

Notes

Introduction

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2. William Wordsworth, *Poems, in Two Volumes* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 97–105.
3. See A. D. Harvey, 'The Cult of Chatterton amongst English Poets c.1770–c.1820', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 39 (1991), pp. 124–33; and John Goodridge, 'Rowley's Ghost: A Checklist of Creative Works Inspired by Thomas Chatterton's Life and Writings', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 262–92.
4. William Hazlitt, 'On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c.', *Lectures on the English Poets* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), pp. 206–44 (243).
5. Samuel Johnson, *The Adventurer* 115 (11 December 1753), in W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt and L. F. Powell (eds), *The Idler and The Adventurer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 456–61.
6. *Forger's Shadow*, p. 58.
7. Nick Groom, 'Original Copies; Counterfeit Forgeries', *Critical Quarterly* 43 (2001), pp. 6–18 (16).
8. Louise J. Kaplan, *The Family Romance of the Imposter-Poet Thomas Chatterton* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); and Esther P. Ellinger, *Thomas Chatterton, The Marvelous Boy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930). See also Al Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990 [1971]), pp. 209–34.
9. Susan Stewart, *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation* (Durham, NC, and London: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 120–3 and 148–55.
10. Marilyn Butler, 'Romanticism in England', in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds), *Romanticism in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 37–67 (43–4).
11. Marilyn Butler, 'Against Tradition: The Case for a Particularized Historical Method', in Jerome J. McGann (ed.), *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 25–47 (45).
12. See Richard Holmes, 'Thomas Chatterton: The Case Re-opened', *Cornhill Magazine* 178.1065 (1970), pp. 201–51, and Nick Groom, 'The Death of Chatterton', in *From Gothic to Romantic*, pp. 116–25.
13. Michael F. Suarez sj, "'This Necessary Knowledge": Thomas Chatterton and the Ways of the London Book Trade' and 'Appendix I: Works by Chatterton Published in His Own Lifetime', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 96–113, 114–16.
14. *Love and Madness*, p. 233.
15. Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Poems Attributed to Rowley', *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 vols (London: G. Offer and T. Tegg, 1782), vol. 2, pp. 247–51 (248).
16. Henry Francis Cary, *Lives of the English Poets, from Johnson to Kirke White* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1846), p. 388.

17. *On the Preference of Virtue to Genius. A Poetical Epistle* (London: T. Cadell, 1779), pp. 10–11.
18. David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 3 vols (London: C. Corbett, 1739–40), vol. 2, p. 102.
19. George Gregory, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London: G. Kearsley, 1789), p. 95.
20. William Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (Bristol: William Pine, 1789), p. 647.
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22. Quoted in Robert Gittings, 'Keats and Chatterton', *KSJ* 4 (1955), pp. 47–54 (50).
23. Meyerstein, *Life*, p. 257.
24. Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (Edinburgh: J. Robertson, 1791), pp. 62–6 (64).

1 Genius and Scholarship

1. William Hazlitt, 'On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c.', *Lectures on the English Poets* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), pp. 206–44 (242).
2. Hazlitt, 'On Burns, and the Old English Ballads', *Lectures on the English Poets*, pp. 245–82 (251). My emphasis.
3. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator* 419 (1 July 1712), in Donald F. Bond (ed.), *The Spectator*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 3, pp. 570–3. Subsequent citations refer to this edition.
4. Addison, *The Spectator* 160 (3 September 1711), vol. 2, pp. 126–30.
5. Samuel Johnson, *The Adventurer* 115 (11 December 1753), in W. J. Bate, John M. Bullitt and L. F. Powell (eds), *The Idler and The Adventurer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 456–61. See also Isaac D'Israeli, *Calamities of Authors*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1812), vol. 1, p. viii: 'The title of AUTHOR still retains its seduction among our youth'.
6. Thomas Busby, *The Age of Genius! A Satire on the Times* (London: Harrison and Co, 1786), p. 8.
7. Hazlitt, 'On Dryden and Pope', *Lectures on the English Poets*, pp. 135–67 (147).
8. Martha Woodmansee, *The Author, Art, and the Market* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Mark Rose, *Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1993); Paul Saint-Armour, *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
9. Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London: A. Millar and R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 54.
10. Addison, *The Spectator* 160. See also William Temple, 'Of Poetry', *Miscellanea. The Second Part* (London: Ri. and Ra. Simpson, 1690), p. 293: '[Genius] cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature'; Hesiod, *Hesiod: Theogony; Works and Days; Testimonia*, trans. Glenn W. Most, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 5: '[The Muses] plucked

a staff, a branch of luxuriant laurel, a marvel, and gave it to me; and they breathed a divine voice into me, so that I might glorify what will be and what was before.'

11. Dryden quoted in *The Spectator* 419. Important recent studies of Spenser and vernacular scholarship in the eighteenth century include Jack Lynch, *The Age of Elizabeth in the Age of Johnson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 120–42; David Fairer, 'Historical Criticism and the English Canon: A Spenserian Dispute in the 1750s', *ECL* 24 (2000), pp. 43–64; Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 137–89.
12. John Dryden, *Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays*, ed. George Watson, 2 vols (London: Dent, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 280, 286.
13. Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: R. and J. Dodsley; Oxford: J. Fletcher, 1762), vol. 1, p. 197.
14. Richard Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London: A. Millar; Cambridge: W. Thurlbourn and J. Woodyer, 1762), p. 4.
15. For contextual letters, reviews and contemporary and later adaptations see Dafydd Moore (ed.), *Ossian and Ossianism* (London: Routledge, 2004). For an in-depth examination of Macpherson's influence on Chatterton see Ian Haywood, *The Making of History: A Study of the Literary Forgeries of James Macpherson and Thomas Chatterton in Relation to Eighteenth-Century Ideas of History and Fiction* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986).
16. See Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), pp. 157–86; Kirsti Simonsuuri, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of the Early Greek Epic (1688–1798)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Kirstie Blair and Mina Gorji (eds), *Class and Canon: Constructing Labouring-Class Poetry and Poetics, 1750–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
17. Robert Burns, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Kilmarnock: John Wilson, 1786), title-page.
18. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (London: A. Millar and T. Cadell; Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1768), p. 265. See also William Duff, *An Essay on Original Genius* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1767), p. xxiii.
19. Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian* (London: T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, 1763), p. 11.
20. On the flaws of Young's arguments see Matthew Wickman, 'Imitating Eve Imitating Echo Imitating Originality: The Critical Reverberations of Sentimental Genius in the "Conjectures on Original Composition"', *ELH* 65.4 (1998), pp. 899–928; Robert L. Chibka, 'The Stranger within Young's Conjectures', *ELH* 53 (1986), pp. 541–65; D. W. Odell, 'The Argument of Young's Conjectures on Original Composition', *Studies in Philology* 78 (1981), pp. 87–106.
21. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p. 36.
22. See Patricia Phillips, *The Adventurous Muse: Theories of Originality in English Poetics, 1650–1760* (Uppsala: [Uppsala University], 1984); and M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971 [1953]).
23. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p. 42.

24. Donald Taylor describes Rowleyese in *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1176–82.
25. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p. 12. See also Duff, *Essay on Original Genius*, p. 276: 'A Poet who adopts images, who culls out incidents he has met with in the writings of other Authors, and who imitates characters which have been portrayed by other Poets, or perhaps by Historians, cannot surely with any propriety be considered as an Original.'
26. *St. James's Chronicle* (28 February–2 March 1782).
27. See Rose, *Authors and Owners*, p. 1: 'The distinguishing characteristic of the modern author, I propose, is proprietorship; the author is conceived as the originator and therefore the owner of a special kind of commodity, the work.'
28. See Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's Reliques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 6. For a history of the found-manuscript topos see Margaret Russett, *Fictions and Fakes: Forging Romantic Authenticity, 1760–1845* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 24.
29. See Johnson's fable of 'wit and learning' in *The Rambler* 22 (2 June 1750), in W. J. Bate and Albrecht B. Strauss (eds), *The Rambler*, 3 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), vol. 3, pp. 121–5.
30. Horace Walpole, *A Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton* (Strawberry Hill: T. Kirgate, 1779), p. 13.
31. William Hazlitt, *Table Talk; or, Original Essays* (London: John Warren, 1821), p. 94.
32. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, pp. 31–2.
33. Hazlitt, 'On Burns, and the Old English Ballads', pp. 245–6.
34. T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), pp. 184–5.
35. Johnson, *The Rambler* 154 (7 September 1751), vol. 3, pp. 54–9. See also Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Necessity of Industry, even to Genius', *Liberal Education* (London: Charles Dilly, 1781), pp. 204–9.
36. Joshua Reynolds, *A Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy* (London: Thomas Davies, 1775), p. 36.
37. Abraham Purshouse, *An Essay on Genius* (London: J. Dodsley, 1782), p. 35; James Beattie, 'Remarks on Genius', *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell; Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1783), pp. 146–64 (155).
38. James Cawthorn, 'The Birth and Education of Genius', *Poems, by the Rev. Mr. Cawthorn* (London: S. Bladon, 1771), pp. 36–55 (36). See Andrew Elfenbein, *Romantic Genius: The Prehistory of a Homosexual Role* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 37.
39. Duff, *Essay on Original Genius*, p. 38.
40. Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell; Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1774), p. 71.
41. Gerard, *Essay on Genius*, pp. 380, 408–9.
42. Isaac D'Israeli, *An Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character* (London: T. Cadell, 1795), p. 210.
43. D'Israeli, *Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character*, p. 36.
44. Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, p. 73.
45. Desiderius Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (1511), *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), vol. 27, p. 92.
46. Quoted in Ben Jonson, 'Notes on Literature' (c.1615–35), in Brian Vickers (ed.), *English Renaissance Literary Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 558–89 (584).

47. *The Spectator* 621 (17 November 1714), vol. 5, pp. 123–6. Bond tentatively attributes this piece to Tickell.
48. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach (London: Penguin Books, 1997), p. 15. See also Richard Holmes, 'Forging the Poet: Some Early Pictures of Thomas Chatterton', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 253–8.
49. Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem* (London: A. Dodd, 1728), p. 6.
50. BL: C.39.h.20 (1) and BRL: B21037.
51. William Henry Ireland, *Neglected Genius. A Poem* (London: W. Wilson, 1812), p. xvii.
52. William Duff, *Critical Observation on the Writings of the Most Celebrated Original Geniuses in Poetry* (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hond, 1770), p. 365.
53. *Miscellanies*, p. xix.
54. *GM* 37 (1767), p. 271.
55. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werter and Charlotte, a German Story. A New Translation* (London: J. Parsons, 1786), p. iii.
56. See Kramnick, *Making the English Canon*, pp. 88–91. For accounts of satires on antiquaries see Joseph M. Levine, *Dr. Woodward's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).
57. See David Fairer, 'The Formation of Warton's *History*', in Thomas Warton, *Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry*, ed. David Fairer, 4 vols (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 1–70.
58. Quoted in James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 2 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1791), vol. 1, p. 146.
59. *History*, vol. 2, pp. 139–64.
60. Claude Rawson, 'Unparodying and Forgery: The Augustan Chatterton', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 15–32.
61. *GM* 47 (1777), p. 364.
62. Quoted by E. H. W. Meyerstein, in *Life*, p. 462.
63. See Peter N. Miller (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
64. Lawrence Lipking, 'Literary Criticism and the Rise of National Literary History', in John Richetti (ed.), *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 471–97 (482).
65. William Temple, 'Ancient and Modern Learning', *Miscellanea. The Second Part*, p. 61.
66. Ferdinando Warner, *Remarks on the History of Fingal and Other Poems of Ossian* (London: H. Payne and W. Cropley, and J. Walter, 1762), p. 12.
67. 'A mere antiquarian is a rugged being': Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, vol. 2, p. 219. Here Johnson contrasts the narrow archival interests of traditional antiquaries with the 'polite' approach of Thomas Percy.
68. Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne 1678–1735* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 23–4. See also Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991) and *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).
69. Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London and New York: Hambledon, 2004), p. xiv.
70. Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 348.

71. Mark Salber Phillips, 'Reconsiderations on History and Antiquarianism: Arnaldo Momigliano and the Historiography of Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57.2 (1996), pp. 297–316.
72. Marilyn Butler, *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and Its Background, 1760–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 10.
73. Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations on Historical Method & Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 71. Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representation of Scholarly Labour, 1725–1765* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), *passim*.
74. For a discussion of the dialectic between disinterest and pedantry see Kramnick, *Making the English Canon*, pp. 54–84.
75. See Robert D. Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archaeo-Historicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 18–25.
76. D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 29 and 25. See Michael F. Suarez sj, 'Historiographical Problems and Possibilities in Book History and National Histories of the Book', *Studies in Bibliography* 56 (2003–4), pp. 141–70.
77. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, p. 15.
78. For pragmatic text theory see Martyn P. Thompson, 'Reception Theory and the Interpretation of Historical Meaning', *History and Theory* 32 (1993), pp. 248–72 (251).
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80. Jerome McGann, 'The Infatuated Worlds of Thomas Chatterton', in Thomas Woodman (ed.), *Early Romantics: Perspectives in British Poetry from Pope to Wordsworth* (London: Macmillan, now Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 233–41 (234).
81. Marjorie Levinson, *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 36–51 (36). On the aesthetics of anachronism in the works see K. K. Ruthven, 'Preposterous Chatterton', *ELH* 71 (2004), pp. 345–75.

2 Tyrwhitt's Rowley, or 'what the author wrote'

1. *Grub Street Journal* 220 (14 March), quoted in *GM* 4 (1734), p. 135.
2. See Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearian Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725–1765* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).
3. See Malone's Advertisement in *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens*, 2 vols (London: C. Bathurst, W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington et al., 1780), vol. 1, p. viii.
4. See *Anecdotes*, vol. 3, p. 148n. B. A. Windeatt has dubbed Tyrwhitt the 'founder of modern traditions of Chaucer editing': 'Thomas Tyrwhitt', in Paul G. Ruggiers (ed.), *Editing Chaucer: The Great Tradition* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1984), pp. 117–45. However, Joseph A. Dane, perhaps

- Tyrwhitt's most vehement critic, feels his position in the 'Great Tradition' of Chaucer scholarship has been long perpetuated by a narrow, and overly forgiving, comparison with other early editors: 'The Reception of Chaucer's Eighteenth-Century Editors', *TEXT* 4 (1988), pp. 217–35. See also T. J. Monaghan, 'Thomas Tyrwhitt and His Contribution to Literary Scholarship' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1947).
5. Philip Neve, *Cursory Remarks on Some of the Ancient English Poets, Particularly Milton* (London: Printed for the author, 1789), p. 6.
 6. Thomas Wright, *Anecdota Literaria* (London: John Russell Smith, 1844), p. 23. See also Arthur Sherbo, *Shakespeare's Midwives: Some Neglected Shakespeareans* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1992), pp. 23–49.
 7. E.g., L. F. Powell, 'Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems', *RES* 7 (1931), pp. 314–26.
 8. 1777, p. xii.
 9. Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton & Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretative Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 10. See Peter Shillingsburg's *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996 [1986]).
 10. John Upton, *Critical Observations on Shakespeare* (London: G. Hawkins, 1746), p. 155.
 11. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1775–8), vol. 5, p. v. Hereafter cited as *Canterbury Tales*.
 12. Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored* (London: R. Francklin, 1726), p. 128.
 13. See Marcus Walsh, 'Form and Function in the English Eighteenth-Century Literary Edition: The Case of Edward Capell', *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 54 (2001), pp. 226–43.
 14. William Shakespeare, *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, eds Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, 2nd edn, 10 vols (London: C. Bathurst, W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington et al., 1778), vol. 3, p. 506, n.7 (emphasis in original).
 15. *History*, vol. 2, pp. 139–64.
 16. 1777, p. xii.
 17. *GM* 58 (1788), p. 188.
 18. *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 56–9.
 19. See *Life*, pp. 250–84. On Chatterton's homemade Rowley anthologies designed as wares, see Ian Haywood, 'Chatterton's Plans for the Publication of the Forgery', *RES* 36 (1985), pp. 58–68.
 20. *Life*, pp. 104–46.
 21. See Michael F. Suarez sj, "'This Necessary Knowledge": Thomas Chatterton and the Ways of the London Book Trade', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 96–114.
 22. BRL: 6493.
 23. *Life*, pp. 452–3. See also *Illustrations*, vol. 4, pp. 571–2 and 584.
 24. *Illustrations*, vol. 4, pp. 573–5.
 25. *Illustrations*, vol. 1, pp. 144–5. William Cole, another antiquarian with a sustained interest, was also sceptical: see BL: Add MSS 5879, fols 135b ff. His sister, the antiquary Jane Cole, informed him that Robert Glynn and Dr Harrington were pro-Rowleian.
 26. See Pat Rogers, 'Chatterton and the Club', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 121–50.
 27. James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 2 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1791), vol. 2, p. 70.

28. Lort informed Lord Hardwicke on 11 May 1773 that the poems were undoubtedly modern: see BL: Add MSS 35350, fol. 45. John Whitaker, having seen some pieces in Barrett's possession, informed Ducarel on 13 June 1772 they were 'errant forgeries': *Illustrations*, vol. 4, p. 580.
29. 1772, pp. iii–iv. In a letter dated 8 May 1772, Dr Woodward identified the editor as Thomas Eagles: see *Life*, p. 451.
30. Fry to Catcott, 14 April 1772 (*Life*, p. 451).
31. BL: Add MSS 47865, fols 49–51.
32. MR 47 (1772), p. 150. See also CR 34 (1772), pp. 234–6, and *The British Magazine and General Review*, 3 vols (London: T. Evans, 1772), vol. 1, p. 532.
33. *Life*, p. 455.
34. BL: Add MSS 47865, fol. 64.
35. *Canterbury Tales*, vol. 3, p. 318.
36. *Public Advertiser* (15, 17, 18, 19, 20 February); *Gazetteer* (8 February 1777), p. 1; *The Annual Register* 19 [pt. 2] (1776), pp. 155–62.
37. Catcott to Jeremiah Milles, 28 May 1777, quoted in Powell, 'Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems', p. 322.
38. BRL: B11666.
39. 1777, p. xi; *Works*, vol. 1, p. xxxi.
40. G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Editing without a Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography* 47 (1994), pp. 1–22.
41. 1777, pp. xi–xii.
42. Powell, 'Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems', p. 321.
43. See *Bibliography*, pp. 37–8.
44. 1777, p. xxii. The cancelled phrase survives in many copies of the first edition but is largely missing in the second impression (also 1777).
45. *Canterbury Tales*, vol. 1, p. iv.
46. 1777, pp. xv–xvi.
47. BL: Add MSS 24890.
48. BRL: B21040, and *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 26–43.
49. 1777, p. xv; *Works*, vol. 2, p. 974.
50. *Canterbury Tales*, vol. 4, p. 84.
51. 1777, p. xvi.
52. BRL: B6493, fol. 59 (Fry).
53. See Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past, 1660–1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 37. Also, John Berkenhout, *Biographia Literaria* (London: J. Dodsley, 1777), pp. 316–18.
54. *Works*, vol. 1, p. 54. For a contemporary reading of Chaucer and Lydgate see Richard Farmer, *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1767), p. 22. See also Nick Groom, 'Richard Farmer and the Rowley Controversy', *N&Q* 239 (1994), pp. 314–18.
55. 1777, p. xvi. Catcott's transcription, BRL: B1a.
56. BRL: B20927 is in Chatterton's hand, but Tyrwhitt received Catcott's transcription, now part of the Tyrwhitt papers in the W. S. Lewis collection at Yale University. *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 282–90.
57. *Life*, p. 211.
58. See *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 812–13, and *Life*, pp. 211–15.
59. Thomas Evans (ed.), *Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative, with Some of Modern Date*, 2 vols (London: T. Evans, 1777), vol. 2, pp. 1–17. 'Songe to Ælla' is in vol. 1, pp. 32–3.

60. Irving N. Rothman, 'The Songs as Thematic Center in Chatterton's *Aella*', *Modern Language Studies* 5.1 (1975), pp. 67–77. For Donald Taylor, *Aella* is the culmination of Chatterton's theory of English drama: *Chatterton's Art*, pp. 114–17.
61. For manuscript history see *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 923–4.
62. *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 923–34; Taylor, *Chatterton's Art*, pp. 124–43; *Life*, pp. 233–48.
63. *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 926–8.
64. See *History*, vol. 2, p. 145. I quote Tyrwhitt's version here.
65. *Works*, vol. 1, p. 172.
66. *Life*, pp. xvii, 504–5.
67. 1777, p. 204.
68. William Wordsworth, *Poems in Two Volumes* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 97–105.
69. For a comparison between the two Hastings epics see *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 823–6.
70. 1777, p. xxi. Meyerstein provides a fuller account by Catcott in *Life*, p. 142.
71. BRL: B5344. Compare the variants in *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 26–43. Brackets in Tyrwhitt's text.
72. 1777, p. xxiii.
73. *Life*, pp. 132–4.
74. 1777, p. xxii.
75. TCM 7 (1775), pp. 592–3. The manuscripts are BRL: B1a, fol. 1 and B2, fol. 53 (Catcott); B6493, fol. 63 (Thomas Fry, after Catcott). Taylor collates B1a and B2, adding that they 'have equal authority', but B2 'seems to have been further antiquated by Catcott': *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 840–3.
76. 1777, pp. xi (footnote) and xxii.
77. Taylor, *Chatterton's Art*, p. 150.
78. *Works*, vol. 1, p. 54.
79. See *Extracts from Craishes Heraldry* in *Works*, vol. 1, p. 47.
80. *Works*, vol. 1, p. 240.
81. 1777, p. xxiv. Compare the tarnished 'original' [BL: Add MSS 5766A, fol. 6].
82. Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 51–2.
83. Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton & Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing*, p. 180.
84. Tyrwhitt wrote to George Catcott on 13 March 1777: 'Mr. Payne has begun to print a second Edition of the Poems, which is intended to be merely a Copy of the first' (quoted in Powell, 'Thomas Tyrwhitt and the Rowley Poems', p. 325).
85. CR 43 (1777), pp. 88–98. Oskar Wellens suggests the CR's sustained interest in Chatterton throughout the decade was unified by one contributor, Joseph Robertson: see 'Joseph Robertson: The Anti-Rowleian Critic of the *Critical Review*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 87.4 (1986), pp. 594–8.
86. MR 56 (1777), p. 256.
87. MR 1 (1749), pp. 66–7. See Patricia Gael, 'The Origins of the Book Review in England, 1663–1749', *The Library*, 7th series, 13.1 (2012), pp. 63–89, and Antonia Forster, 'Review Journals and the Reading Public', in Isabel Rivers (ed.), *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 171–90.
88. MR 56 (1777), pp. 256–65, 321–8 and 445–9. Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1930), pp. 208–9.

89. *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* 5 (1777), pp. 210–16. The reviewer here excerpts ‘Eclogue the Third’ and two Canynge pieces.
90. 1777, p. xii.
91. *MR* 56 (1777), p. 256.
92. *MR* 56 (1777), pp. 265, 321. See William Stafford, ‘Representations of the Social Order in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1785–1815’, *ECL* 33.2 (2009), pp. 64–91.
93. *MR* 56 (1777), pp. 324–5. Chatterton brought Catcott, so the latter claims, ‘the Yellow Roll, and the Ode to Ella, which I immediately put into Mr. Barrett’s possession’.
94. *MR* 56 (1777), pp. 322–3, 327–8. It is unclear but the beginning of p. 327 following appears to switch to the perspective of Thomas Smith. Either way the accreted list of authorities is subsequently grouped as ‘Catcott’s testimonies’ (445).
95. *MR* 56 (1777), p. 327 (emphasis in original). See BRL: B6486 and B6490.
96. *MR* 56 (1777), pp. 447–9.
97. See Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1688–1788* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 136–40 (136). See also C. Lennart Carlson, *The First Magazine: A History of the Gentleman’s Magazine* (Providence, RI: Brown University, 1938).
98. Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 90.
99. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 414–16.
100. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 205–8. Initially entitled ‘On Rowlie’s Poems, lately discovered in an old Chest found in a Belfry at Bristol by the Parish-Clerk’. See *Illustrations*, vol. 7, p. 423. It was perhaps changed by the editor to meet the perceived curiosity about the Rowley question among readers.
101. See James Marquis Kuist, *The Nichols File of the Gentleman’s Magazine: Attributions of Authorship and Other Documentation in Editorial Papers at the Folger Library* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 30; Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, *Attributions of Authorship in the Gentleman’s Magazine, 1731–1868: An Electronic Union List*, Bibliographical Society at the University of Virginia, <<http://etext.virginia.edu/bsuva/gm2/index.html>> (accessed 1 March 2013).
102. *Life*, p. 463.
103. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 361–5. Ashby appears to have been a much-respected antiquary. See William Cole’s descriptions, BL: Add MSS 5821, fol. 82; Add MSS 5847, fol. 397. Ashby’s *Dissertation on a Singular Coin of Nerva* (London: W. Bowyer and J. Nichols, 1774) seemed to be particularly popular.
104. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 275–9 (square brackets in original).
105. *GM* 47 (1777), p. 205.
106. For example, highly suspicious of Charles Bertram’s Richard of Westminster forgeries, in December 1777 Ashby asked John Lettice, a friend in Copenhagen, to locate the manuscript. E2/22/2 in the Suffolk Record Office is a copy of Bertram’s correspondence with Stukeley (in lieu of the lost manuscript) sent to Ashby by Lettice. See Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 175–80.
107. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 275–9.
108. 1777, p. xi.

109. Kuist, *Nichols File of the Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 143, identifies Scott as the author. See Anne McWhir, 'John Scott (1730–1783)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24891>>, and Lawrence D. Stewart, *John Scott of Amwell* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).
110. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 305–7.
111. 1777, p. xii.
112. Kuist, *Nichols File of the Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 145, gives this item to John Spicer but Arthur Sherbo suggests Duncombe: 'Further Additions to the Nichols File of the *Gentleman's Magazine*', *Studies in Bibliography* 42 (1989), pp. 249–54 (252).
113. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 361–5. There is disagreement over the authorship of this piece: de Montluzin identifies Michael Lort, Anne McWhir suggests John Scott in the *ODNB*.
114. *CR* 47 (1779), pp. 172–83 (172).
115. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 365–6. Nichols names Lort as the author: *Anecdotes*, vol. 2, p. 597.
116. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 413–14.
117. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 425–7.
118. 'H.D.', *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 481–2. Attributed to Gough in Kuist, *Nichols File of the Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 69.
119. *GM* 47 (1777), p. 529.

3 Miscellanies and the Moderns

1. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424.
2. Broughton, a Bristol attorney, is conventionally named as the editor ('J.B.'): see *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 13 (i), p. 50, n.354. Some contemporaries assumed instead it was a 'Mr. Barrett of Bristol': *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424, and *MR* 59 (1778), p. 395. See also a copy of *Miscellanies* held in Cambridge [CUL: 7720.c.131]. In a letter to Jeremiah Milles, 3 November 1778, George Catcott speculated that Michael Lort in fact might be the editor: see BRL: B5342, fol. 335. Later that month Catcott suggested George Steevens instead in a letter to Milles, 24 November 1778: see BRL: B5342, fols 337–8.
3. *History*, vol. 2, p. 157. This is only partly quoted in *Miscellanies*, p. xx. See *SJC* (21–3 July 1778).
4. *Miscellanies*, pp. ix–x. See Donald S. Taylor, 'The Authenticity of Chatterton's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 55 (1961), pp. 289–96.
5. *Forger's Shadow*, p. 161.
6. Jennifer Keith, "'Pre-Romanticism' and the Ends of Eighteenth-Century Poetry", in John Sitter (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth Century Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 271–91 (280).
7. *Miscellanies*, p. xxii.
8. Walter Graham, *English Literary Periodicals* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1930), p. 180. See also Alvin Sullivan (ed.), *British Literary Magazines: The Augustan Age and the Age of Johnson, 1698–1788* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 327–30.

9. TCM 15 (1783), engraved facsimile.
10. Similarly, Chatterton asked his friends, including Broughton and Cary, to read the *Freeholder's Magazine* attentively; however, only 'The Consulid' was reprinted here: see *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 560–3.
11. See 'Appendix I: Works by Chatterton Published in His Own Lifetime' and 'Appendix II: An Analysis of Chatterton's Publications', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 114–18, and Michael F. Suarez sj, "'This Necessary Knowledge": Thomas Chatterton and the Ways of the London Book Trade', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 96–113.
12. *Miscellanies*, pp. xvi–xxii.
13. See Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 51.
14. 1777, p. viii.
15. BRL: B11457, fols 86–7.
16. Allen Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (Folkestone: Dansons of Pall Mall, 1973 [1942]), pp. 118–19.
17. *SJC* (19–21 May 1778) and *Miscellanies*, p. xxiv.
18. 1777, p. x (footnote).
19. *Miscellanies*, pp. xix–xx.
20. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424.
21. Michael Lort to Horace Walpole, 29 July 1778. BL: Add MSS 12,527, fols 37–8.
22. As advertised in *SJC* (21–3 July 1778). Tyrwhitt's Rowley, by contrast, cost 5s.: *Gazetteer & London Daily Advertiser* 14,964 (February 1777); *MR* 56 (1777), p. 256; *CR* 43 (1777), p. 88. *London Review of English and Foreign Literature* 5 (1777), p. 210, suggests 6s.
23. John Lucas, *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose* (Salisbury: Printed for the author, 1776); Anna Williams, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London: T. Davies, 1766). See also Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), and 'Literary Miscellanies: The Cultural Mediation of Fragmented Feeling', *ELH* 57.2 (1990), pp. 407–30.
24. Johnson to Seward, quoted in a letter from Seward to Thomas Park, 30 January 1800, *Letters of Anna Seward*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1811), vol. 5, pp. 270–5 (272).
25. On vogueish moderns see Thomas Keymer, *Sterne, the Moderns, and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
26. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424.
27. Thomas Chatterton, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, 2 vols (London: Bell and Daldy, 1871), vol. 2, p. xlv.
28. Compare *Miscellanies* with 'Appendix I', *Romantic Culture*.
29. *TCM* 1 (1769), p. 617.
30. *Miscellanies*, p. 228.
31. *Miscellanies*, p. 167.
32. I quote from the *Miscellanies* unless otherwise stated.
33. *Life*, pp. 105–6.
34. *Miscellanies*, p. 4: 'See the preface to the volume of poems supposed to be written by Rowley, pag. 6, where Mr. Catcot's [*sic*] account of this paper is printed.'

35. *Miscellanies*, p. 1. Compare *Works*, vol. 1, p. 56. The version in the *Miscellanies* is very corrupt.
36. *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 338–9.
37. See Fiona Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988), and James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, ed. Howard Gaskill, with an Introduction by Fiona Stafford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996). For a fuller discussion of Chatterton's Ossianics see *Chatterton's Art*, pp. 273–84. See also Corinna Laughlin, 'The Lawless Language of Macpherson's *Ossian*', *SEL* 40.3 (2000), pp. 511–37.
38. *Forger's Shadow*, p. 150.
39. *TCM* 1 (1769), pp. 574–5.
40. *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*, ed. Evan Evans (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1764), pp. 7 and 14. See *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,010, and *Chatterton's Art*, pp. 274–9.
41. Chatterton to John Baker, 6 March 1769, *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 256–7. Chatterton's *Memoirs of a Sad Dog*, which also appears in *Miscellanies*, has a twenty-line parody of Ossian. Here Chatterton refers to the 'abler pen' of the critic William Duff, who had praised Ossian highly.
42. *Miscellanies*, p. 6.
43. Donald Taylor disagrees: the scholarly effort required indicates that 'Chatterton's Ossianics were for him neither joke nor hackwork' (*Chatterton's Art*, p. 282).
44. *Life*, pp. 299, 356–9; *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,026; *Chatterton's Art*, pp. 302, 304–10; *Forger's Shadow*, pp. 153, 197–8. For further readings of the poems see Wylie Sypher, 'Chatterton's *African Eclogues* and the *Deluge*', *PMLA* 54 (1939), pp. 246–60; Carolyn D. Williams, "'On Tiber's Banks': Chatterton and Post-Colonialism', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 48–63; Alan Richardson, 'Darkness Visible: Race and Representation in Bristol Abolitionist Poetry', *Wordsworth Circle* 27.2 (1996), pp. 67–73; Kim Ian Michasiw, 'Chatterton, Ossian, Africa', *SEL* 48.3 (2008), pp. 633–52. 'Narva and Mored' and 'The Death of Nicou' feature in the *Miscellanies* whereas 'Heccar and Gaira' and 'An African Song' have been excluded. 'Narva and Mored' was published in the *LM* 39 (1770), pp. 268–9, 'The Death of Nicou' in *LM* 39 (1770), pp. 320–1.
45. *Works*, vol. 1, p. 641.
46. Taylor calls the eclogues here 'better Ossian than Ossian': *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,028. Meyerstein also compares the Ossianics and the African Eclogues structurally: *Life*, p. 393.
47. On Phillips see *Life*, pp. 49–50.
48. Johnson had recently produced *The False Alarm* (London: T. Cadell, 1770), an attack on Wilkes. Paul Baines provocatively suggests that, besides a few anecdotal remarks, Johnson's relative quiet on such widely debated topics as Chatterton and Rowley, was politically motivated: 'Chatterton and Johnson: Authority and Filiation in the 1770s', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 172–88.
49. See Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad* (London: W. Flexney, 1761); *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,038.
50. 'February' reworks the manuscript poem 'Elegy on the Demise of Great Genius' [BL: Add MSS 5766B, fol. 78].
51. The pseudonym is missing in *Miscellanies*, which is strange because 'On Mr. Alcock' has Asaphides and 'To Miss Bush' has Celorimon.

52. Charles Holland performed in Bristol in July 1769: see *Life*, p. 295.
53. See Michael Lort's list, quoted in *Life*, p. 88n.; Daniel Debat letter, 20 August 1778 (BRL: 11457, fol. 80). See 'Note on the Juvenile Society', in *Life*, pp. 100–3.
54. On Polly Bush see *Life*, p. 94.
55. Published separately by George Kearsley as *An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of William Beckford, Esq.* (London: G. Kearsley, 1770) and extracted in various magazines. See *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1,150–1. *Miscellanies* gives stanzas 1–12, following *LM* 39 (1770), p. 379. Kearsley also printed *The Auction, a Poem* (1770), which has also been dubiously attributed to Chatterton: see *Works*, vol. 2, p. 788.
56. *Life*, pp. 368–87 and 382. Taylor, 'Authenticity of Chatterton's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*', p. 289.
57. See *Life*, pp. 100–3.
58. For Patriotism and Beckford in relation to Bristol see George Rudé, *Wilkes and Liberty: A Social Study* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1983 [1962]), pp. 112–13 and 175.
59. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424.
60. *Chatterton's Art*, p. 174.
61. Timothy Morton, 'In Your Face', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 79–96. See also Thomas Lockwood, *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750–1800* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1979), pp. 17 and 88.
62. *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,029: 'a puzzling rewriting'.
63. *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 16, p. 346.
64. Douglas J. McMillan uses the poem as an exemplum of Chatterton's neglected satire: 'Chatterton's Minor Satirical Poems', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 74 (1973), pp. 311–20.
65. *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 413–14. The 'Fragment' exists in two versions (A and B). This is version B (Catcott or Catcott-derived), BRL: B5342, fol. 65 and B5375, fol. 35. See *Works*, vol. 2, p. 908. Catcott valued this piece highly, failing in his plea to Chatterton to provide more: *Life*, p. 309n.
66. *Memoirs* first appeared in this form eleven pages after the 'A.B.' letter and the *Fragment* in *GM* 47 (1777), pp. 425–7, signed 'H.D.'
67. *Miscellanies*, p. 113.
68. Possibly written as early as October 1768 (see *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,014), printed *TCM* 1 (1769), pp. 623–4.
69. *Miscellanies*, p. 133.
70. This is often spelt *Saxon Atchievements: Works*, vol. 1, p. 275. *Miscellanies*, pp. 134–6.
71. *Miscellanies*, p. 135 and note. *Camden's Britannia*, trans. Edmund Gibson (London: F. Collins, A. Swalle, and A. & J. Churchil, 1695), p. 72.
72. *Anecdote concerning Judge Jeffries* is probably not Chatterton's, although it did appear in Chatterton's favoured magazine: *TCM* 2 (1770), pp. 311–12, as well as *Universal Museum* 6 (1770), p. 316, and *The Annual Register* 13 [pt. 2] (1770), pp. 195–6. Its attribution has been challenged by Taylor: *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,151.
73. See *Works*, vol. 2, p. 742.
74. *CR* 53 (1782), p. 422. See *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,165.

75. The attribution of the piece to Chatterton is not entirely secure: see *Chatterton's Art*, p. 257.
76. See Daniel Cook, 'Authenticity among Hacks: Thomas Chatterton's *Memoirs of a Sad Dog* and Magazine Culture', in Tim Milnes and Kerry Sinanan (eds), *Romanticism, Sincerity and Authenticity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 80–98.
77. *Chatterton's Art*, p. 259.
78. *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 107 and 110. See also *Life*, pp. 272 and 416–18; John Nevill, *Thomas Chatterton* (London: Muller, 1948), p. 106.
79. *Miscellanies*, p. 207.
80. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 424.
81. Kaplan, *Family Romance*, p. 178. See *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1,100–2, for a verbal comparison of Chatterton and Johnson.
82. Baines, 'Chatterton and Johnson', pp. 183–5.
83. 'Young and credulous, I swallowed the glittering bait, and fell an easy victim to the unruly passion of an ungrateful wretch' (*Maria Friendless*), *Miscellanies*, p. 171. For Chatterton's treatment of girls see *Life*, pp. 79–100.
84. *Miscellanies*, p. 183.
85. *Miscellanies*, p. 209. This piece cannot be attributed to Chatterton with complete certainty but Taylor has accepted it into the canon: *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,164.
86. Letter V = *TCM* 2 (1770), p. 245; II = pp. 94–5; VII = p. 343; VI = p. 312. Taylor believes the attributions are largely dubious. Chatterton only claimed Letter VI. See *Works*, vol. 1, p. 649.
87. *Miscellanies*, p. 228.
88. *Miscellanies*, p. 239.
89. *Life*, pp. 287–8, 333–4.
90. *Miscellanies*, p. 240.
91. Nick Groom, 'Thomas Chatterton (1752–1770)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5189>>.
92. *Miscellanies*, p. xix.
93. See John Brewer, 'Commercialization and Politics', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 197–262.
94. Paul Baines, '"All of the House of Forgery": Walpole, Chatterton, and Antiquarian Commerce', *Poetica* (1994), pp. 45–72. An edited version appears in Paul Baines, *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 151–76.
95. *MR* 56 (1777), p. 323. Walpole to William Cole, 19 June 1777, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 28, pp. 36, 281–2, and vol. 2, pp. 51–2. See Earl R. Wasserman, 'The Walpole–Chatterton Controversy', *MLN* 54 (1939), pp. 460–2. In 1778, Thomas Warton also associated the rejection with suicide: *History*, vol. 2, p. 142.
96. Walpole to William Cole, 21 May, 3 and 10 June 1778, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 80, 85, 90. See Walpole to William Mason, 10 August 1778, quoted in Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, p. 116.
97. Walpole to Cole, 15 January 1779, quoted in Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, p. 116.

98. Walpole to William Mason, 24 July 1778, quoted in Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, p. 116.
99. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 189–95, 247–50, 300 and 347–8. John Bowle to Walpole, 28 December 1782, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 42, pp. 42–5. On the making of *Letter* see Hazen, *Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press*, pp. 116–19.
100. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 195–7.
101. Horace Walpole, *A Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton* (Strawberry Hill: T. Kirgate, 1779), pp. 1, 3.
102. Baines, 'All of the House of Forgery', p. 53.
103. Warton, *History*, vol. 2, 'Emendations and Additions. Vol. II'.
104. Walpole, *Letter*, p. 16.
105. Walpole, *Letter*, p. 7.
106. Walpole, *Letter*, p. 13.
107. Walpole to Cole, 24 July 1778, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 102–3.
108. Walpole, *Letter*, p. 35.
109. *European Magazine* 1 (1782), pp. 260–2.
110. Walpole, *Letter*, pp. 49–52, 54.
111. E.g., Timothy Mowl, *Horace Walpole: The Great Outsider* (London: John Murray, 1996), pp. 224–6; Brian Fothergill, *The Strawberry Hill Set: Horace Walpole and His Circle* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), p. 37; W. S. Lewis, *Rescuing Horace Walpole* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 134–41.

4 The Rowley Controversy

1. Steevens to Warton, 27 April 1782, in Thomas Warton, *The Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, ed. David Fairer (Athens, GA, and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 448.
2. *SJC* (8–11 June 1782). Also, 'J. Davies' (1 June 1782) and 'I.R.' (25 January 1783); *GM* 52 (1782), p. 591.
3. *SJC* (24–6 October 1782). See also *SJC* (2–4 April 1782). The author of the latter, 'R.F.', might be Richard Farmer. BL: C.39.h.20 suggests George Steevens.
4. See *Life*, pp. 449–99.
5. Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity in the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 51.
6. 'S.W.', *SJC* (22–4 October 1782). This was a response to the philological proofs of 'Chattertonius', *SJC* (1–3 October 1782). See 'S.W.', *SJC* (23 May 1782). A similar request, again signed 'S.W.', appeared in the *GM* 53.1 (1783), p. 123. 'D.H.' [Richard Gough] responded, *GM* 53.1 (1783), p. 212, as did 'T.H.W.' [Thomas Holt White], p. 231, and 'B', pp. 321–2. The respondents focus on antiquarian knowledge in order to 'explain' the lines, which is not quite what Weston had asked. For attribution see James Marquis Kuist, *The Nichols File of 'The Gentleman's Magazine': Attributions of Authorship and Other Documentation in Editorial Papers at the Folger Library* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 154, 70, 155.
7. *SJC* (22–5 December 1781).

8. *SJC* (11–13 June 1782).
9. *SJC* (unidentified). See 'Cantabrigiensis', *SJC* (unidentified). BRL: B11027.
10. See BL: Add MSS 47866, fol. 209.
11. Maurice James Craig, *The Volunteer Earl: Being the Life and Times of James Caulfeild, First Earl of Charlemont* (London: Cresset Press, 1948), pp. 213–14.
12. *SJC* (8–10 September 1778). See 'H.A.A.', *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 313–14, and 'A.B.', p. 434. 'Antiquarius' briefly points out Rowleyan anachronisms in a broader response to 'T. Row', *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 22–3. See also 'Ahah', *GM* 52 (1782), p. 76, and 'Ha! ha!', p. 112. 'Historicus' states that Rowley was not known to William of Worcester, *SJC* (21–4 October 1780) [reprinted *GM* 50 (1780), p. 513].
13. E.g., BRL: B5342 and B6490.
14. James Harris, *Philological Inquiries in Three Parts*, 2 vols (London: C. Nourse, 1781), vol. 2, p. 467.
15. *Life*, p. 464.
16. See Nick Groom, 'Fragments, Reliques, & MSS: Chatterton and Percy', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 188–209.
17. Quoted in Ernest Clarke, *New Lights on Chatterton* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1916), p. 10. See A. Watkin-Jones, 'Bishop Percy, Thomas Warton, and Chatterton's Rowley Poems (1773–1790) (Unpublished Letters)', *PMLA* 50 (1935), pp. 769–84.
18. Percy to Dacre, 6 September 1773. Quoted in full in Watkin-Jones, 'Bishop Percy', p. 770.
19. See Clarke, *New Lights on Chatterton*, pp. 16–20.
20. Nick Groom, 'Richard Farmer and the Rowley Controversy', *N&Q* 239 (1994), pp. 314–18. See *The Percy Letters: The Correspondence of Thomas Percy & George Paton*, ed. A. F. Falconer (London: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 153–5. In 1786, 'Eugenio' gave the *GM* a series of 1772 correspondence involving Percy, Andrew Coltée Ducarel, John Chapman and others: *GM* 56.1 (1786), pp. 361–2, 460–4, and 56.2, pp. 544–7 and 580. The letters further proved that many leading scholars, particularly Percy, held strong doubts about the historical validity of the papers from the very beginning.
21. Warton to Percy, 29 July 1774, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, pp. 342–3.
22. Warton to Percy, 25 January 1776, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, pp. 368–9.
23. Warton to Percy, 25 January 1776.
24. David Fairer, 'The Origins of Warton's *History of English Poetry*', *RES* 32 (1981), pp. 37–63 (37).
25. *History*, vol. 2, pp. 139–64 (§8).
26. *History*, vol. 2, p. 127. See also *GM* 48 (1778), p. 226.
27. *MR* 59 (1778), p. 132.
28. Hurd to Warton, 14 October 1762, *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, pp. 127–8. See Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 355–62.
29. *History*, vol. 1, p. viii.
30. *History*, vol. 2, p. 139.
31. *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 225–30 and 269–72.

32. *The Annual Register* 21 (1778), Antiquities, pp. 153–8. See also ‘P.T.’, *SJC* (22 May 1777?): ‘the Public would do well to suspend their Judgement in a Controversy which we have Reason to expect will be fully discussed and decided in Mr. Wharton’s [sic] second Volume of the *History of English Poetry*’.
33. *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 201–3. See Lolla, ‘Genesis’, pp. 158–9. See also ‘Z.Y.X.’, *SJC* (29–31 December 1778).
34. See Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 232.
35. *The Spectator* 29 (3 April 1711), in *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Bond, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1, p. 123.
36. *History*, vol. 2, p. 139.
37. Thomas Warton, *Thomas Warton’s History of English Poetry*, ed. David Fairer, 4 vols (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 1–70.
38. *History*, vol. 2, ‘Emendations’ to ‘Pag. 164’.
39. *History*, vol. 2, p. 157.
40. *History*, vol. 2, p. 164.
41. Note entitled ‘Pag. 164’.
42. *History*, vol. 2, p. 157. ‘Z’ challenges Warton’s authority on the authenticity of this poem: *GM* (Supplement 1781), p. 608.
43. *History*, vol. 2, p. 154.
44. For example, *History*, vol. 2, p. 155.
45. *History*, vol. 2, p. 154. For manuscript history see *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 847–50. In fact, the ‘Songe’ had appeared in print in 1775.
46. Compare 1777, pp. 23–5.
47. *History*, vol. 2, p. 154.
48. *History*, vol. 2, p. 150.
49. This piece had been published during Chatterton’s lifetime: *TCM* 1 (1769), pp. 273–4.
50. *History*, vol. 2, p. 153.
51. Murray Warren assigns this to Dampier: *Bibliography*, p. 76. Meyerstein suggests Dr Woodward: *Life*, p. 470.
52. *Remarks upon the Eighth Section of the Second Volume of Mr. Warton’s History of English Poetry* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1779), p. 3.
53. Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry*, ed. Richard Taylor, 3 vols (London: Thomas Tegg, 1840), vol. 1, p. 9.
54. See Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 22–3.
55. *History*, vol. 1, pp. 208–9.
56. 1778, p. 311. The *Appendix* also sold separately at 6d.
57. For the affiliation between philology and Leland’s antiquarianism see Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 79–82.
58. 1778, p. 311.
59. *MR* 58 (1778), p. 472.
60. 1778, p. 311.
61. 1778, p. 321. For modern accounts of Rowleyese see *Life*, pp. 171–9, and *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1, 176–82.
62. Jacob Bryant, *Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1781). He was assisted by Robert Glynn, a colleague at

- King's College, Cambridge, but their relationship soon deteriorated: see *Correspondence of Thomas Warton*, p. 445.
63. *Life*, p. 471; *Forger's Shadow*, p. 162. See also Margaret Russett and Joseph A. Dane "'Everlasting to Posterity": Chatterton's Spirited Youth', *MLQ* 63 (2002), pp. 141–65.
 64. *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser* (4 April 1782).
 65. *The New Annual Register* (1782), p. 228.
 66. *SJC* (20–22 December 1781). 'M' controverted Bryant's argument that Chatterton could not have known about lightning damage to the Redcliffe church: *SJC* (6–8 December 1781). Similarly, Steevens insisted Chatterton 'was not unacquainted with the *Agis* of Mr. Home': *SJC* (16–19 March 1782).
 67. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 27–8; *MR* 66 (1782), pp. 433–41.
 68. 'H.B.', *GM* 52 (1782), p. 276. Contributor identified as Steevens in *Anecdotes*, vol. 2, p. 657.
 69. A similarly irreverent contribution, probably by Steevens, provided a head of the monk 'Turgott' to be used interchangeably for any desired publication, whether Ossian, Rowley or otherwise: *GM* 52 (1782), p. 288. See *Anecdotes*, vol. 2, p. 657. Also, *SJC* (23 May 1782) and (30 May 1782).
 70. See Fanny Burney, *Diaries and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, 7 vols (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1854 [1842]), vol. 3, pp. 98 and 271.
 71. 'Ideus Dactylus', *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 625–7.
 72. See Theodor Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age: Thomas Hearne, 1678–1735* (Oxford and New York: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 24. A timely reappraisal is K. E. Attar, 'More than a Mythologist: Jacob Bryant as Book Collector', *The Library*, 7th series, 3.4 (2002), pp. 351–66. For the unorthodox 'speculative antiquarianism' of Stukeley see Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. 21.
 73. Along with *Observations*, Bryant's prolonged debate with Joseph Priestley wearied the public, according to the *EM* 1 (1782), pp. 34–5. See also 'Ode, Addressed to Edmund Malone': *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 379–81. This poem, with extensive mock-antiquarian footnotes, derided Bryant's mythological scholarship.
 74. *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 81–98 (86).
 75. *CR* 54 (1782), p. 98.
 76. *MR* 67 (1782), pp. 36–46 (41).
 77. *MR* 66 (1782), pp. 433–41 (433).
 78. Bryant, *Observations*, p. iv.
 79. *SJC* (7–9 February 1782).
 80. Bryant, *Observations*, pp. 453–6.
 81. Maria Grazia Lolla, "'Monuments" and "Texts": Antiquarianism and Literature in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Britain' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1997), p. 136.
 82. *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 327–8.
 83. *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 429–30 and 534.
 84. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 327.
 85. *GM* 48 (1778), p. 429. Similarly, a contributor (possibly Steevens) strips 'Songe to Ælla' of its 'uncouth spelling': *SJC* (11–13 April 1782). 'M.C.S.' provides a modern poem ('Edwin and Emily') from a 'young friend' modelled on ancient ballads, pointedly not a found poem or written in pseudo-medieval language, contra Chatterton: *GM* 52 (1782), p. 88.

86. GM 53.1 (1783), pp. 336–8. This was a modern forgery according to Grace R. Trenergy, 'Ballad Collections of the Eighteenth Century', *MLR* 10.3 (1915), pp. 283–303 (299).
87. Bryant, *Observations*, p. 452.
88. Thomas Hearne, *A Collection of Curious Discourses*, 2 vols (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771 [1720]), vol. 1, p. lxx.
89. Bryant, *Observations*, pp. 465–597.
90. Bryant, *Observations*, pp. 581, 584. For the poststructuralist implications see K. K. Ruthven, 'Preposterous Chatterton', *ELH* 71.2 (2004), pp. 345–75.
91. Bryant's phrase was recycled often: see CR 54 (1782), p. 13.
92. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer*, ed. Thomas Tyrwhitt, 5 vols (London: T. Payne, 1775–8), vol. 5, p. v.
93. Advertised in the *General Evening Post* (6–8 December 1781) and *SJC* (8–11 December 1781).
94. *SJC* (19–22 January 1782). See Arthur Sherbo, *The Achievement of George Steevens* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), pp. 169–98.
95. *Works*, vol. 1, p. xxxii. See also the witty attacks in *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* (16 January 1782), *SJC* (28–30 March 1782), and the *Public Advertiser* (2 April 1782). See *SJC* (9–11 April 1782) and GM 52 (1782), p. 303.
96. 'A Kenter' used Milles's edition for historical purposes, discussing militia corps in *Battle of Hastings II: GM 52* (1782), p. 338. See *Works*, vol. 2, *passim*.
97. Milles to Catcott, 12 July 1775, BL: 47866, fol. 6.
98. Milles to Catcott, 14 May 1776, BL: 47866, fol. 10.
99. In a letter to Catcott, 4 March 1777, Milles praised Catcott and Tyrwhitt's care in bringing out the collection for 'every judge & lover of poetry': BRL: B6490, fol. 24. There follows a long diatribe against the reviewers who doubt the authenticity. See further correspondence in BRL: B5342, fols 311–12.
100. *1781*, p. iii.
101. CR 54 (1782), p. 2.
102. BL: 5766B, fol. 12; BL: Add MSS 24891, fol. 5; BL: 5766B, fol. 79; 5766B, fol. 5; 5766B, fol. 17. As with Tyrwhitt's edition, Catcott augmented a copy of Milles's edition for Thomas Hale, Jnr, with reviews and handwritten transcripts: see BRL: B18996.
103. *Works*, vol. 2, p. 865.
104. *1777*, p. xii.
105. *1781*, p. 1.
106. *1781*, p. 4.
107. *1781*, p. 230. This argument is repeated throughout the edition: see pp. 310, 394, 400 and 410.
108. *1781*, pp. 19–22. See Nick Groom, 'Thomas Rowlie Preeste', in Thomas Woodman (ed.), *Early Romantics: Perspectives in British Poetry from Pope to Wordsworth* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 242–55.
109. *1781*, pp. 24–6.
110. *1781*, p. 27. Milles elsewhere refers to 'the classical taste of Rowley' (169).
111. *1781*, pp. 28–9.
112. *1781*, pp. 159–64.
113. *1781*, p. 28.

114. 1781, p. 375.
115. E.g., 1781, pp. 386–7.
116. 1781, pp. 379–80.
117. 1781, p. 428.
118. 1781, p. 448.
119. 1781, pp. 453–61. A 'Postscript' after this essay offers an 'account of two imperfect and unsuccessful attempts by Chatterton's dramatic muse', pp. 521–2.
120. 1781, p. 518.
121. *GM* 52 (1782), p. 177. Also, pp. 220–1.
122. Walpole's marginalia features in *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 16, pp. 331–43. Alongside Milles's suggestion that Chatterton modernized 'a few antiquated phrases' Walpole writes: 'None of the phrases are antiquated; they are all too modern.' A copy once belonging to William Barrett is heavily annotated: see BRL: B5257. For 'Moderator', the infighting among antiquaries and critics spoil the pleasure he gained from reading the poems: *SJC* (20 June 1782).
123. *CR* 53 (1782), pp. 401–17 (403–4) and *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 1–18. Similarly, *GM* 52 (1782), p. 129, and *EM* 1 (1782), p. 35. 'R' supported Milles against Chatterton's corruptions of the found texts: *EM* 1 (1782), pp. 262–3.
124. See *MR* 66 (1782), pp. 206–19 and 321–34.
125. *CR* 54 (1782), p. 4.
126. 'M.C.S.' draws parallels with William Collins: *GM* (Supplement 1781), pp. 622–3. Also, *GM* 52 (1782), p. 168.
127. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 62–3.
128. *SJC* (22–4 January 1782). Ascribed to George Steevens in BL: C.39.h.20.
129. *SJC* (9–12 February 1782).
130. *SJC* (14–16 February 1782).
131. *SJC* (28 February–2 March 1782).
132. E.g., *SJC* (29–31 January 1782) and (5–7 February). See Sherbo, *Achievement of George Steevens*, pp. 178–84. Steevens follows a 'judicious critick in the Gentleman's Magazine for last month', possibly the Reverend John Kynaston ('Q'), *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 14–15.
133. *SJC* (6 April 1782).
134. A second edition appeared later that year.
135. *MR* 66 (1782), pp. 294–8, and *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 19–22. See also *GM* 52 (1782), p. 129. The 'Epistelle' was also printed in three parts in the *Public Advertiser* (23, 29, 30 March 1782) and *New Review* 1 (1782), p. 133. 'J.N.B.I.' produced a long poem, 'The Ossiad': 'Rouze then once more, ye Champions bold / And prove new Poems to be old' (*SJC* [2–4 April 1782]).
136. *SJC* (30 March–2 April 1782): Chambers; Jean C. Rowles, 'Thomas Chatterton 1752–1770: An Annotated Bibliography' (thesis submitted for a Fellowship of the Library Association, 1981), p. 68; Baynes; *SJC* (23–26 March 1782): Mason.
137. *An Archaeological Epistle to the Reverend and Worshipful Jeremiah Milles* (London: Printed for J. Nichols et al., 1782), p. 12. Hereafter cited as *Epistle*.
138. *Epistle*, p. 16.
139. *Epistle*, p. 5.
140. *Epistle*, p. 10.

141. *Epistle*, p. 10.
142. 'B.R.', *EM* 1 (1782), p. 307.
143. *GM* 51 (1781), pp. 555–9, and (Supplement), pp. 609–15. Malone to Lord Charlemont, 8 January 1782, in James, First Earl of Charlemont, *The Manuscripts and Correspondence of James, First Earl of Charlemont*, 2 vols (London: HMSO, 1891–4), vol. 1, pp. 393–4. Malone immediately corrected his 'little brat' of an essay for publication as a pamphlet in early February 1782: *Cursory Observations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London: J. Nichols, 1782). For an overview of changes from the review to the pamphlet see Edmond Malone, *Cursory Observations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley*, intr. James M. Kuist (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1966), pp. i–xiv (iv). Hereafter cited as *Cursory* [1966].
144. Quoted in James M. Osborn, 'Horace Walpole and Edmond Malone', in Warren Hunting Smith (ed.), *Horace Walpole, Writer, Politician, and Connoisseur* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 299–327 (308).
145. *Cursory* [1966], p. v. See also 'Short sketch of the Chattertonian Controversy', *New Review* 1 (1782), pp. 218–19: 'Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner at the bar, Thomas Chatterton, is indicted for the uttering certain poems composed by himself, purporting them to be the poems of one Thomas Rowley.'
146. Arthur Freeman, 'The Forgery Forged', *TLS* (19 September 2008), pp. 14–15.
147. *Works*, vol. 2, p. 847.
148. I quote from the pamphlet unless otherwise stated. Hereafter cited as Malone.
149. Malone, p. 2.
150. Malone, p. 5.
151. Malone, p. 11.
152. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (New York and London: Routledge, 2004 [1979]).
153. Malone, p. 11.
154. Malone, p. 19.
155. Malone, p. 22.
156. Malone, pp. 29–30.
157. Malone, pp. 32–4.
158. Malone, p. 41.
159. Malone, p. 47. 'Q' insisted the mock-ancient 'garb' of the poems was not modern, as Malone had asserted, but that the poems were read 'in the days of Edward, as well as in those of Elizabeth': *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 14–15. Attributed to Kynaston in Arthur Sherbo, *Letters to Mr. Urban of the 'Gentleman's Magazine', 1751–1811* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), p. 129. 'An Anti-Rowleian' sided with Malone over 'Q', though not without further correcting some errors and assumptions: *GM* 52 (1782), p. 63. See also 'A.B.' in *GM* 52 (1782), p. 76, and 'Q' in *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 107–9.
160. Malone, pp. 48–9.
161. 1781, p. 391. See 1777, p. 1.
162. Malone, p. 58.
163. 'An Anti-Rowleian' appropriates this proposal as a cure for 'Rowleiomania': *SJC* (4–6 April 1782).

164. Malone, p. 62.
165. *Enquiry*, pp. 47 and 124.
166. *British Magazine and Review* (1782–3), pp. 282–91.
167. With Ritson and Hearne in mind, Joseph Warton observed that a ‘great deal of wit has been wasted on *antiquarians*’: *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, 4th edn, 2 vols (London: J. Dodsley, 1782), vol. 2, p. 203. Harmsen, *Antiquarianism in the Augustan Age*, suggests Warton’s methods would have been ‘alien to Hearne’s meticulous bibliographical expertise’, p. 293.
168. Joseph Ritson, *Observations on the Three First Volumes of the History of English Poetry* (London: J. Stockdale and R. Faulder, 1782), p. 3.
169. Ritson, *Observations*, p. 4.
170. Ritson, *Observations*, pp. 48–9.
171. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 532–3. ‘Castigator’ defended Ritson against politeness: *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 571–2. This contributor has been identified as Ritson himself by Bertrand H. Bronson, *Joseph Ritson: Scholar-at-Arms*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938), vol. 1, p. 340. ‘Verax’ defended Warton from Ritson (*GM* 52 [1782], pp. 527–8); this is probably Warton: see *Anecdotes*, vol. 6, p. 182. See also ‘Candidus’, *GM* 53.1 (1783), pp. 42–4, ‘Anti-Zoilus’, pp. 44–5, ‘Vindex’, pp. 45–7, and ‘D.S.’, pp. 281–4. ‘Candidus’ might be John Baynes: see Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, vol. 1, p. 341. The other three have been identified as Ritson: see Bronson, *Joseph Ritson*, vol. 1, p. 341, and vol. 2, p. 341, n.41.
172. *MR* 67 (1782), pp. 161–70. ‘Anti-Vindex’ agreed with Warton over Bryant that the *Battle of Hastings* epics are anachronistic: *SJC* (11–13 December 1781).
173. *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 98–109. Another reviewer praised it as ‘serio-comic’: *SJC* (23–6 March 1782).
174. *GM* 52 (1782), pp. 129–30 and 195–7.
175. *An Examination of the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley and William Canynge* (Sherborne: R. Goadby and Co, 1782), p. 5.
176. *Examination of the Poems*, pp. 17, 36.
177. *Examination of the Poems*, p. 5.
178. *SJC* (19–21 September 1782).
179. *SJC* (26 September 1782).
180. *Enquiry*, pp. 7–8.
181. *SJC* (9–12 November 1782). Also, *SJC* (3–5 December 1782) – as ‘Friendly’ – and (7–9 January 1783).
182. *SJC* (23–5 January 1783).
183. *Enquiry*, p. 18.
184. *Enquiry*, pp. 9–10, 14. William Barrett disagreed. In the margin of a copy of Milles’s edition (on p. 29) he wrote, ‘Rowlie differs from Pope’: BRL: B5257.
185. *Enquiry*, p. 27.
186. Quoted in *Enquiry*, p. 27.
187. *Enquiry*, pp. 42, 68.
188. *Enquiry*, p. 65.
189. *Enquiry*, pp. 113–25. See also *SJC* (26–28 March 1782), and *Life*, pp. 499–500.
190. *Enquiry*, p. 37.
191. *Enquiry*, p. 84.

192. *Enquiry*, p. 14. Richard Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (London: A. Millar, 1762), p. 91.
193. *Enquiry*, p. 90.
194. *Enquiry*, p. 124.
195. *Enquiry*, pp. 124–5.
196. Edward Burnaby Greene, *Strictures upon a Pamphlet intituled, Cursory Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley* (London: J. Stockdale, 1782), p. 3.
197. *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 24–5. See also the satirical poems in *GM* 52 (1782), p. 253, and *SJC* (23–5 and 25–8 May 1782); see *Cursory* [1966], p. xiii. Also, *GM* 52 (1782), p. 342.
198. [Rayner Hickford and John Fell], *Observations on the Poems attributed to Rowley* (London: C. Bathhurst, 1782). It was advertised as published ‘this day’ in the *Public Advertiser* (22 November 1781).
199. *MR* 67 (1782), pp. 234–5. Also, *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 22–4.
200. Hickford, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 9.
201. Hickford, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, pp. 18–19.
202. Hickford, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 33. E.g., Fell, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 13. The pagination begins again in the second part of the book, hence cited as Fell.
203. Hickford, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 35. See Fell, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 30.
204. Hickford, in [Hickford and Fell], *Observations*, p. 9.
205. A review of Warton’s *Enquiry* – attributed to Steevens – puffs the imminent (though unnamed) contribution by Tyrwhitt: *SJC* (4–6 April 1782).
206. *Vindication*, p. 2.
207. E.g., compare ‘Droorie’ in 1778, p. 319, and *Vindication*, pp. 47–9.
208. *Vindication*, p. 31.
209. *Vindication*, p. 34.
210. *Vindication*, p. 36.
211. *Vindication*, p. 47.
212. *Vindication*, p. 82.
213. *CR* 54 (1782), pp. 186–205 (186).
214. *MR* 67 (1782), pp. 266–70 (266).
215. *New Review* 2 (1782), pp. 229–33.
216. *GM* 52 (1782), p. 437.
217. *MR* 68 (1783), pp. 220–2.
218. Tyrwhitt to Thomas Percy, 1 February 1783, *Illustrations*, vol. 8, p. 220.
219. Thomas James Mathias, *Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal, relating to the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley* (London: T. Becket, 1783), p. 3.
220. Mathias, *Essay on the Evidence*, p. 9.
221. Mathias, *Essay on the Evidence*, p. 108.
222. See also the review of Malone: *GM* 52 (1782), p. 128.
223. George Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton in the Shades, or Nugæ Antiquæ et Novæ*, intr. Joan Pittock (Los Angeles: Augustan Reprint Society, 1979). Subsequent citations refer to this facsimile copy.
224. Pittock, ‘Introduction’, in Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton*, pp. iii–xii (iii).
225. Pittock, ‘Introduction’, p. vii.
226. Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton*, p. 18.

227. Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton*, pp. 36–7.
 228. Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton*, p. 26.
 229. Hardinge, *Rowley and Chatterton*, p. 3. ‘Eclogue the First’: compare 1777, p. 5.
 230. CR 54 (1782), pp. 25–8. Similarly, MR 67 (1782), pp. 235–6.
 231. William Julius Mickle, *The Prophecy of Queen Emma* (London: J. Bew, 1782). See ‘Amicus-Chatterton’, *SJC* (10 October 1782).
 232. Mickle, *Prophecy of Queen Emma*, pp. 15–16.
 233. Mickle, *Prophecy of Queen Emma*, p. 25.
 234. Mickle, *Prophecy of Queen Emma*, p. 28: ‘how wonderfully History and the Ballad explain and support each other’.
 235. CR 53 (1782), pp. 419–21, and MR 67 (1782), p. 237.

5 ‘Too proud for pity’: The Sentimental Reader

1. Hannah Cowley, ‘A Monody’, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (24 October 1778).
2. Mary Robinson, ‘Monody to the Memory of Chatterton’, *Poems by Mrs. M. Robinson*, 2 vols (London: J. Bell, 1791–3), vol. 1, pp. 75–9.
3. See Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Coleridge’s Poems: A Facsimile Reproduction*, eds J. D. Campbell and W. Hale White (Westminster: A. Constable, 1899), pp. 67–8.
4. Ann Yearsley, ‘Elegy, on Mr. Chatterton’, *Poems, on Various Subjects* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787), pp. 145–9.
5. Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), *passim*.
6. Barbara M. Benedict, *Framing Feeling: Sentiment and Style in English Prose Fiction, 1745–1800* (New York: AMS Press, 1994), p. 1. See also G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Paul Langford, *Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1989]); and John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
7. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), p. 9; Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Genius* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell; Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1774), pp. 71–95; Edward Young, *Conjectures on Original Composition* (London: A. Millar and R. and J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 73.
8. See William H. Wandless, ‘Narrative Pain and the Moral Sense: Toward an Ethics of Suffering in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Literature and Medicine* 24.1 (2005), pp. 51–69.
9. William Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 2nd edn (London: J. Johnson and G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798), p. 151.
10. See Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Random House, 1988), pp. 212–15.
11. *Werter and Charlotte, a German Story* (London: J. Parsons, 1786), p. iii. On the influence of Goethe’s novella on British writers see Robyn L. Schiffman, ‘A Concert of Wethers’, *ECS* 43.2 (2010), pp. 207–22.

12. Charles Moore, *A Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, 2 vols (London: J. F. and C. Rivington, 1790), vol. 2, pp. 141–3. See also Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz (ed.), *The English Lyceum*, 3 vols (Hamburg, 1787–8), vol. 1, p. 260.
13. See Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 38–43.
14. See John Brewer, “‘Love and Madness’”: Sentimental Narratives and the Spectacle of Suffering in Late-Eighteenth-Century Romance’, in Peter de Bolla, Nigel Leask and David Simpson (eds), *Land, Nation and Culture, 1740–1840: Thinking the Republic of Taste* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 131–47, and *Sentimental Murder: Love and Madness in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 2004); Maximillian E. Novak, ‘The Sensibility of Sir Herbert Croft in *Love and Madness* and the “Life of Edward Young”’, *The Age of Johnson* 8 (1997), pp. 189–207; Robert Miles, ‘Forging a Romantic Identity: Herbert Croft’s *Love and Madness* and W. H. Ireland’s Shakespeare MS’, *ECF* 17.4 (2005), pp. 599–627; Kelly McGuire, ‘True Crime: Contagion, Print Culture, and Herbert Croft’s *Love and Madness; or, A Story Too True*’, *ECF* 24 (2011), pp. 55–75.
15. Although informally known already, Croft’s authorship was officially acknowledged in 1782: see Robert J. Griffin, ‘Fact, Fiction, and Anonymity: Reading *Love and Madness: A Story Too True* (1780)’, *ECF* 16.4 (2004), pp. 619–37.
16. *The Literary Fly* 1 (1779), p. 102.
17. *Illustrations*, vol. 5, p. 204.
18. *GM* 50 (1780), pp. 287–8.
19. *The New Annual Register* (1781), p. 216.
20. Novak, ‘Sensibility of Sir Herbert Croft’, p. 195.
21. *CR* 53 (1782), pp. 421–4 (421).
22. Brian Goldberg, ‘Romantic Professionalism in 1800: Robert Southey, Herbert Croft, and the Letters and Legacy of Thomas Chatterton’, *ELH* 63.3 (1996), pp. 681–706 (683).
23. Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 144–76.
24. *Love and Madness*, pp. 127, 133.
25. See Brian Goldberg, *The Lake Poets and Professional Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 213.
26. *CR* 53 (1782), p. 410.
27. *Love and Madness*, pp. 144–7.
28. *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1,079–80. J. H. Ingram, *The True Chatterton* (London: George G. Harrap & Company, 1910), pp. 295–304, and Esther P. Ellinger, *Thomas Chatterton, The Marvelous Boy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930), pp. 55–75.
29. *Love and Madness*, pp. 168–86.
30. *Love and Madness*, p. 134.
31. *Love and Madness*, p. 188.
32. *Love and Madness*, pp. 135–6, 201.
33. *Love and Madness*, p. 207.
34. *Love and Madness*, p. 234.
35. *Illustrations*, vol. 7, p. 462. Lort writes again to Percy in February 1784: ‘Croft is preparing an edition of *all* Chatterton’s works, – all his political and obscene ribaldry’.

36. Andrew Kippis, *Biographia Britannica*, 2nd edn, 5 vols (London: C. Bathurst, 1778–93), vol. 3, p. viii, and vol. 4, pp. vii–viii.
37. Giuseppe Parini, *A Fashionable Day* (London: G. Kearsley and R. Faulder, 1780), p. 48.
38. *The Bristol and Bath Magazine*, 3 vols (Bristol: T. K. Blagdon, 1782–3), vol. 1, p. 353. This is taken from *The Festival of Wit* (London: M. A. Holland, 1782), pp. 7–8. See also *The County Magazine*, 2 vols (Salisbury, 1788), vol. 1, p. 357, and *The Treasury of Wit* (Sunderland: James Graham, 1788), pp. 48–9.
39. *The Treasury of Wit*, pp. 50–1, and *The Festival of Wit*, p. 8. The latter ran to fifteen editions in the 1780s alone. See also *The Covent Garden Jester* (London: J. Roach, 1780?), pp. 6–7, and *The Wit's Museum* (London, 1789?), p. 42.
40. See J. J. Murphy, *Children's Handkerchiefs, a Two Hundred Year History* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1998), and Mary Schoeser, *Printed Handkerchiefs* (London: Museum of London, 1988).
41. BL: C.39.h.20 (1) and BRL: B21037. Also printed in the *Westminster Magazine* 10 (1782), facing p. 342.
42. Thomas Park noted the resemblance to Hogarth's print: GM 69.1 (1799), pp. 385–6. See also William L. Pressly, *The Artist as Original Genius: Shakespeare's 'Fine Frenzy' in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Art* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2007), pp. 163–83.
43. David Fairer, 'Chatterton's Poetic Afterlife, 1770–1794: A Context for Coleridge's *Monody*', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 228–52 (esp. 243–6). This account is revised in *Organising Poetry: The Coleridge Circle, 1790–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 153–5.
44. *Life*, p. 475. See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1957), p. 176; Robert W. Uphaus, 'Vicesimus Knox and the Canon of Eighteenth-Century Literature', *The Age of Johnson* 4 (1991), pp. 345–61.
45. Vicesimus Knox, 'On Novel Reading', *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2 vols (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1778), vol. 2, pp. 185–93 (185).
46. John Trussler, *Chronology; or, the Historian's Vade-Mecum*, 10th edn, 2 vols (London: R. Baldwin, 1782), vol. 2, p. 32.
47. David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica, or, a Companion to the Playhouse*, 2 vols (London: Mess. Rivingtons, T. Payne and Son, L. Davis et al., 1782), vol. 1, pp. 73–4. Chatterton is also listed as a dramatist in *Egerton's Theatrical Remembrancer* (London: T. and J. Egerton, 1788), p. 242.
48. Mrs Bonhote, *The Parental Monitor*, 2 vols (London: William Lane, 1788), vol. 2, pp. 106–7. See also John Paterson Service, *Recreation for Youth* (London: G. Kearsley, 1787), pp. 116–17.
49. Joseph Robertson, *The Parian Chronicle* (London: J. Walter, 1788), pp. 203–5.
50. Charles Gower, *The Lounger's Miscellany* (London: T. and J. Egerton, 1788–9), p. 18.
51. *A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, 12 vols (London: W. Strahan, T. Payne and Son, J. Rivington and Sons et al., 1784), vol. 3, pp. 289–92.
52. *Miscellanies*, pp. xix–xx.
53. *Yorkshire Magazine* 1 (1786), pp. 302, 359. See 'The Trifler, No. IX', GM 56.2 (1786), p. 758.
54. Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Old English Poets', *Essays Moral and Literary*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1779), vol. 1, p. 291.

55. Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Poems attributed to Rowley', *Essays Moral and Literary*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1782), vol. 2, pp. 247–51 (247).
56. Knox, 'On the Poems attributed to Rowley', p. 251.
57. Knox, *Essays* (1778), p. iv.
58. Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past, 1660–1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 311.
59. Knox, 'On the Poems attributed to Rowley', p. 247–8.
60. Erik Erämetsä, *A Study of the 'Sentimental' and of other Linguistic Characteristics of Eighteenth Century Sentimentalism in England* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1951), pp. 85–6.
61. Knox, 'On the Poems attributed to Rowley', pp. 249–50.
62. Knox, 'An Idea of a Patriot', *Essays* (1782), vol. 1, pp. 39–44 (40).
63. *GM* 59.2 (1789), pp. 602–3, 684, 707.
64. Knox, 'On the Poems attributed to Rowley', p. 250.
65. A different critic advocates the importance of sentimentalism in modern education in 'On Delicacy of Sentiment', *Universal Magazine* (1778), pp. 172–4.
66. Knox, 'On the Advantage which may be derived to the Tender and Pathetic Style, from using the Words and Phrases of Scripture', *Essays* (1782), vol. 2, pp. 286–9 (286).
67. Vicesimus Knox, *The Works of Vicesimus Knox, D.D.*, 7 vols (London: J. Mawman, 1824), vol. 1, p. 131.
68. W. G. Constable, *John Flaxman: 1755–1826* (London: University of London Press, 1927), p. 25, and David Irwin, *John Flaxman 1755–1826: Sculptor, Illustrator, Designer* (London: Studio Vista, 1979), p. 14.
69. See Richard Holmes, 'Forging the Poet: Some Early Pictures of Thomas Chatterton', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 253–8.
70. Sarah Symmons, 'The Spirit of Despair: Patronage, Primitivism and the Art of John Flaxman', *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975), pp. 644–50.
71. See Katherine Turner, 'Dr Viper's Monkey: Philip Thicknesse and the "Chatterton Monument"', *From Gothic to Romantic*, pp. 64–80.
72. Philip Thicknesse, *Memoirs and Anecdotes of Philip Thicknesse*, 2 vols (London: Printed for the author, 1788–90), vol. 2, pp. 299–313. Croft, *Love and Madness*, p. 234.
73. *The New Annual Register* (1785), p. 16. Also, William Tasker, 'On seeing a Monument, erected by P—p T—sse, at his Hermitage, to the Memory of Chatterton', *SJC* (28 June 1785).
74. *The Lady's Magazine* 15 (1784), p. 62. See *A Sketch of St. Catherine's Hermitage* (Bath: W. Meyler, 1787), p. 8.
75. The concert was performed on 2 November 1784 and subsequently on 3 December. No record of the first concert appears to have survived.
76. *GM* 48 (1778), pp. 347–8.
77. Richard Jenkins, *The Ode, Songs, Chorusses, &c. for the concert in commemoration of Chatterton, the celebrated Bristol poet* (London: J. Bew, 1784?), pp. 11 and 14.
78. Robert W. Jones, 'We Proclaim our Darling Son': The Politics of Chatterton's Memory during the War for America', *RES* 53 (2002), pp. 373–95.
79. Jenkins, *Ode, Songs, Chorusses*, p. 14.

80. *Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces of the Most Eminent English Poets*, 6 vols (Vienna: Thomas Trattner, 1786), vol. 5, pp. 238–43, 246–7; *The New Novelist's Magazine*, 2 vols (London: Harrison and Co., 1786–7), vol. 1, pp. 171ff., 204ff., 281ff. *Maria Friendless* also appeared in the *Weekly Entertainer* 9.224 (1787), pp. 374–6.
81. See also Lort to Walpole, 29 July 1778, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 16, p. 177.
82. *Illustrations*, vol. 7, p. 465.
83. *GM* 54.2 (1784), pp. 848–9.
84. *Supplement*, p. 34.
85. First published under the innocuous title *Two Essays*, in 1777, and later as *Essays on Suicide and the Immortality of the Soul* (London: M. Smith, 1783).
86. *MR* 71 (1784), p. 229.
87. This is a misprint for 1769. See *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 950–1, for the complex transmission of this text. See E. H. W. Meyerstein, 'A Bristol Friendship' and 'John Baker's Letters to Chatterton', *TLS* (26 April 1947), p. 204.
88. BRL: B1b (and B3).
89. *GM* 54.2 (1784), p. 848.
90. Donald Taylor infers that Clarke was another of Baker's girlfriends: *Works*, vol. 2, p. 916.
91. Bodleian: MS Eng Poet e.6. See *Life*, p. 443.
92. *Supplement*, p. 33.
93. See Thomas Lockwood, *Post-Augustan Satire: Charles Churchill and Satirical Poetry, 1750–1800* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1979), pp. 18–20.
94. BRL: B22233. The editor of *Supplement* takes a Catcott transcription as the base-text.
95. *Life*, pp. 336–47, and *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,059. See Samuel Derrick's mock-Will in *TCM* 1 (1769), pp. 179–80.
96. *Supplement*, p. 69.
97. *Supplement*, p. 67.
98. *Supplement*, p. 71.
99. *Supplement*, p. 60.
100. *Life*, p. 325n.
101. See BL: C.39.h.20 (1) (Reed). Also, BRL: B11063 (Lort) and B11457 (Lort).
102. See BRL: B11063.
103. Taken from *Account of the Family of the De Berghams*. See *Works*, vol. 1, p. 330.
104. See *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,068.
105. Maria Grazia Lolla, "'Monuments' and 'Texts': Antiquarianism and Literature in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Britain' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1997), p. 238.
106. *Life*, p. 485.
107. T. S. Surr, *George Barnwell: a novel*, 3 vols (London: H. D. Symonds, 1798), vol. 1, p. 194.
108. *GM* (Supplement 1782), p. 601.
109. 'M', *GM* 53.1 (1783), p. 191.
110. *GM* 53.1 (1783), pp. 144 and 190–1. See 'Candour', *SJC* (25 March 1783).
111. *GM* 53.1 (1783), p. 191.

112. *GM* 53.1 (1783), pp. 191–2.
113. James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1799), vol. 4, p. 196.
114. Lort to Walpole, 10 November 1788, *Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 16, pp. 212–13.
115. George Gregory, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London: G. Kearsley, 1789), p. 56. Gregory's *Life* was also serialized in the *Universal Magazine* from September 1789 to April 1790.
116. Gregory, *Life*, p. v.
117. Isaac D'Israeli, *An Essay on the Manners and Genius of the Literary Character* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1795), p. 210. Robert Fellowes suggested that Chatterton's 'sensations are so tremblingly delicate', but explicitly chastised unfeeling patrons such as Walpole for his demise: *MMr* 8 (1799), pp. 143–6. This assertion was reprinted in the second edition of his monograph *A Picture of Christian Philosophy* (London: John White, 1799), p. 118. See also the *Literary Magazine and British Review* (1792), pp. 89–90, and *Pocket Magazine* 2 (1795), pp. 159–65.
118. Gregory, *Life*, p. 112.
119. Gregory, *Life*, pp. 103–4.
120. Gregory, *Life*, p. 85.
121. Gregory, *Life*, p. 72.
122. Gregory, *Life*, pp. 88, 71.
123. Gregory, *Life*, p. 104.
124. Gregory, *Life*, pp. 10–11.
125. Gregory, *Life*, pp. 179–86 (179).
126. Gregory, *Life*, p. 154.
127. Gregory, *Life*, p. 165.
128. *MR* 81 (1789), pp. 344–51. Robert Potter labels Gregory an anti-Rowleian in *The Art of Criticism* (London: T. Hookham, 1789), pp. 123–8.
129. *Scots Magazine* 51 (1789), pp. 417–22. Similarly, *Analytical Review* 4 (1789), p. 268n.
130. *EM* 16 (1789), pp. 326–9.
131. *GM* 62.2 (1792), p. 1,076. Andrew Kippis had inserted a disclaimer in *GM* 60.2 (1790), p. 801.
132. *GM* 63.1 (1793), pp. 227–9.
133. *Family Romance*, p. 201.
134. *GM* 59.1 (1789), pp. 537–8.
135. *CR* 68 (1789), p. 119: 'It is with some regret that we turn to this barren, this unprofitable controversy.'

6 'Neglected Genius': The Romantic Canon

1. Robert Southey, 'Redcliff Church', *Later Poetical Works, 1811–38*, gen. eds Tim Fulford and Lynda Pratt, 4 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), vol. 1, *Selected Shorter Poems*, eds Lynda Pratt, Ian Packer and Carol Bolton, pp. 470–3 (471).
2. Edward Rushton, 'To the Memory of the Unfortunate Chatterton', *Poems, by Edward Rushton* (London: T. Ostell, 1806), pp. 152–63 (159).

3. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'Monody on the Death of Chatterton', in 1794, p. xxv. The monody was first composed in the late 1780s as a school exercise.
4. *Life*, p. 490.
5. Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700–1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 54. See William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 122–39, and John Guillory, *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 85–133.
6. David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005); Lucy Newlyn, *Reading, Writing, and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Mark Parker, *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Biography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
7. *GM* 53.1 (1783), p. 123, and 59.1 (1789), pp. 98–9. 'Athenæus' outlined the plight of Chatterton's surviving family in *GM* 60.2 (1790), p. 988. See 'Climax', *GM* 60.2 (1790), pp. 691–2, and 'Jack Prancer', pp. 1,073–4; 'Verax', *GM* 61.1 (1791), p. 41, and 'R.P.', p. 131. A notable if largely ignored pro-Rowleian at this time was Walter Whiter, *A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakspeare* (London: T. Cadell, 1794), p. 226.
8. William Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (Bristol: William Pine, 1789).
9. For example, George Heath, *The New History, Survey and Description of the City and Suburbs of Bristol* (Bristol: W. Matthews, 1794), pp. 95–7. Samuel Seyer pointedly distanced himself from Rowley in his *Memoirs Historical and Topographical of Bristol* (Bristol: Norton, 1821–3), as did John Britton, another local historian of note: *GM* 82.2 (1812), pp. 4–6.
10. Barrett to Lort, 1 February 1772. BRL: B11457.
11. Barrett to Lort, 14 May 1777 (and 2 May 1777). BRL: B11457.
12. See Jonathan Barry, 'The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol: Chatterton in Bristol', *Angelaki* 1.2 (1993/4), pp. 55–81.
13. Similarly, in *Bibliographia Poetica* (London: G. and N. Nicol, 1802), Joseph Ritson places the 'imaginary priest' among genuine medieval poets (p. 96).
14. *Forger's Shadow*, p. 162.
15. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, p. vi.
16. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, p. vii.
17. For sources and manuscript history see *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 851–5.
18. *GM* 59.2 (1789), pp. 921–4. See also 'S.G.', *GM* 59.2 (1789), pp. 1,081–5.
19. Barrett's *History* is the source-text for a brief account of Chatterton's alleged suicide in the *Monthly Register of Literature* 1 (1792), pp. 169–70.
20. See *GM* 67.1 (1797), pp. 125–7.
21. Lort to Percy, 11 July 1789, *Illustrations*, vol. 7, p. 502.
22. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, p. 647.
23. *EM* 16 (1789), pp. 101–4, 97–9.
24. See *N&Q*, 7th series (1888), pp. 429 and 477. The edition was reprinted in 1799.
25. 1794, p. xxix. The footnotes are now capitalized and Milles's additional glosses italicized.

26. 1794, pp. vii–xiii.
27. *Life*, p. 490.
28. Although the image looks identical, D. Hood, a Cambridge engraver, is credited here in place of Strutt.
29. Isaac D'Israeli observes that the chest 'has a very *classical* appearance': *Curiosities of Literature* (London: John Murray, 1791), p. 10.
30. 1794, pp. v–vi.
31. *University Magazine* (1795), pp. 14–17.
32. 1794, pp. xiii, v.
33. I. A. Gordon, 'The Case-History of Coleridge's *Monody on the Death of Chatterton*', *RES* 18 (1942), pp. 49–71; Arthur Freeman and Theodore Hofmann, 'The Ghost of Coleridge's First Effort: "A Monody on the Death of Chatterton"', *The Library*, 6th series, 11.4 (1989), pp. 328–35; Paul Magnusson, 'Coleridge's Discursive "Monody on the Death of Chatterton"', *Romanticism on the Net* 17 (February 2000) <<http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/v/n17/005900ar.html>>; David Fairer, 'Chatterton's Poetic Afterlife, 1770–1794: A Context for Coleridge's *Monody*', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 228–52.
34. A. D. Harvey, 'The Cult of Chatterton amongst English Poets c.1770–c.1820', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 39 (1991), pp. 124–33.
35. See Joseph Cottle, *Early Recollections; chiefly relating to the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge, during his long residence in Bristol*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Rees & Co, 1837), vol. 1, pp. 34–6.
36. Thomas De Quincey, *De Quincey's Posthumous Works. Great Forgers: Chatterton, Walpole, and Junius* (London: William Heinemann, 1890). The manuscript has the watermark 1841. Thanks to Joanna Parker for this information.
37. 1794, p. xxv.
38. John Axcelson, 'Saving Chatterton: Imagining Historical Transmission in Coleridge', *Wordsworth Circle* 36.3 (2005), pp. 126–33.
39. Hannah Cowley, 'Poem on Chatterton', quoted in George Gregory, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London: G. Kearsley, 1789), pp. 124–6.
40. John Thomas Smith described it as 'an ugly goggle-ey'd portrait ... destitute of any resemblance whatever': *Remarks on Rural Scenery* (London: Nathaniel Smith, 1797), pp. 24–5. Smith favours instead an image by his friend John Cranch (unseen).
41. *Monthly Visitor* 1 (1797), pp. 5–20 (10): 'Scepticism, that disease of strong when half-informed minds, undermined the fortitude of his spirit.'
42. Robert Anderson (ed.), *The Works of the British Poets*, 13 vols (London: John & Arthur Arch; Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute and J. Mundell & Co, 1792–5), vol. 11, pp. 295–405. *Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton* also appeared separately bound in 1795. On Anderson see Thomas F. Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry, 1765–1810* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 199–226.
43. Joseph Ritson (ed.), *The English Anthology*, 3 vols (London: T. and J. Egerton, 1793–4), vol. 2, pp. 217–39.
44. Ludwig Theoboul Kosegarten (ed.), *Brittisches Odeon: Denkwürdigkeiten aus den Leben und den Schriften der neuesten Brittischen Dichter*, 2 vols (Berlin: G. A. Lange, 1800), vol. 1, pp. 1–103. See Karl S. Guthke, 'The Rowley Myth in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Bibliographical Society of America* 51 (1957), pp. 238–41.

45. *Roach's Beauties of the Modern Poets of Great Britain*, 6 vols (London: J. Roach, 1793), vol. 4, pp. 50–2.
46. *The Poetical Epitome* (London: Charles Dilly, 1791), pp. 126–8.
47. Vicesimus Knox (ed.), *Elegant Extracts* (London: Charles Dilly, 1789), pp. 155–61. These pieces (excepting 'An Excelente Balade') also appear in Knox's *Extracts, Elegant, Instructive, and Entertaining, in Poetry*, 2 vols (London: Messrs Rivingtons, Longman, Law et al., 1791), vol. 1, pp. 425–9.
48. F. G. Waldron (ed.), *The Literary Museum* (London: Printed for the editor, 1792), pt 8.
49. *The Bouquet*, 2 vols (London: E. Hodson, J. Deighton, Debrett, and Richardson, 1792), vol. 1, pp. 119–20.
50. *EM* 20 (1791), pp. 460 and 469; *EM* 21 (1792), pp. 68–9 and 312.
51. *EM* 21 (1792), p. 84, and *The World* 23 (1792). See *GM* 62.1 (1792), pp. 296, 398 and 440; *MM* 17 (1804), pp. 141 and 253–4. Walpole's correspondence with Cole appeared in the *MMr* 16 (1803), pp. 97–100.
52. *EM* 21 (1792), pp. 265–6. See also the *Public Advertiser* (8 June 1792). BL: C.39.h.20 (1).
53. Catcott to Chatterton, 8 August 1770. Quoted in *Life*, p. 423.
54. See also Chatterton's 'Decimus. To Dr. Newton Bishop of Bristol', written around the same time (August 1770). This is one of Chatterton's imitations of the iconic Radical writer Junius.
55. *The Revenge, a burletta; acted at Marybone Gardens, MDCCLXX, with additional songs* (London: T. King and J. Egerton, 1795). See Eric W. White, 'Chatterton and the English Burletta', *RES*, new series, 9 (1958), pp. 43–8.
56. Edward Gardner, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 2 vols (Bristol: Biggs and Cottle, 1798), vol. 2, pp. 141–70.
57. Gardner, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, vol. 2, pp. 155–8.
58. Horace Walpole, *The Works of Horatio Walpole, Earl of Orford*, 5 vols (London: G. G. and J. Robinson and J. Edwards, 1798). See also John Pinkerton (ed.), *Walpoliana* (London: R. Phillips, 1799). These anecdotes appeared in the *MM* from March 1798 to May 1799.
59. *GM* 57.2 (1787), pp. 1,058–9.
60. *MM* 2 (1796), p. 614. Catcott informed Glynn in January 1792 that plans were in place for a cenotaph at the St Mary Redcliffe church (BL: Add MSS 47866). But the subscription filled slowly. See *Life*, p. 489.
61. See *Life*, pp. 491–7. Donald Taylor criticizes its textual faults: *Works*, vol. 1, p. xxxiii.
62. *MM* 9 (1800), p. 16.
63. Quoted in Nick Groom, 'Love and Madness: Southey Editing Chatterton', in Lynda Pratt (ed.), *Robert Southey and the Contexts of English Romanticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 19–35 (30). See *Life*, pp. 492–3.
64. Nick Groom, "'With certain grand Cottleisms': Joseph Cottle, Robert Southey and the 1803 *Works of Thomas Chatterton*", *Romanticism* 15.3 (2009), pp. 225–38. Thanks to the author for an unpublished version of this essay. Southey had discussed with the publisher Longman the possibility of writing a Chatterton biography, along with ones on Fielding, Sidney and others, but he didn't deliver: see Lynda Pratt, 'What Robert Southey Did Not Write Next', *Romanticism* 17.1 (2011), pp. 1–9.
65. *MM* 10 (1801), pp. 643–60.

66. *The Cabinet* (4 June 1803).
67. Thomas Chatterton, *Chatterton's Ella, and Other Pieces, Interpreted*, ed. James Glassford (Edinburgh: Printed for the author, 1837).
68. A note appeared in *MM* 14 (1802), p. 343: 'So much new matter has been discovered, that it has been impossible to comprize the whole in two volumes'.
69. BL: C.60.m.2 (1).
70. Southey to John Britton, BRL: B20855. See *1803*, vol. 1, Preface. George Dyer also provided aid: see BL: C.39.h.20 (1).
71. Groom, 'With certain grand Cottleisms', *passim*. Southey later included only modern Chatterton pieces in his *Specimens of the Later English Poets*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807), vol. 2, pp. 420–7. This included the Wilkesite 'Elegy on Beckford', which emphasizes the radicalism that had been downplayed in 1803.
72. *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 709–12.
73. Haslewood's copy of the 1803 edition is unevenly annotated throughout but 'Resignation' has many textual corrections [BL: C39.f.13–15].
74. See BRL: B20957.
75. Southey to Danvers, 23 March 1802, quoted in Groom, 'With certain grand Cottleisms', p. 230.
76. See BRL: B20957.
77. See Brian Goldberg, 'Romantic Professionalism in 1800: Robert Southey, Hebert Croft, and the Letters and Legacy of Thomas Chatterton', *ELH* 63.3 (1996), pp. 681–706.
78. *MM* 8 (1799), pp. 770–2. 'S. K.' inserted a shorter puff in *MMr* 8 (1799), p. 207.
79. *1803*, vol. 1, p. clx.
80. For a summary see *Bibliography*, p. 67.
81. *1803*, vol. 1, pp. 185–7.
82. BL: Add MSS, 5766B, fol. 55.
83. BL: Add MSS, 5766B, fol. 72. See *Works*, vol. 1, p. 468, and vol. 2, pp. 1,046–54. Not to be confused with 'The Resignation'.
84. *1803*, vol. 1, p. 356.
85. Compare *1803*, vol. 1, pp. 357–61, with *Works*, vol. 1, pp. 291–3.
86. Haslewood to Southey, 12 August 1802. BL: C.39.h.20 (1).
87. Southey to Haslewood, 12 July 1802. BL: C.39.h.20 (1).
88. See *Works*, vol. 2, pp. 1,143–6 and 1,163–71.
89. *1803*, vol. 3, pp. 237–50 (245). As Samuel R. Maitland later observed, the first of these letters is heavily plagiarized: *Chatterton: An Essay* (London: Rivington, 1857), pp. 55–61. Donald Taylor insists that Chatterton added as much as he borrowed: *Works*, vol. 2, p. 1,162.
90. *1803*, vol. 3, p. 235n.
91. *1803*, vol. 3, p. 496.
92. *1803*, vol. 3, p. 499.
93. *1803*, vol. 3, p. 520.
94. *GM* 74.2 (1804), pp. 722–3. Also, BRL: B21041.
95. *MMr* 27 (1809), pp. 147–8. See also *Oriental Herald* 2 (1824), p. 163.
96. Henry Kirke White, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White*, ed. Robert Southey, 2 vols (London: Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe et al., 1807), vol. 1, p. 1.
97. *MM* 13 (1802), p. 29. Another reviewer praised Southey's tireless, if vain, efforts: *Poetical Register* 3 (1805), p. 441.

98. 1803, vol. 1, Preface.
99. *MMr* 15 (1803), pp. 14–16. Prior to the appearance of the 1803 edition 'Aguecheek' had singled out *The Revenge* as a piece of hackwork written for food and 'not for fame'. Thomas Park ('T.P.'), in response, insisted it was genuine and offered evidence: *GM* 69.1 (1799), pp. 21–5 and 385–6. See also *MMr* 16 (1803), pp. 167–9. Haslewood replied to Park: *MMr* 16 (1803), pp. 238–9.
100. *ER* 4 (1804), pp. 214–30. Collected in Walter Scott, *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834–6), vol. 17, pp. 215–41.
101. Quoted in Scott, *Miscellaneous*, vol. 17, p. 218.
102. Scott, 'Reliques of Burns', *Miscellaneous*, vol. 17, pp. 242–67.
103. See Walpole, *Works*, vol. 4, p. 218.
104. Not only was his *Essays Moral and Literary* continually reprinted, extracts of Knox's sentimental essay on Rowley and Chatterton appeared in *MMr* 5 (1798), pp. 85–6.
105. 'C.V.L.' (Charles Valentine Le Grice?) suggested that a Rowley edition 'in a modern dress' would 'gain Chatterton more readers than he has at present': *MM* 17 (1804), pp. 319–20.
106. See Susan Manning, 'Walter Scott, Antiquarianism and the Political Discourse of *The Edinburgh Review*, 1802–11', in Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu (eds), *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: Bicentenary Essays* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 102–23.
107. *Scots Magazine* 64 (1802), pp. 405–7.
108. John Sherwen, *Introduction to an Examination of Some Part of the Internal Evidence, Respecting the Antiquity and Authenticity of Certain Publications* (London and Bath: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809). Sherwen, signing his name, published numerous pro-Rowleian articles in the *GM* encouraging readers to read his pamphlet so that he could publish more: *GM* 80.1 (1810), pp. 9–11; 80.2 (1810), pp. 209–14 and 411–15. See also *GM* 81.1 (1811), pp. 426–8, 513–16 and 611–13; and 81.2 (1811), pp. 24–7, 119–21, 221–4, 324–8 and 612–15. Also, 'Crito', *MMr* 18 (1804), pp. 87–91. 'A Constant Reader' offered brief encouragement: *GM* 80.2 (1810), pp. 618–19.
109. So it was assumed in *GM* 80.2 (1810), p. 245. See also Joseph Cottle, 'On Chatterton, and the Rowleian Controversy', *Malvern Hills*, 4th edn, 2 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1829), vol. 2, pp. 382–432.
110. Sherwen, *Introduction*, pp. 48–58 and 61–2.
111. *GM* 81.2 (1811), pp. 121–4.
112. *GM* 81.2 (1811), pp. 429–32 and 523–5.
113. *MR* 61 (1810), pp. 35–43 (35).
114. *GM* 80.2 (1810), pp. 245–8.
115. *EM* 45 (1804), pp. 85–6. 'E.G.' revealed that it had been plagiarized from him in *EM* 46 (1804), p. 18. 'The Resignation', given as a Chatterton original, was published in the *EM* 37 (1800), p. 53. It has been accepted by Donald Taylor into the modern canon.
116. The anecdote about Chatterton weeping over Shakespeare resurfaces in, among others, *The City Jester* (London: A. Hamilton, 1795?), pp. 16–17; Ann Radcliffe, *The Ladies Elegant Jester* (London: Crosby & Letterman,

- 1800?), p. 15; *Joke upon Joke* (London: T. Hurst, 1800), p. 23, and elsewhere. The graveyard anecdote recurs in Perseval Adams, *Elegant Anecdotes, Original & Selected* (Glasgow: R. Scott, 1799), p. 48; *The Edinburgh Medley of Entertainment* (Edinburgh: T. Brown, 1800), p. 108; *The British Jester* (Ipswich: J. Raw, 1800?), p. 79; *MMr* 15 (1802), p. 80, and dozens more times throughout the nineteenth century.
117. See G. E. Bentley, *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 546. See also Robert Folkenflik, 'Macpherson, Chatterton, Blake and the Great Age of Literary Forgery', *Centennial Review* 18.4 (1974), pp. 378–91.
 118. James Boaden, *A Letter to George Steevens, Esq.* (London: Martin and Bain, 1796), pp. 13–14, and Edmond Malone, *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1796), *passim*.
 119. See Robert Miles, 'Trouble in the Republic of Letters: The Reception of the Shakespeare Forgeries', *Studies in Romanticism* 44.3 (2005), pp. 317–40.
 120. William Henry Ireland, *The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland* (London: T. Goddard, 1805), pp. 11, 17. On Chatterton and Ireland see *Forger's Shadow*, pp. 222–5, and Linda Kelly, *The Marvellous Boy: The Life and Myth of Thomas Chatterton* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 70–9.
 121. Quoted in *Forger's Shadow*, p. 224.
 122. Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and the English Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 26–7.
 123. Royall Tyler, *The Yankey in London* (New York: Isaac Riley, 1809), pp. 111–32.
 124. William Henry Ireland, *Neglected Genius. A Poem* (London: George Cowie and Co, 1812), p. 70.
 125. Ireland, *Neglected Genius*, pp. 121–3. This piece is also modernized (125–7).
 126. *MR* 70 (1813), pp. 203–5.
 127. *Gregory's Life* was still used as the base-text in, e.g., E. Shiercliff's *The Bristol and Hotwell Guide*, 3rd edn (Bristol: M. Shiercliff, 1805), pp. 76–87. Orton Smith's unpublished seventy-five page biography [BRL: B19165] provides a counterpoint in 1805. Here Chatterton is not a victim, nor is his behaviour untypical of any young boy.
 128. Southey to Coleridge, 14 March 1804, quoted in *Life*, p. 503.
 129. *London Review* 2 (1809), pp. 223–54.
 130. John Davis, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1806), pp. 43–4 and 51.
 131. See Howard Weinbrot, 'Samuel Johnson, Percival Stockdale, and Brick-Bats from Grubstreet: Some Later Response to the *Lives of the Poets*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 56 (1993), pp. 105–34. See also Anna Seward to Thomas Park, 30 January 1800, *Letters of Anna Seward*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1811), vol. 5, pp. 270–5.
 132. Percival Stockdale, *Lectures on the Truly Eminent English Poets*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807), vol. 2, p. 146.
 133. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 148.
 134. 'Abuse' is discussed in Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, pp. 154–60.
 135. Ebenezer Sibly had earlier argued that Chatterton's suicide was predetermined: *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences*, 4 vols (London: C. Stalker, 1784–91), vol. 1, pp. 810–11.

136. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 521.
137. William Wordsworth, *Poems, in Two Volumes* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 97–105.
138. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 316.
139. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 343.
140. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, p. 419.
141. Stockdale, *Lectures*, vol. 2, pp. 460–5.
142. John Britton, *An Historical and Architectural Essay relating to Redcliffe Church, Bristol* (London: Longman & Co, 1813), pp. 30–40. Britton's account of Chatterton was reused in *EM* 75 (1819), pp. 504–10. See also *EM* 77 (1820), pp. 35–6.
143. For a discussion of the influence of Johnson's model on Chalmers, Campbell and others see Annette Wheeler Cafarelli, *Prose in the Age of Poets: Romanticism and Biographical Narrative from Johnson to De Quincey* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), p. 86.
144. Alexander Chalmers (ed.), *The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper*, 21 vols (London: J. Johnson, 1810), vol. 15, pp. 365–499. Hereafter cited as Chalmers. The biographical sketch is reprinted in 1813 in *The General Biographical Dictionary*, rev. Alexander Chalmers, 32 vols (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1812–17), vol. 9, pp. 177–93. On Chalmers see Bonnell, *Most Disreputable Trade*, pp. 266–308.
145. Chalmers, vol. 15, pp. 372–5. Thomas Maurice, similarly, suggested the outdated model of Chatterton should still serve as a cautionary tale to the 'rising generation of the 19th century': *Memoirs of the Author of Indian Antiquities*, 3 vols (London: Printed for the author, 1819–22), vol. 2, pp. 155–62.
146. Chalmers, vol. 15, pp. 376–9.
147. See also Cottle, *Early Recollections*, vol. 1, pp. 256–74.
148. QR 11 (1814), pp. 480–504 (493–5).
149. William Hazlitt, 'On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c.', *Lectures on the English Poets* (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818), pp. 206–44. Peter J. Manning discusses the cultural significance of the lectures: 'Manufacturing the Romantic Image: Hazlitt and Coleridge Lecturing', in James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (eds), *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 227–45.
150. Hazlitt, 'On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c.', pp. 242–3.
151. John Watkins asserted that Chatterton, 'if he had lived till now, would have sunk into obscurity': *The Peeper* (London: Allen and West, 1796), p. 292. See also Leigh Hunt, 'On the Poetical Character', *The Round Table: A Collection of Essays on Literature, Men and Manners* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1817), pp. 172–90.
152. John Evans, 'The Ponderer, no. 27: On the Claims of Chatterton to Fame, independently of the Poems attributed to Rowley', *The Ponderer, a Series of Essays* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees et al., 1812), pp. 152–7.
153. One commentator asserts that the Rowley poems were genuine, but nonetheless Chatterton's modern satires 'entitled him to immortality': *Monthly Visitor* 1 (1797), p. 16.
154. Hazlitt, 'Introductory – On Poetry in General', *Lectures*, pp. 1–38 (16).
155. Hazlitt, 'On Burns, and the Old English Ballads', *Lectures*, pp. 245–82 (246).
156. Hazlitt, 'On Burns, and the Old English Ballads', p. 251.

157. For Hazlitt's complex views on posthumous fame see Claire Brock, 'William Hazlitt, On Being Brilliant', *Studies in Romanticism* 44.4 (2005), pp. 493–515.
158. Keats to his brothers, 21 February 1818, *John Keats: Selected Letters*, ed. Robert Gittings, rev. Jon Mee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 65: 'I was very disappointed at his treatment of Chatterton.'
159. Hazlitt, 'On Burns, and the Old English Ballads', p. 245.
160. Written in 1815; first published in *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats*, ed. Richard Monckton Milnes, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1848), vol. 1, pp. 12–13.
161. Paul Baines, 'Chatterton and Johnson: Authority and Filiation in the 1770s', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 172–87 (185). See Harold Bloom, *Ringers in the Tower: Studies in Romantic Tradition* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), p. 133.
162. *Life*, p. 505.
163. Quoted in Robert Gittings, 'Keats and Chatterton', *KSJ* 4 (1955), pp. 47–54 (50). The publishers instead chose: 'Inscribed to the memory of Thomas Chatterton'.
164. Keats to J. H. Reynolds, 21 September 1819, *John Keats: Selected Letters*, pp. 271–2.
165. Keats to the George Keatses, 17–27 September 1819, *John Keats: Selected Letters*, pp. 302–3.
166. Thomas Campbell (ed.), *Specimens of the British Poets*, 7 vols (London: John Murray, 1819), vol. 6, pp. 152–79.
167. *GM* 92.1 (1822), pp. 36–9. Sherwen failed for the third time to incite a new Rowley controversy in the *Literary Gazette* throughout 1825.
168. Robert Walsh (ed.), *The Works of the British Poets*, 50 vols (Philadelphia: Carty and Davis, 1819–23 [1822]), vol. 29, pp. 117–33. Samuel Pratt's *Cabinet of Poetry*, 6 vols (London: Richard Phillips, 1808), vol. 5, pp. 434–40, contains 'February', two elegies, 'The Resignation' and 'The Art of Puffing'.
169. William Hazlitt (ed.), *Select British Poets* (London: W. C. Hall, 1824), p. i.
170. Hazlitt (ed.), *Select British Poets*, p. xii. See Payson G. Gates, 'Hazlitt's "Select British Poets": An American Publication', *KSJ* 35 (1986), pp. 168–82.
171. Walter Scott (ed.), *English Minstrelsy*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, 1810), vol. 2, pp. 96–9. A modernized version, 'The Willow-Tree', appeared in *The Britannic Magazine*, 12 vols (London: Champante and Whitrow, 1793–1807), vol. 7, p. 26. Chatterton's 'O! Synge untoe mie roundelaie' is also listed under ODES, CLASS II: PATHETIC, though Chatterton himself is listed as a DRAMATIC poet, in Nathan Drake, *Literary Hours or Sketches Critical and Narrative* (Sudbury: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1798), pp. 389, 456.
172. *LM* 9 (1824), pp. 631–8. See also Henry Francis Cary, *Lives of English Poets, from Johnson to Kirke White* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1846), p. 388.
173. George Gordon, Lord Byron, 'Observations upon "Observations"', *The Works of Lord Byron*, ed. Thomas Moore (London: John Murray, 1832–3), pp. 413–14. Dated 25 March 1821, it was withdrawn from publication.
174. John Clare, 'Popularity in Authorship', *EM*, new series, 1.3 (1825), pp. 300–3. On Chatterton's influence on Clare see John Goodridge, *John Clare and Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 11–35, and Bridget Keegan, 'Nostalgic Chatterton: Fictions of Poetic Identity and

- the Forging of a Self-Taught Tradition', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 210–27. See also 'C.M.', 'On the Early Fate of Genius', *EM* 87 (1825), pp. 535–9.
175. William Hazlitt, 'Lord Byron', *The Spirit of the Age* (London: Colburn, 1825), pp. 159–81 (180).
 176. *LM* 9 (1824), p. 638.
 177. Plans were constantly mooted in the period, most successfully (if briefly) S. C. Fripp's 1838 controversial monument in Bristol. See *Life*, pp. 525–9. It was widely discussed in the local press. See also *GM* 14 (1840), pp. 77–8.

Afterword

1. Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. Walter C. A. Ker, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1925), vol. 1, pp. 44–5: *cineri gloria sera venit* (I.XXV.8).
2. Robert Southey, *A Vision of Judgement* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees et al., 1821), pp. 42, 64. Byron concurred (*Life*, p. 348).
3. Coleridge writes, 'Genius may co-exist with wildness, idleness, folly, even with crime, but not long, believe me, with selfishness': see Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 64–6.
4. See David Fairer, *Organising Poetry: The Coleridge Circle, 1790–1798* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 138–60.
5. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956–71), vol. 1, p. 333.
6. Charles Lamb, 'To Mary and Her Samuel', in Charles Lamb and Mary Lamb, *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. Edwin W. Marris, Jr, 3 vols (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975–8), vol. 3, pp. 38–9.
7. Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, vol. 1, p. 160.
8. *Forger's Shadow*, p. 197. See *Life*, p. 393.
9. T. O. Mabbott, 'Byron and Chatterton: A Parallel', *N&Q* 162 (1932), p. 207, and 'Chatterton and Byron, a Reminiscence?', *N&Q* 191 (1946), p. 281.
10. William Wordsworth, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt and Helen Darbishire, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940–9), vol. 1, pp. 267–9.
11. Nai-Tung Ting, 'The Influence of Chatterton on Keats', *KSJ* 5 (1956), pp. 103–8. See also Nai-Tung Ting, 'Chatterton and Keats: A Reexamination', *KSJ* 30 (1981), pp. 100–17; Lucy Morrison, 'Chatterton and Keats: The Need for Close Examination', *KSR* 10 (1996), pp. 35–50; Elizabeth Fay, *Romantic Medievalism: History and the Romantic Literary Ideal* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 117–22. For the political implications of the language see Beth Lau, 'Protest, "Nativism", and Impersonation in the Works of Chatterton and Keats', *Studies in Romanticism* 42 (2003), pp. 519–39.
12. See Robert Gittings, 'Keats and Chatterton', *KSJ* 4 (1955), pp. 47–54 (47–9).
13. Morrison, 'Chatterton and Keats', p. 43.
14. Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological Dictionary in Two Parts* (London: T. Cox, 1727), title-page.
15. Keats to J. H. Reynolds, 21 September 1819, *John Keats: Selected Letters*, ed. Robert Gittings, rev. Jon Mee (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 271. See Richard Marggraf Turley, *Keats's Boyish Imagination* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 38–9.

16. Andrew Bennett, *The Romantic Poets and the Culture of Posterity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 147.
17. William Hazlitt, 'Lord Byron', *The Spirit of the Age* (London: Colburn, 1825), pp. 159–81 (180).
18. *The Solicitors' Journal and Reporter: Volume IV – 1859–60. November 12, 1859, to November 3, 1860* (1860), pp. 331–2.
19. William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1905), vol. 2, p. 417.
20. Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White*, 3 vols (London: Sampson Low, Son & Co, 1860), vol. 2, p. 68. On the painting's influence on Collins and other Victorian writers see Julie Crane, "'Wandering between Two Worlds": The Victorian Afterlife of Thomas Chatterton', in Andrew Radford and Mark Sandy (eds), *Romantic Echoes in the Victorian Era* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 27–37.
21. Nick Groom, 'Introduction', *Romantic Culture*, pp. 3–11 (9).
22. T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), pp. 184–5.
23. Quoted in Roger C. Lewis, 'A Misattribution: Oscar Wilde's "Unpublished Sonnet on Chatterton"', *Victorian Poetry* 28.2 (1990), pp. 164–9 (166). For a detailed account of Wilde's treatment of Chatterton, including notes for a lecture in 1886, see Paul Saint-Armour, *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 97–106.
24. T. H. Ward (gen. ed.), *The English Poets*, 4 vols (London: Macmillan, 1880), vol. 3, p. 401.
25. David Biespiel and Rose Solari, 'Stanley Plumly: An Interview', *American Poetry Review* 24.3 (1995), pp. 43–50.
26. *New Criterion* 22 (2004), pp. 72–4 (72). My emphasis.
27. *The Times* (28 November 2001), p. 21.

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Index

- Ackroyd, Peter, 1–2, 203
Addison, Joseph, 13, 15–21, 99, 102
Anderson, Robert, 21
 Works of the British Poets, 172
 The Annual Register, 42, 99, 102
antiquarianism, 25–31, 93–107,
 114–22, 163–6, 185–6
An Archaeological Epistle, 95, 113–14
Ashby, George, 59–64, 67–8
- Badcock, Samuel, 105
Bailey, Nathan, *Universal Etymological
 English Dictionary*, 18, 200
Baines, Paul, 5, 85, 88–9, 194
Baker, David Erskine *see Biographia
 Dramatica*
Baker, John, 76, 149, 151
ballads, 3, 14, 16–19, 34, 41, 48–9
Barrett, William, 25–6, 39–43, 47,
 50–2, 57, 63, 67, 98, 100, 118,
 151, 156
 *History and Antiquities of the City
 of Bristol*, 34, 51, 163–6, 175–6,
 180–1, 190
Bartolozzi, Francesco, 171
Bate, Jonathan, 187
Beattie, James, 17, 22, 29
Becket, Thomas, 138, 147
Benedict, Barbara M., 130–1
Bennett, Andrew, 200
Bentley, Richard, 29, 35–6, 45, 113
Biographia Britannica, 137–8, 154–5
Biographia Dramatica, 140
Blake, William, 186
 The Bouquet, 173
Bourdieu, Pierre, 116
Britton, John, *An Historical and
 Architectural Essay*, 190–1
Broughton, John, 69–75
Browning, Robert, 198
Burgum, Henry, 151
Burns, Robert, 17, 183
Busby, Thomas, *The Age of Genius*, 15
- Butler, Marilyn, 5, 6, 30
Bryant, Jacob, 29, 54, 94, 96, 109,
 114–16, 118, 123–4, 126, 156,
 168, 185, 189
 A New System, 104–5
 Observations upon the Poems, 34,
 103–7
Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 188,
 195–6
 ‘Monody on Sheridan’, 199
- The Cabinet*, 176
Camden, William, 51, 81
Campbell, Thomas, 6
 Specimens of the British Poets,
 194–5
Canyng(e), William, 19, 42, 45,
 51–4, 66–7, 80, 96, 108, 110,
 165–6
Cary, Henry Francis, 8, 195–6
Cary, Thomas, 77, 78, 86–8
Catcott, Alexander, 150–1
 Treatise on the Deluge, 150
Catcott, George Symes, 25–6, 34,
 39–43, 46–9, 51, 57, 63, 66, 80,
 89, 95–6, 100, 108, 118, 136,
 145–6, 149–50, 152–3, 173, 177,
 181
Cawthorn, James, 22
Chalmers, Alexander, 6
 *Works of the English Poets from
 Chaucer to Cowper*, 191
Chalmers, Lionel, 95, 99
Chatterton, Thomas
 editions and separate publications:
 *The Complete Works of Thomas
 Chatterton*, 3, 26, 71; *The
 Execution of Sir Charles Bawdin*,
 34, 39–42, 48–9, 101, 191;
 Miscellanies in Prose and Verse,
 12, 25–6, 69–88, 93, 107,
 117, 130–1, 136–8, 141, 143,
 146–7, 153, 166, 172, 180;

Chatterton, Thomas – *continued*

Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Bristol (1777), 1, 25, 31, 36, 42–55, 69–75, 77, 88, 100–4, 108–9, 111, 125, 162, 164, 166, 268, 172, 179–80, 191; *Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Bristol* (1781), 26, 34, 107–13, 118, 121, 123, 125, 164, 166, 168, 179–80; *Poems, Supposed to have been Written at Bristol* (1794), 2, 26, 55, 166–70, 180; *The Revenge*, 26, 174, 178, 180; *The Romavnte of a Knyghte*, 153; *Supplement to Chatterton's Miscellanies. Kew Gardens*, 26, 153–4; *A Supplement to the Miscellanies*, 26, 147–54, 179, 181; *The Works of Thomas Chatterton*, 2, 26, 175–86, 196, 199–200

individual works: 'The Accounte of W. Canynges Feast', 53–4, 101–2, 108, 168; 'The Advice', 78–9; *Ælla*, 40, 42, 49–50, 63, 65–6, 77, 81, 96, 101, 110, 112, 121–3, 136, 143, 145, 157, 164, 168, 173, 188, 190, 195, 199–200; African Eclogues, 70, 77, 79, 88, 178, 198–9; *Anecdote of Chaucer*, 81; *Antiquity of Christmas Games*, 81; 'Apostate Will', 136, 157, 178; 'The Art of Puffing', 70; *Astrea Brokage*, 74, 85–6; The Battle of Hastings epics, 42, 45, 50–1, 57–8, 63, 65, 77, 101, 105, 110, 116, 120, 157, 163–4, 168, 180, 184, 190, 195; *Bridge Narrative*, 39, 51, 75, 108, 157; *A Brief Account of William Cannings*, 51; *Bristowe Tragedie*, 40, 48–9, 63, 65, 80, 110, 157, 173, 180, 184, 190, 195 (see also editions and separate publications: *The Execution of Sir Charles Bawdin*); 'A Burlesque Cantata', 153; 'Colin Instructed', 152; 'The Constabiliad', 79; 'The Consuliad', 79; 'The Copernican System', 79; 'The Death of

Nicou', 178, 199; 'The Defence', 150; *A Discorse on Brystowe*, 51–2, 108, 165; 'Elegy [Joyless I seek the solitary shade]', 79, 147; 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. John Tandey, Senr.', 178; 'Elinoure and Juga', 7, 39, 42, 45, 46–7, 65, 101, 106, 173, 179–80, 190; English Eclogues, 42, 45–6, 101, 117, 157, 180, 184, 195; *Englysh Metamorphosis*, 42, 50, 110; 'Ethelgar', 76; 'An Excelente Balade of Charitie', 8, 42, 50, 56, 110, 137, 157, 173, 198; 'The Exhibition', 136, 157, 177; *The False Step*, 85–6; 'Fanny of the Hill', 153; 'February, an elegy', 77–9, 178; *Goddwyn*, 42, 50, 63, 121, 157, 173, 190; 'Godred Crovan', 147; 'Happiness', 136; 'The Happy Pair', 199; *Hardinge*, 165; *Historie of Peynceters yn Englande*, 165; Hunter of Oddities, 85–6, 180; 'A Hymn for Christmas Day', 178, 183, 195; *Journal 6th*, 178–9; 'Kew Gardens', 91, 152–3, 157, 177; *Maria Friendless*, 74, 85–6, 147; *Memoirs of a Sad Dog*, 74, 83–5, 137, 147, 180; 'The Methodist', 150, 152; 'Narva and Mored', 77, 117–18, 147, 178, 199; 'Ode to Miss H—l—d', 149; *The Parlyamente of Sprytes*, 108, 165–6; 'The Resignation', 136, 177, 188, 196; *Rowley's Heraldic Account*, 52; *The Ryse of Peyncteynge*, 165; *Saxon Achievements*, 81–2; 'Sentiment', 3, 7, 144, 148, 150; 'Sly Dick', 178; 'Songe to Ælla', 42, 45, 47, 58, 97, 101, 110, 114, 173; 'Third Mynstrelles Songe' see *Ælla*; 'To a Friend', 149; 'To a Lady playing on the Harpsichord', 173; 'To Miss C—ke', 149; 'To Miss H—l—d', 149; 'To the Beauteous Miss H—l—d', 149; *The Tournament*, 40, 48,

- 65, 101, 180; *The Unfortunate Fathers*, 86–7; 'The Unknown Knight', 48, 199; 'The Whore of Babylon', 153, 177, 179; 'Will', 7–8, 131, 148, 151–2, 159, 180–1; 'The Woman of Spirit', 153; *Yellow Roll*, 97, 165, 168
- dubia: *The Adventures of a Star*, 83–5; *Anecdote concerning Judge Jeffries*, 81; *Anecdote of Lord C—d*, 88; 'Elegy, on W. Beckford, Esq.', 79, 178; *On the Origin, Nature and Design of Sculpture*, 83; 'The Polite Advertiser', 180; 'The Prophecy', 70, 80, 177; *Tony Selwood Letter*, 85–6
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 14, 16, 18, 36–7, 41–9, 54–5, 103, 107–9, 115–16, 121, 125–6, 168
- Churchill, Charles, 77–9, 87, 91, 150, 179
- Clare, John, 196
- Clarke, Sally, 149
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 141, 160, 175–6, 194, 196, 197, 202
- 'Kubla Khan', 198–9
- 'Monody on the Death of Chatterton', 2, 23, 55, 130, 166, 169, 175, 197–8
- Collins, Wilkie, *The Woman in White*, 201–2
- Cooke, George, 95–6
- Cooper, Elizabeth, *Muses Library*, 17, 41, 65, 106–7
- Cottle, Joseph, 2–3, 13, 26, 175–86, 197–200
- Cowley, Abraham, 21, 124
- Cowley, Hannah, 129–30, 169
- Critical Review*, 55–8, 61, 68, 81–3, 104, 108, 111–13, 119, 122, 124, 127, 134–5
- Croft, Herbert
- Chatterton and 'Love and Madness'*, 177–8
- The Literary Fly*, 134
- Love and Madness*, 7, 11, 94, 109, 133–40, 144, 147, 172, 178, 187
- Curlism, 85
- Davidson, Lucretia, 203
- Davis, John, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton*, 188, 190
- De Quincey, Thomas, 169
- De Vigny, Alfred, 203
- disinterestedness, 630–1, 38–9, 44, 55, 59, 71–3, 101–2, 122, 127–8, 134, 154, 162, 185, 210n74
- D'Israeli, Isaac, 22–3, 156, 206n4
- Dodd, William, *Beauties of Shakespeare*, 19
- Dodsley, James, 39, 49
- Domesday Book, 99, 116
- Dryden, John, 16, 20, 21, 23, 49, 72, 112, 116, 121, 125, 188–90
- Duck, Stephen, 14, 73
- Duff, William, 14, 18, 25, 60, 162
- An Essay on Original Genius*, 22
- Duncombe, John, 62–4
- Edinburgh Review*, 182–5, 199
- Erämetsä, Erik, 142
- European Magazine*, 114, 158, 162, 166, 173–4, 186
- Evans, Evan, *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards*, 16, 76
- Evans, John, 193
- Evans, Thomas, *Old Ballads*, 48–9
- An Examination of the Poems*, 119
- Fairer, David, 98, 100, 139–40
- Farmer, Richard, 13, 97
- Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 39, 75
- Fell, John (see *Observations on the Poems*)
- Fellowes, Robert, 234n117
- The Festival of Wit*, 138
- Fitzherbert, William, 72
- Flaxman, John, *Chatterton Receiving the Cup of Despair*, 144
- Foote, Samuel, 77–8, 86
- forgery, 4–5, 7, 58, 89–90, 94, 97–9, 112, 126, 135, 140, 183, 187–8, 201–2
- Fowler, Jack, 78–9, 152
- Freeman, Arthur, 115
- Fry, Thomas, 39–41, 46–7, 137

- Gardenstone, Lord, 10
 Gardner, Edward, 173–5, 178
 Gascoyne, David, 203
 Gaulmier, A. E., 203
 genius, 15–21
 and precocity, 21–5, 192–3
Gentleman's Magazine, 28–9, 56,
 58–68, 69, 70, 73, 79–80, 83–4,
 89, 94, 95, 104, 105–6, 111–14,
 118–19, 124, 134, 143, 148–9,
 155, 162–3, 175, 177, 185–6
Genuine Copy of a Letter, 91–2
 Gerard, Alexander, 14, 131, 162
 An Essay on Genius, 22
 Glynn, Robert, 13, 94, 118, 124, 176,
 179
 Godwin, William, 132
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *The
 Sorrows of Young Werther*, 25, 132–3
 Goldberg, Brian, 135
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 20, 40, 49, 78, 83
 Gough, Richard, 30, 33, 42, 67, 158,
 165
 Grafton, Anthony, 5, 53
 Graham, Walter, 56, 70
 Gray, Thomas, 17, 47, 58, 66, 72, 91,
 98, 125, 155, 189
 Greene, Edward Burnaby, *Strictures
 upon a Pamphlet*, 122
 Gregory, George, *The Life of Thomas
 Chatterton*, 11, 21, 80, 132, 137,
 154–9, 172, 175–8, 181, 183, 185,
 189–91, 193
 Groom, Nick, 4–6, 69, 76, 88, 103,
 164, 175–7, 198, 202
Grub Street Journal, 35
 handkerchiefs, 1, 24, 131, 139–40,
 144, 159, 171
 Hardinge, George, *Rowley and
 Chatterton in the Shades*, 126–7
 Harris, James, 96
 Haslewood, Joseph, 176–8, 180
 Haywood, Ian, 5
 Hazlitt, William, 20–1, 32, 141, 196
 Lectures on the English Poets, 2, 10,
 13, 15, 20–3, 186, 192–5
 Select British Poets, 195
 The Spirit of the Age, 201
 Hearne, Thomas, 106–7
 Henley, Samuel, 163
 Hesiod, 206–7n10
 Hickford, Rayner *see Observations on
 the Poems*
 Higgins, David, 162
 Hogarth, William, *The Distrest Poet*,
 24, 139, 144, 163
 Holinshed, Raphael, 105, 116, 120
 Holmes, Richard, 6
 Homer, 14, 17, 21, 28, 81, 108–10,
 113, 142, 168, 193
 Hoyland, Eleanor, 149, 151, 174
 Hume, David, 9, 148
 Hunt, William Holman, 201
 Hurd, Richard, 16, 98, 121
 Ireland, William Henry, 2, 5
 Neglected Genius, 24–5, 187–8
 Jenkins, Richard, *The Ode, Songs,
 Chorusses*, 145–6, 192
 Johnson, Samuel, 2–3, 15, 19–20,
 22, 27–9, 36, 40, 43, 59, 66,
 73, 77–8, 85, 135, 154, 155, 173,
 179
 Jones, Richard W., 146
 Junius, 20, 79, 91
 The Juvenile Club, 78–9
 Kaplan, Louise J., 85, 158
 Kearsley, George, 138
 Keats, John, 2, 8, 9, 194, 197–203
 Endymion, 9–10
 ‘Fancy’, 199
 ‘To Autumn’, 199–200
 Kersey, John, *Dictionarium
 Anglo-Britannicum*, 18, 46
 Kippis, Andrew, 137, 154–5
 Knox, Vicesimus, 8, 131, 140–5,
 156–9, 188, 193
 Elegant Extracts, 173, 195
 Kosegarten, Ludwig Theoboul,
 Brittisches Odeon, 173
 Kramnick, Jonathan Brody, 161
 Kuist, James M., 115
 Ladgate *see Lydgate*, John
The Lady's Magazine, 145

- Lamb, Charles, 'To Sara and Her Samuel', 198
- Lambert, John, 151
- Leland, John, 102, 166, 222n57
- Levinson, Marjorie, 33
- literary curiosities, 26, 37, 45–55, 67, 70, 80, 114, 162, 181
- The Literary Museum*, 173
- Lolla, Maria Grazia, 105, 154
- London Magazine*, 77, 195–6
- London Review*, 188
- London Review of English and Foreign Literature*, 56
- Lort, Michael, 13, 40, 42, 67, 71–2, 137, 148, 153, 156, 164–5
- The Lounger's Miscellany*, 140
- Lucian, 126
- Lydgate, John, 19, 45, 47–8, 116, 126
- Lynch, Jack, 5
- McGann, Jerome J., 30, 32
- McKenzie, D. F., 32
- Macpherson, James *see* Ossian
- Martial, 197
- Malone, Edmond, 13, 21, 27, 31, 33, 44, 94–6, 121–2, 124, 161, 190, 193–4
- Cursory Observations on the Poems*, 114–19
- Mason, William, 13, 113, 121
- Mathias, Thomas James, *Essay on the Evidence, External and Internal*, 34, 124–6
- medievalism, 2–3, 16–19, 38, 47, 90, 124, 173
- Meyerstein, E. H. W., 10, 59, 79, 87, 103, 153–4, 160, 166
- Mickle, William Julius, 49
- The Prophecy of Queen Emma*, 127
- Middlesex Journal*, 70, 153
- Milles, Jeremiah, 26, 29, 31, 54–5, 57, 94–6, 107–26, 156, 168, 180, 189
- Milton, John, 4, 14, 20–1, 35–6, 50, 66, 113, 158, 188, 194, 200
- Monthly Magazine*, 162, 175–7
- Monthly Mirror*, 162
- Monthly Review*, 41, 56–7, 64, 89, 103–4, 113, 119, 122, 124, 148–9, 157–8, 186, 188
- Monthly Visitor*, 171
- Moore, Charles, 132–3
- neglected genius, 3, 11–12, 14, 24, 55, 72, 105, 110, 131, 159, 162–3, 181–2
- Neve, Philip, 36
- A New and General Biographical Dictionary*, 141
- The New Annual Register*, 103, 134, 144–5
- The New Novelist's Magazine*, 147
- New Review*, 124
- Newlyn, Lucy, 162
- Nichols, John, 44, 114, 138
- Observations on the Poems*, 122–3
- On the Preference of Virtue to Genius*, 8
- Orme, Edward *see* Singleton, Henry
- Ossian, 5, 7, 17–18, 20, 25, 29, 59–60, 70, 76–80, 85, 91, 95, 124, 126–7, 180, 184, 187
- Panikkar, V. C. Balakrishna, 203
- Parini, Giuseppe, *A Fashionable Day*, 138
- patriotism, 7, 70, 79, 85, 87, 137, 143, 146, 153, 157, 178–9: *see also* radicalism
- Payne, Thomas, 42, 108, 138
- Percy, Thomas, 13–14, 41, 92, 97–8, 106–7, 119, 127, 137, 148, 165
- Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 16, 19, 33, 41, 97, 125, 187
- Pittock, Joan, 126
- Plumly, Stanley, 203
- The Poetical Epitome*, 173
- Pope, Alexander, 14, 21, 24, 28, 35, 72, 85, 98, 106, 112, 115–16, 125, 173, 188
- pride, 8–10, 24, 130–1, 140, 142–3, 156, 158, 165–6, 169–70, 183, 189–91, 198
- Purshouse, Abraham, *An Essay on Genius*, 22
- Quarterly Review*, 162, 191–2

- radicalism, 4, 79–80, 135, 145–6, 153, 157, 159, 161–2, 169, 192, 196
(*see also* patriotism)
- Rawson, Claude, 28
- Reed, Isaac, 153
- Retzer, Joseph, *Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces*, 147
- Reynolds, Joshua, 22
- Ritson, Joseph, 29, 33, 44, 118–19
The English Anthology, 172–3
- Roach, John, *Roach's Beauties of the Modern Poets*, 173
- Robertson, Joseph, 213n85 (*see also* *Critical Review*)
- Robinson, Mary, 2, 129
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 2, 21, 202
- The Rowley Controversy, 4–5, 28–9, 37–9, 48, 58, 80, 89, 91–128, 132–5, 142, 154–5, 158, 163–4, 184–6, 189–91, 195
- Rushton, Edward, 160
- Russett, Margaret, 5
- Ruthven, K. K., 5
- Sackville–West, Vita, 203
- Savage, Richard, 14, 135
Scots Magazine, 158
- Scott, John, 63–4
- Scott, Walter, 13, 116, 182–5, 195, 199
- sentimentalism, 4, 7, 11, 20, 24–6, 70, 78, 83, 85–8, 128–59, 160–3, 170, 177–8, 182, 184, 188, 204
- Shakespeare, William, 4, 9, 14, 15–17, 20, 21, 36–8, 47, 49, 55, 58, 66, 71–2, 105, 107, 113, 116–17, 138, 142, 155, 157, 168, 174, 185, 187, 189–90, 193–4
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 202
Adonais, 8
- Sherwen, John, 195
Introduction to an Examination, 185–6
- Singleton, Henry, *Death of Chatterton*, 170–1
- Skeat, Walter, 3, 74, 116
- Skinner, Stephen, 55, 103, 116
- Smith, Orton, 240n127
- Smollett, Tobias, 20, 83, 91
- Southey, Robert, 2–3, 13, 26, 160–1, 175–86, 188, 191–2, 197–200
- Speght, Thomas, 18, 43, 55, 81
- Spenser, Edmund, 14, 16, 18, 20, 25, 50, 105, 121, 126, 189
- St Clair, William, 32
- St James's Chronicle*, 29, 72, 75, 94–5, 105, 107, 112–13
- St Mary Redcliffe church, 19, 40, 51, 118, 145, 168, 198
- Steevens, George, 13, 19, 38, 93–5, 104, 105, 107, 112–13, 115, 118, 121, 127
- Sterne, Laurence, 5, 14, 25, 69, 73, 83, 143–4, 148
- Stockdale, Percival, 9, 13
Lectures on the Truly Eminent English Poets, 188–91, 193
- Stukeley, William, 104, 120
- Suarez sj, Michael F., 7
- suicide, 2, 6, 10, 14, 25, 62, 87–8, 131–2, 135, 138, 140, 143, 147–8, 150, 155, 169, 187, 198, 202
- Surr, T. S., *George Barnwell: a novel*, 154
- Sweet, Rosemary, 30, 58–9
- Symmons, Sarah, 144
- Symonds, H. D., 171–2
- Tanselle, G. Thomas, 42–3
- Taylor, Donald S., 42, 52, 68, 71, 79–80, 83, 115, 136
- Temple, William, 29, 206n10
- Theobald, James, 166
- Theobald, Lewis, 35–7, 45
- Thicknesse, Philip, 144–5, 159, 188
- Thistlethwaite, James, 111, 115
- Thomas, Dylan, 203
- Thompson, Francis, 198
- Tickell, Thomas, 23
- Todd, Janet, 130
- Town and Country Magazine*, 39, 46, 51, 70–6, 81, 83, 85–6, 88, 133
- The Treasury of Wit*, 138
- Trusler, John, 140
- Turner v. Robinson, 201
- Twining, Thomas, 28
- Tyler, Royall, *The Yankey in London*, 187–8

- Tyrwhitt, Thomas, 25–6, 114
Appendix, 53–4, 102–3, 108–9, 111, 123, 127
The Canterbury Tales of Chaucer, 36–7, 42–4, 107
A Vindication of the Appendix to the Poems, 54–5, 123–4
- University Magazine, 168
- Upton, John, 36–7
- Velley, Thomas, 41
- Waldron, Francis Godolphin, 187
- Wallis, Henry, *The Death of Chatterton*, 2, 10, 201
- Walpole, Horace, 11, 20, 25, 39–40, 72–4, 78–80, 83, 111, 115, 135, 137, 141, 144, 156, 158, 165–6, 169, 173–5, 181, 183, 188–91, 193
The Castle of Otranto, 90, 137, 187
Letter to the Editor of the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton, 20, 73, 88–92, 115, 135, 156, 174
The Works of Horatio Walpole, 174–5
- The Walpole–Chatterton Controversy, 11, 88–92, 156, 158, 163–5, 173, 181, 188
- Walsh, Marcus, 37, 53
- Walsh, Robert, 6
Works of the British Poets, 195
- Warton, Thomas, 97–103
An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems, 89, 99, 118–21, 125
The History of English Poetry, 6, 27–8, 31, 38, 65, 69, 98–103, 111, 116, 118, 120–1, 142, 164
- Watts, W. Theodore, 202
- Werteromania *see* Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von
- Weston, Stephen, 94, 163
- White, Henry Kirke, 175, 182, 203
- Wilde, Oscar, 202
- Wilkes, John, 4, 77–8, 80, 83, 136, 154, 157, 166, 196
- Williams, Edward, 181
- Woodward, Francis, 40–1, 102
- Wordsworth, William, 186, 192, 194, 196
‘Dirge, Sung by a Minstrel’, 199
‘Resolution and Independence’, 1, 8, 10, 23, 50, 189, 198, 202–3
- Wray, Daniel, 40
- Wright, Thomas, 36
- Yearsley, Ann, 130, 144
- Young, Edward, *Conjectures on Original Composition*, 13–14, 16–18, 60, 131, 160, 162, 174, 188, 192, 203