as described by David Worrall, who provides examples of how fathers and sons sold pamphlets together and how wives took over radical presses when their husbands were imprisoned for seditious libel. Since my primary concern is with the production of literary texts, my focus remains squarely on the middle-class families who, by and large, produced them.
11. For further information about women and the publishing industry, see McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*.
12. Kaufer and Carley, quoted in Siskin, *Work* 260, n. 4.
13. Remediation has been described as “the representation of one medium in another.” Though this is often seen as “a defining characteristic of the new digital media,” the term has broader application, and seems descriptive of many periods of rapid media change: see Bolter and Grusin 45.
14. These examples all satisfy the definition of collaboration authorship put forward by Jeanette Harris, requiring cooperation in all three stages of composition: production of an interior text (the “evolving mental representation” of the text), a generative text (“writing-in-progress,” usually in the form of “notes, diagrams, outlines, . . . rough drafts”), and a completed text. Robert Murray Davis offers the similar phases of preparing, producing, and polishing. It is important to note, however, that where specific attributions have not been made, I generally do not seek them, this being what Bette London and Heather Hirschfeld have identified as a common pitfall of studies of collaborative literature. Rather, I think it is more interesting and productive to examine the reasons why authors adopt different strategies of attributing authorship in jointly created texts.
15. Spencer's major examples of family collaboration are Richard Brinsley Sheridan's use of his mother's manuscripts, and the Fieldings. It is also suggestive that two of Spencer's other examples are drawn from the Romantic period: Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Shelley, and William and Dorothy Wordsworth. Her consideration of these Romantic-era families is

limited largely to discussions of influence and canon formation, rather than to their actual material practices (as is perhaps necessarily the case with respect to Wollstonecraft and Shelley). Thus it is of limited relevance to my discussions of these families in the following chapters.

16. Sarah Fielding contributed a "letter" from "Leonora to Horatio" to her brother's first major novel, *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and a fictional autobiography of Anne Boleyn as the final chapter of Henry's *A Journey from this World to the Next* (1743). Henry edited and added a preface to her first novel, *The Adventures of David Simple* (1744), and a preface plus letters 40 through 44 to *Familiar Letters between the Principal Characters of David Simple and Others* (1747). In 1754, Sarah published *The Cry: a New Dramatic Fable* with Jane Collier. There has been a great deal written on the Fieldings, including recent work on Sarah's professionalism and her relationship to Richardson (see, for example, Schellenberg, *Professionalization* 94–119 and Sabor 139–56).
17. For more on how quantitative changes contributed to qualitative effects, see Siskin, "More is Different."
18. Although efforts have been made to suggest that the modern view of authorship emerged prior to the eighteenth century, they have not been entirely successful (Haynes 292–3). For Haynes (and many others), Alexander Pope remains the best example of the first truly "modern author" (309).
19. Holly Laird has observed that the dearth of attention to "literary print-culture coauthorship in such genres as poetry and the novel" extends across all fields of literary study, "remain[ing] amongst the last and least of the various areas of collaboration to achieve some vogue among critics. When the topic is defined in this way, fewer than half a dozen scholarly books on it have been published to date and not many more than two score articles (nearly all the latter focus on just one set of collaborators each)" ("Hand" 346).
20. Studies considering the Byron–Shelley relationship include those by Charles Robinson and William Brewer; Jeffrey Vail considers the relationship between Byron and Thomas Moore. Alison Hickey has written articles on literary collaboration between Southey, Coleridge, and Lamb.
21. See, for example, Eilenberg, Fruman, Heath, Magnuson, Margoliouth, Matlak, Holmes and Mayberry, McFarland, Newlyn, Roe, Ruoff, and Sisman.
22. Beyond some attention to Mary Shelley, Cox's study focuses mainly on male writers including Percy Shelley, Hunt, Keats, Hazlitt, and Byron, as well as a handful of less-known male authors.
23. Important recent studies of professionalization include those by Hammond, Kernan, Schellenberg, Siskin, and Zionkowski.
24. Amanda Vickery argues in *The Gentleman's Daughter* that the terms "private and public" and "separate spheres" have "little resonance" with the more privileged eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women she studies (7). Her earlier and very influential article, "From Golden Age to Separate Spheres," had more broadly challenged the usefulness of the terms. Rosemary O'Day argues that for the lower classes and much of the middle class, "the separation of home and work was never a reality, a possibility, or even a desirability" (199). Margaret Hunt, similarly finds little evidence of rigidly demarcated male and female, public and private spheres in her study of the middle classes in the eighteenth century. Linda Colley, in *Britons*, 237–81, likewise takes issue with the factual accuracy of the term.

25. McKeon's lengthy work is mostly focused on the period between 1640 and 1760, particularly the seventeenth century (74).
26. As Leonore Davidoff has recently reminded us, the problem for social historians of the family remains that of separating the prescriptive from the descriptive: "The historical study of the family has been fraught with difficulties, not least because many records are more informative of what people in the past thought the family should be, rather than giving us much information on how families were actually constituted or reporting the experience of family life" ("Family" II:71). It was by looking to literary discussions of the family, above all in the eighteenth-century novel, that many historians arrived at the most sweeping narratives of change over the period, describing the rise of companionate marriage, the "invention" of childhood and parental affection, and the emergence of separate spheres, leading to a problem of "fictional exemplification" (whereby fiction represents an ideal not found in the culture at large). The present study, by examining the material practices as well as the products of literary work, attempts to avoid the problem that has plagued the use of literary materials by social historians. Important literary studies of familial representation in the eighteenth-century novel are found in work by Bannet, Flint, Gonda, Schellenberg (*Conversational*), and, most recently and extensively, Ruth Perry.

1 Family, nation, and the radical education of Anna Barbauld and John Aikin

1. Croker's review was accurately described as "outrageously abusive" by William McCarthy and Elizabeth Craft (*PPLAB* 160). These assaults, which in their vehemence and personal nature continue to strike us as incommensurate to the writing that prompts them, are common starting points for reassessments of Barbauld's writing and her legacy. Lisa Vargo considers Coleridge's mocking of Barbauld, and her poem to him; William Keach begins "Barbauld, Romanticism, and the Survival of Dissent" with Hazlitt's dismissal of Barbauld in his last *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818) and "A Regency Prophecy" with an assessment of Croker's attack; and Josephine McDonagh begins by addressing "the 'swingeing attacks'" to *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven* in the *Eclectic Review* and *The Monthly Review*. Harriet Guest in *Small Change* also offers a useful account of attacks on Barbauld for having "trod too much in the footsteps of man" (221–5). In describing the constrictions on women in political discourse, scholars tend to begin with the posthumous reception of Mary Wollstonecraft. One of the best accounts is Clifford Siskin's section on "The Gender: The Great Forgetting" in *The Work of Writing* 193–228.
2. Grace A. Ellis, *Memoir*, I:74, quoting Hester Piozzi's *Reminiscences of Dr. Johnson*.
3. Barbauld's reputation amongst her contemporaries was also harmed by her popularity as an author for children, which earned her scorn from the highbrow, generally male, literary establishment: see McCarthy, "'High-Minded.'"

4. Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (8), remained one of the most influential books on education throughout the eighteenth century, with his theory of the child's mind as *tabula rasa* suggesting the great potential of education. The epilogue to *Evenings* contains a direct allusion to Locke by referring to young people as "a whiter page" (6: 152). Locke had written that a child is "as a white paper or wax to be molded and fashioned as one pleases" (*Some Thoughts* 161).
5. On the popularity of *Evenings*, Aileen Fyfe has estimated total publications for the century at nearly 120,000 ("Copyrights" 41 and "Squirrel"); on its success in America, see Fyfe and Sarah Robbins, especially with regard to Barbauld's *Lessons*.
6. According to Barbauld, "Education is a thing of a great scope and extent. It includes the whole process by which a human being is formed to be what he is, in habits, principles, and cultivation of every kind. . . . This education goes on at every instant of time; it goes on like time; you can neither stop it nor turn its course": published by Lucy Aikin as "On Education": see *WALB* 2:119; first published in the *Monthly Magazine* 5 (March 1798): 167–71 as "What Is Education?" (*PPALB* 321–2).
7. We are, of course, familiar with how gender was policed (both in terms of authorship and readership), but the period was concerned at least as much with age-appropriateness. The redoubtable Sarah Trimmer, for example, was almost obsessively intent on establishing age boundaries for literature. She divided all the books she reviewed into two categories—for children (up to age fourteen) and young persons (to twenty-one)—and was exceedingly disgruntled when books seemed to defy this categorization (*GE* I: 101). Trimmer extended this kind of disciplinary control to her own publications as well. When receiving a letter with a manuscript from a child, she declined to publish it, since it did not accord with "the plan of our work, which is designed for Parents and Instructors, not for young people" (*GE* I: 400).
8. The same views which diminished Barbauld's reputation during her lifetime continue, I suggest, into the twenty-first century with respect to male authors of children's writing, perhaps seen most clearly in the relative neglect of John Aikin's career. A recent search of the *MLA International Bibliography* for John Aikin produced six substantive articles since 1964, not including two articles (Aileen Fyfe and Penny Mahon) that address *Evenings*. For the same period, the *MLA* lists ninety articles, book chapters, and dissertations addressing Barbauld.
9. This chapter takes issue with Anne Janowitz's different finding that Barbauld displayed "Warrington sociability" ("the ideal of social intercourse conceived of as informal, familiar and amiable") in her earlier writing (especially *Poems* (1773)), but "eschew[ed] her earlier discourse of domestic sociability" as part of the politicized Joseph Johnson circle, after her move to Hampstead in 1787 (62).
10. McCarthy helpfully reproduces a facsimile of one of Barbauld's manuscript lessons: "Mother" 10.
11. According to Foucault, the advent of "studies of authenticity and attribution" reflects "[t]he coming into being of the notion of 'author' in the modern sense" (225). Erickson finds a significant decline in anonymously published poetry between the 1760s and the 1820s (from 60 to 25 per cent)

- ("Bard"), whereas Feldman shows that "during the period 1770–1835 women rarely published books of verse anonymously" (279). According to Erickson, this shift was largely driven by readers, who "wish[ed] to know who had written an especially expensive volume of verse before they paid for it" ("Bard" 261).
12. Attributed to Barbauld are "The Young Mouse," "The Wasp and the Bee," "Alfred," "Animals and Countries," "Canute's Reproof," "The Masque of Nature," "Things by Their Right Names," "The Goose and Horse," "On Manufactures," "The Flying Fish," "A Lesson in the Art of Distinguishing," "The Phoenix and Dove," "The Manufacture of Paper," and "The Four Sisters" (*WALB* 1: xxxvi, note).
 13. Another important reason for the refusal that McCarthy raises and that Ellis had noted earlier was that all of Barbauld's experience was in teaching boys (*Memoir, Letters* 1: 73). While McCarthy, in his *ODNB* entry and in *PPALB*, does not challenge Aikin's assertion that her aunt only wrote a small number of the pieces in *Evenings*, it is my view that, in light of the evidence he has unearthed, Lucy's credibility on this question should be reconsidered.
 14. For an additional discussion of the need for caution on Lucy's part with respect to her aunt's feminism, see McCarthy, "'High-Minded'" 176.
 15. Barbauld to Aikin, 9 September 1775, Ellis 67.
 16. The methodology I am proposing about the authorship of *Evenings* is one that will recur throughout this book, as I argue that attempts to define the precise contributions of collaborative texts, when not effected by the authors themselves, often run counter to the spirit of the work. Here I am guided by the conclusions of theorists of collaborative literature, who have frequently found such attempts at once futile and unhelpful (see especially Laird and Hirschfeld).
 17. Indeed, as Josephine McDonagh has argued in her reading of *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, it is the "wresting of the public from private that . . . is held responsible for Britain's sorry decline" (67). I should note that although Bannet observes that the egalitarian feminists were closely tied to Dissent, her major and indeed only example at various points is Wollstonecraft. Her failure to consider women like Barbauld in more detail is, I think, why she fails to notice that some women objected to the division altogether.
 18. In *An Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1790), Barbauld argued that it was the established church that had created Dissent—and not Dissenters, who sought not separation but assimilation: "[W]e wish to bury every name of distinction in the common appellation of Citizen. We wish not the name of Dissenter to be pronounced, except in our theological researches and religious assemblies. It is you, who by considering us as aliens, make us so. It is you who force us to make our dissent a prominent feature in our character. . . . If we are a party, remember it is you who force us to be so" (16–17). I would argue that Barbauld did not wish to be compelled to join another "party," and thus forced to identify with yet another group of "aliens."
 19. Ong argues in *Orality and Literacy* that "more than any other single invention, writing has transformed human consciousness" (*BHR* 105); Chartier likewise claims that the advent of written culture was one of the most important developments of modernity, and was instrumental in the "process

- of privatization" that he also associates with the Early Modern period (BHR 118).
20. According to McCarthy, Barbauld was "almost certainly the popularizer" of a method that has since become standard: "Mother," 200–1.
 21. Barbauld was famously "damned" by Charles Lamb as one of "those *Blights & Blasts* of all that is *Human* in man & child" (*Letters* 2: 81–2). While it has been argued that Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Lamb mounted a vigorous and unwavering attack against Barbauld (see Jeanie Watson on Coleridge, Alan Richardson on Wordsworth, and Joseph Riehl—esp. 1–8, 135–208—on Lamb), I would suggest that they had more subtle views than Lamb's outburst would suggest.
 22. Though family authors who admired and followed Aikin and Barbauld, like the Edgeworths and the Taylors, wrote works for children that called attention to the injustices of British policy both at home and abroad, they fell far short of the radicalism found in *Evenings at Home*. The Edgeworths, for example, disposed perhaps by their colonial experience to the necessity of a militia, carved out a special program of education, involving books of heroism and adventure, for boys destined for military careers in *Essays on Professional Education*. The Taylors' inability to be as outspoken as Aikin and Barbauld (though they largely shared their views) will be addressed more fully in the third chapter.
 23. While I agree with much of Mahon's reading, I think it is important to observe that Aikin and Barbauld were not pacifists, and clearly supported defensive violence when necessary. Their primary focus is on the injustice of most wars, including the one in which Britain was engaged, and not on peace per se.
 24. Although a great deal is said in *Evenings* against the military as a profession, the troops are not personally blamed for their involvement: the problem lies in the art of war, which "is essentially that of destruction, and it is impossible there should be a mild and merciful way of murdering and ruining one's fellow creatures" (EH V:62). Thus individual "soldiers, as men, are often humane" (EH V:62). Aikin and Barbauld express sympathy for the troops while damning the war by calling attention to the involuntary, even coercive, nature of most enlistments: "[M]ost of them come [to fight] because they cannot help it," with poor and even middle-class men entering the military out of desperation, entrapment, and brute force (EH V:62).
 25. John Aikin had collaborated with John Howard on his *State of the Prisons* (1777), and Howard had been influenced by Aikin's own *Thoughts on Hospitals* (1771): see White 517–18.
 26. Unlike some other scholars, I do not see evidence of Barbauld's social conservatism on the question of female equality, either in *Evenings* (which has not been considered directly on this issue) or in her other writing (for example, William Keach has suggested that Barbauld's commitment to equality falters when faced with gender conventions, "Barbauld," 62–77; and Anne Janowitz has claimed that her Warrington poetry promoted "the sexual division of intellectual labour" (74). I argue that throughout her career, we see not a commitment to the status quo, but a refusal to countenance the separation of men and women, whether within the family, in education, or in

literature. Also worthwhile to consider is whether Barbauld's resistance to gender segregation may in part have originated in the attacks she suffered throughout her life as a woman who expressed her radical views in print. Harriet Guest traced these attacks from the beginning of her career, from her early poems that were thought to have "trod too much in the footsteps of man," to her later, more outspoken political writing of the 1790s: 220–51, esp. 221–5.

27. In "On Female Studies," Barbauld suggests that this disqualification may in some way be an advantage to women, in that professional knowledge requires "a great deal of severe study and technical knowledge; much of which is nowise valuable in itself" (PPALB 475–6). I agree with McCarthy and Kraft that "a more nuanced reading" of the essay suggests not conservatism, as some scholars, including Keach and Janowitz, have found in Barbauld's work, but cautiousness, and that her statements are "mostly factual rather than prescriptive" (PPALB 474; Keach, "Barbauld" 62–77; Janowitz, "Amiable" 74). A similar position is taken on class difference in *Evening*, in which the authors recommend repeatedly that poor children accept their station in life without naturalizing or justifying class distinctions.
28. As Nancy Barker notes: "No reputable biographer has traced the remark ['let them eat cake'] to [Antoinette], nor has any historian identified anyone who heard her say it. It seems to have been something of an old chestnut among Bourbons, who attributed it to several queens and princesses, most often to the queen of Louis XV, Maria Theresa, in the seventeenth century" (709).
29. Barbauld is speaking as "Mercury" in her "Dialogue in the Shades," discussed briefly later in the paragraph.
30. Though unpublished until after her death, the dialogue can be fairly precisely dated to early 1813, since it alludes to Napoleon's retreat from Russia and in particular the events at Berezina, which took place in late November 1812 (PPALB 472 n. 1).

2 Coleridge, manuscript culture, and the family romance

1. From an unpublished letter by Robert Southey, 9 Jan 1802: see Pratt 17.
2. Several books, including those by Barth, Everest, and Harding, situate Coleridge's poetry in terms of his private relationships. These books do not, however, engage in a sustained consideration of how Coleridge's early devotion to the domestic affections impacted his poetics and practices of authorship.
3. These years correspond to what are widely believed to be his most successful as a poet. On Coleridge's productivity during the 1790s, Norman Fruman has observed that to 1798, when he was twenty-six, Coleridge wrote twice as much poetry as he would for the next thirty-six years of his life (260). This was a narrative that Coleridge would himself tell in the *Biographia*, and that was repeated by Sara Coleridge in her 1847 edition, as I will discuss in Chapter 5.
4. Only recently have Coleridge's biographers begun to appreciate the impact of these deaths on Coleridge, in particular that of Luke, whom Coleridge met frequently in London while at school; Frank, whom Coleridge felt, because

- of “similarity of Ages,” was “more peculiarly my brother” (CL I: 53); and Nancy, whom he regarded as a surrogate mother. Of the three surviving brothers, Coleridge would remain close only with George. He would explain to George that he felt much less attached to James and Edward, since “neither had been the companions or the guardians of my Childhood” (CL I: 53–4).
5. Throughout his letters of 1792–3, for example, he refers to the Evans’ girls as his “sisters,” himself as their “brother” and Mrs. Evans’ “affectionate boy”: CL I: 21, 29, 31, 33, 49, 52, 55.
 6. All references to Coleridge’s poetry are to *Poetical Works* (PW), edited by J.C.C. Mays, and include, in the following order, reference to volume, part, page, and where applicable, line numbers. Coleridge spoke of his brother fondly in “To the Reverend George Coleridge” as his “earliest Friend,” who watched over him “with a Father’s eye” (PW I.1.327: 43, 45). Indeed, Coleridge would always insist that George was “My more than Brother”: “I can never sufficiently express my gratitude to my brother George. He is father, brother, and every thing to me”: CL I:63; to GC 8 Feb 1794 and I:3 to Luke Coleridge 12 May 1787. This sentiment is further echoed in the poem’s epigraph, “Notus in fraters animi paterni,” or, “the soul of the father is known / felt in the brother”: CL I:57; to GC 18 Feb. 1793, translated from the Latin by E. L. Griggs.
 7. As an indication of how similar Coleridge’s early associations and practices were to Barbauld’s, her last published work in 1818 was an edition of John Estlin’s *Familiar Lectures on Moral Philosophy, With a Memoir of the Author*.
 8. Print also presented him with another, more mundane problem: Coleridge had, with manuscript dissemination, been free to alter and even change the addressees of his poem with ease, particularly with his love poems—with print, however, such flexibility came to an end. Love poems that substitute new names, or generalize them to fit new circumstances, all in PW I:1, include “Cupid Turn’d Chymist” (94–6); “Absence: A Poem” (99–103); “The Sigh” (127–8); “The Kiss” (128–9); and “To a Young Lady” (135–8).
 9. Most considerations of this volume center on Coleridge’s place within the sonnet revival of the late eighteenth century: see Curran, *Poetic Form*, and both Daniel Robinson and Brent Raycroft, who consider Coleridge’s anxiety’s about the adoption of a “feminized” form, as well as his own worries about his skill as a sonneteer.
 10. Coleridge made only minor alterations to the preface when including it in *Poems* (1797): see PW I.2, Annex B.3, 1230–2.
 11. Coleridge’s early volumes of verse were published in very small print runs, likely no more than five hundred copies for each of the three editions of 1796, 1797 and 1803 (RN 594). The fact that new editions were called for in a relatively short space of time tends to support claims made by Erickson that Coleridge’s poetry was relatively successful (*Economy*, 51–2).
 12. For example, in 1787, at least three volumes appeared under the same title, by Ann Yearsely, Charlotte Sanders and Henry Pye, and the title is ubiquitous throughout the later half of the eighteenth century.
 13. Three-volume editions were published in 1748 (two editions) and 1751; four-volume editions in 1755; and six-volume editions were published

in 1758, 1763, 1775, and 1782. The editor explained that the intention of the miscellany was to “preserve to the Public those poetical performances, which seemed to merit a longer remembrance than what would probably be secured to them by the MANNER wherein they were originally published;” additionally, poems are included “which were never before in print”: see “Advertisement” to the 1748 edition, I: iii–iv. When Southey attempted his own miscellany in 1799–1800, *The Annual Anthology*, Coleridge lamented that its “great and master fault” was its “want of arrangement” (CL I: 545); and when Southey demurred, replying that there was “no advantage from method,” Coleridge insisted that “it was called a Collection” for a reason (*New Letters Robert Southey* I: 207).

14. Why this experiment was never repeated—not only did he not write again with Sara, but the poem appears to be the only one that we know of in which Coleridge attempted to write with a woman—bears some consideration. The timing of the poem, as well as its domestic subject matter, suggests that Coleridge was eager to include his wife in the poetic exchanges that were ever a part of his intimate relationships. Nor can we easily point to Sara as the reluctant party; the poem itself, as well as other verse she is known to have written in 1799 on the illness and death of Berkeley, suggests that she was not averse to poetic composition. Whatever the reason, the failure to find a steady literary companion in his wife, and indeed the failure of his domestic aspirations altogether, had important consequences for Coleridge’s writing life, as I shall discuss below.
15. Cottle recorded Coleridge’s comments on the epigraph as follows: “It was all a hoax . . . Not meeting with a suitable motto, I invented one, and with references purposely obscure” (164).
16. An earlier plan for a joint volume with Lloyd alone seems to have been abandoned—Coleridge said he cancelled the sheets and no record remains of the volume: see CL I:285.
17. On the re-organization of the second edition, see *Coleridge’s Poetry and Prose* 43. For reasons that are not clear, other poems that Coleridge wrote to Lamb and Lloyd during this period were not included: in September 1796, he wrote to Lamb, “To a Friend who had declared his intention of writing no more poetry”, and in December, 1796, to Lloyd, “Lines to a young man of fortune who abandoned himself to an indolent and causeless melancholy.”
18. The poem to George, “To the Reverend George Coleridge,” has been discussed above. To Sara he includes “Ode to Sara,” “Composed at Clevedon,” and she is the subject of or named in “The Kiss,” “To a Young Lady,” “On Brockly Comb,” “To an Old Man in the Snow,” and “Reflections on Having Left a Place of Retirement.” His sister is mentioned in “To a Friend,” Hartley is the subject of “On the Birth of a Son,” and “On first seeing my Infant.” He also includes a poem originally written for Mary Evans, “The Sigh,” but now addressed to Sara.
19. Poems to Mary Lamb include Sonnets VI–VII (222–3) and to his grandmother, the poem “The Grandame” (228–30).
20. The inclusion of Lloyd’s entire volume to his grandmother, which was framed by Coleridge’s dedicatory poem and Lamb’s concluding “The Grandame,” provides another example of the way in which the domestic

affections link the three men together. Coleridge's affection for his brother, as evinced by his dedication, is mirrored by Lloyd's dedication to his brother, and so on, as the poets bind themselves together by articulating their attachments to their families.

21. Anya Taylor has persuasively shown the way in which Coleridge reveals his unpreparedness for fatherhood in a way that prophesies the difficult father-son relationship to come.
22. Though Coleridge vehemently denied this allegation to Southey and Cottle privately and in the *Biographia* publicly, most modern critics have agreed with Southey's assessment (*CL* I: 357; *BL* I: 26–7). Both Newlyn and Erdman have carefully shown the ways in which the sonnets parody Coleridge, Lamb, Lloyd, Wordsworth, and Southey's poetry: see Newlyn, "Parodic Allusion," and Erdman.
23. Lloyd's novel deeply offended Coleridge by incorporating embarrassing details from his life, with the eponymous hero leaving college, enlisting in the dragoons, and suffering from sexual excess, drunkenness, and opium addiction. Yet the novel, as Richard Allen has persuasively argued, "is an embodiment in fiction of the philosophical, religious, and political principles of his teacher," that is, of Coleridge himself (249). In particular the novel "sought to demonstrate what Coleridge himself affirmed: that the 'domestic affections' are the basis of moral development" (262). The advertisement to *Edmund Oliver* fully confirms this view: "I believe, that the domestic connections, which are only coeval with the existence of marriage, are the necessary means of disciplining Beings, at first merely sentient, to a rational and enlarged benevolence" (vii–ix). The poems in *Blank Verse* (1798), especially those by Lloyd, continue very much in the tradition of *Poems* (1797), with Lloyd praising "All the varieties of social joy" (43).
24. Published in Southey's *Annual Anthology*, I:218–26.
25. Taussig suggests that economic strains created a wedge between him and Lloyd, particularly after Coleridge's role as tutor proved increasingly difficult in late 1796. I do not find this argument convincing, and, as Taussig acknowledges, it does not apply to his relationship with Lamb (87–9). While Coleridge did include his friends' poems, especially Lloyd's, to improve sales, the volume was successful and there is nothing to suggest that a continuation of literary projects would have been unprofitable.
26. "Lewti, or the Circassian Love-Chant," a juvenile poem by Wordsworth that Coleridge had revised and expanded, was removed and replaced by "The Nightingale: A Conversation Poem" at the last moment. Though it has been presumed that this was done to preserve the anonymity of the volume—"Lewti" had been published in the *Morning Post* in April, 1798, Mays has wisely speculated that "there may be other, literary reasons for the decision" (*PW* I.1.457). In the narrative of Lewti's unkindness, Coleridge, according to Mays, had gone "back to Christ Hospital days and his love for Mary Evans," producing a poem that fit uneasily with the content and tenor of the *Lyrical Ballads* (*PW* I.1.457).
27. In *BL*, Coleridge notes that Wordsworth, in his most recent collected works of 1815, had "degraded this prefatory disquisition to the end of the second

volume": *BL* II: 10. Undoubtedly this is how Coleridge would have understood the repositioning of "The Ancient of Mariner." It should also be noted that Coleridge's other poems were likewise moved to a position later in the volume: "The Nightingale" was moved from fourth to seventeenth, "The Foster-Mother's Tale" went from second to seventh place. The "Dungeon" remained in fourteenth place, and "Love" was added as the twenty-first poem. As the single new poem Coleridge contributed to the second volume, "Love," with its medieval setting and romantic resolution, is in keeping with the plan for the *Lyrical Ballads* as stated by Coleridge in the *Biographia* of depicting "persons and characters supernatural, or at least romantic," and it proved to be one of Coleridge's most popular poems (*PW* I.2.605–10). Of course, the same was true of "Christabel" which Wordsworth refused to include.

28. According to Wordsworth, "The feelings, with which that joint publication was made, have been gratified; its end is answered, and the time is come when considerations of general propriety dictate the separation" (*P1815* xli).
29. While Coleridge's output in 1798 did not match Wordsworth's, he certainly had more to choose from than the four pieces he included, even if he didn't wish to use previously published verse (or was prevented from doing so for reasons of copyright).
30. Coleridge wrote to his wife: "I pray you, my Love! read Edgeworth's Essay on Education—read it heart & soul—& if you approve of the mode, teach Hartley his letters—I am very desirous, that you should begin to teach him to read—& they point out some easy modes": *CL* I: 418. The Edgeworths' other collaborative works are *Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802); *Essays on Professional Education* (1809); *Readings on Poetry* (1816); and *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth*, 2 vols, (1820), revised and completed by Maria after her father's death.

3 Working families and the children's book trade

1. Aileen Fyfe's estimate that there were only eighty to one hundred new juvenile titles each year during the early nineteenth century seems an underestimate. The problem in arriving at accurate figures has to do in part with the poor survival rate of children's books, and in part with limitations in quantitative book history in the early part of the century. As records improve over the course of the century, we see a dramatic rise in children's book publication: Fyfe finds a six-fold increase by the third quarter of the century, with 695 new titles per year by 1870. This increase might reflect the relative dearth of information from earlier in the century. See Fyfe, "Copyrights," 35.
2. According to Moon, Harris's numbers never surpass those of this first decade.
3. Darton identifies the following other prominent London juvenile book-sellers: Tabart's Juvenile and School Library, at 157 New Bond Street; John Marshall, from 1780 in Aldermay Churchyard, from 1787 at 17 Queen Street, Cheapside, and from 1806–28 at 140 Fleet Street; William Phillips, at 71 St. Paul's Churchyard and later at 7 Bridge Street, Blackfriars; John Wallis, later with son, Edward, who operated a Temple of Muses and specialized in moral games, at 16 Ludgate Street, between 1775 and 1812, and thereafter

in Skinner Street near the Godwins; A.K. Newman, who owned the Minerva Press, Leadenhall Street, and his close associates, Dean and Munday, in Threadneedle Street; and Hailes, located at Picadilly: see Darton, "Children's Books," 137, 203–8.

4. Scholars are still puzzled, as indeed were his patrons and creditors, as to why Godwin was continually in such bad financial straits. According to Marshall, it was not that the Juvenile Library was an economic failure, but that Godwin's debts were far greater than known, that he continued to lend and give money himself, and that his expenses were high (290–1). Mark Philp concurs in his *ODNB* entry, as does St. Clair, who also notes that Godwin's most significant problem was his severe undercapitalization ("Godwins" 287–9).
5. According to Thwaite, chapbooks continued to appear until mid-century, though of course they had been subject to a great deal of censure from Trimmer and Hannah More, who wrote *Cheap Repository Tracts*, which emulated chapbooks in form but substituted edifying moral tales. See Thwaite 59 and Jackson 124. According to St. Clair, however, the new children's book industry largely drove out or absorbed the chapbook canon within a few years after 1774 (118).
6. The Godwins probably hoped to benefit from the shop's proximity to the many publishers and booksellers who lined Skinner Street, and in particular the innovative firm specializing in children's toys and maps, Wallis and Co., that was housed next door (Seymour 579, n. 28). Godwin also stocked consumer goods; however, by 1808 he wrote that the "stationery wares" had "totally failed." Perhaps Wallis was more harmful than helpful in this respect (Kinnell 79).
7. Though for a time it was believed that Mary had authored *Mounseer Nong-tongpaw*, Emily Sunstein has since found that Mary forwarded only several of her stanzas to the author (22). A related effort has been to attribute all of the many disappointing aspects of the press (and Godwin's involvement with it) to Mary Jane Godwin. George Barnett, for example, argues that *she* dominated the business, and that *she* is the one "responsible for the moral didacticism that, in contrast to Lamb's professed beliefs, figures strongly in some of their works, which are not consequently, the practical answer to contemporary children's books that they might have otherwise been" (14). In fairness to Barnett, much of the evidence of Godwin's thorough involvement in the press, evidence that disproves Barnett's claim, has been uncovered since he wrote this article.
8. See Marshall for a discussion of how a subscription was raised in 1808 to save Godwin from prison. This obviously corresponds to the early years of the Juvenile Library, when the profits from his first titles would not have yet been realized (276–7).
9. One of Trimmer's chief complaints throughout the *Guardian* is the lack of religious content in children's books. She may have detected an overall decline in religious books, which, before the early nineteenth century, had accounted for the largest percentage of titles: see Simon Eliot, "Some trends," 36–7. St. Clair argues that the same period saw literature supplant the Bible as the primary educational reading of children (*RN* 137). Godwin's *Bible Stories* offers an early example of this, as he sought to present scripture as

- literature. For a further analysis of the threat that Godwin's book posed, see Ruwe.
10. Other children's authors also bowed to Trimmer's authority. So great was its effect that the anonymous author of *Simple Stories in Verse* (Tabart, 1809) felt obliged, in her preface, to say that she published the work "without feeling any dread of the censure of the *Guardian of Education*, for want of talents is less important in the eyes of that most excellent critic than the moral tendency of the work" (Thwaite 77).
 11. It seems that Godwin would also take upon the task of composing such material if that provided by the author was insufficient; Lamb thus objected in 1807 to Godwin's "egregious *dupery*" in having written the advertisement and first part of the preface to *Tales from Shakespeare*, apparently without consultation (*Letters of the Lambs* II: 256).
 12. The story of the composition of this work, as discovered by critics and historians, is a fascinating one. Johann David Wyss, the pastor at Bern's Protestant Cathedral, had four sons on whom he lavished a great deal of time and attention. The boys were fond of travel and adventure books, especially *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). When their father heard a factual account of a Swiss pastor marooned on an island near New Guinea, he was inspired to create his own narrative, with his own family as characters. The story was a great success with the family, and Wyss began to write it down, continuing until he had a manuscript of eight hundred and forty-one pages, including sixty illustrations by the third son, Johann Emanuel. The story was composed orally, with the sons apparently adding their own ideas as they went along. Thus the finished tale is truly a work of family authorship, a fact alluded to in Godwin's preface (xv–xvi).
 13. Isaac Taylor (1730–1807), the father of Isaac Taylor, Sr. (1759–1829), was also a professional engraver, who, according to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, by 1765 "could lay claim to be the pre-eminent living illustrator," designing and engraving the works of Goldsmith and Richardson. Isaac Taylor, Sr's success as an engraver—he was a leading participant in John Boydell's large-scale engravings of Shakespeare, receiving 500 guineas for an engraving of *Henry VIII's First Sight of Anne Boleyn*, in 1802—commenced in the 1770s and continued to the mid-1810s, after which he worked chiefly on his own books and those of family members.
 14. A number of textual similarities between *The New Cries of London* and *City Scenes*, a work they did acknowledge, further proves Immel's argument, which is based on manuscript sources.
 15. In 1818, Darton, Harvey, and Darton negotiated a new copyright agreement for *Original Poems* with the Taylor family, which secured each of the sisters around £600, a huge increase over what they received for the first copyright term: see David 43.
 16. Later in life Isaac Taylor, Sr. wrote and illustrated a large number of very successful educational books, including the popular "*Scenes*" series ("for the Amusement and Instruction of Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers"); *Advice to the Teens* (1818), the first recorded use of the word to denote young people; *Bunyan Explained to a Child* (2 vols, 1824–5); and *The Mine* (1829) and *The Ship* (1830) for the "Little Library" series published by John Harris: see Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Isaac Taylor (1730–1807)," *ODNB*.

17. There followed other works in the same vein: *Practical Hints to Young Females* (1815); *The Present of a Mistress to a Young Servant* (1816); *Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children* (1818); and, in collaboration with her daughter Jane, *Correspondence between a Mother and Her Daughter at School* (1817). Most were popular and influential. She also published "tales" for the young—*The Family Mansion* (1819) and *Retrospection: a Tale* (1821), as well as a collection of moral essays, *The Itinerary of a Traveller in the Wilderness* (1825): see Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Anne Taylor (1757–1830)," ODNB.
18. Other popular works included *Aesop in Rhyme* (1820), *Ralph Richards the Miser* (1821), *The Little Historians* (1824), and *Parlour Commentaries on the Constitution and Laws of England* (1825). On the death of his father in 1829, he seems to have taken over his commitments to the popular Little Library series, for which he wrote *The Forest* (1831), *The Farm* (1832), and *The Ocean* (1833). Ten years elapsed before his next book appeared, *The Young Islanders* (1842), another Robinsonnade, in which an entire boys' school is cast away on a desert island; it was particularly successful in America, where it ran to eight editions over the next forty years. *Incidents of the Apostolic Age of Britain* (1844) was an early historical novel for children and probably the first of the genre to deal with very remote events. *A Glance at the Globe and at the Worlds Around Us* (1848) is an introduction to cosmology and world history: see Robin Taylor Gilbert, "Jeffereys Taylor (1792–1853)," ODNB.
19. His later books include *History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times* (1827); *The Process of Historical Proof* (1828); an abridged translation of Herodotus (1829); *Fanaticism* (1833); *Spiritual Despotism* (1835); *Home Education* (1838); *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrines of the Oxford "Tracts for the Times"* (2 vols, 1839–40); *Four Lectures on Spiritual Christianity* (1841); two studies of religious leaders, *Loyola* (1849) and *Wesley and Methodism* (1851); and at the end of his life, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (1861) and *Considerations on the Pentateuch* (1863): see Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, "Isaac Taylor (1787–1865)," ODNB.
20. After 1818 their only collaborative works are Jane and Mrs. Taylor's *Correspondence between a Mother and Her Daughter at School* (1817) and *The Linnet's Life* (1822), by Ann, Jane, Isaac Sr. and possibly Isaac Jr.
21. *New Cries* appeared in several editions over the Taylors' lifetimes. As with *City Scenes*, the text was re-illustrated and revised over time, though as late as the 1828 edition, the Taylors' authorship was not acknowledged. Even the illustrations were unsigned. The *New Cries of London* is possibly part of a larger body of early writing either suppressed or destroyed. Much of Ann Taylor's juvenilia, for example, has disappeared, and we know that Ann's first appearance in print was not, in fact, her contribution to *The Minor's Pocket Book* in 1798 but an election poem that she wrote in support of a Whig candidate—a poem that had been published without her knowledge but which has never been found. E.V. Lucas's dismissal of this election poem as one that "hardly counts" (presumably because of its political nature) is yet another example of how successful the Taylors were in seeming inoffensive, and in burying or disguising anything that might appear otherwise (OP xiv).

Of her "election poem," Ann writes: "It was, I think, in 1797 that I made my first poetical appearance in print on the occasion of a contested election, when Robert Thornton being the Tory candidate, and a Mr Shipley the Whig,

I ventured an election song for home-reading solely. But it happened to be seen, and was speedily printed, a distinction that no doubt I felt as somewhat dazzling. The production, I am constrained to say, exhibits sadly little wit, and much more than was appropriate of the moral lecture. I knew, by report, the excellence of the Thornton family, and felt aggrieved by his taking, as it appeared to me, the wrong side!" (AMG 81). The episode also demonstrates St. Clair's point that scribal publication was increasingly difficult to control, "for it was often then impossible to prevent a manuscript copy falling into the hands of a printer who would print it, assume the intellectual property rights, sell copies to the general public, and frustrate the author's wish to restrict access" (RN 49). Other instances of this phenomenon are discussed in the "Epilogue" with respect to the *Keepsake* of 1829.

22. Elements of *Evenings at Home* may be seen in the Taylors' writing; they were great admirers of the work, which they adapted for home performances (AMG 95). In their observations on ship-building, for example, they are as strident as Aikin and Barbauld: "What a pity that all this expense and trouble should be wasted in contriving to kill our neighbours and destroy their property; when it might be employed to the advantage of both parties, by promoting a friendly intercourse with each other": *City Scenes* 1809, 39; 1818, 21. They also include instances of men resisting impressment: "Say, Mr. Lieutenant, before I surrender, / By what right you take me on board of your tender? / In the peaceable trader I rather would be, / And no man-of-war, Sir, I thank you, for me" (*City Scenes*, 1809: 8; 1818: 13).
23. Isaac Jr., for example, would later say that "if publicity was not sought for by my sisters, neither were they incited by any prospects of considerable pecuniary advantage; for, with one or two exceptions, the authors' share of the profits arising from the sale of their works never amounted to a sum which, if they had been dependant upon their exertions in this line, could have afforded them a comfortable subsistence" (WJT I:81).
24. The poem had first been printed by Benjamin Heath Malkin in *A Father's Memoir of His Child* in 1806. According to Linda David: "The Taylors may have seen it there, but they may also have seen a copy of Blake's *Songs*; G. E. Bentley, Jr. has argued that the engraving for 'The Charity Children' is modeled on Blake's plate. If so, the engraver, probably Isaac Taylor the younger, must have seen Blake's plate before 1814, when the engraving, but not Blake's poem, appeared in *City Scenes*. In a diary entry of 1810, Henry Crabbe Robinson recorded a conversation with Jane Taylor in which Blake was discussed" (30). I refer to the 1818 edition, not having seen the 1814 version to which Bentley refers.
25. The Taylors' introduction to the poem reads: "These charity children are coming from church, with the two parish beadle before them. Several thousands of poor children are taught to read, work, and write, in the different charity schools of London, and to do their duty to God and to their neighbours; which will enable them to become respectable in this world, and tend to make them happy in the next. Once a year, about six thousand charity children, dressed in uniforms of different colours, assemble in St. Paul's Cathedral, on benches raised to a great height one above the other, circularly, under the dome. The order with which each school finds its own situation, and the union of so many voices, all raised at one moment to

the praise of their great Creator, as they chant the hundredth psalm, on the entrance of the clergyman, cause a most delightful and affecting sensation in the minds of the spectators. The solemnity of the place, and the hope that so much innocence, under such protection, would be reared to virtue and happiness, must add greatly to the effect" (65–7). They then reprint Blake's "Holy Thursday" with a modest alteration: "their innocent faces clean" becomes "their hands and faces clean" (David 30).

26. An example is the "The Church Yard" in *Original Poems*, which addresses a child as follows: "You are not so healthy and gay, / So young, and so active, and bright, / That death cannot snatch you away, / Or some dreadful accident smite." This was one problem that Sara Coleridge had with the Taylors' verse: "The *Original Poems* give too many pictures of mental depravity, bodily torture, and of adult sorrow; and I think the sentiments—the tirades, for instance, against hunting, fishing, shooting—are morbid, and partially false": see David 39.

4 The Shelleys, the Wordsworths, and the family tour

1. It became a visual as well as a verbal image, with the figure of a solitary male confronting a sublime landscape becoming emblematic of Romanticism itself. Important examples include Caspar David Friedrich's 1817 *Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog*, and Jacques-Louis David's *Napoleon Crossing the Saint Bernard Pass* (1801), a depiction of the leader's treacherous traverse of an Alpine pass, which also links Napoleon to Hannibal, both of whose names are engraved on a rocky ledge in the picture's foreground. Wordsworth, in his allusion to Hannibal in the "Essay," performs a gesture that pervades Romantic culture, whereby imaginative conquest is closely linked to physical conquest over nature.
2. All quotations are to the Woodstock Book facsimile edition of the *History*.
3. Dorothy's journal has been published, though with substantial omissions, by De Selincourt in *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth* II:1–336 (recently reprinted as *The Continental Journals*, edited by Helen Boden). All quotations are to de Selincourt's edition, except where the passage is omitted from the print version, in which case I will refer to Dove Cottage Manuscript (DC MS) 90, the only known fair copy of the *Journal of a Tour of the Continent* in two volumes. This document was transcribed between 1825 and 1830 by an unknown copyist, and embellished with colored engravings; it is signed "Dorothy Wordsworth June 22nd 1830." Mary Wordsworth's journal has not been published. Her notes for the tour are found in DC MS 91, and the finished versions are DC MSS 92–95. DC MS 92 is a first draft by Mary for her son William, while DC MS 93 is an amended second edition, probably intended to be kept at Rydal Mount. I use this text as my source, and all references to Mary's manuscript are to this version. DC MS 94 is entitled "Diary kept during a Tour on the Continent" and is transcribed by Sara Hutchinson for John Wordsworth. DC MS 95 is a transcription by an unknown copyist, given by Christopher Wordsworth to his daughter Elizabeth. All manuscripts are quoted with permission of Dove Cottage, the Wordsworth Trust.

4. The *Memorials* were recently published in the Cornell Wordsworth series, under the title *Sonnet Series and Itinerary Poems, 1820–1845*. All references to the poems are to this volume, with page and line references.
5. It was Mary Shelley who first severed their contributions from one another when, in 1840, she revised *A History of a Six Weeks' Tour* for publication in a posthumous volume of her husband's prose work, *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*. From this volume of *prose*, she excludes "Mont Blanc" (which had been included in her earlier volume of Percy's poetry) and substitutes two additional journal entries. Though she had misgivings about including *her* journal entry and letters, she did so. Modern editors of Percy's prose have followed Mary Shelley's example, in omitting "Mont Blanc" from *The Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, I:179–228, as well as Mary's contributions. The editors of Mary Shelley's works have not only excised "Mont Blanc" but Percy's final two letters as well, thus disjoining their major contributions (WMS 8:4–5).
6. Writers and producers of juvenile literature exploited this fascination with travel. Indeed, the period saw a proliferation of printed books and ephemera for children, which enabled them to undertake imaginary tours of the kingdom and abroad. The popularity of Priscilla Wakefield's books, *A Family Tour Through the British Empire* (1804), *The Juvenile travelers; containing the Remarks of a Family During a tour through the Principle states and kingdoms of Europe* (1801), and *An Excursion in North America* (1806), all published by Darton and Harvey, are a case in point.
7. The Shelleys returned to the Continent in 1817 and remained there until Percy's death; after 1820 Wordsworth regularly visited the Continent with various friends and family members, including his sister, wife, and later his daughter Dora. William also made at least eight tours of Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and countless tours of England over a fifty-year period. He rarely journeyed alone.
8. From her explanations, it is clear that Radcliffe anticipated some objections: she "begs leave to observe, in explanation of the use made of the plural term in the following pages, that, her journey having been performed in the company of her nearest relative and friend, the account of it has been written so much from their mutual observation, that there would be a deception in permitting the book to appear, without some acknowledgment, which may distinguish it from works entirely her own" (v).
9. The only modern reprint of the *History* in its original form is the facsimile edition published by Woodstock: otherwise, the contributions of Mary and Percy now appear, both in print and online, entirely independent of one another.
10. I am supported in this reading by Donald Reiman, who, though sometimes a promoter of Shelley as "a poet of idealized abstraction" (particularly in his reading of "Mont Blanc"), argues elsewhere that such a wholesale reading of Shelley cannot be sustained when one examines his manuscripts, which show him to be deeply enmeshed in "common human concerns... of the mundane world": see "Shelley's Manuscripts" 227.
11. Volume 1 of *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley* includes both *Original Poetry* (1810), by Percy and Elizabeth Shelley, and *Posthumous Fragments*

- (1810), by Shelley and Hogg. For Shelley and Hogg's pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811), see *PWPS*, 1: 1–5, 319–27.
12. For example, as we will see in the next chapter, Mary witnessed how Percy used the Italian manuscript she translated (and her advice about plotting) to produce *The Cenci* (1819), which she believed to be “the finest thing he ever wrote” (*PWPS* 160); and Percy would have seen the effects of his encouragement and assistance on Mary's writing. But the *History* was the only work in which these sharings were publicized.
 13. There was no need to revise the titles of the other two poems, “An Address to a Child” and “The Mother's Return” (*P1815* xli). In 1832, “Loving and Liking. Irregular Verses Addressed to a Child” is added; in 1842, “The Floating Island at Hawkshead,” now signed, “by D.W.” Only in 1845 is her identity owned (“by my sister”).
 14. Susan Levin's collection of Dorothy's poems identifies all of the extant versions, in one case as many as nine, most of them in Dorothy's hand: see Levin, “Collected Poems of Dorothy Wordsworth,” Appendix One, in *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism* 175–237.
 15. Wordsworth, according to Robinson, “after waiting so long without writing anything . . . the fit has come upon him, and within a short period of time [in late 1821] he has composed a number of delightful poems” (*HCRBW*I: 278).
 16. This comment appears in a manuscript note written while preparing *Memorials of a Tour of the Continent* for the press: see DC MS 96. In November of 1822, Sara Hutchinson would observe that these poems were “not likely [to be seen] in print—having been written for the purpose of *ornamenting* ‘the Journals.’” *Letters of Sara Hutchinson* 225–7.
 17. Notes are added to Dorothy's journal (DC MS 90) and are referenced in the letters: *LW* 4: 337, 406.
 18. Dora Wordsworth's *Journal of a Tour of the Continent* (DC MS 110) is unpublished. The only extended consideration of this tour is by Anthony Harding, who offers an informative account of the tour derived from Dora's journal, a manuscript journal by Coleridge, and William's poems.
 19. Dora excludes Wordsworth's final declamatory stanza (“Where'er we roam—along the brink / Of Rhine—or by the sweeping Po, / Through Alpine vale, or champain wide, / Whate'er we look on, at our side / Be Charity!—to bid us think, / And feel, if we would know”), editing his verse as Dorothy did to better suit her context and perhaps, to improve it (*IP* 408.13–18).
 20. Also at the same time, two of Dorothy's narratives, “Excursion on the Banks of Ullswater” [1805] and “Excursion up Scafell Pike” [1818], were included in *A Description of the Scenery of the Lakes in the North of England* (1822) without acknowledgment (*PWW* II:361–78). It seems likely that Dorothy also worked in an editorial capacity on this narrative which, in 1835, became the *Guide to the Lakes*.
 21. This was the arrangement for his poetry and the *Guide to the Lakes*. Wordsworth's complaint was that the expenses were so high that he received no profits: “Thus my throat is cut” (*LW* 4: 327–8).
 22. When a new edition of his complete works was contemplated in 1825, Wordsworth once again sought Roger's assistance to find better terms than those that Longman had offered. Discussions continued with Murray for some time through 1825, though Murray was often unresponsive to

both Rogers and Wordsworth and negotiations broke off in the summer. Wordsworth then sought terms, through Alaric Watts, with Hurst and Robinson. When this firm failed, Wordsworth made a last-ditch attempt with Murray in December 1826, seeking the terms that had been discussed previously, with Wordsworth taking two-thirds of the expense and risk, and entitled to two-thirds of the profit. Nothing came of it, and finally he agreed to continue with Longman. It is telling that the only firm willing to give him some money up front was a firm that would shortly enter bankruptcy. See *LW* 4:306–7, 319–20, 327–9, 341, 379, 380–1, 383, 496, 505. See also W.J.B. Owen, “Costs, Sales, and Profits of Longman’s Editions of Wordsworth,” and Erickson, *Economy* 54–60.

23. Lee Erickson argues that this shift took place sometime in the early nineteenth century, when “the increasing competition that periodicals offered against books gradually made publishers happy to let authors retain copyright and so bear more of the initial economic risk in producing books” (*Economy* 4).
24. Publishers were simply unwilling to pay untested authors such a sum. As a point of comparison, consider the amount Wordsworth sought for republication (in six volumes) of his complete works in 1825. Wordsworth, in negotiations with Hurst and Robinson, was offered £200 for an edition of one thousand copies, but insisted on no less than £300 and twenty copies to be placed at his disposal. Clearly Dorothy’s *Recollections* was unlikely to earn the same amount as a six-volume collection of her brother’s poems, however unpopular his recent volumes had been.
25. Wordsworth, in calling him “Grand Murray,” also wrote: “I am persuaded that he is too great a Personage for any one but a Court, an Aristocratic or most fashionable Author to deal with”: *LW* 4:381. His daughter spoke of him as the “vile Murray,” seemingly alluding to him as the publisher of Byron.
26. On 17 February 1823, Dorothy speaks of her continuing “scruples and apprehensions,” and that is the last that is heard of publishing the manuscript for some time: *LW* 4:189.
27. *Edinburgh Review* XI (Jan. 1808), 285–9 at 287 in Reiman, *Romantics Reviewed*, 833–5 at 834. Lucy Aikin reviewed *Hours of Idleness* for the *Annual Review* VI (1808) 529–31, in *Romantics Reviewed* 1–3; unlike Brougham, she defended Byron’s efforts as a amateur, and argued that such endeavors served an important social function:

Between the amateur, even the feeblest, of literature, and the amateur of boxing and horse-racing, the merest stringer of rhymes, and the mere lounger and layer of wages, the distance is so incalculably great, the advantage on the side of the former, both to himself and to society at large, so clear, and so important, that whenever a young nobleman shows himself disposed to employ his “Hours of Idleness” in paying his humble devoirs to any of the Nine, whether with or without success, we shall certainly be disposed to yield him all the praise and honour (1).

28. Some of those borrowings are evident in the following additional excerpts from Dorothy’s journal and William’s poem:

The mountains (their natural hue being green) appeared as if covered with a pale green light—a mean proportional between day and *moon* light, moon-light without shadows. We thought of our Friends in England, probably employed, like ourselves, in tracing the course of the shadow over the sun; but, as we afterwards learned, a cloudy day prevented them from seeing anything more than unusual darkness, while we had a clear view of this phaenomenon with an accompaniment of scenery as interesting perhaps as any other human Beings were favoured with.

(JDW II:248)

Or something between night and day between, Like moon-shine—but
the hue was green . . .

(IP 382.25–6)

...

Oh ye, who guard and grace my Home
While in far-distant Lands we roam,
Enquiring thoughts are turned to you;
Does a clear ether meet your eyes?
Or have black vapours hid the skies
And mountains from your view?

(IP 384.67–72)

29. Robinson encouraged this use of the journals for prefatory material: see *Correspondence*, 111; *LW* 4:113, 516.

5 Literary remains, family editors, and romantic genius

1. Joseph Reed's illuminating study, *English Biography in the Early Nineteenth Century, 1801–1838* (1966), argues that most early nineteenth-century biography rejects Boswell's example in favor of works that upheld "the doctrine of biographical dignity" (40), avoiding those aspects of the subject's life that fail to demonstrate his or her exemplarity. This explains in part why biography became an important genre in the popular new "family libraries," dominating all other categories including history, religion, travel, and fiction. Reed also observes how exemplarity was complemented by the severe efforts made by periodical journals to curtail their treatment of "the notably obscure," yet another way in which amateur culture was discouraged (25).
2. See Gill 230–4 and Butler, "The Duty to Withhold the Facts." Julian North also situates these anxieties in the context of De Quincey's essays on the poets in the 1830s (115–26).
3. Her refusals may have been motivated in part by a desire to protect her right to Shelley's literary property. Mary was very careful to protect the copyrights that she had inherited through her husband's will. When, for example, Mary heard that the publisher John Murray had been making inquiries to Sir Thomas Shelley, she asserted plainly (in an unpublished letter from 13

- January 1827) that “these copy-rights are mine and that if you will still wish to make such a purchase I should be happy to enter into a negotiation” (Seymour 563). She accepted Moxon’s advice about the omissions needed to secure legal protection for the first edition of the *Poetical Works*, and in December 1838 she wrote to Moxon that her production of *Posthumous Poems* secured to her the exclusive copyright (LMS II:300).
4. William St. Clair records that, until his death, most of Shelley’s poetry appeared in very small editions (of around two hundred and fifty copies) and that many of these few copies were remaindered (RN 320; Appendix 9, 649–51).
 5. For Susan Wolfson, Shelley’s categories reflect a division between a popular and an elite audience (“Editorial” 39). While this division generally holds with respect to Shelley’s classificatory scheme, I wish to consider further the different models of poet and reader that underlie it.
 6. Mary Shelley identifies those poems of Shelley that were the most commercially popular. According to St. Clair, *Rosalind and Helen* (1819) was regularly published by Ollier; *The Cenci* (1819), first published by Shelley at Leghorn, went into a second edition that year, published also by Ollier; and *Adonais* also reached a second edition in 1821. See St. Clair, RN Appendix 9, 650.
 7. Betty T. Bennett has noted “the Shelleys’ documented close interaction while they wrote their incest stories”—*The Cenci* and *Mathilda* (*Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts*, X:161–4, 163).
 8. Though Mary attempted to defend the removal against Edward Trelawny’s displeasure by claiming that it was Shelley’s wish, she clearly thought better of it and restored the poem to its proper place as dedicatory verse to *Queen Mab* in the 1840 edition.
 9. The next installment of *The Examiner* offered a retraction of sorts, acknowledging that “sickness, and depression of spirits, and possibly, for this is but a surmise of our own, the peculiar situation of Mrs Shelley in reference to her husband’s family—prevented (or deterred) her from entering more minutely into the particulars of his life” (26 May 1839, No. 1634, 323–4).
 10. The *Spectator* (26 January 1839 and 14 December 1839) regretted that *Queen Mab* had been published in truncated form, whereas the *Athenaeum* (27 April 1839) stated that Mrs. Shelley’s editing and concise notes were unlikely to satisfy any true admirer of Shelley: see Seymour 467.
 11. A number of *Examiner* articles in the following months strongly supported the extension of copyright: see “The Copyright Question,” 3 March 1839, No. 1622, 130 and “The Claims of Authors to an Extension of Copyright,” 7 April 1838, No. 1627, 214–5.
 12. In 1817, Lord Chancellor Eldon held in *Southey v. Sherwood* that the poet was not entitled to an injunction against Sherwood for printing *Wat Tyler* because “a person cannot recover in damages for a work which is, in its nature, calculated to do injury to the public.” In the same year, the blasphemous nature of *Queen Mab* had been the basis of Eldon’s decision to deny Shelley the right to guardianship of his children by Harriet. In 1822, W. Clarke, publisher of *Queen Mab*, was sent to prison for his publishing activities. Because of its illegality, the poem was widely reprinted in cheap editions throughout the 1820s and 1830s (RN 319, 680–1).

13. For Mary Shelley's comments on the restoration, see *PWPS*, 2nd edn, xi. St. Clair notes that the omissions were restored and then removed again, and in 1844 Moxon registered the self-censored version for copyright (*RN* Appendix 11, 682).
14. Moxon was prosecuted not by the government, but by a group of booksellers and authors who sought to "teas[e] the authorities to acknowledge openly that the law had always been enforced against cheaper books" and, of course, their booksellers. Moxon's was the last prosecution for the common law offence of blasphemous libel (Seymour 468). For a fuller discussion of *Queen v. Moxon*, see Norman 149–53.
15. Wordsworth continued: "Observe the difference of execution in the Poems of Coleridge and Southey, how masterly is the workmanship of the former, compared with the latter; the one persevered in labour unremittingly, the other could lay down his work at pleasure and turn to any thing else. But what was the result? Southey's Poems, notwithstanding the care and forethought with which most of them were planned after the material had been diligently collected, are read once but how rarely are they recurred to! how seldom quoted, and how few passages, notwithstanding the great merit of the works in many respects, are gotten by heart."
16. Christensen offers a very persuasive account of Coleridge's complex and even contradictory rhetoric of genius: at the same time that he promotes Wordsworth's greatness, he "effac[es] the priority and autonomy of Wordsworth, . . . erasing as well the idea of the wholly integrated, entirely original genius of which Wordsworth is the very embodiment" (227).
17. See her review of Tennyson's *Princess*, 427–8. The editor, J.G. Lockhart, didn't wish to offend the still-living John Wilson Croker, author of the vituperative reviews of Keats' *Endymion* three decades earlier. As a result, he removed all of Sara's comments on Keats. (Croker was, of course, also the author of the nasty review of Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*.) The manuscript is held by Harry Ransom Humanities Center, University of Texas at Austin.
18. Quoted from the manuscript version of the review, p. 8, see note 17, with the permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Center, University of Texas at Austin.
19. Sara Coleridge's harsh critique of Wordsworth is contained in several letters from 1847 to her close friend Aubrey de Vere. Wordsworth, she argued, had "willfully divested himself of every tender and delicate feeling in the contemplation of the wife and the woman, for the sake of a few grand declamatory stanzas, which he knew not else how to make occasion for" (*MLSC* II: 55).
20. Rather than employ Mary Shelley's strategy, which was to transfer such poems to her biographical notes and quote from them as desired, Sara responded by removing them entirely. This decision contradicted the editorial tendencies of her husband, who had clearly seen the merit of comprehensiveness in the 1834 collection, having included most of the poems that Sara removed in 1852. Sara insists that "the Editor of 1834 would ere now have come to the [same] conclusion" (*PSTC* xii). In this, she invokes not only the shift in literary opinion that had occurred since the last edition was published but also the need to respect the author's, as embodied in the editorial choices her father made during his lifetime. (To support this claim,

Sara argues that her father had little control over the 1834 edition given his failing health; but Coleridge's decisions were governed by issues of copyright (Cottle having sold the copyright for *Poems* (1796) to Longman), which was not a criterion used by his daughter: see *Coleridge's Poetry and Prose* 185).

Epilogue

1. A subsequent and much revised edition was published by Moxon in 1845; dedicated to Queen Victoria, it does not appear to have been edited by Hine. The selection of poems has been altered, the advertisement is new, and the book is lavishly illustrated. Wordsworth, the advertisement notes, "consent[ed] to the present compilation": *Select Pieces from the Poems of Wordsworth*, np.
2. An advertisement included in Southey's *Beauties* offers *Joan of Arc* (two vols.) and *Thabala* for sixteen shillings and *The Curse of Kehama* for fourteen shillings. Wordsworth's five-volume *Poetical Works* sold for forty-five shillings in 1827, his four-volume *Poetical Works* for twenty-four in 1832, and his *Yarrow Revisited* for nine shillings in 1835. Erickson seems mistaken in suggesting that most volumes of poetry cost five shillings; this represents the cost, perhaps, of very slim volumes of verse or of a single poem.

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