Literary Philanthropy in the British Romantic Period (1792-1833)

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Abstract

This thesis explores the concept of literary philanthropy, defining it as a concept using the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories of capital. The thesis applies this concept to a selection of writings produced in Britain in the Romantic period. It identifies and analyses three forms of literary philanthropy: networked literary philanthropy, political literary philanthropy, and posthumous literary philanthropy. The thesis argues that these three concepts, though not exhaustive, suggest the different ways in which literature was used to foster philanthropic endeavours within the Romantic period. They are illustrated via case studies of works by Joanna Baillie, Penelope Blencowe, James Montgomery, and Elizabeth Heyrick, and on the relationship between Robert Southey and Henry Kirke White.

My analysis consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. The introduction distinguishes philanthropy from terms often used synonymously such as 'charity' and draws on Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* to argue for the existence of three different types of literary philanthropy in the Romantic period. Three chapters then discuss each of these three types. Chapter 1 focuses on networked literary philanthropy using case studies of Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript* and Penelope Blencowe's *The Casket* to explore how extensive social and literary networks were mobilised to alleviate the poverty of specific individuals. Chapter 2 considers political literary philanthropy via case studies of James Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album* and Elizabeth Heyrick and Susannah Watt's *The Humming Bird*. These case studies examine the use of literature as a form of philanthropy to promote and further specific targeted political causes. Chapter 3 considers posthumous literary

philanthropy via a case study of Robert Southey's editions of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White*. It considers the reputational rescue of a recently deceased poet, preserving the poet's legacy while providing financial assistance to the deceased's family.

My conclusion summarises the findings of chapters 1-3 and argues that whilst the immediate impact of my chosen texts was variable, my case studies reveal that literary philanthropy could be a potent force for enacting or preventing change and demonstrates the power literature had during the Romantic period. The conclusion also suggests potential future areas of research in the field.

Two Appendices provide a searchable record of the many authors and subscribers who contributed to Baillie's *A Collection* and Blencowe's *The Casket* (discussed in Chapter 1). These bring together and facilitate the analysis of a large dataset containing information about those who either contributed to or had the means to purchase two works with avowedly philanthropic aims.

Introduction

This thesis aims to explore the concept of literary philanthropy, defining it as a concept using the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories of capital and applying these to a selection of writings produced in Britain in the Romantic period. While the latter could have many dates given to it, this thesis will primarily use the dates 1792-1833. These have been chosen as the earliest and latest points of sustained relevance to the case studies examined in this thesis: James Montgomery's move to Sheffield and the beginning of his literary activism in 1792, and the passing of the slavery abolition act in 1833. While both these examples are most pertinent to Chapter 2 of this thesis, the primary events of my other case studies also fall within these same years.

I will identify and analyse three forms of literary philanthropy: 'networked literary philanthropy', 'political literary philanthropy', and 'posthumous literary philanthropy'. My three conceptions of literary philanthropy, though not exhaustive, suggest the different ways in which literature was used to further philanthropic endeavours within the Romantic period. They will be explored in case studies of Joanna Baillie, Penelope Blencowe, James Montgomery, Elizabeth Heyrick, and the relationship between Robert Southey and Henry Kirke White.

I will argue that literary philanthropy is a practice rooted in the exchange of capital (economic, social, and cultural) and prevalent in a variety of forms within the Romantic period. In order to illustrate and investigate this, my chosen case studies cover a wide selection of authors, editors, and audiences from different socio-economic, religious and geographical backgrounds in Romantic period Britain.

The Romantic period: contexts of philanthropy

My focus is on the Romantic period because it saw both increasing popular use of the term 'philanthropy', which 'became widely used in Britain only from 1750', and a drastic shift in the forms that philanthropy took.[1] The process of industrialisation and the expanding middle classes created circumstances that enabled the bourgeoise to form societies and voluntary associations for a wide variety of causes and interests, including, philosophical, scientific, and artistic ones. This was a gradual process, one slowed, and – in the case of political societies, temporarily reversed – in the 1790s in response to the French revolution and the counter-revolutionary fears of the British government.

Newly-founded organisations included the provincial literary and philosophical societies formed in many large northern cities, including Manchester (1781), Newcastle (1793), Leeds (1819), and Sheffield (1822).[2] Medical and scientific societies were also formed – such as the Medical Society of London (1773), the Manchester Board of Health (1796) and the Linnean Society of London (1788).[3] While many of these societies existed for general promotion of their founders' interests, be they philosophical, scientific, or artistic, others were founded for more explicitly philanthropic and political endeavours such as the Committee for the Relief

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[1] Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy Since 1750: Britain and Beyond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), p.1.
[2] 'Our History', *Manchester Lit and Phil*, https://www.manlitphil.ac.uk/about-us/our-history/ [18/2/2023]; 'About us', *The Lit and Phil*, https://www.litandphil.org.uk/about-us/ [18/2/2023]; 'Our History', *Leeds Phil and Lit*, https://www.leedsphilandlit.org.uk/about-the-society/our-history/ [18/2/2023]; William Smith Porter, *Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society: A Centenary Retrospect 1822-1922* (Sheffield: J.W. Northend, 1922).
[3] 'Our History', *The Medical Society of London*, https://medsoclondon.org/history-of-the-medical-society-of-london/ ;'The Manchester Board of Health, 1805-1939. The Manchester Medical Collection: Sections 3-16. University of Manchester Library. GB 133 MMC/13/1, https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/b489e047-e6b1-3992-aaa3-5e40e2147729?component=cc9e69a5-8cdf-3853-9bb5-ba584a870037 ; 'About Us', *The Linnean Society of London*, https://www.linnean.org/the-society.

of the Black Poor (1786), the Society for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (1787), the Philanthropic Society 'for the Prevention of Crimes, and for a Reform among the Poor; By training up to Virtue and Industry Vagrant Children, and such who are in the Paths of Vice and Infamy; To Save them from Ruin, and prevent their becoming injurious to Society' (1788), and the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland (1832).[4]

The gradual opening up of the 'public sphere' to include a much wider range of people meant that philanthropy was, as Michael J. D. Roberts argues:

> no longer directly regulated by state or ecclesiastical authority, these bodies no longer relied on such authority either for the setting of policy goals or for funding. They were thus more flexible organisations; they were not tied to the need to seek recruits from any pre-existing geographical area, or occupational status or even religious grouping.[5]

These new, Romantic period philanthropists saw themselves 'as part of an international union of "the common friends of mankind throughout the civilized world"'.'[6] Within this context of new philanthropic agents, an expanding literary marketplace, and the transformation of Britain into what William St Clair has

[4] Stephen J Braidwood, *Black poor and white philanthropists : London's Blacks and the foundation of the Sierra Leone settlement, 1786-1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp.50-51; G. M. Ditchfield, 'Society for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy,* p.71; William Beattie, M.D., *The Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell* (London: Edward Moxon, 1849), p.101.
[5] Michael J. D. Roberts, 'Head versus Heart? Voluntary Associations and Charity Organization in England, c. 1700-1850', in *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850*, ed. Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp.66-86; p.67.
[6] IBID, p.7.

described as ‘the reading nation’, literary philanthropy became a logical and culturally pertinent avenue for philanthropic effort.[7]

It would, though, be a mistake to simplify the rise of philanthropy to a few key factors. Hugh Cunningham’s work on the history of philanthropy cautions against historicising philanthropy as a phenomenon rooted primarily in ‘the expansion of voluntary societies that built hospitals, founded charity schools and established the Founding Hospital and Marine society. These achievements were considerable and imposed their presence on urban landscapes and in public consciousness. Yet none of them was proclaimed at the time as a manifestation of philanthropy.’[8] He stresses the importance that ‘Philanthropy had its origins in print and in the feelings that were stirred up in reading about it. It was experienced in the body… It was as much part of the Romantic Movement as it was of the Enlightenment’.[9] While providing a helpful justification for a study of literary philanthropy in the Romantic period, Cunningham’s observation is an important reminder that intellectual and theological development are as crucial for the rise of British philanthropy as the expansion of the middle classes, and the changes brought by increasing urbanisation.

As Cunningham highlights, 'The historiography of philanthropy is sparse’.[10] Philanthropy is currently a relatively understudied concept and practice, particularly from a literary-historical perspective. Studies of philanthropy, and similar concepts – charity, gift giving, hospitality, and volunteering - do exist within many fields. An example of this would be Jacques Derrida’s philosophical consideration of hospitality, psychological and sociological studies of benevolence or anthropologic

[7] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period*, 2nd Edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[8] Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy*, p.44.
[9] IBID.
[10] IBID.

studies of gift giving.[11] Yet relatively little attention has been paid to the history of philanthropy within Britain and to its' intersections with literary culture and production. Of these, the most prominent and relevant historically-focused accounts are Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes's *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform* (1998) and Hugh Cunningham's invaluable *The Reputation of Philanthropy since 1750* (2020).[12] Studies that have addressed key points of crossover between literature and philanthropy, include Matthew Sangster's ground-breaking analysis of the activities of the Royal Literary Fund (2021), J. Andrew Hubbell's account of the influence of Wordsworth's *The Excursion* on Romantic philanthropy, and summaries, such as Michael Ferber's, of the general 'social vision' of Romanticism – of which philanthropy is part.[13] Others have used Romantic literature to justify philanthropic actions in the present day.[14] There is, however, little work on how literature during the Romantic period was employed for philanthropic effect. This thesis aims to make a contribution to addressing this gap.

Terminology: 'Philanthropy', 'Charity' and 'Patronage' in the Romantic period

I will now explain why I have chosen to use the term 'philanthropy' as opposed to 'charity', 'patronage', or 'benevolence'. Charity is perhaps the most widely used term to describe many of the acts considered in this thesis; however it is

[11] Kevin O'Gorman, 'Jacques Derrida's philosophy of hospitality', *The Hospitality Review*, vol. 8 (2006), 50-7.
[12] 'Introduction', *Charity Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850* ed. Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes; Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy.*
[13] Matthew Sangster, *Living as an Author in the Romantic Period* (Cham: Palgrave, 2021); J. Andrew Hubbell, 'Wordsworth's Excursion in Romantic Philanthropy', *European Romantic Review*, 18 (2007), 43-68; Michael Ferber, 'The social vision of Romanticism', *Romanticism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.93-120.
[14] Andrew Rudd, 'Why give to charity? A Romantic View of helping the needy', *The Conversation* (28th April, 2016); https://theconversation.com/why-give-to-charity-a-romantic-view-of-helping-the-needy-55908 [17/2/2023].

precisely this wide usage that makes the term less helpful.[15] The context of the Romantic period also creates further complication, as 'in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the terms 'charity' and 'philanthropy', like the modern term 'welfare', designated broad areas of concern, rather than particular modes of addressing those concerns.'[16] This is not to say that these terms are simply interchangeable (although there is a large degree of potentially confusing overlap between them), but rather that the period covered by this thesis witnessed a key shift in focus between what was considered 'charity' and what was considered 'philanthropy'. This change began before the Romantic period and continued to evolve within it, as Cunningham notes: 'they [people in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries] then accorded to charity a religious inspiration and purpose and to philanthropy a more distinctly secular orientation.'[17]

This distinction can be seen in dictionary definitions and the etymology of the two words. First, I will consider philanthropy, and its components:

'philos' – lover of, friend of

'anthropy' – 'man' (as in, Humanity)

The *Oxford English Dictionary* currently defines philanthropy as:

[15] Google Books Ngram Viewer, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Charity%2C+Philanthropy&year_start=1780&year_end=2019&corpus=en-2019&smoothing=3# [17/2/2023] and https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=Philanthropy&year_start=1600&year_end=2022&corpus=en&smoothing=3 [05/05/2025]
[16] 'Introduction', *Charity Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850* ed. Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, p.2.
[17] IBID

> Love of mankind; the disposition or active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of others; practical benevolence, now esp. as expressed by the generous donation of money to good causes.[18]

Samuel Johnson was briefer, and in his 1755 *Dictionary* defined philanthropy as 'Love of mankind, good nature.'[19] The *OED*'s addition of the focus on practical benevolence thus demonstrates the shift of focus that industrialisation and the empowering of the middle classes brought. An example cited in the *OED* entry helpfully falls within the Romantic period. It comes from Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Falkland*, published in 1827: 'While I felt aversion for the few whom I knew, I glowed with philanthropy for the crowd which I knew not.'[20] Absent from this quote is the 'practical' aspect of benevolence that I argue differentiates philanthropy from charity. Instead, Bulwer-Lytton's usage provides an example of a less explicitly religious view of benevolence, more humanitarian and enlightened than theological.

Charity as a term is more complex. The following definitions from the *Oxford English Dictionary* are relevant for my discussion here:

1. Christian love: a word representing *caritas* of the Vulgate, as a frequent rendering of *ἀγάπη* in New Testament Greek.
2. Without any specially Christian associations: Love, kindness, affection, natural affection: now esp. with some notion of generous or spontaneous goodness.
3. a. A disposition to judge leniently and hopefully of the character, aims, and destinies of others, to make allowance for their apparent faults and shortcomings; large-heartedness. (But often it amounts barely to fair-mindedness

[18] 'Philanthropy', *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/142408?redirectedFrom=philanthropy#eid [08/09/2020]
[19] 'Philanthropy' philanthropy, n.s. (1755) (johnsonsdictionaryonline.com).
[20] IBID; Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Falkland*, (London: Henry Colburn,1827) p.26

towards people disapproved of or disliked, this being appraised as a magnanimous virtue.)

4. Benevolence to one's neighbours, especially to the poor; the practical beneficences in which this manifests itself.
5. That which is given in charity; alms.
6. A bequest, foundation, institution, etc., for the benefit of others, esp. of the poor or helpless.[21]

Johnson's dictionary is very similar:

1. Tenderness; kindness; love.
2. Goodwill; benevolence; disposition to think well of others.
3. The theological virtue of universal love.
4. Liberality to the poor.
5. Alms; relief given to the poor.

All these definitions are relevant for literary philanthropy, though often specifically theological. This is crucial in that it suggests the motivation of the actions considered here as 'charity' are fundamentally Christian, be that Anglican or another denomination. Charity, therefore, is a term more suited either to the almost ritualistic performance of virtue, or to a general sense of goodwill. Neither of these concepts suggest an attempt to create long term change, a crucial aspect of the kinds of literary philanthropy considered in this thesis. It is also important to consider how there is no connection in the terms to the notion of literature. Avoiding the use of charity then, helps to avoid potential confusion. 'Literary charity' could too easily be misunderstood as an organisation promoting literature or literacy or providing relief to

[21] 'Charity', *Oxford English Dictionary* https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/30731?redirectedFrom=charity#eid [08/09/2020].

authors and other literary professionals who have fallen on hard times; ‘charitable literature’ is likely to suggest either that of the *OED*’s fifth definition – that the literature is given in charity, or its’ third - that the literature is charitable in either humanistic acceptance or the didactic promotion of tolerance.

While I will avoid the term ‘charity’ in this thesis, many of its definitions still relate at least in part to the conceptions of literary philanthropy I will consider. This is somewhat inevitable, considering the regular use of philanthropy and charity as synonyms, and their often-overlapping historical contexts. In eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, ethics and theology were intricately linked; therefore it is almost impossible to distinguish entirely between the theoretical terms of charity and philanthropy. An example of synonymous usage (and an awareness of the power of philanthropy) can be found in W. R. Greg’s essay ‘Charity, Noxious and Benefit’ published in the *Westminster Review* (1853), ‘The profession of philanthropy, like any other, can be safely and serviceably practised only by those who have mastered its principles and graduated in its soundest schools. It is as dangerous to practise charity, as to practise physic without a diploma.’[22] While this quote demonstrates how charity and philanthropy are often interchangeable in common speech, it is the conception of philanthropy as a profession, one that practices charity, that demonstrates the distinction between the terms in this thesis. The quotation is slightly later than the period examined in this thesis; but the distinction here is still useful in illustrating the separation emphasised in this thesis. The suggestion that philanthropy requires both skill and experience necessitate a serious consideration

[22] W. R. Greg, ‘Charity, Noxious and Beneficent’, *Westminster Review* vol. 59 (Jan. 1853), 62-88, p.81.

of how literary philanthropy, a combination of practical and artistic professions, functions.

A third term potentially linked to literary philanthropy is 'patronage', particularly as seen in Robert Southey's editing of the work of Henry Kirke White (see Chapter 3). This too is inadequate to capture the complexity of literary philanthropy. For example, definitions of patronage such as, 'The action of a patron in using money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.', 'Guardianship, tutelary care, esp. on the part of a patron saint, god, etc.' or even 'Favour shown with an air or assumption of superiority; patronizing manner.'[23] are all insufficiently connected to the practical workings of literature. Instead, these definitions are about the donation of power or money – potentially *for* the generation of literature – but never about the actual texts themselves. Johnson's *Dictionary* is even less precise, describing patronage as just 'Support, protection'.[24] Patronage is also a concept that has already been discussed within the Romantic period, perhaps most notably with the complex relationship of Ann Yearsley and Hannah More; hence the use of 'patronage' would suggest the case studies of this thesis have a greater focus on the promotion of literary work (rather than the philanthropic cause) than is the case.[25] The case of Kirke White and its near-patronage status will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3. The literary philanthropy of Joanna Baillie and Penelope Blencowe (see Chapter 1) might be considered as something of an evolution of traditional high Augustan models of patronage; rather than a powerful or wealthy individual commissioning an author, or a more modern market-led approach, the

[23] 'Patronage', Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/138931?rskey=2tPzzu&result=1#eid [09/09/2020].
[24] Samuel Johnson, patronage, n.s. (1755) (johnsonsdictionaryonline.com).
[25] Kerri Andrews, *Ann Yearsley and Hannah More, Patronage and Poetry: The Story of a Literary Relationship* (London: Routledge, 2015).

editors instead elicited subscribers for their works directly through social networks and public advertisement. This hybridised combination of old-style patronage and direct sale in a free market is again possible only due to the shifting reading behaviours and literary market of the Romantic period.[26]

A final term that might be used to describe much of the activity discussed in this thesis is introduced in Cunningham's *Reputation of Philanthropy*: that of 'benevolence'.[27] As he notes, the terms "charity, 'benevolence' and 'philanthropy'… overlapped in meaning and were often used in conjunction with one another: 'In the eighteenth century 'benevolence' and 'philanthropy' were commonly linked, both seen as rooted in human nature. In some usages from the early nineteenth century onwards 'charity' and 'philanthropy' were used interchangeably as referring to the growing number of voluntary organisations that aimed to be of public benefit.'[28] Despite the overlap and often synonymous usage, Cunningham usefully identifies a distinction between philanthropy and benevolence; 'benevolence was largely private, philanthropy was public.'[29] It is largely through this small distinction that I choose not to employ the term benevolence, as this thesis will examine literary works that are very much intended for the wider public.

Cunningham also includes several graphs in his work, charting the use of these three words over time, and demonstrating a marked increase in the use of all three terms at the start of the nineteenth century and a decline in the early twentieth century.[30] This evidences the idea that philanthropy (and the other overlapping

[26] For the shift to a capitalist free market, see St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, pp.35-6; for summary of the scale and changing behaviours of reading in the Romantic period, see *Reading Nation*, pp.262-7.
[27] Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy*, p.25.
[28] IBID
[29] IBID, p.26.
[30] IBID, p.27.

words just discussed) became particularly pertinent in the period this thesis focuses upon. While not an exclusively Romantic period phenomenon (the trend certainly continued into the Victorian period), these graphs help the argument that literary philanthropy matured during the Romantic period, and that literary philanthropy is therefore a natural fit for beginning a consideration of the concept. The examples of literary philanthropy considered in this thesis are all heavily interventionist, although the interventionism is different in each case study. Although philanthropy is '*always* [interventionalist] to some degree', and 'any form of donation involved donor and recipient in a relationship of power and reciprocity', the examples considered here are all designed to create actual change (or, in the case of Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript* in Chapter 1, prevent great change) and address the root of a problem, rather than simply alleviate it.[31]

The interventionist purpose of literary philanthropy matches that of philanthropy more generally in that it exists primarily to alleviate 'the problem of poverty – though the purpose of literary philanthropy extended beyond that, for example to the relief of prisoners and the sick.'[32] The interests of the poor, prisoners, and the sick are not the only causes given attention by literary philanthropy; in fact, every recipient of literary philanthropy in the case studies examined in this thesis is not quite within the notions of the poor, prisoners, or the sick, as will be discussed in detail in this introduction and within their chapters themselves. While in Chapter 1 the intention is to prevent someone falling into poverty, the recipient is not someone who would be typically considered a member of 'the poor', and the recipients of Chapter 2 (slaves and child labourers) are poor, but it is their lack of freedom and

[31] Cunningham, *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform*, p.4.
[32] IBID, p.2.

poor working conditions that the philanthropy targets, rather than their lack of wealth. Any social cause or perceived societal evil could therefore potentially be addressed by literary philanthropy. Chapter 2 will explore the connection of two literary works with two particular campaigns - the campaign for the abolition of slavery, and for the protection and education of children. The term 'philanthropy' then, is the most fitting choice for this thesis, though it is being used more specifically than common or historical usage of the term, and to cover a greater range of beneficiaries than generally included within critical works on the concept.

The theoretical underpinning: Pierre Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital*

Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* has provided both a frame of reference and the terminology for discussing the purposes and effects of philanthropic action in the period covered by this thesis. Its conception of types of capital is particularly helpful in consideration of literary philanthropy as a vehicle of change. 'Capital', in both the work of Bourdieu and this thesis, is defined as 'accumulated labour', in 'its materialised form or its "incorporated," embodied form'.[33] 'Embodied' would also constitute capital that we might generally consider less tangible, such as social, or cultural. Capital 'takes time to accumulate', 'contains a tendency to persist in its being' and has the capacity to 'produce profits and reproduce itself in identical or expanded form'.[34] It is, ultimately, the force by which 'everything is not equally possible or impossible'.[35] The different types of capital, the forms in which it exists and its relative distribution among populations are what create 'the immanent

[33] Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* ed. John G. Richardson (London: Greenwood Press, 1986), p.241.
[34] IBID
[35] IBID, pp.241-2.

structure of the social world'.[36] In this thesis, that structure are interlinked the social, political, and literary worlds of the Romantic period in Britain.

Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* identifies three distinct forms of capital, although these have been expanded and problematised by later scholars, as the contributors to the *Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu* demonstrate.[37] Erik Neveu, helpfully points out how the list of forms of capital is frequently expanded into a 'shopping list syndrome' of capital, with many additional forms of capital being identified and defined.[38] To avoid the complications of choosing between competing updated forms of capital, I will draw on Bourdieu's original definitions of the three forms in my exploration of literary philanthropy. This decision to use Bourdieu's originally distinguished forms is largely because distinguishing between the suitability of competing forms would require analysis far outside the scope of this thesis, and the use of any contemporary adaptions to the terminology would suggest an agreement with their analysis of Bourdieu's methodology or framework against the other options. This thesis will use a simple understanding of the original forms because they are helpful terms for the literary-historical exploration of literary philanthropy, and not an exploration of the contemporary sociological concept of capital.

The three forms capital, as defined by Bourdieu in *Forms of Capital* forms are:

1) Economic capital: 'which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights'

[36] IBID, p.242.
[37] Thomas Medvetz and Jeffrey J. Sallaz, *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[38] Erik Neveu, 'Bourdieu's Capital(s), Socioligizing an Economic Concept' in *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu,* ed. Thomas Medvetz and Jeffrey J. Sallaz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) p.347

2) Cultural capital: ‘which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications’
3) Social capital: ‘made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility’[39]

In the following sections I will explore each form and aim to show how it connects with this thesis’s discussion of literary philanthropy.

Economic Capital

Economic capital is the simplest of the three forms of capital identified by Bourdieu and is near synonymous with wealth. Philanthropic efforts regularly involve the donation of economic capital, and this is the most common overlap with charity, as well as the concepts of almsgiving and patronage. This is demonstrated by the case studies in Chapter 1, where the intended purpose of the acts of literary philanthropy is for the collections to act as incentives for donations of economic capital to the (supposedly) impoverished friends of the editors.

Economic capital is also crucial even if the intention of the literary philanthropy is not to raise funds, as a stable reserve of economic capital is required to undertake any form of philanthropy in the first instance. There must be enough of a reserve that the editors and writers in this thesis’ case studies are able to perform acts that do not directly contribute to their own survival. Without this reserve of capital, the works could not be completed, unless the process of philanthropy provided them with a means of sustenance, at which point it is not philanthropy at all, but rather

[39] Bourdieu, *Forms of Capital,* p.243.

employment. There are complications with the simple binary of employment or philanthropy, as one might sponsor the employment of individuals as an act of philanthropy – which would include the more philanthropic aspects of patronage – or services rendered might be charged for as employment, though at a reduced rate, as is the case with the publication of the case studies in Chapter 1.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* posits that cultural capital exists in three sub-forms; the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalised state. The embodied state, because it is 'an integral part of the person', 'cannot be transmitted instantaneously by gift or bequest'.[40] While this might suggest that it is not relevant to the process of literary philanthropy, as a form of capital that cannot be transmitted by gift would be inherently problematic to the performance of philanthropy, the stress upon 'instantaneously' should be noted.

Embodied capital 'always remains marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition', as in the example of one's region or social class, where to be born (to use the example of James Montgomery) into the Moravian Church moulded much of the rest of his life, as it was formative in his attitudes, education and skills.[41] Embodied capital's social conditions 'are more disguised than those of economic capital' and are often taken as signs of competency or symbolic value.[42] In the case of literary philanthropy, embodied capital is best explored in the consideration of biographical evidence and is particularly relevant to the second and third chapters of this thesis, where the effects of the religious, political and literary influences upon

[40] IBID
[41] IBID, p.245.
[42] IBID

Heyrick, Montgomery and Kirke White will all be considered embodied cultural capital. Embodied capital is also of crucial interest in Chapter 2 when exploring the concept of slavery and race; one's race, and the prejudices attached to it in varying geographical and historical contexts are aspects of embodied capital. Similarly, though substantially more complex, the assignation of 'slave', even 'former-slave' or 'freed slave' is an aspect of embodied capital, as they have been embodied as a material asset that can be owned; i.e., a slave has become an embodiment of economic capital, and any capital they might otherwise have possessed themselves has become owned by the slave-owner.

In contrast, the objectified state of cultural capital is 'transmissible in its materiality', and includes 'material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc'.[43] As such, I argue that it is more directly concerned with the notion of literary philanthropy, as the products of the philanthropy - the texts produced and analysed in this thesis - are instances of objectified capital. Objectified cultural capital is only worth what it is agreed to be within respective fields, both in the economic sense (for example, first editions of texts being worth more because the symbolic value of their being 'first' adds value), and in the cultural sense (such as Henry Kirke White's *Remains* being culturally valuable in a large part because Robert Southey had deemed it so). As Bourdieu notes, 'it should not be forgotten that it [objectified capital] exists as symbolically and materially active, effective capital only insofar as it is appropriated by agents and implemented and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production.'[44] The value of objectified capital is dependent on the active agents in the

[43] IBID, p.246.
[44] IBID, p.247.

field, and to return to the example of Kirke White's *Remains*, remained valuable only while a figure with substantial embodied capital, such as Robert Southey, championed them. After the death of Southey, and without any new active agents invoking their capital, the objectified value of the *Remains* declined – as I will explore in Chapter 3. Objectified capital also features in Chapter 2. Both Baillie and Blencowe sought poetry for inclusion in their collections from established figures such as Walter Scott and William Wordsworth. They then used this poetic objectified capital (Scott and Wordsworth's contributions) as a means of legitimising their wider collections. James Montgomery's *Climbing-Boy's Album* also sought to raise its objective capital by including poetic works by established authors, as will be explored within Chapter 2.

The third form of cultural capital, institutional capital, is best understood as educational qualifications; a guarantee of competency with 'conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value'.[45] It imparts a form of capital shared across an institution, where the reputation and standards of an institution act as a guarantee of value for alumni, at whatever the broadly perceived worth of the qualification in question would be. This form of capital can be seen in Henry Kirke White's attendance at University of Cambridge. Although Kirke White was already noted as a prodigy (see Chapter 3) this concept (which would be embodied capital) had little in the way of guarantee until he won the prizes for being first in his year at Cambridge University, then, as now, perceived as an elite institution.

Institutional capital is also of reoccurring background relevance to this thesis in the context of publishing houses, as being published by a well-known,

[45] IBID

metropolitan publisher potentially had more value than being published by a smaller or regional publisher with fewer connections to assist with the promotion of the book. For example, Chapter 1's *A Collection* and Chapter 3's *Remains* were both published by the well-known, London-based firm of Longman. In contrast, *The Humming Bird* was published by the Leicester-based printer A. Cockshaw. The institutional capital of a publishing house will impact on a book's marketability and distribution, in turn effecting its reach, and therefore its potential for philanthropic change.

Social Capital

Social capital is the capital of social networks, or as Bourdieu refers to it, 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'.[46] The exact nature of these networks can vary; they could be specific families, friendship circles, classes of students, congregations, or sporting clubs, to name only a few. The quantity of social capital one would have would be the sum of all the capital that they might access through their social network, and would depend upon the size of networks, how much capital those within the group possess, what forms and contexts in which the capital might be withdrawn, and how much of that total capital a member might draw upon. The way that social capital can be measured by the quantity of cultural or economic capital it can call upon, means that 'social capital is never completely independent'.[47] It does,

[46] IBID, p.251.
[47] IBID

however, provide profit, rather than merely being a larger pool of resources, as it 'exerts a multiplier effect on the capital he possesses in his own right.'[48]

I argue that the centrality of social capital to the concept of literary philanthropy is revealed by the case studies in this thesis, which all rely on the relationships between their editors, authors and audiences. In the cases of Baillie and Blencowe, the poems within their collections are present due to the invocation of social capital, or the 'calling in of favours' and connections. If social capital is how the economic capital of *A Collection* and *The Casket* are created, then it is rather for the creation of social capital that the collections of Chapter 2, *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend & Climbing-Boys Album*, exist. Both Montgomery and Heyrick desired to create substantial social change, and their collections were effectively ways of recruiting like-minded individuals; a means of creating the social network that contains all kinds of capital, so that greater pressure might be placed upon the authorities. In the case of Kirke White, it is through the social capital Kirke White gained from *Clifton Grove* that he gained sufficient interest for Southey to wish to impress his embodied cultural capital onto the *Remains*. Social capital, through interaction with the audience of the *Remains,* also has an intriguing development over the course of the different editions of the text, which will be fully explored in Chapter 3.

Finally, to summarise, it is important to stress that this thesis uses Bourdieu primarily as a source of terminology and classification. Bourdieu's theories on the 'Forms of Capital' aid in the identification of literary philanthropy as a concept and provide a theoretical basis for understanding why it exists and what it could achieve.

[48] IBID

However, it is important to note that it serves primarily as a starting point for the concept of what might be considered literary philanthropy – the act of altruistic bettering of humanity through the production and dissemination of works of literature. I will explore and discuss this through analysis of the historical and biographical information on the authors, editors and subscribers present within each of my case studies, and by analysis of the texts which are the products of the process of literary philanthropy. As Bourdieu opines in *Forms of Capital*, 'The social world is accumulated history'; and the strength of the theory, and the concept of literary philanthropy, rests on the exploration of the historical context of its application within the Romantic period.[49]

Research methods, case studies and chapter summary

If 'Historians of Philanthropy tend to assume that it is self-evident what their subject matter will be', then careful explanation and justification of how and why the texts discussed in this thesis were chosen is required.[50] While Cunningham argues that philanthropy developed through various phases: first 'an amalgam of the Enlightenment and Romanticism', and then an 'evangelical philanthropy, a phase that was dominant in the period up to the mid-nineteenth century', these broad classifications of philanthropic periods do not describe the variety of forms of literary philanthropy present within the Romantic period.[51] While this periodisation remains useful to consider, a study of literary philanthropy through case studies requires classifications that can distinguish between vastly differing projects of literary philanthropy that fall within a single literary, or philanthropic, period.

[49] IBID, p.241.
[50] Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy,* p.1.
[51] IBID

Any attempt to homogenise literary philanthropy by periodisation or specific historical context alone is insufficient when performing analysis of specific case studies. Instead, the method of philanthropy will be primary means of distinguishing different types of philanthropy. This thesis will focus on three different forms of literary philanthropy, each within its individual chapter.

This thesis began with the consideration of Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript* (1823).[52] It was in the process of reading this work that I became interested in the idea of a text serving a philanthropic purpose, and the idea of analysing what effect philanthropy might have upon literature, and literature on philanthropy. The logical next step was searching for further works of literary philanthropy. I decided to remain within one literary period, as I felt this would allow a more thorough examination of the forms that literary philanthropy might take, and the complex interweaving of differing but overlapping contexts. I identified many different texts that might be considered literary philanthropy and began to generally group them.

My first grouping, that includes *A Collection*, I term 'networked philanthropy'. This concept is the focus of Chapter 1 and is illustrated by two case studies. The first, is, as would be expected, Joanne Baillie's *A Collection*. The lack of scholarly work on *A Collection*, despite Baillie being of increased scholarly interest, meant that, alongside a useful consideration of a neglected relationship between literature and philanthropy, a neglected text might also be studied. Reclamation was also a major factor in the choice of my second case study for the first chapter, Penelope Blencowe's *The Casket* (1829), a text that I came across during my research on *A*

[52] Joanna Baillie, *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and from Living Authors* (London, Longman, 1823).

Collection, and that is identified by Thomas McLean as 'modelled ... after *A Collection*'.[53] While reclamation is not the primary focus of this thesis, the opportunity to explore neglected texts enables more original research to be undertaken within the same scope of work. The text being of a similar design and purpose to Baillie's *Collection* also allows fine distinction between the two texts, making them a particularly insightful combination.

Both my case studies in Chapter 1 focus on published collections of poetry without a unifying theme and written by a wide range of authors with varying literary credentials. Both collections were compiled and edited by a single individual and then sold via subscription to raise funds for a specific person known to the editor. I use the term 'networked philanthropy' to describe how the creation and dissemination of both texts relied upon the use of the editors' social networks. These social networks enabled them to obtain the poems to be included within the collection, subscribers for the finished volume, and favourable costs for printing and publication. I will argue that networked philanthropy is a form of literary philanthropy that converts social capital into economic capital, which is then used for philanthropic efforts. Baillie and Blencowe's collections make particularly good case studies because each draws on an extensive set of authors and was disseminated to an extensive list of subscribers. This makes it possible to analyse the networks involved. Baillie's *A Collection* is particularly interesting due to her insistence that the works it contained should be worth reading, so that she could not be accused of 'picking people's pockets for the benefit of my friend', demonstrating contemporary

[53] Thomas McLean, "Donation and Collaboration: Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and From Living Authors*, April 1823", *Branch Collective*, https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=thomas-mclean-donation-and-collaboration-joanna-baillies-a-collection-of-poems-chiefly-manuscript-and-from-living-authors-april-1823#_ftn2.end; Penelope Blencowe, *The Casket, A Miscellany, consisting of Unfinished Poems* (London: John Murray, 1829).

anxieties about the legitimacy of networked philanthropy as both a means of creating artistic products, and as a philanthropic endeavour.[54]

While searching for texts that might be considered philanthropic, an obvious place to begin looking was with one of the largest concerns of the historical period, the abolition of slavery. This led me to James Montgomery's *The West Indies* (1810), although this text served primarily as a celebration of the success of abolishing the trading of slaves rather than an attempt to create change, and so didn't serve the overtly philanthropic goal I was searching for.[55] However, while researching Montgomery I came across *The Chimney-Sweepers Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album* (1824), a collection of essays and poems intended to create support for the abolition of child sweeps.[56] This text, again a collection of works gathered and edited by a single individual, felt like a natural continuation from the work of Baillie and Blencowe in Chapter 1. However, this text did not fall within the concept of networked literary philanthropy, and so I termed it political literary philanthropy, as this text's intention was not to raise funds, but to create societal change. I then returned to the idea of abolitionism, and came across *The Humming Bird*, edited by Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts.[57] Heyrick, as author of *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition*, and an established campaigner who believed in substantial social change, seemed a perfect comparison to Montgomery.[58] The geographical location of both writers also made them tempting, as their locations of Sheffield and Leicester

[54] Joanna Baillie to Sir John Herschell, 27th April 1822, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p.788.
[55] James Montgomery, 'The West Indies' in *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade; written by James Montgomery, James Grahame, and E. Benger* (London: R. Bowyer, 1809), pp.1-53.
[56] James Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album* (London: Longman, 1824).
[57] Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts, *The Humming Bird; Or Morsels of Information, on the Subject of Slavery: With Various Miscellaneous Articles* (Leicester: A. Cockshaw, 1825).
[58] Elizabeth Heyrick, *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian slavery* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1824).

would help to address the myth that Romanticism was a London and Lake District focused movement.

As Chapter 2 aims to show, both *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* contain original and reprinted political essays, alongside poetry, letters and other forms of text, to advocate for their particular social causes. These collections did not seek to raise money but instead sought to convince people of the validity of their social causes, and to encourage agitation and pressure for reform from those who are already sympathetic to them. Whereas social capital and its conversion into economic capital is the focus of networked literary philanthropy, political literary philanthropy seeks to use literature as a means of investing in social and cultural capital, to gather support and thereby increase the total availability of social capital, giving specific social causes enough capital to effect change. A useful contrast between these collections is in the relative success and failure of the causes they support; sweeping continued for over 50 years, whereas slavery was abolished in most British colonies within 10.

Chapter 3 considers what I have termed 'posthumous literary philanthropy'. I identified this form of literary philanthropy from two key considerations: the first of these arose from my work on Baillie, and discovery of her concern that the works contained within *A Collection* must be good; as well as her argument that literature itself is morally improving (see Chapter 1). This made me consider whether the promotion of good literature might, itself, be a form of philanthropy. The second consideration was the difficulty of defining literary philanthropy, and the idea that patronage, though at times overlapping, was not an appropriate word in this case. Both factors came together in the single case study of Chapter 3; Robert Southey's

editing of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* (1807).[59] First, Southey edited and released Kirke White's writings work because he saw them as works of great promise, the loss of which would be a loss to literature, and society as a whole. Secondly, Southey's interventions are curiously close to those of a patron, promoting Kirke White's work and reputation. Patronage would be the appropriate term; were it not for Kirke White being dead, and therefore unable to partake in patronage. Alongside the less clearly philanthropic act of the above, Southey also declined to profit from the collections, instead, all profit went to the family of the deceased poet. Kirke White was not the first example of Southey doing this; he had a similar engagement with the work of Thomas Chatterton; but the distinction of Kirke White as someone who otherwise had no popular interest (as opposed to Chatterton being the subject of other, less philanthropic editors) makes it a stronger candidate for a case study.[60]

My three chapters, and five case studies, are not exhaustive of literary philanthropy in the Romantic period. Alongside Chatterton, and *The West Indies*, other possible case studies included Sir Walter Scott's *The Field of Waterloo* (1815), a poem written to raise funds for the widows of the battle.[61] I also considered *Poems on Various Subjects* by Anne Grant (1803); a collection of Grant wrote to raise funds to lift her out of poverty, which I thought would make a curious comparison to Baillie and Blencowe in Chapter 1.[62] Both of these texts however, did not fit well into the structure of this thesis, in that I have primarily considered literary philanthropy in this

[59] Henry Kirke White, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, Late of St. John's College, Cambridge; With an Account of his Life*, Vol. 1, ed. Robert Southey (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; J. Dighton, T. Barret, and J. Nicholson, 1807).
[60] *The Works of Thomas Chatterton,* ed. Joseph Cottle and Robert Southey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[61] Walter Scott, *The Field of Waterloo; A poem (*Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1815).
[62] Anne Grant, *Poems on Various Subjects* (Edinburgh: J Moir, 1803).

thesis as the work of editors overseeing a literary philanthropic project, rather than the work of a single author.

These additional texts demonstrate that literary philanthropy is present within texts outside the case studies of this thesis, and that rich avenues remain for the study of literary philanthropy. Walter Scott's *Field of Waterloo*, as a literary philanthropic response to war, adds additional contexts of philanthropy to the period, and would make a source of excellent additional study.

Finally, the other major case study that was considered was the complex patronage of Ann Yearsley by Hannah More. This case was discounted for two key reasons; the first is that I had already begun to clarify terms by this point and thought that the inclusion of an example that was unequivocally patronage would undermine the efforts at distinguishing the terms established thus far. The second reason why I decided against the use of Yearsley and More as a case study is that their relationship has been the subject of numerous scholarly publications, and compared to my other case studies, has received a substantial amount of critical attention, including works such as Madeleine Khan's article considering their patronage as a trans-class collaboration, Annie Person's consideration of Ann Yearsley as an example of 'Human Commodification', and Kerri Andrews' consideration of their patronage as a 'literary relationship', to serve as but a few examples.[63]

To summarise, this thesis seeks to identify three forms of literary philanthropy, each with their corresponding chapter. These chapters and their corresponding case

[63] Madeleine Kahn, 'Hannah More and Ann Yearsley: A Collaboration Across the Class Divide', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 25 (1996), 203-223; Annie Persons, 'Ann Yearsley, Hannah More, and Human Commodification in the Literary Marketplace', *Women's Writing*, 27 (2019), 217–33; Kerri Andrews, *Ann Yearsley and Hannah More, Patronage and Poetry: The Story of a Literary Relationship* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014).

studies seek to address the dual concerns of considering their particular instances of literary philanthropy, and of addressing a hitherto critically neglected text of the Romantic period. The terminology of Bourdieu's forms of capital, applied to the consideration of the literary, historical, religious, and political circumstances of each case study will support my discussion of what literary philanthropy means for each text, what it meant in the wider context of the British romantic period, and whether each instance of philanthropy might be deemed as successful in its intention.

Chapter 1: Baillie, Blencowe, and Networked Philanthropy

This chapter will explore what I define as networked philanthropy and by so doing aim to address a gap in scholarly understanding. Networked philanthropy involves an editor's strategic utilization of established social networks to collect and curate literature for a volume that has an explicitly philanthropic intent. Networked philanthropy also encompasses the editor's subsequent use of social networks to attract subscribers to their collection. In essence, networked philanthropy involves leveraging the editor's social capital (embodied in their networks) to attract both cultural capital (manuscript poetry) and economic capital (a guinea subscription fee).

This chapter centres on two case studies: Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript and from Living Authors* (1823) and Penelope Blencowe's *The Casket* (1829). I aim to show that both Baillie and Blencowe's works encapsulate the essence of what I term networked philanthropy. Whilst Joanna Baillie has received some critical attention, her *Collection* has remained relatively overlooked in scholarly discourse, presenting an opportune case study. In contrast, both Penelope Blencowe and *The Casket* have been overlooked by previous scholars. Their neglect provides a unique opportunity to uncover the intricacies of networked philanthropy from the perspective of an unknown editor, adding a layer of complexity to our understanding of this phenomenon.

In this chapter, I will explore the specific methodologies, successes, and challenges encountered by Baillie and Blencowe as they navigated the intricate web of social and literary networks in their pursuit of philanthropic goals. Through this exploration, I hope to contribute not only to the understanding of these two women but also to the broader comprehension of how networked philanthropy shapes the

intersections of cultural and economic capital in the literary world of the early nineteenth century.

Joanna Baillie and *A Collection*

Joanna Baillie (1762-1851) was already a well-established literary figure when she edited *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript and from Living Authors*, published in 1823.[1] She was most famous for her *Plays on the Passions*. The first volume, published anonymously in 1798, included 'Count Basil', a tragedy exploring the passion of love, 'The Tryal' a comedy on the passion of love, and 'De Montfort', a tragedy exploring the passion of jealousy.[2] A second volume followed in 1802 and a third in 1812. These plays were well received, with one review stating that, after the anonymous publication of the first volume:

> It must be the sincere wish of every lover of literary merit, that the author of these admirable performances would emerge from retirement, and lest the world know wither to address the applause they have excited[3]

Baillie's works were also praised by some of the most popular writers of the Romantic period; Walter Scott, a friend of hers, described her as 'certainly the best dramatic writer whom Britain has produced since the days of Shakespeare and Massinger'.[4] Byron too was a fan: 'she is our only dramatist since Otway & Southerne'.[5] While Baillie did publish collections of poetry, *Poems: Wherein it is Attempted to Describe Certain Views of Nature and of Rustic Manners* (1790),

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[1] Joanna Baillie, *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and from Living Authors* (London, Longman, 1823).
[2] Joanna Baillie, *Plays on the Passions*, ed. Peter Duthie (Hertfordshire, Broadview Press, 2001)
[3] 'Literary Leisure', I (Jan 1800), 221-34, repr. in *Plays on the Passions*, ed. Peter Duthie (Hertfordshire, Broadview Press, 2001) p.426.
[4] To Miss Smith, 4 March 1808, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott: 1787-1832*, ed. H.J.C. Grier vols. (London: Constable, 1932), II, pp.29-30.
[5] *Byron's Letters and Journals,* ed. Leslie A Marchland, 12 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975-1982), III, p.109.

Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters (1821), *Dramatic Poetry* (1836) and *Fugitive Verses* (1840), it is firmly on her plays that both her nineteenth century and current literary reputation rests.[6]

Joanna Baillie's Literary Network and History of Philanthropy

A Collection was not Baillie's first philanthropic literary endeavour. She gave at least part of the profit of all her published works to charitable causes, and in one case refused to take the profits of her work, instead accepting scarves as payment.[7] A particularly relevant example of her earlier literary philanthropy is 'A Sailor's Song' which Baillie donated in 1817 'at the behest of John Galt', for *The Banquet*, 'a collection aimed at raising funds for the Royal Caledonian Asylum' (of which Galt was the secretary).[8] This volume, which solicited literary works in order to raise funds, may well have been an important inspiration for *A Collection*, although the RCA was an institution whereas *A Collection* fundraised for an individual.

Baillie's history of conjoining philanthropic endeavour and literature placed her in a strong position for soliciting works from others. Her history of consistent philanthropy would potentially help legitimise her project in the eyes of those from whom she solicited work. *A Collection* is therefore not an outlier in her attitudes to the potential of literary philanthropy, but perhaps a culmination of it; a larger scale project that marshalled the skills and networks she had built up over the years.

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[6] Norma Clarke, 'Baillie, Joanna', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[7] Janet Todd, *Dictionary of British Women Writers* (London: Routledge, 1991).
[8] Thomas McLean, "Donation and Collaboration: Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and From Living Authors*, April 1823." *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*. Ed. Dino Franco Felluga. Extension of *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net. Web*. [10/10/23]: https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=thomas-mclean-donation-and-collaboration-joanna-baillies-a-collection-of-poems-chiefly-manuscript-and-from-living-authors-april-1823#_ftn16.body; 'Who was John Galt', The John Galt Society, https://thejohngaltsociety.com/who-was-john-galt/ (2024) [15/12/2024].

Following *A Collection*, Baillie appears to have largely withdrawn from philanthropic pursuits, instead focusing on 'literary enterprises and religious dogma'.[9] She contributed to a few projects, such as her addition of the 'Scotch way of Cleaning Chimneys' to James Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boys Album* in 1824 (see Chapter 2 for further details), and her publication of a pamphlet against the abuse of animals entitled *A lesson intended for the use of the Hampstead School* in 1826, but these projects are substantially smaller in scope.[10]

Baillie's manifesto-like introduction to her *Plays on the Passions*, stated her belief that literature itself is a means of moral self-betterment. Drama 'is a school in which much good or evil may be learned', and her literary project of the *Plays on the Passions* was intended to 'improve the mode of its construction'.[11] Her argument that drama has the capacity for moral improvement also compared drama to poetry, or more specifically, to ballads: 'it was the saying of a sagacious Scotchman, "let who will make the laws of a nation, if I have the writing of its ballads." Something similar to this may be said in relation to the Drama.' For Baillie, it is already established that ballads – and perhaps poetry more generally - is a means of moral betterment, and that she need not argue for this being the case, instead using the apparently self-evident moral betterment of poetry to help argue her case that drama has similar potential.[12]

In this sense, there is an additional form of philanthropy within the *Collection* that requires consideration; that literary works are capable of morally improving those that consume them. While this is a more abstract form of philanthropy, and it is

[9] Slagle, *A Literary Life*, p.231.
[10] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boys Album*, Baillie, *A lesson Intended for the use of the Hampstead School*; Slagle, *A Literary Life*, p.179.
[11] IBID, p.104.
[12] IBID, p.103.

hard to state exactly what effect these works were intended to have, or how they fit with the actionable definitions of philanthropy established in the introduction, it is nevertheless philanthropic in that it is an action (the writing and dissemination of literature) that aims to assist others and society as a whole (via moral betterment). If the philanthropy of Baillie's work was not just in the capital that it raised; or the social causes she helped champion with contributions, but also in textual contents themselves, it is important to explore how Baillie's role as an editor here fits her concept of literature as 'a school in which much good or evil may be learned'.[13]

The two strands of literary philanthropy: that literature can be used as a commodity sold for philanthropic end, as well as a guide and an exploration of what it might mean to be good, has never been critically considered in relation to *A Collection*. The idea of moral betterment has been explored in Baillie's other writings. Regina Hewitt, for example, has argued that 'Baillie's work has many functionally utopian aspects', arguing that utopian literature might be understood as a 'function or process' rather than 'structure' or a 'blueprint'.[14] Baillie fits this pattern because her purpose as 'explicitly theorized in the *Introductory Discourse*, is to criticize certain behaviour patterns and to arouse a desire to change them.'[15] Hewitt's argument here that Baillie's work provides a process for the betterment of others, though grounded in terms of the 'utopian', also fits with my definitions of literary philanthropy, as the end result of utopia is achieved by literature intended to better society. That which Hewitt terms 'functionally utopian' is philanthropic, and, being applied to literature, is an example of literary philanthropy.

[13] IBID, p.104.
[14] Regina L. Hewitt, 'Utopianism and Joanna Baillie: A Preface to Converging Revolutions', *Romantic Circles*, https://romantic-circles.org/praxis/baillie [22/05/2025]; IBID, p.5.
[15] IBID, p.5.

Martha Nussbaum's work on moral philosophy and literature also provides a useful way of viewing both the philanthropic goal of moral betterment and the more practical philanthropy of effecting change that can be found in Baillie's writings. Nussbaum explores the idea that 'art was thought to be practical, aesthetic interest a practical interest – an interest in the good life', and that literature can provide 'a conception of ethical understanding that involves emotional as well as intellectual activity and gives a certain type of priority to the perception of particular people and situations'. [16] Nussbaum's arguments for art as a practical means of attaining a 'good life' agree with the arguments Hewitt makes for Baillie as a 'utopian'. These philosophical arguments about practically using literature to improve ethical standards can be applied not only to Baillie's exploration of human behaviour in her plays, but also to her attempt to galvanise her literary network into a collaborative collection of poetry for philanthropic means. When considered alongside her plays, *A Collection* isn't just philanthropic in its end goal of alleviating poverty, but also in its experiment in how to use literature for ethical means. Nussbaum also encourages specific consideration of form: 'literary form is not separable from philosophical content, but is, itself, a part of the content'. [17] This insistence that literary form is directly relevant to philosophical content, and therefore, in this instance, philanthropic endeavour, invites specific analysis of the unusual form of *A Collection*, and the implications of *The Casket*'s similarities to it.

Hewitt's and Nussbaum's work sheds light on Baillie's philanthropic conception that the moral improvement of readers can be attained through literature. However, their work does not engage with all aspects of Baillie's philanthropy. First,

[16] Martha C Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge, Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.16: IBID, p,1.
[17] IBID, p.3.

the argument that Baillie is specifically a utopian writer, and that literature can be a philosophical attempt to encourage 'a good life', makes no connection to Baillie's economic philanthropy. Baillie's efforts to create actual material change through her writing as in her donation of some of the profits of her plays, or her role as the editor of *A Collection* to raise funds are not discussed.

A second issue is that Hewitt's analysis of Baillie omits *A Collection*, and Nussbaum deals only with direct authorship, not addressing Baillie's role as an editor and compiler, focusing on her abstract theory instead of specific and practical action.

Baillie's established reputation as a playwright (and to a lesser extent, poet), meant that she had an expansive literary network which included, among its numbers, both Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron, the two bestselling poets of the Romantic period. In order to support understanding of the connections between her network and *A* Collection, I cross referenced the named contributors to the latter with *A Chronological Listing of the Letters of Joanna Baillie*.[18] The following list of names found both within the *Letters* and *A Collection* shows how many of these authors Baillie was in direct contact with:

John Richardson	Alexander Dirom	Elizabeth Benger	Margaret Holford
Anne Grant	Felicia Hemans	Robert Southey	Samuel Rogers
George Beaumont	Walter Scott	George Crabbe	Henry Hart Milman
Lady Dacre	William Smyth	William Sotheby	William Wordsworth

[18] Thomas McLean, 'A Chronological Listing of the Letters of Joanna Baillie', *Romantic Circles*, https://romantic-circles.org/praxis/utopia/mclean/chronology/search [28/10/2023].

While this is not a complete list of all of Baillie's correspondents, or all members of her literary network, it is nevertheless sufficient to evidence that she substantially drew on those she had direct access to for *A Collection*.

A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript

Baillie's *A Collection* contains a total of 101 contributions from thirty-six named authors. Twenty-four further works were contributed anonymously (see Appendix One for details). All of the contributions were poems except for Walter Scott's 'Mac Duff's Cross', a short play. The subscription list for *A Collection* contains 2308 subscriptions from 1553 subscribers. 249 people subscribed for more than one copy, with 72 people subscribing for 5 copies, 21 for 10 copies, and four for 20 copies. This works out at an average of 1.49 copies per subscriber. (See Appendix Two for more information.) It is possible that this number was higher, as some surviving editions of the work have manuscript additions to the subscription list, although both the author, and the legitimacy, of these additions are unknown.[19] As the validity of these additional subscriptions cannot be ascertained, this thesis will continue to refer to the number of subscribers as 1553.

A Collection was compiled and edited in order to raise money for Margaret Stirling (née Murdoch).[20] She was a childhood friend of both Baillie and her sister Agnes and all three had attended Miss McDonald's boarding school in Glasgow.

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[19] Joanna Baillie, *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and from Living Authors*, http://digital.lib.ucdavis.edu/projects/bwrp/Works/BailJColle.htm. This link was last accessed in 2019, and no longer works. Attempts to contact the University of California, Davis, regarding this copy have been unsuccessful.

[20] McLean, Thomas. "Donation and Collaboration: Joanna Baillie's A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and From Living Authors, April 1823." *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, ed. Dino Franco Felluga. Extension of *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*. http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=thomas-mclean-donation-and-collaboration-joanna-baillies-a-collection-of-poems-chiefly-manuscript-and-from-living-authors-april-1823#_ftn2.end [5/4/2023]

Baillie's first mention of the *Collection* is in two letters, both written on 27 January 1822, one to Lady Dacre and the other to William Sotheby.[21] The letter to Lady Dacre describes how:

> there is a friend and old schoolfellow of mine, who after having been brought up in affluence and living in that state till within a few years of the present time, finds herself reduced to absolute poverty, a small yearly pittance excepted, which some of her friends have said they will allow her as long as they can afford to do so.[22]

The philanthropic action of *A Collection* is therefore not directed towards a general social group or any perceived political ill, but rather towards a very specific and personal connection. The limited scope of attempting to assist only one individual, and the personal connection of this philanthropic action being for a close friend, demonstrates the complexity of attempting to distinguish whether an action is charitable or philanthropic, and to what extent it might be considered as such, as well as demonstrating the difficulty of distinguishing between an act being charitable rather than philanthropic, and vice versa. While demonstrating the complexity of precise definition, this also shows the variation in scale for projects of literary philanthropy: here, an attempt to improve a single individual's life. Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis will explore literary philanthropy's influence on larger and less personally connected projects.

[21] Joanna Baillie to Lady Dacre, 27th January 1822, *Further Letters of Joanna Baillie* ed. Thomas Mclean (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2010), p.82; Baillie, Letter to Lady Dacre, p.82; Joanna Baillie to William Sotheby, 27 January 1822, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), pp.209-210.
[22] IBID

Baillie's letters also discuss her plans for the *Collection*. She wanted to publish 'by subscription' and for the volume 'to be composed chiefly of MSS., or such pieces as have only been printed privately'.[23] She was moreover 'anxious that it should be in itself a creditable book, that I may not be accused of altogether picking people's pockets for the benefit of my friend.'[24] These letters demonstrate three key components of *A Collection*; that it be sold by subscription, that it be of hitherto unpublished material, and that the works be of good quality. Baillie's anxiety highlights an important focus of the *Collection.* It was not to be 'just' a conduit for the philanthropic raising of money, but a work of art in itself.

Baillie's choice to sell by subscription comes with some obvious benefits; there is no fear of a loss, because the number of sales would be known before the cost of a print run might be incurred. This would allow transparency for Baillie, her beneficiary Margret Stirling, and for Longman the publisher as well. This practical choice that minimises risk and increases the transparency of the process for the involved parties through guaranteed sales also withdraws *A Collection* from the standard competition of the literary market. While there is still competition, in that the subscribers must choose to buy this collection over purchasing something else with the same money, there is not the situation of *A Collection* being presented as a product, alongside other products in a booksellers, and so competing against works in its immediate vicinity. In this way, subscription publication allows one to at least partially forgo the complexities of a capitalist market, in favour of directly calling on the social network that Baillie had accrued.

[23] IBID
[24] IBID

The philanthropic desire to raise funds to alleviate her friend's poverty is the reason for the *Collection*'s inception, marking it as a conduit for conversion of social capital to economic capital. Moreover, Baillie's anxieties around the quality of the *Collection* demonstrate that the creation of a genuine article of cultural capital (a collection of poetry) that exists in itself and not merely as a roundabout means of transfer, was a priority. It is clear Baillie desired the subscribers of *A Collection* to purchase the volume at least partially, if not entirely, out of a genuine desire for the product. This may be driven by a desire to maintain her professional reputation, a desire to ensure satisfied consumers, or a means of encouraging greater sales; likely a combination of all three. Baillie's privately stated desire for a genuine and credible product, though obviously subjective, invites analysis of the quality of the submissions.

Baillie was not afraid to commit to her desire for quality submissions, going so far as to ask those who had already submitted poems that she felt were not quite up to the mark to send in their stead better examples of their work. The most extreme example of this can be seen in a letter she wrote to John Herschel, co-founder of the Royal Astronomical Society and renowned polymath, mathematician, chemist, and botanist. Baillie cautioned him about sending poems written quickly and whilst he was travelling:

> Writing so well in so short a time and in a Stage Coach, what would you not do in the silence of your own chamber, and reasonable time allowed for it? That too much of a learned Wrangler who considers poetry a mere play thing,

> undeserving of either time or consideration. Pray think upon this, and let me have something more to my fancy.[25]

Baillie's comments here, though mixed with flattery, nonetheless suggest that Herschel might do better; a very bold position to adopt when asking for unpaid contributions to a collection of poetry. Her letter worked. Herschel responded to Baillie's comments by writing and sending her more poems. Of the five poems sent, three were added to the collection anonymously: 'To the Lark', 'The Sailor's Departure', and 'The Lament'.[26]

Baillie's concern about how people would view *A Collection* continued after it had been published. As she explained:

> I hope it will give satisfaction – I think it will, for it will fall into the hands of friends & generous friends who will not be disposed to find fault. There is one thing, however, against it; many people take it into their heads that it contains pieces written with great care, like trials of skill amongst our modern Poets, whereas they have kindly sent me what came to hand at the time with no thought whatever of Rivalry.[27]

Despite Baillie's attempted instance upon quality, she realises that much of what she has gathered is 'what came to hand at the time'. It is interesting that the submission of spare and available poetry was, at least in the eyes of Baillie, all that was keeping the project collaborative, and not a 'trial of skill'. Baillie is not suggesting that trials of skill are bad, but that readers searching for competition and signifiers of ability is a

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[25] Joanna Baillie to Sir John Herschell, 27th April 1822, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p.788.
[26] IBID
[27] Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 2nd April 1823, *Collected Letters*, p.418.

problem for the collection. Her comments therefore reveal much about the culture in which she was working, one in which readers (including reviewers) were apt to identify perceived or actual literary rivalries.

Baillie, and her *Collection*, is a particularly useful case study for both the concept of networked literary philanthropy, and the concept of literary philanthropy more generally. Baillie's consistent interest in philanthropy; both of the more typical, productive type and her belief that literature can be morally improving, combined with the expansive list of authors and subscribers drawn from her literary and social networks, all help establish that *A Collection* was not a literary oddity, but a culmination of literary and philosophical ideals, realised through the power of extensive social networks and sparked into creation by the desire to help a particular friend.

Penelope Blencowe and *The Casket*

The editor of *The Casket* was most likely Penelope Blencowe (née Robinson) (1772-1846), the wife of Robert Willis Blencowe of Hayes. A surviving letter written by J. Peers to 'Mrs Blencowe (wife of R. W. Blencowe senr)' in 1827 notes that it was 'Sending a poem for a collection of poetry being made for charitable purposes.'[28] Although Blencowe was not famous, her collection features work from some well-known and established names, including William Wordsworth and Lord Byron. It also included work by Joanna Baillie.

There is some uncertainty about how much of the *Casket* is Blencowe's work. Francis Hodgson, a friend of Lord Byron and, later, Provost of Eton, was also

[28] J. Peers, 'Letter to Mrs. Blencowe (wife of R. W. Blencowe senr) from J. Peers' (1827), East Sussex Record Office, HOOK 22/13/4.

involved in the collection, though it is unclear to what extent. Holland and Everett's *Memoir of the Life of James* Montgomery (1854-56) noted that 'The Tombs of the Fathers' 'first appeared in a volume of poetical contributions by various hands published by the Rev. Francis Hodgson for the benefit of a brother clergyman'.[29] This claim was expanded on in *Memoir of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B. D., scholar, poet, and divine* (1878): 'In 1827 a poetical pot-pourri, entitled the 'Casket,' was originated by Hodgson, and received contributions from several eminent men of letters'.[30] This statement was followed by two letters, both addressed to 'Dear Sir'; one from Samuel Rogers enclosed a poem for the *Casket*, and another from James Montgomery asked for more time to produce his contribution.[31] Blencowe is not mentioned in either letter or elsewhere in the *Memoir*. The latter was written several decades later by Hodgson's son and was probably the source for later references to Hodgson as the *Casket's* editor– including one in *Lord Byron and His Times*.[32] It is possible that James Hodgson was either unaware of Blencowe's role, or overstated his father's involvement as an act of filial piety. This thesis acknowledges that Hodgson played a part in the creation of *The Casket* and used his contacts to solicit materials for it. However, it also suggests that being the collection's 'originator' was not the same as being its editor. Other evidence supports this idea. For example, Walter Scott's journal (listed by *Lord Byron and His Times* as evidence for Hodgson's involvement), specifically states the *Casket* was edited by a woman, and

[29] John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of The Life and Writings of James Montgomery, including selections from his correspondence, remains in prose and verse, and conversations on various subjects.* vol. IV (London: Longham, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855), p. 246
[30] James Thomas Hodgson, Memoir of Francis Hodgson. 2 Vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), p.168
[31] IBID, pp.168-9
[32] IBID; 'Francis Hodgson', *Lord Byron and His Times*, https://www.lordbyron.org/index.php?&choose=selectTitle&select=FrHodgs1852.Casket [11/02/2026]

some reviews of *The Casket* also name Blencowe as the author (see 'Reception of the Collection' of this thesis, pages 117-119)[33]

Indeed, as well as following Baillie's approach (i.e., solicitation of unpublished manuscript material for a collection to be sold via subscription), *The Casket* features the same unusual formatting present in *A Collection*: the contents page is at the back of the book, a similarity that Thomas McLean stresses the unusual nature of:

> Most startlingly, there is no contents list in the opening pages, nor do authors' names appear with their contributions. The contents list only appears at the end of the volume (Fig. 3). Readers must shuttle back and forth if they want to know the name of the author whose work they are reading. This seems to have been a conscious decision and not a printer's error.[34]

Considering the same unusual formatting, substantial overlap of authorial contribution, and similar purpose of creation, it is hard to imagine an alternative to McLean's supposition that *The Casket* was based upon *A Collection*: 'I know of only one volume that modelled itself after A Collection: Penelope Blencowe's 1829 *The Casket, A Miscellany, Consisting of Unpublished Poems*'.[35] It is, however, unclear if the unusual formatting of the collections were a decision of Baillie, and then Blencowe in imitation, or a choice made by the publishers, Longman for *A* Collection, and then Murray with *The Casket*.[36]

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[33] Lockhart, J. G. (John Gibson), 1794-1854, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, *Bart* Vol.1.. 7 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1837), p.19
[34] McLean, Thomas. "Donation and Collaboration: Joanna Baillie's *A Collection of Poems, Chiefly Manuscript, and From Living Authors*, April 1823." BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History. Ed. Dino Franco Felluga. Extension of Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net. Web. https://branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=thomas-mclean-donation-and-collaboration-joanna-baillies-a-collection-of-poems-chiefly-manuscript-and-from-living-authors-april-1823#_ftn36.body [04/11/2023].
[35] IBID
[36] IBID

Although *The Casket* has resemblances to Baillie's *A Collection*, it is much larger, with 189 contributions from 110 named authors (see Appendix 2). Every contribution is a poem, with one of these James Montgomery's 'The Tombs of the Fathers' accompanied by explanatory notes (the author of these notes is not specified, but considering the precise use of quotation from various sources, most particularly specific biblical references, it seems reasonable to assume they are also the work of Montgomery).[37] *The Casket* lists 1525 subscriptions from 1258 subscribers. 123 people subscribed for more than one copy, 25 people for more than 5 copies, and 5 people for more than 10 copies. This works out at an average of 1.2 copies per subscriber.

There is little information available about *The Casket*, but Walter Scott helpfully wrote of it in his journal:

> A large party in the evening. A gentleman came up to me and asked "if I had seen the 'Casket,' a curious work, the most beautiful, the most highly ornamented—and then the editor or editress—a female so interesting,—might he ask a very great favour," and out he pulled a piece of this pic-nic. I was really angry, and said for a subscription he might command me—for a contribution no; that I had given to a great many of these things last year, and finding the labour occupied some considerable portion of my time, I had done a considerable article for a single collection this year, taking a valuable consideration for it, and engaged not to support any other. This may be misrepresented, but I care not. Suppose this patron of the Muses gives five guineas to his distressed lady, he will think he does a great deal, yet takes

[37] James Montgomery 'The Tombs of the Fathers', in *The Casket*, ed. Blencowe, pp.11-20.

> fifty from me with the calmest air in the world, for the communication is worth that if it be worth anything. There is no equality in the proposal.[38]

The status of *The Casket* during this interaction is unclear, as the gentlemen appears to be simultaneously requesting a contribution to the volume while also possessing a copy of it. As the date of this encounter is 1828, and there is no mention of an earlier edition of *The Casket* than the 1829 one, I take this to mean that the unnamed gentleman possessed an early draft of the work, or similar. Regardless, Walter Scott's impassioned refusal shows that this unknown 'gentlemen' (who may well have been the previously mentioned Francis Hodgson) on at least one occasion solicited authors that neither he nor Blencowe knew personally, though they clearly moved in similar enough social circles for them to meet one another.[39] Despite the relative high status of Blencowe, the lack of information about either her or *The Casket* itself means that we have no information as to who the collection was intended to benefit. We know only that it was envisioned when 'the earnest wish of benefitting a friend first suggested the undertaking'.[40]

Form of *A Collection* and *The Casket*

The two collections considered in this chapter are unusual, in that they are not a typical collection of poetry written either by a single author or like-minded group, for example Baillie's *Poems: Wherein it is Attempted to Describe Certain Views of*

[38] Walter Scott, 8th of May, *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, *Vol. II* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), p.191.
[39] As well as being a bestselling poet, novelist and close friend of Joanna Baillie, Walter Scott is a particularly interesting author when considering literary philanthropy, as he also undertook philanthropic efforts with the publication of his 1816 'The Field of Waterloo', which raised funds for widows of the Battle.
[40] Blencowe, *The Casket*, p.v.

Nature and of Rustic Manners or Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*.[41] Baillie's and Blencowe's volumes are also not anthologies of works considered indicative of quality or a certain style or mode, such as Vicesimus Knox's *Elegant Extracts; Or, Useful and Entertaining Passages of Poetry* or J. Macray's *The Golden Lyre: Specimens of the poets of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain*.[42] They are also not albums or visitor's books 'a personal miscellany or scrapbook which usually began as a blank volume'.[43] They are miscellanies, unified only by their editors and by their philanthropic purposes.

Although these two collections are not albums, they warrant comparison with them. Two types of album will now be briefly considered; first, the physical albums held at houses and written in by guests, and the second, the printed album works that appeared within magazines and books. A crucial aspect of poetry contributed to a physical album, which differentiates it from contributions toward the case studies of this chapter, is the status of the author as a visitor—a physical and temporary presence. This characteristic leads to many poems being 'associated with the house rather than the host, and therefore appear institutional rather than personal.'[44] The specific significance of time and place is absent from Baillie and Blencowe's collections. The personal aspect of *A Collection* and, as far as is known, *The Casket,* is an important differentiator from album culture, as it requires a greater invocation of

[41] Joanna Baillie, *Poems: Wherein it is Attempted to Describe Certain Views of Nature and of Rustic Manners* (London: J. Johnson, 1790); William Wordsworth and Samiel Taylor Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads, with a Few Other Poems* (Bristol: Joseph Cottle, 1798).
[42] Vicesimus Knox, *Elegant Extracts: Or Useful and Entertaining Pieces of Poetry, Selected for the Improvement of Youth, in Speaking, Reading, Thinking, Composing and in the Conduct of Life: Sacred and Moral*, Volume 1 (London: Dilly, 1791); J. Macray, *The Golden Lyre; Specimens of the Poets of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain* (London, J. D. Haas, 1830).
[43] Samantha Matthews, *Album Verses and Romantic Literary Culture : Poetry, Manuscript, Print*, 1780-1850, p.2.
[44] Samantha Matthews, '"Paying the tribute of a song": the poetry of albums and visitors' books', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 25 (2022), 256-74, p.261.

social capital. While an album might gain content because 'guests at country houses felt under an obligation to repay their hosts' hospitality by complying with the request to write in the album,' these collections responded to the specific requests of Baillie and Blencowe.[45] They are contributions not tied to a social obligation from being hosted but rather a direct and personal request for contribution.

By not relying on a culture of 'personal albums circulating in a domestic gift economy,' Baillie and Blencowe must persuade a writer to contribute without the assistance of a cultural norm in their favour.[46]However, they may also request and gather works from those that have no locational ties to their property.

A second pertinent comparison of album culture and these case studies of networked literary philanthropy, one more pertinent to published album works, is a perception of them being low art. As Samantha Matthews argues, album poetry was often seen as 'incompetent and sub-literary', as being 'devoid of literary attributes (originality, artistic merit, technical accomplishment, intellectual interest).[47] These attitudes towards album contributions are similar to Baillie's fears for her *Collection*. If a 'survey of album verses in books and magazines between 1812 and 1830, as the genre became first popular then commonplace, confirms that their authors were typically second-rate writers or occasional contributors', then the same could be said about many of the contributors to both *A Collection* and *The Casket*.[48] While many of the authors in both collections are anonymous, or named but almost entirely unknown, it is worth noting that there are major names within both collections. This contrasts with the 'Poets publishing album verses in this decade' who often

[45] IBID, p.259.
[46] IBID, p.257.
[47] IBID, p.256.
[48] Matthews, *Album Verses and Romantic Literary Culture,* p.129.

comprised ‘new writers trying to break into publishing, society poets without much literary reputation to lose, or amateurs and reader-contributors whose identities were masked by pseudonyms and initials, or who were simply too obscure to be noticed.’[49] Major names, most notably Walter Scott in *A Collection*, had substantial literary reputations. The common anxiety that album and networked literary philanthropic poetry was low quality does not match an avoidance by capable, professional, and known poets (despite some criticism towards certain works).

Production, Contribution, and Subscription

Production

The subscription lists in both Baillie’s *A Collection* and Blencowe’s *The Casket* are revealing. If, as James Raven claims in *The Business of Books*, ‘most book editions remained at 750’ copies, then each of the collections must be considered highly successful literary products, with *A Collection* totalling 2308 copies and *The Casket* totalling 1525 copies.[50] Being two and three times over what might be considered standard for the period is impressive enough, but more so when it is considered how both of these texts were sold for a guinea each – a not insubstantial sum of money. Both Baillie and Blencowe appear to have had agreements with their publishers to print the collections at cost. Baillie in her ‘Advertisement’ at the beginning of the *A Collection* noted that: ‘She [Baillie, as the editor] ought not to omit mentioning that the liberality of her bookseller, printer and stationer have reduced the expenses of publication to those merely of cost charges.’[51] Blencowe mentions a similar arrangement in *The Casket*, highlighting the ‘liberality of the terms’ of

[49] IBID
[50] James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) p.304.
[51] Baillie, *A Collection*, p.viii.

production.[52] While this does not explicitly state that *The Casket* was printed at cost, the identical use of 'liberality' would suggest this to be the case, or at least a reduced level.

If Longman's claimed costs and margins for a general 8vo title as declared to parliament are accurate, then the print costs of Baillie's *A Collection* might be estimated at 2100 shillings for 750 copies, and possibly a similar amount for Blencowe's *Casket*. Longman's costs are listed as follows:

An 8vo Edition of a new title, 750 copies

	Price (shillings)	Percentage of total cost
Manufacturing Costs		
Setting the type	450	21
Paper and Pressing	450	21
Total Manufacturing Costs	900	43
Selling costs, advertising	1200	57
Total Costs	2100	100
Implied unit cost of manufacture	1	
Implied unit cost with advertising	3[53]	

A more detailed approximation of costs is therefore possible. For print runs of 2250 and 1500, there would be no need to triple the price of setting the type – as the

[52] Blencowe, *The Casket*, p.vii.
[53] Raven, *The Business of Books*, p.506.

type would remain set for the entire run. Advertising and selling costs are also somewhat complicated, as it is unclear if *A Collection* was advertised. *The Casket* certainly was, and so a more accurate estimate may suppose that advertising was undertaken.[54] However, the product would not require full advertising costs three times over (although the production of presentation costs for items such as review copies would be larger for a larger edition). All these factors taken in total suggest that the total cost of production for Longman may have been around 3000 shillings for the entire print run of *A Collection*; although it must be stressed that this is a very rough estimate for a complicated series of costs, and cannot be taken as particularly accurate. Using this estimation, this would leave the net profit of *A Collection* as 45,216 shillings, or 2153 guineas. While this does not factor in delivery costs (unless the unhelpfully vague 'selling costs' refers to this) it is nevertheless a remarkable sum of money. If we assume the costs are broadly similar, *The Casket* may have raised 29,055 shillings, or 1383 guineas. This figure would have been less, as *The Casket* was larger than *A Collection*, running to 451 pages as opposed to the latter's 330 pages, though it is hard to work out what the difference between the page counts may have added to the cost of production. Despite these approximations, it is immediately apparent that the collections both raised a substantial amount of economic capital.

That both Longman and probably Murray were willing to publish at cost adds an additional layer of philanthropy toward the collections, that of the physical production of the products themselves, as well as the efforts of the editors, contributors and subscribers. The parties involved at every point of both *The Collection* and *The Casket*'s creation are consistently involved philanthropically,

[54] *The Quarterly Review*, 79 (1829) p.221.

making it a truly collaborative philanthropic exercise, with no direct economic gain for any of the parties involved, save for the intended targets of the collections.

Contributors

Quantity

The contributors to *A Collection* and *The Casket* offer a fascinating insight into the literary networks active within the period. These included familiar names, such as Baillie herself, William Wordsworth, and Lord Byron. Yet perhaps the most interesting aspect of the two collections is the quantity of authors in the collections: thirty-six individual named authors in *A Collection*, and 119 names in Blencowe's *The Casket*. William St. Clair's estimates of the number of poets active in this period and the numbers of volumes published suggest how remarkable these figures are:

> For the period the between 1780s and the 1830s, we have records of about 5000 new books of verse, 10,000 new editions, written by about 2000 living poets… about fifty poets, it was believed at the time, made some money from their writings.[55]

While the figure of 2000 living poets has been updated to over 5000 by the Jackson's *Biography of Romantic Poetry*, the collections still contain a remarkable proportion of the literary market for two single collections.[56]. While many of the writers could well have been featured for no reason other than that they had written some verse at some point and knew of the editor's intention to publish a large collection, it is nevertheless an impressive number. A likely example of more opportunistic and perhaps less professional inclusion is that of R. W. Blencowe, Esq.

[55] William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.172.
[56] J. R. de J. Jackson, Jackson Bibliography of Romantic Poetry, https://jacksonbibliography.library.utoronto.ca/, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2026)

Jun.'s 'Jew's appeal to the Christian'.[57] The almost entirely unknown nature of the name 'Blencowe' makes it hard to imagine that the author had any form of literary reputation – and so most likely is present within the collection simply due to familial ties and obligation, either because Penelope requested a poem by R. W., or because R. W. wished to contribute to a collection of poetry that was to be published.

Common Contribution

A Collection and *The Casket* include eleven of the same contributors, a sizable proportion of those that contributed toward *A Collection*. These are as follows:

Charles Sheridan, Esq	Henry Gally Knight, Esq.	J. F. W. Herschel, Esq.
John Herman Merivale	Miss Anna Maria Porter	Mrs. Grant (of Laggan)
Mrs. Hemans	Mrs. Joanna Baillie	Rev. George Crabbe
William Sotheby, Esq.	William Wordsworth, Esq.	

In the next section of this chapter, I will consider each of these eleven writers in turn, briefly providing relevant autobiographical details, considering how they might have known Baillie or Blencowe, and adding any additional information about their contributions that might be of particular interest in this consideration of networked literary philanthropy.

Charles Sheridan

[57] IBID, p.128.

Charles Sheridan is most likely Charles Brinsley Sheridan, the second son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the famous playwright, poet and owner of Drury Lane.[58] While it is unknown if Blencowe had any connection to either Drury Lane or the Sheridans, Baillie's play *De Montfort* was performed there in 1800. While it is unclear whether Baillie had any close contact with the Sheridans, as there are no letters to Sheridan listed in either the *Chronological Letters of Joanna Baillie*, or *Further Letters*, it is probable that they were familiar enough with each other's works for a request of a poetical submission to fall on sympathetic ears. Sheridan's poetic contributions will be analysed later in this chapter.

Henry Gally Knight

Henry Gally Knight is not usually known as a poet; his *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry refers to him primarily as an 'architectural writer and antiquary', though it does mention that 'between 1816 and 1830 he published a number of poems'.[59] Born in Langdon Hall, Yorkshire, Gally Knight spent the majority of his adult life living in and around Nottingham, though he made frequent international trips to locations such as Normandy, Spain, Sicily, Greece, Egypt, and Palestine. Much of his written work was heavily influenced by and related to his travels. International influence is particularly obvious in titles such as *An Architectural Tour in Normandy* (1836), *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy from Constantine to the 15th Century* (1842), and his poetic work *Ilderim, a Syrian Tale*.[60] It is unclear whether Baillie or Blencowe knew Knight well, as there are no known records of any

[58] A. Norman Jeffares, 'Sheridan, Richard Brinsley', *ODNB*
[59] W.W. Wroth, revised by Jane Harding, 'Knight, Henry Gally', *ODNB*.
[60] Henry Gally Knight, *An Architectural Tour in Normandy; with Some Remarks on Norman Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1836); Henry Gally Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy from the Time of Constantine to the Fifteenth Century*; Vol. I (London; Henry G. Bohn, 1843); Henry Gally Knight, *Ilderim: a Syrian tale. In four cantos* (London, John Murray, 1816).

meeting or correspondence. However, Baillie does refer to him explicitly in a letter to Walter Scott that discussed the reception of *A Collection*:

> I believe of all my Friendly Poets none have been more gratified on this occasion than Gally Knight, for his portrait of his mother has been extremely noticed & liked, and as the public have not hitherto been very favourable to his Muse it must have been the more flattering to him, setting aside all the better feelings, which belong to him as an affectionate son.

Baillie's comments on Gally's contribution to *A Collection*, 'A Portrait', refer to the central theme of the poem – Gally's mourning of the loss of his mother in 1823. Baillie mentioning Gally's contribution specifically in her letter to Scott is significant. She refers to only two other favourites of the collection (Catherine Fanshaw, who contributed anonymously, and Felicia Hemans's 'Belshazzar's Feast') suggesting that Gally's poem had been met with widespread approval. If it was known that Gally Knight's poem had been a particular favourite, it is entirely logical to assume that one of his contributions toward *The Casket*, 'Dreams, 1823', which is also about the death of his mother, was contributed under the consideration of the theme's previous positive reception. Whether this would have been the decision of Gally Knight, wishing to evoke a similar reception, or on the request of Blencowe when writing to request a contribution, is impossible to ascertain. The repeated theme of his mother's death, and Baillie's comment on positive reception, demonstrate that grief and familial love were considered appropriate themes for networked literary philanthropy. While it may simply be that the poems were considered moving; the theme of grief, and the love it demonstrates, does match the more generalised definition of philanthropy as a generalised love of people.

Gally Knight also contributed three further poems to *The Casket*. These three additional poems, following one another in the collection (and separate from 'Dreams') are entitled 'The Amorino of the Vatican', 'The Apollo of Belvedere' and 'The Monument of Celia Metalla'.[61] All three are ekphrastic considerations of Italian sculpture and architecture: works fitting Gally Knight's interest as an antiquary and architectural writer. Their separation from 'Dreams' serves to highlight the common theme of these works. As a general celebration of artworks, they are non-controversial or exploratory of any difficult subjects, making them generally appropriate for a poetic miscellany, be that philanthropic or not.

John Frederick William Herschel

John Frederick William Herschel, or J. F. W. Herschel as he is listed in *The Casket*, also contributed towards both collections.[62] The only son of William Herschel, discoverer of Uranus, John Herschel was also a celebrated astronomer, and a founding member of the Royal Astronomical Society.[63] As mentioned earlier, Baillie was unhappy with the quality of the pieces Herschel initially sent to her. It is thanks to that letter that it is known that Herschel contributed, as his name is kept anonymous in *A Collection*, though not in *The Casket*.[64] This shift in anonymity is intriguing – and may reflect an increased confidence in Herschel's own poetic ability, a disinclination on the part of Blencowe to use anonymity, or a general change of attitude towards anonymity. The anonymity of Herschel in Baillie's *A Collection* suggests that Blencowe would not have known of Herschel's involvement from merely reading it. This suggests a few interesting possibilities. It is possible that

[61] Henry Gally Knight, 'The Amorino of the Vatican', *The Casket*, p.44; 'The Apollo of Belvedere', *The Casket*, p.45; 'The Monument of Celia Metalla', *The Casket*, p.46.
[62] Blencowe, *The Casket*, p.452.
[63] Michael J. Crowe, 'Herschel, Sir John Frederick William, first baronet', *ODNB*.
[64] Baillie, *A Collection*, pp.327-330.

Blencowe corresponded with Baillie directly, asked her for information as to who might be able to contribute toward a similar collection and was directed towards Herschel that way. It is also possible that Blencowe moved in the same social circles as Baillie, and so perhaps met him personally in social gatherings, or through the understanding of a mutual acquaintance, and so gained awareness of Herschel's willingness to contribute towards a collection independently of Baillie. Herschel's modern reputation as an astronomer may also eclipse a potential contemporary reputation as a poet as well as a scientist, meaning that it might have been somewhat generally known at the time that he wrote poetry, in which a direct connection from Blencowe to Hershel would have been unnecessary.

John Herman Merivale

John Herman Merivale is remembered as a 'lawyer and literary scholar', as well as a friend of Lord Byron's. [65] Merivale published his translations of a number of classical works, including *Translations Chiefly from the Greek Anthology: with Tales and Miscellaneous Poems* (1806), which was co-authored with Robert Bland, and *Collections from the Greek Anthology and from Pastoral, Elegaic and Dramatic Poets of Greece* (1813), as well as some original compositions, including a two volume *Poems, Original and Translated* (1838).[66]

Merivale was also involved in three other literary enterprises that may have been relevant for his inclusion in both Baillie's and Blencowe's collections. The first of these is Merivale's involvement in Drury Lane, where he submitted dramatic work through Lord Byron.[67] While this was unsuccessful, his involvement in Romantic

[65] J. M. Rigg, 'Merivale, John Herman', *ODNB.*
[66] IBID
[67] Thomas Moore, *Life of Lord Byron, With His Letters and Journals,* Vol. 4 (London: John Murray, 1833) p.301.

theatre culture may have been how Baillie encountered Merivale, though this would not explain how Blencowe might have known him. Secondly, it is possible that Baillie and Blencowe may have known Merivale through their mutual acquaintance with Lord Byron. As Baillie was a respected dramatist, and Byron a particular fan of her work, it is not unfeasible that Byron introduced Merivale to Baillie as one dramatist to another. While this would not explain his inclusion in Blencowe, the latter may have known Byron or Lady Byron, as *The Casket* contains a poem by Byron despite his having been dead for five years by 1829. It is also possible that Blencowe knew Merivale, or at least of him, because of John Murray, who published Byron, Merivale, and Blencowe's *Casket*. Merivale was recommended to Murray as an Italian linguist, and John Murray was the publisher of *The Casket*; Blencowe may have requested that Murray use some of his contacts to provide additional contributions.[68]

Unlike Herschel or Gally Knight, Merivale had an established literary reputation, and it may simply have been that both Baillie and Blencowe independently contacted him to request a contribution towards a philanthropic literary endeavour.

Anna Maria Porter

Anna Maria Porter (1778-1832) wrote a number of novels, including *The Hungarian Brothers* (1807), *Don Sebastian, or The House of Braganza* (1809), *Ballad Romances and other Poems* (1811), *The Recluse of Norway* (1811), *Tales of Pity on Fishing, Shooting, and Hunting* (1814) and *The Knight of Saint John* (1817)

[68] Thomas Moore, *Life of Lord Byron, With His Letters and Journals,* Vol. 4 (London: John Murray, 1833) p.301.

among others.[69] It is unclear how Baillie and Blencowe might have known and solicited Porter for contributions.

Anne Grant

Anne Grant (1755-1838), known as Mrs Grant (of Laggan) in both collections, was a writer whose work included *Poems on Various Subjects* (1803) (reissued in 1808 under the title of *The Highlanders and other Poems*), *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* (1811) and *Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen: A Poem* (1814). Grant knew Sir Walter Scott well, and visited Abbotsford.[70] Publicly, Scott praised Grant and her work, and although he was more critical privately, it may have been through Scott that Baillie knew her.[71] Scott as an intermediary may have been unnecessary however, as if 'given the small literary world of Romantic Scotland, these authors [Scott and Grant] soon became personally acquainted', Baillie, also a writer of Scottish ballads, would have had similar reason to be acquainted with Grant.[72]

Grant's first book of poetry, *Poems on Various Subjects,* was published in order to help alleviate her extreme poverty after the death of her husband.[73] This collection, which featured 3000 subscribers, may well have formed an inspiration for Baillie's own collection.[74] Baillie was certainly aware of it: 'Baillie, Mrs, Hampstead', most likely Joanna Baillie, ordered two copies of Grant's collection. Eleven other

[69] Eric Quayle, 'Porter, Anna Maria' *ODNB*.
[70] Evan Gottlieb. 'Blameless Empires and Long-Forgotten Melodies: Anne Grant's "The Highlanders," Walter Scott's "The Lay of the Last Minstrel", and the Poetry of Sympathetic Britishness.' *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 40 (2010), 253-74.
[71] IBID
[72] IBID
[73] Andrew Tod, 'Grant [née MacVicar], Anne' *ODNB*; Anne Grant, *Poems on Various Subjects* (London: Longman, 1803).
[74] Tod, 'Grant [née MacVicar], Anne'.

‘Baillie’s’ subscribed to the collection, including ‘Baillie, Dr, London’; presumably Matthew Baillie (1761-1823), Joanna’s brother.

Grant’s collection differs from Baillie’s and Blencowe’s in that it was entirely written by her, as she ‘prepare(d) a collection of the verses she had written over the years for her extensive correspondents, and thanks to the efforts of her friends and admirers, including the notorious Jane Gordon, wife of Alexander Gordon, fourth duke of Gordon, no fewer than three thousand subscribers were found’.[75] That Grant frequently wrote verse for friends and correspondents makes her inclusion in *A Collection* and *The Casket* unsurprising, as a request for poetry for a charitable collection would appear to closely fit her already established habits. The mention of ‘thanks to the efforts of friends’ also suggests a common methodology to Blencowe’s collection, in the use of the unknown ‘gentlemen’ that solicited Walter Scott. Both Blencowe and Grant’s decisions to call on the aid of acquaintances suggests that this may have been a common means of soliciting subscriptions in the period. The name ‘Blencowe’ does not appear in the subscription lists of *Poems on Various Subjects*.[76]

Felicia Hemans

Felicia Hemans (1793-1835) was a well-known and well-respected poet, whose works included *Poems* (1808), *England and Spain, or Valour and Patriotism* (1808), and *The Sceptic* (1820).[77] Baillie and Hemans corresponded – the *Chronological List of the Letters of Joanna Baillie* show that there are at least seven

[75] IBID
[76] Anne Grant, *Poems on Various Subjects*, pp.415-47.
[77] Felicia Hemans, *Poems by Felicia Dorothea Browne* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1808); Felicia Hemans, *England and Spain; Or, Valour and Patriotism* (London: J. M’Creery, 1808); Felicia Hemans, *The Sceptic; a Poem* (London, John Murray, 1820).

known letters from Baillie to Hemans between 1827-30. The familiarity of the first known letter, from 27 March 1827, suggests this was certainly not the start of their correspondence, and so it seems fair to assume that Baillie and Hemans may well have been in communication during the creation of *A Collection* – it is even possible that this is what began their correspondence.[78] Baillie certainly had an active interest in Hemans' work, as, alongside Walter Scott, she helped promote an Edinburgh production of Hemans' verse play *The Vespers of Palermo* in 1824.[79]

Despite this encouragement and Hemans' contribution to *A Collection*, Baillie and Hemans never actually met, as she states in a letter to Andrew Norton: 'I never had the good fortune to become personally acquainted with her, though letters & sometimes little friendly offices past between us'.[80] As with many of these authors, it is unclear what Blencowe's connection to Hemans was.

Joanna Baillie

That Baillie herself contributed toward *A Collection* is no surprise; she had an established literary reputation at this point, and not to include a work of her own would be both a waste of an opportunity for her to easily add another poem and author to those assembled and a rejection of her own literary worth. Baillie seems to have found the idea of her including a poem amusing, as her tone in a letter to Walter Scott suggests:

> it will in your hands make a noble & pathetic scene or act as you please, and any thing of a direct Drama from you, will be such a novelty to the public that

[78] Joanna Baillie to Felicia Hemans, 27th March 1827, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, ed. Judith Bailey Slagle (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p.1093.
[79] Nanora Sweet, 'Hemans [née Browne], Felicia Dorothea', *ODNB*.
[80] Joanna Baillie to Andrew Norton, 20th August [1835], *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, p.933.

> had my collection no more leg to stand up on than this, it would not have been left in the mire. It will be drole enough to have you writing in blank verse for it and me writing in rhyme, like changing sides in a country dance. We shall stand opposed to one another, but I must not presume to say on the equal footing of partners. But give me good blank verse, and don't go like Lord Byron to cut prose into junks calling that blank verse, for the blind courtisy [sic] which the British public shew to their mysterious Idol, great as you are, will not be shewn to you.[81]

Baillie's flattery and high expectation of Scott are not misplaced; as one of the bestselling authors of the period, the inclusion of Walter Scott in *A Collection* would certainly impress readers, even if the volume had 'no other leg to stand on'. More intriguing is her comment 'I must not assume to say on the equal footing of partners.' It seems unlikely this is an implied criticism of Scott and so is likely connected to her own poetic abilities, although it is hard to tell if this is the traditional modesty expected of women writers during this period, or a genuine anxiety about the worth of her own verse. It could also be an extension of the dancing metaphor, and simply a comment on the abilities (or implied lack) of either of them at dancing.

Baillie's inclusion in *The Casket* is more intriguing, as it provides the most explicit existing link between her and Blencowe. As there is no record of any letters from Baillie to Blencowe, any speculation about an accompanying letter containing advice, referrals to other poets who might be solicited, or any number of useful details must remain as speculation. Regardless of whatever correspondence may have transpired between Baillie and Blencowe, that Baillie is in Blencowe's collection

[81] Joanna Baillie to Walter Scott, 24th Feb 1827, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, p.407.

makes it highly unlikely that Blencowe was unaware of Baillie's *Collection* and strengthens the notion that *The Casket* is modelled primarily on Baillie's volume.

George Crabbe

George Crabbe (1754-1832) is best known for his realistic narrative poetry, particularly *The Village* (1783) and *The Borough* (1810).[82] By the 1820s he had entirely ceased publication, his last work was *Tales of the Hall* (1819).[83] Much like Anna Maria Porter, he had an established poetic reputation, but was not active in the contemporary poetry scene of the 1820s. Unlike Porter however, correspondence between Baillie and Crabbe survives:

> Miss Hoare has just been here with another copy of your characteristic & amusing dialogue between Hope & Memory, and I have just finished reading it. The lines you have added are … poem more … were to humour … addition, when it was so presumptuous not to be entirely satisfied with it as it was at first! Your Poem will be one of the most valued jewils [*sic*] in my collected store, and I am right proud to have had such a pen at work for me, ad such a name to grace my Poetical friends. Accept then my very hearty thanks: expressed indeed in few words, but not the less sensibly felt on that account. ---[84]

This letter provides several interesting points of information: the first is the mention of the unknown 'Miss Hoare'. While delivery of letters via a mutual acquaintance was not unusual during the period, it is nevertheless useful that we can confirm that such

[82] George Crabbe, *The Village: A Poem. In two books* (London: J, Dodsley, 1783); George Crabbe, *The Borough: A Poem in Twenty-four Letters* (London: J, Hatchard, 1810).
[83] George Crabbe, *Tales of the Hall,* Vol *1* (London: Murray, 1819).
[84] Joanna Baillie to George Crabbe, 13 June 1822, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie,* p.1070.

a method was used at least once in the creation of the *Collection*. These additional acquaintances demonstrate how networked literary philanthropy includes philanthropy not only in contribution of written work or monetary subscription, but also in the physical delivery of communication.

The letter also provides another example of Baillie demanding quality in submissions for *A Collection*; even when they came from as respected a poet as George Crabbe. Finally, the letter demonstrates that there was a drafting process, and multiple versions of the texts were sent to Baillie – they are not 'dead' manuscripts, but ones that are still to be improved and rewritten. This is strong proof of Baillie as more than a mere 'collector' of poetry, but as an active and astute editor, attesting to the professionalism employed in the creation of *A Collection*. In this regard, Baillie's editing (at least, where it occurs) is an additional measure of distinction from album culture, both in the implied quality of editing, and in the sense that the poems are not 'dead' and unable to be edited. Again, it is unclear how Blencowe might have known Crabbe.

William Sotheby

William Sotheby (1757-1833) was a poet, translator and frequent correspondent of Baillie.[85] *A Chronological Listing of the Letters of Joanna Baillie* lists forty known letters from Baillie to Sotheby, more than any writer save Sir Walter Scott, whose surviving correspondence with Baillie numbers over one hundred letters. Sotheby is the first writer that Baillie wrote to regarding *A Collection*, or at least, the first known from surviving letters. Baillie wrote to him about *A Collection* on

[85] Sidney Lee, revised by Melanie Ord, 'Sotheby, William', *ODNB.*

27 January 1822.[86] Her letter is direct, opening with 'My dear Friend, I want you to lend me some assistance in an undertaking which I have just begun for the advantage of an old school-fellow of mine'.[87] Baillie casts herself directly as a friend seeking help for another friend. This contrasts with her more professional and authoritative approach to both Crabbe and Herschel; perhaps suggesting either that at this early point she was entirely uncertain as to the potential of the collection she wished to compile, or that her relationship with Sotheby was more established. Her more direct request is also intriguing: 'Will you send me something of yours, or rather some things for insertion? or will you let me take what I like from your remembrances of Italy which stands in the last predicament. That upon Venice I particularly covet.'[88] Baillie's request for a specific poem complicates the notion of poets contributing works merely 'found lying about'. The poem Baillie is seeking is likely 'Venice' from Sotheby's *Farewell to Italy, and Occasional Poems*, published four years earlier.[89] .

Regardless of this, the requested poem is not one of those that enters the collection, as Sotheby's only contributions are 'Fair Mead Lodge' and 'The Lay of the Bell', neither of which match the description within these letters.[90] It is possible that either Sotheby turned her specific request down, or that Baillie's decision to focus largely on previously unpublished works came after this initial letter. As Sotheby was her first contact, it is likely that her conception of *A Collection* evolved substantially from this point. It is unclear how Blencowe might have known Sotheby.

William Wordsworth

[86] Joanna Baillie to William Sotheby, 27 Jan 1822, *Collected Letters*, pp.209-210.
[87] IBID, p.209.
[88] IBID
[89] 'William Sotheby, 'Venice', *Farewell to Italy, and Occasional Poems (*London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1818) pp.7-10.
[90] William Sotheby, 'Fair Mead Lodge', *A Collection*, ed. Baillie, p.21; Sotheby, 'The Lay of the Bell', *A Collection*, ed. Baillie, p.31.

William Wordsworth (1770-1850) met Joanna Baillie in 1808 while dining at William Sotheby's.[91] There are only two known letters from Baillie to Wordsworth. One of these, from 11th July 1822 is about *A Collection*. The date itself is significant, showing that while Wordsworth and Baillie may well have known one another, they were not as immediate in contacting one another as either Walter Scott or William Sotheby. The letter deals with two topics, *A Collection*, and a recent accident:

> My Dear Sir
>
> I received your letter with the two beautiful sonnets yesterday, and I feel very sensibly how good you are in attending to my request at a time when your mind is so painfully occupied. I hope you are by this time, in some degree at least, relieved from your anxiety by the medicines having had the desired effect on your invalid. I heard of the alarming accident that lately befell yourself just the day after my letter to you was sent to post, and I regretted when too late that I should at such a time trouble you about any thing, I hope Mrs Wordsworth & your sister will forgive me for having done so for I guess that they would be more disturbed about it on your account than you would be yourself.
>
> I am greatly obliged to you for what you have sent me. The first sonnet is full of pleasing and soothing images and is my great favourite; but they are both beautiful and will do great honour to my collection. My packet of contributions is now swelling to a considerable size and I hope to produce an acceptable and rather curious volume. My Sister & I are our on our way to Gloucester

[91] William and Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. Alan G. Hill, 8 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), VIII, pp.90-91.

shire and shall be absent from Hampstead for some months She begs me to unite with me in best respects to Mrs. Wordsworth, your Sister and yourself.

With much esteem

Yours truly obliged & grateful

J Baillie[92]

Wordsworth contributed two sonnets, 'Not love nor war' and 'A volant tribe of bards' to *A Collection*, and one sonnet, 'The Peat Stack', to *The Casket*.[93] That each of Wordsworth's contributions towards both collections had the same form suggests that he saw sonnets as particularly appropriate for a collection of poems, perhaps because of their set short length. Baillie's reference to Wordsworth's accident suggests that her request was only recently sent (notwithstanding the delay of correspondence from London to the Lakes); and that Wordsworth's response was near immediate. If Wordsworth was in as great pain as the letter suggests, it is less likely that the poems were written specifically for Baillie's collection, and more likely ones that were on hand and had not been published or yet ascribed any other purpose. The letter also demonstrates that Wordsworth was relatively late in Baillie's requests for poetry, and that her collection was already 'swelling to a considerable size'. Securing a poem from Wordsworth was clearly not an immediate priority for Baillie, or at least not as much a priority as the works she immediately sought from as Scott and Sotheby. This is likely primarily reflective of how Baillie and

[92] Joanna Baillie to William Wordsworth, 11 July 1822, WLMS A / Baillie, Joanna / 1, The Wordsworth Trust, Dove Cottage, Grasmere.
[93] William Wordsworth, 'Sonnet – Not love nor war', *A Collection* ed. Joanna Baillie (London: Longman, 1823); Wordsworth, 'Sonnet – A Volant tribe of bards' and 'The Peat Stack', in *The Casket* ed. Penelope Blencowe (London: John Murray, 1829) p.259.

Wordsworth, though acquainted, were not close. Again, Blencowe's connection to Wordsworth is unclear, if there was one.

Conclusions about the Recurring Authors

The common contributors across *The Casket* and *A Collection* are noteworthy in how many of them are well known figures of the Romantic period. That many of them are older, and perhaps past the primary period of their careers, again suggests that Baillie and Blencowe moved in similar social and literary circles, one largely compromised of an older generation.

The common occurrence of the lesser-known figure of Henry Gally Knight is also curious and suggests deeper connections between the two collections than merely form and philanthropic intent. His inclusion in *The Casket*, following *A Collection*, is further suggestive evidence that either Baillie and Blencowe moved in overlapping social circles, or that Blencowe directly used *A Collection* as a blueprint for *The Casket*, contacting the authors present in Baillie's collection to ask for a repeat. It very well might be both. Gally Knight's contributions both covering the same topic, grief for his mother, again demonstrates deliberate commonality – although whether this was at Blencowe's request or an awareness of the positive reception on Gally Knight's part is difficult to ascertain.

While Gally Knight may have been sought from *A Collection*'s list of authors, that possibility is unlikely in the case of the inclusion of Herschel in *The Casket*. His presence suggests more that Blencowe moved in similar social circles, as his contributions with *A Collection* were kept anonymous, and so, if Herschel was asked to contribute to *The Casket*, his presence within *A Collection* would likely have been known. While it is possible that the knowledge of his authorship became common

knowledge, it is far more likely that Blencowe moved in the same social circles, and either became aware of his contribution to Baillie that way or simply heard of his willingness to contribute towards literary philanthropic pursuits. Either way, Blencowe, Baillie and Herschel were all most probably in either the same social network, or overlapping ones.

The common authors in both collections demonstrate a powerful network of writers and a certain degree of societal interest in networked literary philanthropic projects. Whether contributing spare works, or writing new ones specifically, that many authors have done so multiple times, suggests a dedication to the network. To what extent that dedication is motivated by the social capital of the editors, a moral drive (or sense of obligation) to philanthropically assist, or perhaps even just a desire to have literary output, is impossible to ascertain from the limited known correspondence. Regardless of motivation, the common presence of these authors demonstrates a power in networked literary philanthropy, a power that contrasts quite substantially with Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Without access to further information on Blencowe, it is hard to establish how developed the connections were between Blencowe and Baillie. That eleven of the authors are present in both collections, however, does suggest that Blencowe may well have chosen to contact the authors that she had seen contacted by Baillie, or that of all the authors Blencowe contacted, those also present within Baillie's collection happened to have more of a philanthropic drive and interest in contributing towards a collection. While speculative, I believe this is likely to be a combination of both, and that Blencowe contacted every author that she might, with particular focus on those she had already witnessed to contribute to philanthropic efforts, much as Baillie may have done when contacting Anne Grant.

Subscribers

A key part of the information available about both collections comes from *The Casket* and *A Collection's* subscription lists. These provide the names, titles and number of subscribed copies for everyone who subscribed to the collection. Some entries also provide the subscriber's address. Databasing this information has allowed me to identify both the individuals and the demographic groups that participated in the philanthropy of these collections. I will now consider some of the information that can be ascertained from the subscription lists in each collection. Firstly, I will consider named Members of Parliament; figures who, being public, are easily identifiable as individuals, have established political affiliations, and often have known social circles, making them particularly useful studies for observing the networks within each collection. Secondly, I will consider the royal patrons of both collections, as, again, they are readily identifiable. As members of the upper classes, they are also embodiments of the largest concentration of capital; economic, cultural, and social. Thirdly, I will consider some of the subscribers who placed the largest numbers of subscriptions, a body of people who demonstrate a substantially higher investment of economic capital in the texts, and therefore, the philanthropic project they are in aid of. Finally, I will consider the locations that are named within the subscription lists; this will allow consideration of geographical density of the social and cultural networks invoked by the collections.

Members of Parliament

Members of Parliament (M.P.s) are a notable demographic in the subscription lists of *A Collection* and *The Casket* (see my databases in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2). Thirteen M.P.s were subscribers to *The Casket*, while *A Collection* boasted ten. Although these figures represent a relatively modest portion of the overall

subscribership, the prominence of M.P.s in the public sphere suggests that valuable information concerning their political inclinations and attitudes towards philanthropy may be accessible. Examining the political alignment of even a subset of subscribers, particularly those in influential positions, holds the potential to uncover overlapping networks between political and literary philanthropic circles curated by the editors of these collections.

To achieve this, I have written concise biographies of the M.P.s who subscribed to *The Casket*. My focused approach aims to unravel the intricate intersections in both volumes between political landscapes and literary and philanthropic endeavours. I have chosen to focus on *The Casket* here because the argument would be repeated if I also included the M.P.s from *A Collection*, and the greater wealth of information available on Baillie makes a detailed look at this aspect of *The Casket* more rewarding.

I have considered the following:

Parliamentary Seats: each M.P.'s biography delves into the specifics of the parliamentary seats they held, providing context for their political influence and reach.

Party Affiliations: I have aimed to provide insights into the political affiliations of these M.P.s, detailing the parties they supported and the extent of their involvement.

Key Political Interests: beyond general party politics, my biographies explore any distinctive political interests or causes championed by the M.P.s, aiming to offer a nuanced understanding of their ideological stances.

Connections to the literary marketplace and philanthropy, including links to Baillie and Blencowe: my narratives seek to illuminate potential links between the M.P.s and the literary marketplace or philanthropic actions, providing a comprehensive view of their multifaceted roles.

In pursuing this line of inquiry, my aim is to unravel the intricate tapestry of connections between political and literary spheres, and to contribute to a richer understanding of the cultural and philanthropic networks within which these collections are embedded.

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland

The first M.P. in both subscription lists is Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, tenth baronet (1787-1871), described as a 'politician and philanthropist' by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.[94] He was the Tory M.P. for Devon between 1812-18, and 1820-31. Though a Tory, he gained support from the Whigs in the 1830 election due to his support for Catholic Emancipation, though he lost the support of some his friends in doing so. Acland later backed General Gascoyne's motion regarding the Great Reform Bill of 1831, and in doing so lost Whig support, causing him to lose his seat in 1831. He was then without a seat until 1837, when he was returned for North Devon as a Conservative, holding his seat until 1857. Walter Scott knew Acland and referred to him as 'my old and kind friend' and 'the head of the religious party in the House of Commons.' He claimed that 'I could confide much in Sir. T Acland's honour and integrity'.[95] Acland also knew Robert Southey and William

[94] W. P. Courtney, revised by H. C. G. Matthew, 'Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke, tenth baronet' *ODNB.*
[95] *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott,* Volume 2, ed. David Douglas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) p.163.

Wilberforce, whom he was introduced to by Sir Robert Harry Inglis in 1817.[96] His associations with Scott and Southey are his only observable connections to the literary world, and other than his commissioning of Compass Point storm tower, available documentation about his life makes no reference to actions that would warrant the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography's* description of him as a 'philanthropist'.[97] However, an interest in philanthropy would explain his interest in Blencowe's collection.

George Byng

The second M.P in *The Casket's* subscription list is George Byng, Esq., of Wrotham Park, who was a Whig M.P. for Middlesex in the years 1784-1847. His father, George Byng (1735-89), had been a radical Whig M.P., who sat for the same seat between 1780-84.[98] Byng (the younger) was described by his fellow Whig Sir James Mackintosh as an 'honest stupid Whig' and is described in *The History of Parliament* as 'A conscientious pro-Catholic reformer'.[99] He supported a number of radical reforms; including criminal law reform, the abolition of slavery, and Catholic relief.[100] This general reformist mindset would make him amenable to projects of literary philanthropy, and, if he could be considered 'arguably the wealthiest commoner in England', then he would certainly have the resources to subscribe to

[96] Robert Southey to Edith Southey, 28th April 1817, MS: British Library, Add MS 47888. ALS; 3p https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Five/HTML/letterEEd.26.2981.html [16/5/2018]. The edition is currently being transferred to *Romantic Circles's* new site, so all links to Southey's letters from pre-1822 cited in this thesis are currently not working.
[97] 'The Storm Tower, Efford Down, Bude, Cornwall', *Historic England*, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1141875 [12/2/2022]
[98] 'MPs for Twickenham and Middlesex: Famous and Notorious Members of Parliament 1295-2004', *The Twickenham Museum*, http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk/detail.php?aid=201&cid=17&ctid=1 [16/5/2018].
[99] Margaret Escott, 'BYNG, George (1764-1847), of Wrotham Park and 5 St. James's Square, Mdx.' in *The History of Parliament Online*, ed. D. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/byng-george-1764-1847 [27/06/2024].
[100] IBID

philanthropic collections without overmuch worry.[101] It is unclear if he had any connections to either Baillie or Blencowe.

R. T. Farquhar

R. T. Farquhar (1776-1830) was a colonial governor and director of the East India Company who returned from Mauritius to Britain in 1823.[102] He became M.P. for Newton in 1825, and then for Hythe in 1826, which he represented until his death in 1830. During his time as the governor of Mauritius, he was committed to the abolition of the slave trade from local French privateers. He also published a work on slavery in the West Indies, entitled *Suggestions for counteracting any injurious effects upon the population of the West India colonies from the abolition of the slave trade*.[103] His interests in the abolition of slavery may be suggestive of a more general philanthropic drive and may have driven him to support *The Casket* with a subscription. Three other members of the Farquhar family supported *The Casket*; Lady Farquhar (presumably his wife), Sir Thomas Farquhar (his son) and a second Lady Farquhar (presumably his son's wife).[104]

Sir Robert Harry Inglis

Sir Robert Harry Inglis (1786-1855) was the M.P. for Dundalk 1824-26, Ripon 1828-29 and Oxford University 1829-54.[105] He was the only son of Sir Hugh Inglis (1744-1820), a director and three times chairman of the East India Company, and M.P. for Ashburton (1802-06). Inglis was educated at Christ Church, Oxford where

[101] IBID
[102] G. B. Smith, revised by Lynn Milne, 'Farquhar, Sir Robert Townsend, first baronet', *ODNB*
[103] *The Edinburgh Review: Or Critical Journal: for April 1807* (London: Longman, 1815) p.242.
[104] Blencowe, *The Casket*, p.xv.
[105] D. R. Fisher, 'INGLIS, Sir Robert Harry, 2nd bt. (1786-1855), of Milton Bryant, Woburn, Beds.' *The History of Parliament Online*, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/inglis-sir-robert-1786-1855 [16/5/2018].

he established ‘a lifelong friendship with Sir Thomas Dyke Acland’.[106] Both men were ‘loosely associated with the Clapham Sect of reforming Anglican evangelicals around William Wilberforce.’[107] He held a number of public offices, including Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Home Affairs between October 1812 and February 1814; Carnatic Commissioner between 1814-30, and Commissioner on Ecclesiastical Revenues and Patronage between 1832-35..[108] He is one of many subscribers and authors in *The Casket* with a connection to India; though I have been unable to determine whether this is of significance to Blencowe, or merely an indication of the extent of British colonialism in India in the early nineteenth century. While Inglis introduced Wilberforce to Robert Southey, it is unclear if Inglis had any further literary connections that might explain a specific interest in either *A Collection* or *The Casket*.[109]

Conclusions about Members of Parliament

The four examples above are only some of the M.P.s found within the subscription lists of *The Casket*, but they are demonstrative of the surprising diversity of political opinion present within the subscribers within both collections. Members are present from both Tory and Whig factions. The simple distinction between ‘Tory’ and ‘Whig’ is also blurred, as the party political system had yet to be properly established, and M.P.s like Acland gained and lost support across parties depending on their stance on key issues, with Catholic Emancipation and the Great Reform Bill being of particular significance. A number of those present within the appendices are recorded as having an interest in philanthropic activities, either explicitly as in the

[106]John Wolffe, ‘Inglis, Sir Robert Harry, second baronet’, *ODNB.*
[107] IBID
[108] Fisher, ‘INGLIS, Sir Robert Harry’.
[109] IBID

case of Acland or more by inference, as in the anti-slavery efforts of R. T. Farquhar. While none of the M.P.s, even those with confirmed philanthropic interests, have any direct ties to either Baillie or Blencowe, that a significant proportion of those who appear to have been engaged in philanthropic interest would certainly suggest an interest in *A Collection* and *The Casket* as a means of performing public good.

Royal Patronage

Baillie and Blencowe's collections both attracted Royal patrons. Blencowe makes this particularly clear, as *The Casket* allocated a special section of its subscription list to the seven 'Their Royal Highnesses' who subscribed to it. These were:

Name/Title	Copies	Order of Mention
Princess Augusta	6	1
Duke of Cambridge	6	2
Duchess of Clarence	6	3
Duchess of Cambridge	3	4
Duchess of Kent	1	5
Duchess of Gloucester	1	6
His Majesty's Librarian	5	7

Having an additional list for such elite subscribers is no doubt a sign of respect for royalty, but it also acts as an official endorsement of *The Casket*, a mark of prestige for Blencowe herself, the authors in the collection, and those other subscribers who are listed alongside these royal figures. By positioning these figures and their

patronage first in the collection Blencowe is using their names and royal status to justify and empower the philanthropic cause of the collection. While 'His Majesty's Librarian' is not a member of royalty, he is nevertheless included within this separate royal list; perhaps an attempt to suggest that the King himself expressed interest.

Baillie's royal subscribers were also listed before the main body of her subscribers, though their section of the list was not given a specific title. Still, it is noticeable, that while the rest of the subscribers are indented on the page, the four royal patrons in *A Collection* are not. While this kind of formatting decision was most likely a decision of the printer or publisher, and not Baillie as editor, it is noteworthy that members of royalty were again physically distinguished from other subscribers by a difference in positioning on the page. This mark of respect and recognition of their royal status further strengthens the social capital accrued from their inclusion within the collections.

Name/Title	Copies
The King's Most Excellent Majesty	5
His Royal Highness the Duke of York	1
His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester	5
Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester	2

While the *Casket* had a larger number of royal patrons, it is notable that *A Collection* had a subscription directly attributed to the King (George IV), rather than his Librarian. This could be representative of Baillie's established reputation, though this

is speculative. Alternatively, the King's patronage may stem from Baillie's brother, Matthew Baillie, who held various royal surgical appointments, including physician-in-ordinary to both George III and Princess Charlotte, adding a substantial amount of social capital to Baillie's collection, and perhaps predisposing the King to an interest in Baillie's work.

Both Baillie and Blencowe's volumes also attracted subscribers from the aristocracy. *The Casket's* subscription list contains eleven duchesses, four dukes, fourteen countesses, ten earls, twenty-six ladies, two lords, five viscountesses and three viscounts. *A Collection's* subscription list contains four duchesses, three dukes, twelve countesses, seven earls, forty-nine ladies, eleven lords, four viscountesses and three viscounts. This is a substantial number of nobles; and while this might well be expected of *A Collection*, which was edited by the well-established and well-connected Joanna Baillie, it is a remarkable level of popularity for the entirely unknown Penelope Blencowe, and suggests a general culture of philanthropic giving ready to support literary projects such as *The Casket*. It is also possible that the social capital of involved in invoking such elite subscribers was not that of Blencowe, but that of John Murray, her publisher, who as publisher of Byron, the bestselling author of the period, would certainly have had a name that carried weight and attracted attention. It also similarly possible that Baillie was aided by Longman's reputation, though likely to a lesser extent, already having an established name.

Subscriptions for multiple copies

Both *A Collection* and *The Casket* also provide information on the number of copies that each subscriber bought. While most people purchased a single copy, a good number bought multiple copies, either by purchasing multiple books under a single name, or by multiple members of a family each purchasing one copy. In *A*

Collection, twenty-five of the 1258 subscribers bought ten or more copies, as in the table below:

Title	Surname	First Name	Copies	Location, Quoted	Order of Mention
Lt. Gen.	Brown		20	Curzon Street	81
Esq.	Finlay	Kirkman	20		603
Mrs.	Hughan		20		695
Esq. and Friends	Hesaltine	W.	20		810
Esq.	Hornby	John	10	Blackburn	773
Esq.	Cardwell	Richard	10	Blackburne	392
Hon. Mr.	Pusey		10	Grosvenor Square	1127
Mrs.	Gordon		10	Manchester Square	629
Mrs.	Stirling		10	Kenmuir	1358
Dr.	Baillie		10		104
Esq.	Burn	James	10		159
Lt.	B.	S.	10		237
Esq.	Block	James	10		250
Esq.	Barclay	John	10		251
A Friend			10		579
Esq.	Graeff	J. G.	10		640
Mrs.	Hopkinson	Edmund	10		762
Mrs.	Jordan	Finchley	10		815
Esq.	Lyon	Benjamin	10		955
Esq.	Moore	J. Carrick	10		979

Esq.	Maclean	Donald	10		1038
Mrs.	North		10		1095
Hon. Mr. Justice	Park		10		1126
Sir/ Bart.	Pepys	Wm.	10		1130
Sir/ Bart.	Scott	Walter	10		1282

While there is insufficient information to know who most of these people are, there are a few names of note here. Dr Baillie is almost certainly Matthew Baillie, Joanna Baillie's brother and an eminent physician. The substantial number of copies he subscribed to is most likely a sign of support for his sister's philanthropic efforts, and possibly for him to then give as gifts in turn to others. Sir Walter Scott's name is similarly likely a sign of support for his friend, and perhaps, as the preeminent contributor to the collection, the additional copies might be for others that Scott knew. The 10 copies for Mrs Stirling are particularly interesting as it is likely that this is the Mrs Stirling that *A Collection* was published for. Her subscriptions here demonstrate an awareness and approval of the purposes of *A Collection*; factors that would otherwise have to be merely assumed. It is likely that Mrs Stirling took these ten copies to distribute herself, either to close friends or neighbours, although this cannot be ascertained.

The table below contains those who purchased six or more copies of *The Casket*:

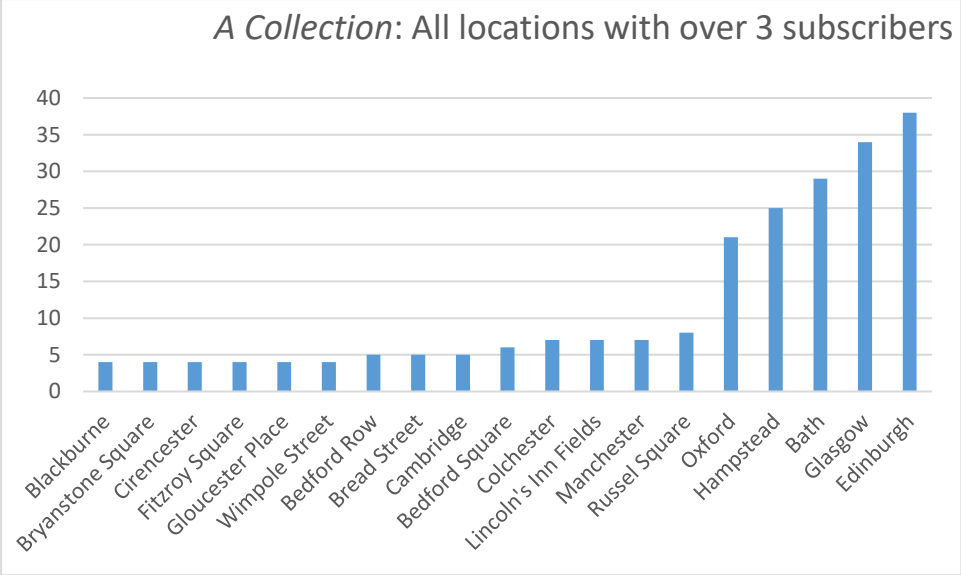
Title	Surnames	Copies	Location	Order of Mention
Messrs.	Pratt and Barry	12	(English Library Brussels)	909
Mr.	Gardiner	12	(English Library, Brussels)	464
Mr.	Lloyd	12	(Library)	693
His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury		10		156
Rev. Dr./Provost of Eton	Goodall	10		424
Duchess of Clarence		6		3
Duke of Cambridge		6		2
Esq.	Payne	6	(Pall Mall)	896
Miss	Saltonstall	6		1047
Mr.	Bull	6	(Library)	141
Mr.	Cawthorne	6	(Library)	263
Mr.	Sams	6	(Library)	1041
Princess	Augusta	6		1
Right Honourable Lady	Byron	6		57

I have shown everyone who purchased six copies and above of *The Casket* (not including those from the separate list of Royal Subscribers) as it did not have as

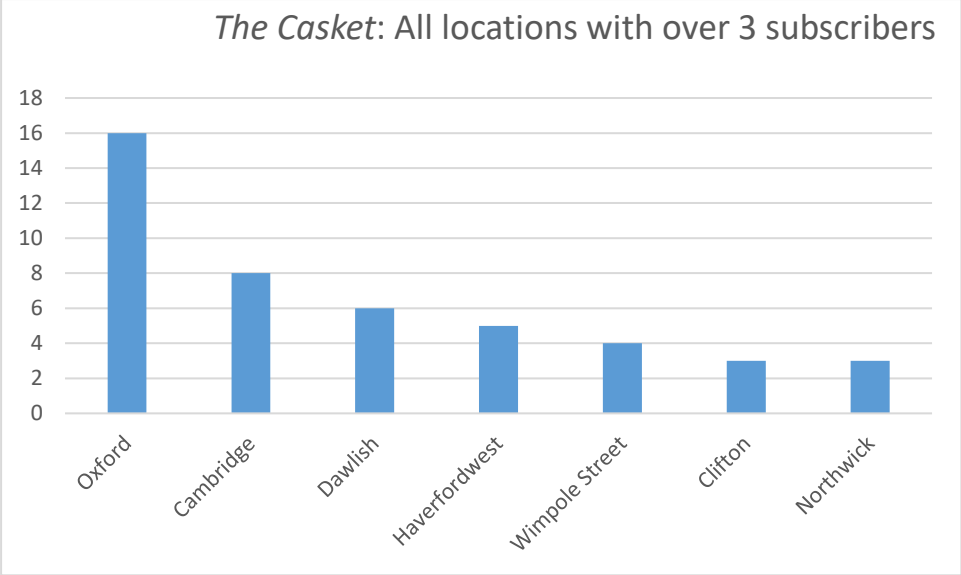
many people subscribing to multiple copies as *A Collection.* Noticeably, the majority of these multiple subscribers are libraries. While it is entirely reasonable that libraries are more likely to desire multiple copies, it is a noticeable difference to the subscription list of *A Collection*. While it is possible this corresponds to an increase in library use, or a wider public interest beyond the networking of Baillie, there is insufficient information to conclude with confidence. An additional interesting note is that the librarians present in *The Casket*'s subscription list are the only ones that use the title 'Mr'; all other non-titled men are listed as Esquire, perhaps reflective of the professional capacity in which they are subscribing to the collection.

Locations

Of the 1553 subscribers to *A Collection*, 642 provided some form of address. There is no standardisation to these addresses; some give only city names, some only street names, whereas some provide both. This makes the data impossible to map thoroughly. However, ignoring entries that appear only once, and standardising some of the location names (such as, for example, removing all the Cambridge and Oxford college names, so that they all appear as Cambridge or Oxford) I have identified the most common locations.



This graph shows all places with over three subscribers to *A Collection*. Some of these locations, such as Fitzroy Square or Bread Street had no other locational data included in the subscription list. This is almost certainly because they are within London as each of the locations does correspond to an area of London, and as both the capital of the country, and the location from which the texts would be distributed, it might reasonably be ascertained as the default location of subscribers, with further clarification being unnecessary. What is most immediately noticeable is the prevalence of Scottish subscribers from Glasgow and Edinburgh. This is not surprising considering that Joanna Baillie, Mrs Stirling (the recipient of the philanthropy), and Walter Scott (the most prominent contributor to the collection) were all Scottish. Hampstead also features prominently – again, unsurprising, as this is both where Joanna Baillie lived, and the site of an established literary community. Oxford and Bath were also well-established centres of literary culture, and relatively wealthy, making it far more likely that those living there would have both interest in *A Collection* and the means to spend a guinea on it.



Addresses in *The Casket* have less reoccurrence than with *A Collection,* with only Oxford and Cambridge appearing frequently: sixteen from Oxford and eight from Cambridge. In this graph, the specific colleges of the universities have been removed, but this information is can still be viewed in Appendix 2. The absence of any mentions of Bath, Glasgow, or Edinburgh, suggest that *The Casket* did not make use of the same networks as Baillie – though what networks it did use is difficult to ascertain. The prevalence of Dawlish is noteworthy as a small town in Devon where each subscriber has a different surname – suggesting it is not just one family, and that Blencowe had a specific connection. As a 'Penelope *Robinson* Blencowe' (1772-1846) has a grave in Dawlish, we can assume this is the same Blencowe of the collection, and that she most likely lived in Dawlish; hence the significant number of subscribers from this location.[110] In this instance, it is fair to assume that the social capital of Blencowe is the overwhelming reason for the purchase of *The Casket*.

[110] 'Penelope *Robinson* Blencowe', *Find a Grave*, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/283130697/penelope-blencowe [07/01/2026]

Poetic Contents

This thesis will now consider the poetic contents of both collections to give a sense of what, at least in these two case studies, was considered appropriate in terms of form and theme for projects of literary philanthropy. Firstly, the opening works of each collection will be considered, as these are given increased significance by their being the first texts within the collection. Both opening texts are also unusual and interesting in their own right. Then, a selection of the poems that are explicitly written before the collections were put together will be considered; as these are demonstrative of poems that been made philanthropic by context of their publication, not by decisions taken when they were written. Then, poems that are described as being written specifically for the collection will then be considered, as their appropriateness for the collection was considered from their conception. These two sections will allow consideration of what effect literary philanthropy has both on existing works, and on the creation of new works. Finally, select poems of specific interest from both collections will be considered, poems I have chosen to discuss for specific and individual reasons.

The Opening Works

While both *The Casket* and *A Collection* do not appear to have a specific order to their contents as the works are not arranged by any sort of thematic link or alphabetical grouping by title or author, the first work in both texts is clearly an exception. *A Collection* leads with Baillie's intended greatest draw: a submission from Sir Walter Scott (see earlier section on the correspondence between Baillie and Scott). Scott's decision to write a play may have been predominantly based on the idea of responding to Baillie's reputation as a playwright. As McLean notes, Scott's opening of the collection (with a play) contrasts with Baillie's closing of the collection

with a ballad, ‘Sir Maurice’; ‘Her promise to “stand opposed” to Scott thus takes on both formal and structural significance: each takes the other’s preferred genre at either side of the collection.’[111] The opening work of *The Casket* is similarly specifically chosen, in that it is ‘The Prologue’, and was clearly written specifically to begin *The Casket*.[112]

Mac Duff’s Cross (A Collection)

Scott’s short play, presumably intended as a closet drama, has been relatively neglected. Very little has been published on it, either by Scott himself or by later critics. In an 1834 edition of his poetical works, prefatory note is included describing it as follows: ‘These few scenes had the honour to be included in a Miscellany, published in the year 1823, by Mrs Joanna Baillie, and are here reprinted to unite them with the trifles of the same kind which owe their birth to the author.’ The note then explained the relevance of MacDuff’s Cross, a ruined monument near Lindores Abbey.[113] In *A Collection*, this explanatory note is absent, including only a brief description of the scene of the play.

‘Mac Duff’s Cross’ begins with a ‘Prelude’, unvoiced by any character, but instead written with the authorial voice of Scott, suggestive of the design to be a closet drama, rather than stage appropriate. The opening line of the play, and thus the opening line of A Collection, is ‘Nay, smile not, lady, when I speak of witchcraft,/ and say that still there lurks amongst our glens/some touch of strange enchantment’.[114] As a text written precisely for this collection, these lines immediately calling out to a ‘lady’ perhaps anticipate that the majority audience of *A*

[111] McLean, *Donation and Collaboration.*
[112] E. B. Impey, ‘The Prologue’, *The Casket,* p.1.
[113] Walter Scott, *The Poetical Works, Volume 12* (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834), p.91.
[114] Walter Scott, *A Collection*, p.3.

Collection's readership will be women, though they are more likely a reference to Baillie, as becomes clearer with, the use of 'our glens'. The 'our' refers to Baillie herself, a point made clear with direct address later in the preface 'But, to thee,/ Joanna'. The grouping of Scott and Baillie is through their shared Scottish identity.[115] While Scott is famously a Scottish writer who wrote predominantly on Scotland, this Scottishness is not solely the identity of the play, but consciously of the collection. Baillie, Scottish and writer of ballads; Stirling, the Scottish recipient of this collection; and the large number of subscribers from Edinburgh and Glasgow, all make this particular collection heavily, though not exclusively, Scottish, highlighting specific Scottish literary networks.. A text on Scottish folklore then, though not relevant to the philanthropic nature of this collection, is particularly well suited to opening *A Collection*, and is perhaps, the only text deliberately placed within the collection.

The preface also addresses the context of Baillie requesting a work for *A Collection*:

> since thou wilt an idle tale of mine,
>
> Take one which scarcely is of worth enough
>
> to give or withhold…
>
> But if it be of worth enough to please,
>
> That worth it owes to her who set the task,
>
> If otherwise, the fault rest with the author.

While this dedication and its modesty are fairly typical, it is worth stressing that Scott directs all praise to Baillie for *A Collection*; and takes no praise for his own role. In

[115] IBID, p.4.

directing praise towards Baillie, he ostensibly neglects the philanthropic purpose of the collection – ignoring the cause it is intended for. This may well be by design – as Baillie had so clearly aired her concerns that she would not 'pick a pocket for a friend', Scott may be downplaying the overall philanthropic purpose of the collection in order that its value can be stressed without reliance on the latent good will that a charitable collection might suppose.

The play itself is sixteen pages and contains only four characters, two of whom are monks from the Abbey of Lindores. The plot is simple: two monks (Ninian and Waldhaves) watch over Mac Duff's Cross, a sacred site of refuge for murderers seeking absolution, having heard that De Berkeley – a murderer of a noble and his wife – has returned from abroad. The monks see two figures in the distance, one chasing the other. These are Maurice De Berkeley, and Richard Lindesay, brother of the murdered noble. Lindesay wishes to kill De Berkeley as revenge for his brother, but the senior monk, Ninian, impresses the importance of not spilling blood at this holy site. De Berkeley and Lindesay argue over the course of events, De Berkeley arguing that the dead brother had laid a trap, and that the innocent wife who had been killed in their argument was actually De Berkeley's love, and he was trying to protect her from an arranged marriage. Lindesay disputes this, and the two are about to leave the Cross so that they can find a non-sacred location to duel, when the monk Waldhaves intervenes, asks De Berkeley to swear what he says is true – and then reveals himself to be Louis Lindesay, who was presumed to have been murdered. Richard Lindesay, realising his brother is alive, no longer wishes to kill De Berkeley, and De Berkeley, in penance for the death at his hands – renounces his

title, and offers Richard Lindesay 'a maiden,/ kin to his blood, and daughter in affection,/ Heirs his broad lands.'[116] The play then ends.

The central themes of the play are Scottishness, family, revenge, love and forgiveness, albeit all quite shallowly explored. It is unclear how Waldhaves, actually Louis Lindesay, is alive – as he simply says 'with reviving life/ came the desire to seek the sacred cloister.'[117] He does claim to have actually died, a few lines stating 'I ceased to be [your brother] when I left the world'.[118]

The Prologue (The Casket)

In contrast to Baillie's *A Collection* opening with work by Scott, arguably her biggest draw, the opening text of *The Casket* is entitled *Prologue*, and is listed as being by 'E. B. Impey'. The latter was most likely Elijah Barwell Impey (1779-1849), son of Sir Elijah Impey, first chief justice of the supreme court of Bengal.[119] Impey, an Oxford graduate and former Dragoon, was the author of a collection of poems in 1811 simply entitled *Poems*, a collection of works entitled *Cumnor; or, The Bugle-Horn: A Tragedy with other Dramatic Dialogues and Miscellaneous Poems* in 1822, and the *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William, Bengal, with anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed and other contemporaries*, published in 1846.[120]

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[116] IBID, p.20.
[117] IBID, p.19.
[118] IBID
[119] 'Impey, Sir Elijah (1732-1809), of Newick Park, Suss' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, ed. R. Thorne (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 1986) https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/impey-sir-elijah-1732-1809
[120] 'Item NN/2/5 – Poems', *Online Catalogue for Westminster School's Archive & Collections*, https://collections.westminster.org.uk/index.php/gb-2014-ws-01-bus-nn-2-5; 'Item VI/vi/12', IBID, https://collections.westminster.org.uk/index.php/gb-2014-ws-01-gre-vi-vi-12; 'Item I/viii/01', IBID, https://collections.westminster.org.uk/index.php/gb-2014-ws-01-grx-i-viii-01

There is no clear link evidence of his connection to Blencowe, or explanation of why he wrote ‘The Prologue’.

The poem, which consists of seven pages of rhyming couplets, opens by asking the reader if they ‘Yawn’d at an Auction half the live-long day?’, and proceeds to compare the prologue to ‘the Muse’s auctioneer’, and *The Casket* to an auction, with each of the poems it contains an item for sale – ‘a bargain to each bidder here’.[121] The sense of *The Casket* being a collection for sale at an auction is consistent throughout the poem, but the kind of auction changes between stanzas. At first, it is precious items, ‘From Bronze antique… many a costly stone’, but it then becomes a horse auction, with the reader ‘midst mares and geldings, chestnuts, roans and greys’.[122] The horse analogy is developed further, with poetic forms being compared to forms of horses:

> From fretful Satires, charging at full speed,
>
> To dull didactics of Lucretian breed;
>
> Couplets well match’d to double harness broke
>
> And wild unbridled Odes, disdainful of the yoke:
>
> The Maiden-lay first panting for the plate,
>
> The Veteran Classic , doom'd to carry weight,
>
> Long - winded Ballad , swift - pac'd Repartee,

While the horse analogy is somewhat stretched and then abandoned in favour of comparing the *Casket* to an auction of ‘ruffs, rouleaux, frills, tippets, flounces, chintz’,

[121] Impey, ‘The Prologue’, p.1.
[122] IBID, p.2.

it is nevertheless telling that this 'Prologue' is celebrating the variety of form contained within the miscellany. Unity and consistency in the collection are absent, and it is the excitement of the variation that makes *The Casket* valuable. The notion of comparing a collection of poetry to an auction also highlights a sense of competition; each competing for the attention of the audience (who, presumably, may have varying levels of attention). This celebration of competitiveness starkly contrasts to the collaborative nature that Baillie desired in *A Collection*; suggesting that literary philanthropy can carry scope for friendly rivalry .

Poems Written Before the Collection

A Collection

Many of the poems in *A Collection* were probably written before Baillie had even conceived of the volume and were what their respective authors had 'to hand at the time'. A number of them make this explicitly clear, in that they are occasional verse, and give a date for their composition.[123] These works demonstrate a willingness to contribute towards Baillie's literary philanthropic project, but are noteworthy in that they, by virtue of existing before the collection was conceived, lack philanthropic intentionality in their conception. They may not have been published because of a lack of demand, or apprehensions of their quality, or for any other unknown reason, but have been considered appropriate for a collection driven by literary philanthropy. The inclusion of works that had not previously been published, and had presumably simply sat, written and unread, demonstrates the legitimacy of Baillie's anxieties about the difficulty to keep the collection credible. If the works had been considered unsuitable for publishing until there was a request for poems

[123] Joanna Baillie to Sir Walter Scott, 2nd April 1823, *Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*, p.418.

towards a philanthropic collection, then perhaps they were deemed to be of insufficient quality or interest to be published without the presumably sympathetic audience drawn toward a philanthropic project. The relevancy, or lack thereof, to the literary philanthropic goals of the collection in which they appeared evidences the curious tension of networked philanthropy; these poems were written absent of philanthropic intention but become retrospectively infused with it through the context of the collection in which they are eventually published. This struggle of relevancy compares productively to the thematic cohesion of political literary philanthropy discussed in Chapter 2, and the unity brought from a single author explored in Chapter 3.

The first of these pre-collection poems, 'The Clearing Shower, August 1817', is a three-page, single stanza poem written in alternating rhyme. The poem discusses a 'clearing shower', and how 'swift must the homeward travellers ride'.[124] The poem is excessively dramatic, claiming how 'the hearts that fate could ne'er divide/Shall not be sever'd by a shower', or how 'No more the laughing corn-field's wave'.[125] The descriptions of suffering continue until the sun breaks through, with the poem ending with the lines 'With kind salutes and warm embraces,/ That sunshine shall be ours which beams/ From loving hearts and happy faces.'[126] The poem is anonymous, and relatively simple. There are almost no identifying features as to who the author might be, or where it is set, except for one mention of the river Avon. The value of this poem is perhaps most evident as an example of Baillie's comments of this being a poem simply to hand – it is unremarkable.

[124] Anon, 'The Clearing Shower; August 1817', *A Collection,* p.73.
[125] IBID, pp.73-4.
[126] IBID, p.75.

The second poem within the collection that makes its age explicit is 'A Volunteer Song, written in the year 1803, but never before printed.'[127] This poem, by Joanna Baillie herself, is written in sextets of rhyming couplets, and is a jingoistic celebration of the British military, both Army and Navy. It is absent of any of the realities of war, discussing how 'freemen' 'brace ye bravely up in warlike geer' and how 'blest in your hands be sword and spear!'.[128] The inclusion of 'spear' in particular stresses the almost mythical invocation of war being portrayed here. There is no mention of the firearms or cannon that dominated military engagements in this period, nor any actual mention of death. Only one line is repeated, in the first and last stanza of the poem: 'Freemen, children of the free,'. Again, this fits the jingoistic rhetoric of England as an unusually liberal nation, and ignores the horrific actual conditions of war, or the reliance of the royal navy on press-gangs to function, rather than actual volunteers.[129] The date of 1803 is particularly relevant as this was when Britain ended the year-long peace instigated by the Treaty of Amiens and declared war on France. The context of renewed hostility between England and France is substantially different to the relative stability and peace of the 1820s when the collection was published. That this work is Baillie's own contribution to the collection is fascinating, as it clearly demonstrates how she herself chose to include 'what came to hand'. Baillie has made the choice that it is previously unpublished work that takes priority: seemingly regardless of relevancy or quality. It is possible that Baillie deliberately chose an old work in order to avoid concerns of any competitiveness –

[127] Joanna Baillie, 'A Volunteer Song, Written in the year 1803, but never before printed', *A Collection*, pp.88-90.
[128] IBID, p.88.
[129] See, Daniel James Ennis, *Enter the Press-gang: Naval Impressment in Eighteenth-century British Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), and Niklas Frykman, *Seamen on Late Eighteenth-Century European Warships* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2009) for further details on naval conditions and their portrayals in literature.

this would explain the deliberate inclusion of the 'written in the year 1803, but never before printed' subtitle. The inclusion of the year, and therefore context of the Napoleonic Wars, also helps to tone down possible outrage at the poem's jingoistic tone, although it does potentially add a strange nostalgia instead.

Six further entries written before the conception of the collection shall be considered together. These are: 'Sonnet - written at the Piraeus, 1820, 'Sonnet - written off Cefallonia, 1820','Sonnet, on Leaving Greece, 1820', 'Lines, written at Athens in 1820','The Address of Odusseus to the Greeks; at Thermopyle, on the 20th of July 1822', 'The Song of Triumph of the Greeks, off Tenedos, After the Night of the 10th of November, 1822'.[130] These poems were all written by Charles Brinsley Sheridan, son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. These poems, all dated before Baillie first wrote to anyone about her plans for the collection, are also joined by a seventh work – an extract from a manuscript drama entitled 'Chorus of Greek Matrons'. These works all follow a single theme overall theme of Greece, and explore aspects of Greek History, Sheridan's travels in Greece, and the war for Greek Independence (1821-1829). The latter was a topic that clearly mattered to Sheridan (as well as readers), as he was the author of *Thoughts on the Greek Revolution*.[131]

'Written at the Piraeus' recalls Piraeus' status as the historical port town of Athens, and seat of the Athenian Navy in the Greco-Persian Wars, though it is even more self-reflective on Brinsley's own travels, asking 'What have I left except my

[130] Charles Brinsley Sheridan, 'Sonnet - written at the Piraeus, 1820, 'Sonnet - written off Cefallonia, 1820','Sonnet, on Leaving Greece, 1820', 'Lines, written at Athens in 1820','The Address of Odusseus to the Greeks; at Thermopyle, on the 20th of July 1822', 'The Song of Triumph of the Greeks, off Tenedos, After the Night of the 10th of November, 1822', *A Collection*, pp.93-106.
[131] Charles Brinsley Sheridan, *Thoughts on the Greek Revolution* (London: J. Murrey, 1822).

native shore?/ What have I chang'd beyond my native abode?'.[132] His existential angst 'throws a deeper gloom' than he feels appropriate, 'e'en befits the scene, a nation's tomb'.[133] The second poem, 'Written off Cefallonia', is considerably less melancholy, with the octet celebrating the natural beauty of Kefalonia, and the sonnet's sextet invoking British protection: 'Britannia! shield young Freedom's shrinking form;/ Protect in war, and educate in peace.'[134] This call to Britannia is likely a celebration of the Ionian Islands status as a British Protectorate following the 1815 Peace of Paris. As the primary activities of the British High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands', Sir Thomas Maitland (1759-1824), appear to have been to reinforce Corfu into an additional British naval base, joining Malta and Gibraltar, and to establish the 'Ionian Academy, the first university foundation in Greek lands', Sheridan's request for British protection and education appear to echo the official British government's position towards the Ionian Islands.[135]

The third poem by Sheridan, 'Sonnet on Leaving Greece, 1820' is curiously located, as the next poem, 'Lines Written at Athens in 1820', is presumably chronologically before the sonnet. While this cannot be stated with certainty, it is the most sensible order, and that Baillie has not followed this logical chronology is particularly suggestive of her hands off editorial style – as not only is there no grouping by theme, alphabetical or otherwise arrangement, it is likely that she simply added submissions as she received them without concern for order (excepting 'Mac Duff's Cross'), or that at least, she wished to suggest that this was her process. This

[132] 'Piraeus', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. Richard Pallardy, 9 Aug. 2018, https://www.britannica.com/place/Piraeus. [Accessed 14 August 2023.]; Sheridan, 'Sonnet, Written at the Piraeus, 1820', p.93.
[133] IBID
[134] Sheridan, 'Sonnet, Written off Cefallonia, 1820', p.95.
[135] Gerassimos Pagratis, 'The Ionian Islands under British Protection (1815-1864)', in *Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean. Commerce, Politics and Ideas (XVII-XX Centuries*), ed. Carmel Vassallo and Michela D' Angelo (Msida: Malta University Press, 2007), pp.131-50; p.134.

third poem then, most likely actually the fourth in chronology, may have simply been in the wrong order when delivered to Baillie, and she had not noticed the logical inconsistency. The poem is a return to the melancholy of the first of Sheridan's *Collection* contributions, and returns to the question of Greek Independence:

> Submissive , silent victim ! dost thou feel
>
> The chains which gall thee? or has lengthen'd grief
>
> Numb'd hate and shame alike with hope and zeal,
>
> And brought insensibility's relief?[136]

The questions raised about Greek acceptance of Ottoman rule is followed with a command to 'Awake' and how nature will 'foretell the approaching storm,/ When thou shalt grasp the spear,'.[137] Sheridan clearly anticipates the upcoming War for Greek Independence.

The fourth poem, 'Lines Written at Athens', recounts how it was 'the fourth revolving age,/ since Hellas bow'd beneath the rage/of Othman's stormy sway;' in 1456, and continues the theme calling for Greece to 'wake the fires' of Liberty, to 'awake! —From Corfu's height/ To far Cythera, Freedom's light'. Alongside the command to awake, the poem is keen to stress the importance of education and culture for the legitimacy of the state:

> For arms alone , imbrued in blood,
>
> And fleets , that sweep the subject flood,
>
> Ne'er made a nation great:

[136] Sheridan, 'Sonnet, On Leaving Greece, 1820', p.95.
[137] IBID

Fingers that wake the living lyre,

And tongues that Phoebus tips with fire

More nobly deck a state.[138]

A brief note added to the end of this poem suggests that Sheridan had the upcoming University in Corfu in mind with these lines, stating: 'The Greek revolution has now checked the immediate progress of the university, of which Lord Guilford was, in 1819, appointed chancellor'. These poems, all together, suggest a call for further British intervention in Greece prior to the independence war. That none of these poems were published at the time, and are instead published in a collection in 1823, raises questions as to what exactly their function was. Their calls for British support, at least in the form that is requested on these poems, was outdated by the time of publication. They are examples not only of whatever Sheridan had at hand, but of work that outside of mild interest in a charitable collection or a snapshot of a historical attitude, had no real usage except perhaps private circulation. The next three entries by Sheridan - 'The Address of Odusseus to the Greeks, at Thermopyle, on the 20th of July, 1822', 'The Song of Triumph of the Greeks, Off Tenedos, After the Night of the 10th of November 1822', and '*Chorus of Greek Matrons'*, do not suffer from the curious irrelevance of the other work. That Sheridan had seven different entries for the collection, four of which had been made somewhat irrelevant by time, raises questions as to why all seven were included. Perhaps, much like her protestations towards Herschel about quality and then the inclusion of all work anyway – Baillie felt uneasy rejecting any work that had been submitted in good faith.

[138] Sheridan, 'Lines, Written at Athens in 1820', p.98.

One poem written before the collection, and referenced as such, recalls the complexity of album culture discussed earlier in this chapter. This was one of Robert Southey's contributions: 'Lines written in Lady Lonsdale's album'.[139] While it was considered common practice in the period for album works to find publication elsewhere ('by 1822 one magazine editor noted that 'we now seldom see a volume of poems published without its containing some piece which the superscription tells us was "written in an Album"'), Southey's choice to submit an album poem as a text for Baillie's philanthropic collection raises questions about the interplay of the cultural capital between the poem and its two existences, album and miscellany.[140] If the poem already existed, in an album (a medium considered lesser), is the contribution of the poem devalued from what it would have been if submitted as original work? Furthermore, the inclusion of the poem in this miscellany would undermine the uniqueness of the poem's inclusion within the album. In the case of this contribution by Southey, it is not that it was written before the collection that undermines its suitability for a philanthropic project, but the context of its previous exclusivity. Through undermining this exclusivity, Southey has perhaps undermined the prestige of both Lady Lonsdale's album, and the prestige of Baillie's *Collection*. By creating this tension between Baillie's collection and Londsdale's album, Southey might be seen as undermining the collaborative project that Baillie had sought to create. The opposite might also be true however; by including a work from an album in *A Collection*, it could be considered that the album – though losing exclusive access to the poem – gains prestige through a new audience's knowledge of the album. Without specific reference to how Southey's inclusion of this work was perceived by

[139] Robert Southey, 'Lines written in Lady Lonsdale's album, at Lowther Castle, Oct. 13. 1821', *A Collection*, p.50.
[140] Matthews, *Album Verses and Romantic Literary Culture*, p.129.

Lady Lonsdale and the wider readership of *A Collection*, the implications of Southey's contribution can only be guessed at. It is possible the charitable status of *A Collection* meant little or no offence was taken; or Lady Lonsdale would not have been overly bothered anyway, or perhaps the mention of her album in this collection might have undermined the social capital of the poem itself, but increased the capital of her album as a whole.

Poems Written Before the Collection: The Casket

The first poem within the *Casket* that was explicitly written substantially before the collection was published is 'Sonnet, Dreams – 1823.', by Henry Gally Knight. This poem was discussed briefly earlier in this chapter and is a sonnet addressing the death of Gally Knight's mother. The inclusion of the date in the title here specifically addresses his mother's death, as 1823 was the year she died. The inclusion of this poem, clearly written about his grief, his 'reality and woe', while perhaps thematically appropriate for philanthropy in that it is an exploration of love and loss, is most likely not written for this collection – although it is possible that the poem was new and merely referring back to 1823.[141] Its inclusion in *The Casket*, separated from the other three Gally Knight poems and positioned as the third poem in the collection, suggests an intentional early placement. This placement could be intended to draw readers in following the positive reception of Gally Knight's poem in Baillie's *Collection*. While this is purely speculation, that one of the only poems from *A Collection* Baillie discussed in her letter would be followed with such a similar contribution so early in *The Casket* seems unlikely to be just coincidence.

[141] Henry Gally Knight, 'Sonnet, Dreams. – 1823', *The Casket*, p.10.

The second poem within *The Casket* that can be easily determined as being written before 1829 is Dr George Richard's (1767-1837) 'Stanzas written at Boulogne, 1816'.[142] This poem, a celebration of the beauty of Britain (or, as the poem terms it, 'Albion'), discusses how Britain is preferable to 'Genova's oliv'd bay', among over European beauty spots.[143] His reasoning for this is that it Britain is most beautiful because 'On thy plains my infant eyes/ First opened on the light'.[144] The year is predominantly relevant only to Richards himself, as a marker of the time he was in Boulogne and looked across the sea. The choice to include an autobiographical note within the title, though common practice within the period, highlights that this is another poem that existed years before the collection. Again, work is present where the authorial intent of the poem, whatever it might have been, existed before its philanthropic publication. The work is made philanthropic first through the act of contribution, overriding any original purpose it might have had.

Richards himself is worth briefly discussing. Like many of the other contributors, he was known as a published poet, though his works are primarily earlier: *Songs of the Aboriginal Bards of Britain* (1792); *Modern France: a Poem* (1793); *Matilda, or, The Dying Penitent* (1795); *Odin, a drama* (1804); *Miscellaneous Poems* (2 vols., 1804).[145] Even had his work been published when it was written in 1816, this was still a decade later than when he would have been considered active in the literary world; more so by 1829. Richards was also a governor of Christ's Hospital, London, and the founder of the 'Dr George Richard's charity'. This charity was set up with funds set aside in his will for philanthropic ends. This act, along with

[142] George Richards, 'Stanzas Written at Boulogne, 1816', *The Casket*, p.38.
[143] IBID
[144] IBID
[145] W. P. Courtney, revised by Rebecca Mills, 'Richards, George', *ODNB*.

being a published poet, perhaps explains his interest in the philanthropic aims of *The Casket*.[146]

Two poems, to be considered together, are particularly interesting examples of the complexity that can be added by the context of including dates within titles. These two are ‘Sonnet, composed off Ithaca. 1820’ and ‘Stanzas Composed in the Gulph of Lepanto. 1819’; both poems written by Charles Brinsley Sheridan.[147] Two poems written by Charles Brinsley Sheridan, ‘Sonnet, composed off Ithaca. 1820.’, and ‘Stanzas, composed in the Gulf of Lepanto, 1819’ are particularly interesting examples of the complexity that can be added by the context of including dates within titles.

Again, much like the six poems written by Sheridan within *A Collection*, these are poems about Sheridan’s travels around Greece. As the dates are again 1819 and 1820, it can be safely assumed they are the same travels. ‘Ithaca’, much like ‘Written at the Piraeus’, discusses the ‘recollections of the hallow’d past’ of ancient Greece, and how ‘E’en kindling thoughts for Greece, possess no power,/ to shed some sunshine o’er my soul at last!’.[148] Sheridan’s themes of personal grief and angst against a backdrop of Greek history and identity are very much continued from the poems present within *A Collection*. The line ‘cheerful prattle of the harmless Greek’ appears to undercut his apparent admiration for Greece somewhat.[149] ’Composed in the Gulph of Lepanto 1819‘ is very similar in tone; his ‘heart worn with sorrow’s ceaseless toil’, is lightened somewhat by ‘the joyous Greek/who daily

[146] M.S. Mackay, Trust Deed Summary of the Dr George Richard’s Charity, Charity Number 246965, dated 16th July 2015.
[147] Charles Brinsley Sheridan, ‘Sonnet, composed off Ithaca. 1820’, *The Casket*, p.89; Charles Brinsley Sheridan, ‘Stanzas composed in the Gulph of Lepanto. 1819’, *The Casket*, pp.90-1.
[148] Sheridan, *Ithaca,* p.89.
[149] Sheridan, *Ithaca,* p.89.

chaunts his village song', 'amid his outraged country's wrongs'.[150] While the similarity of these poems strengthens the Greek nationalist sentiment raised by the poems included within *A Collection*, the date included within 'Lepanto' is particularly significant. Not only are Sheridan's poems published within Blencowe's *Casket* from the same travels to the same country, but this one from 1819 is earlier than most within *A Collection*. This suggests that the poem was passed over for inclusion within *A Collection*, only to be included within *The Casket*. This raises questions as to whether Sheridan thought these poems weaker, and so gave what he perceived as his best first, and then six years later gave these poems to Blencowe. Perhaps Blencowe read and admired the works within *A Collection*, and so specifically asked for more, though this is speculation. Certainly, however, by including poems on the same theme but from earlier, poems that certainly existed when Baillie's collection was created, Blencowe's collection is positioned as secondary to Baillie's, not only in chronology, but in choice of works included.

Posthumous Philanthropy

There is a subset of poems explicitly written before the collections were conceived that is worth considering separately. These poems are not identified as written before the collection because of dates within their titles, but because their authors had died before the collections were conceived. Posthumous contribution is highlighted as such in the index of both collections, though in different forms. A note beginning at the index of *The Casket* states 'the Names of the deceased Authors are

[150] Sheridan, *Gulf of Lepanto*, pp.90-91.

printed in Italic', making them readily visually identifiable.[151] Baillie's *Collection* instead prefaces an author's name with 'The late'.[152]

These texts have become philanthropic not only after they were written but absent of any authorial intention. Their contribution to these collections is, perhaps, pragmatic, as many of these poems would likely not have been published otherwise – but their presence raises questions about the attribution of philanthropy; if these poems have been donated posthumously, is there more or less philanthropy in this act? On the one hand, these texts would likely not have been read otherwise, and were, presumably, of little value. The authors could not benefit from them, and so it might be asked if this even constitutes philanthropy at all. However, each of these texts must have been given to Baillie and Blencowe by someone. This someone, in remaining entirely anonymous, adds philanthropic weight, in that they have given a text to aid a literary philanthropic project without the (at least, printed) possibility of their acknowledgement; passing on social capital that might be gained from their assistance being known. Social capital might still have been gained through association however, as will be seen in Chapter 3 with the case of Henry Kirke White, his brother Neville benefited from giving White's materials to Southey in all three forms of capital. A similar though smaller scale situation may have arisen here; this is difficult to ascertain.

There are likely a number of reasons why Baillie and Blencowe chose to include these poems within the collection; they are a convenient means of increasing the size of the volume, and ensuring it is of sufficient length that the subscribers did not feel cheated. It is also likely that the rejection of works by deceased authors

[151] Blencowe, The Casket, p.417.
[152] Baillie, *A Collection*, p.242.

would feel disrespectful. Finally, some of the works are from high profile authors, and would likely attract readers to the collection. This is certainly the case with one in *The Casket*, written by Lord Byron; 'Verses, written in compliance with a Lady's Request, to Contribute to her Album'.[153] Byron's name, though placed among a lengthy list of authors, would be a substantial draw to the collection, being as popular as he was.

The use of works from deceased poets in *A Collection* is complicated by the contributions of Charles Johnston, who is referenced in the opening of the advertisement as having recently died. As his death was between the editing of the volume, and its publication, his works do not fall into what is being considered posthumous philanthropy here. The total list is as follow:

Name	Poem Title
Mrs John Hunter	The Lot of Thousands
Mrs John Hunter	On Power Supreme, that fill'st the whole
Mrs John Hunter	The Evening Primrose
Edward Coxe, esq.	The Last Leaf
Edward Coxe, esq.	On Reading Marmion
Mrs Dixon, of Fellfoot	On a Grey Hair
Mrs J. Hunter	A Similie – I saw the wild rose

[153] Lord Byron, 'Verses Written in Compliance with a Lady's Request, to contribute to her album', *The Casket*, pp.109-112.

Presumably the final of those texts is also by Mrs John Hunter, but the name listed in the contents is presented differently to the first three, and, though unlikely, it may refer to a different J Hunter.[154] The list within *The Casket* is longer:

Name	Poem Title
Rt. Hon. George Canning	Lines Written in Mrs. C_'s Album
Rev. J. Marriott	On Good Friday
Lord Byron	Verses in an Album
Bishop Heber	The Rising of the Sun
Bishop Heber	"I mourn not the Forest"
Hon. Frederick Eden	On a withered Leaf
The Ven. Archdeacon Moore	Stanzas suggested by Psalm li
The Ven. Archdeacon Moore	On the Death of a clever child
Rev. J. Marriott	Lines on Sir John Stewart
Rev. J. Marriott	Answer to a Cameronian Love Song
Rev. Dr. Haggit	Convent of St. Bernard
The Ven. Archdeacon Nares	A Gentleman to his Wife
Rev. E. W. Barnard	From M. A. Flaminio
Rev. E. W. Barnard	From the Same to a Friend
Charles Johnston, Esq.	On Crossing the Atlantic
Rev. Dr. Hook, Dean of Worcester	The Mourner's Appeal
Rev. Dr. Hook, Dean of Worcester	To a Young Etonian
Charles Johnston, Esq.	On Leaving England for a milder Climate

[154] Baillie, *A Collection*, p.330.

Bishop Porteus	On the Death of my Mother
_ Soame, Esq.	On Sir Henry Bunbury
Lord Kenyon	Charades 1
John Matthew, Esq.	The Critic

The list above contains a high number of clergymen. This suggests that either Blencowe herself, or the gentleman requesting poetry referenced by Walter Scott, frequented religious social circles, where works might be gathered. It is unclear how the works of deceased clergymen were gathered, presumably their families were contacted and the contributions came from there.

The idea of posthumous philanthropy will be returned to in the Chapter 3 in my consideration of Robert Southey's editing of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White*, but there are a few key differences between the posthumous philanthropy of these collections and that of Kirke White; the entire project of Southey's centres on one author, and not many authors of whom only some were deceased.[155] Posthumous philanthropy is therefore a far more sustained interest of the *Remains*. The publication of these works is also not intended to assist (at least, presumably, in the case of *The Casket*) either the reputation of the deceased poet, or to financially benefit any family of the deceased. Their death is not of direct relevance to the philanthropic goal of the collections, unlike *The Remains*.

[155] Henry Kirke White, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, Late of St. John's College, Cambridge; With an Account of his Life*, Vol. 1, ed. Robert Southey (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; J. Dighton, T. Barret, and J. Nicholson, 1807).

Poems Written for *A Collection*

I will now explore three poems written explicitly for Baillie's *A Collection*. These were are all written by Baillie herself, and this is probably why they are all subtitled 'Written for this collection'. It is likely that many works within the collections were written specifically for both *A Collection* and *The Casket* (such as Scott's 'Mac Duff's Cross*'* and Impey's 'The Prologue') but it is only these three that make it explicitly clear within the titles themselves.

The first of these poems, 'Address to a Steam-Vessel', is five pages, making it one of the longer poems within the collection. Written in rhyming couplets, the poem describes a busy steamship that 'seem, on the gleamy waves, a floating fair'.[156] The poem is directly addressed to the steamship; and appears to praise the relatively recent technology of steamboats, stating 'thou hold'st thy course in independent pride; no leave ask'st thou of either wind or tide.'[157] The poem celebrates the travel that the new technology enables; 'they who had nought of verdant freshness seen/ but suburb orchards choked with colwarts green,/ now, seated at their ease may glide along,/ Lochlomond's fair and fairy isles among'.[158] The poem then shifts from praise to comparison to sailing vessels; 'dearer to fancy, to the eye more fair/ are the light skiffs'; 'in very truth, compar'd to these thou art/ a daily lab'rer, a mechanical swart'.[159] This text offers a balanced view of the industrialisation of Britain that Baillie had witnessed; her romanticisation of sailing similar to a pastoral ideal, with steam ships, though admirable in some ways, a sign of 'modern men with all their alter'd ways'.[160] The poem seems to be calculatedly neutral; a cautious musing on the

[156] Joanna *Baillie*, 'Address to a Steam – Vessel, written for this collection', *A Collection*, pp.259-64.
[157] IBID, p.260.
[158] IBID, p.261.
[159] IBID, p.263.
[160] IBID, p.264.

changes that Baillie had witnessed in her own lifetime. It is entirely unconnected to any themes of philanthropy and is a work that can be read without needing to know anything further than what a steam vessel is.

The second of these poems, ‘A November Night’s Traveller’, is ten pages, making it one the longest. This poem is also written in rhyming couplets, and follows an unnamed ‘he’, the titular traveller. The traveller, feeling nervous, keeps mistaking simple everyday objects for fantastical threats: ‘Gra'mercy on us! see I right?/ Some witch is casting cantraips there;/ The linen hovers in the air -/ ! Pooh ! soon or late all wonders cease,/ We have but scared a flock of geese. –.[161] The fear of the traveller shifts to wonder at the snapshots of existence he sees as he travels; ‘Harmless display of worldly pelf!-/ Is transient vision to the eye/ Of hasty trav’ller passing by;’.[162] The poem continues along this line until it ends. This text, a journey of a sequence of images; falsely perceived followed by mundane actuality, is again, entirely neutral in content, and again carries the theme of being both appreciative and afraid of travel. The theme of industrialisation is gone, instead focusing on how night makes images appear fantastical. This text is somewhat less contemplative than the ’Steam-Vessel’, and appears to be written more for entertainment, or performance.

The third of these poems, ‘Sir Maurice, A Ballad’, is longer still, at fourteen pages.[163] This is, also, crucially, the final poem of the collection. It was written in response to Walter Scott’s opening of the collection, and was written as a ballad (a form Scott is particularly famous for) to complement Scott’s inclusion of a closet

[161] Joanna *Baillie*, ‘A November Night’s Traveller, written for this collection’, *A Collection*, pp.290-300.
[162] IBID, p.294.
[163] Joanna *Baillie*, ‘Sir Maurice, A Ballad’, written for this collection’, *A Collection*, pp.311-25.

drama; a form Baillie is known for. As McLean stresses: ‘Her promise to “stand opposed” to Scott thus takes on both formal and structural significance: each takes the other’s preferred genre at either side of the collection.’[164] The poem itself is a ballad about Sir Maurice, ‘a wealthy lord,/ He liv’d in the north countrie’. Sir Maurice is a crusader, who travels to the holy land and, after successfully fighting for a while, is subsequently captured. He is freed from slavery, though not captivity, by a Muslim chief, who has married the daughter of his neighbour, whom Maurice also loved. A Christian army arrives, and the Muslim chief allows Maurice to leave to fight. The chief dies, and Maurice protects his body. The widow refuses to marry Maurice, and becomes a nun, and Maurice commits to knightly vows. The text, though about the crusades, appears to encourage religious tolerance, and celebrates honour. The most interestingly philanthropic relevance of this poem is in the firm stance against slavery, as in the quote ‘With ev’ry Christian slave; (For many there, in bondage kept,/ felt the stern rule of vice;).[165] While this is not as explicitly abolitionist as the works in Chapter 2 of this thesis, Baillie’s inclusion of a historical ballad condemning slavery is an interesting choice to end the collection with, especially when compared to the carefully neutral tone of the other two poems.

Note that there is only one equivalent poem specifically stated as being written for *The Casket*, that being the ‘Prologue’ already discussed. There is one potential exception to this – that being ‘A Similie; addressed to the editor of the Casket’. This does not necessarily mean that the poem was written for the collection; however, as it might have been written before the collection, either personally for

[164] McLean, *Donation and Collaboration*.
[165] Joanna *Baillie*, ‘Sir Maurice, A Ballad’, *A Collection*, p.321.

Blencowe unrelated to *The Casket*, or written entirely unconnected to Blencowe and simply addressed to her later upon learning of the collection.

The poems in this section, explicitly written for *A Collection*, are noteworthy in that they are written by the editor of the collection, and so, being the works most directly under editorial control, should be the ones that most precisely fit the tone of the collection that Baillie intended. Curiously then, Baillie's ideal envisioning of works of networked literary philanthropy appears to be almost entirely unconnected to themes of philanthropy.. Baillie, as philanthropic editor, appears to reject philanthropic subject matter, in favour of entertainment. This would appear to be consistent with her attitude towards Montgomery's *Climbing-Boy's Album* (see Chapter 2),

Montgomery's Tombs of the Fathers

One poem within the Casket, 'The Tombs of the Fathers', beginning on page eleven and finishing on page seventeen, is noteworthy for a number of factors. First, it is written by James Montgomery, who will be one of the case studies of Chapter 2. His presence here within *The Casket* helps to further illustrate his commitment to the joint efforts of philanthropy and literature. The poem is also unusual within *The Casket*, as it is the only poem to feature an accompanying series of explanatory notes. As a reoccurring figure in this thesis, Montgomery's contribution towards networked literary philanthropy is worth considering in some detail.

The poem itself has something of a philanthropic message – or, more precisely, what Montgomery might believe to be philanthropic. This poem discusses and appears sympathetic to the persecution of the Jews, particularly within Jerusalem itself:

Her [Jerusalem] walls did utterly efface;

Dungeons and dens usurp their place;

The Cross and Crescent shine afar,

But where is Jacob's natal star?

These lines in particular suggest not just a general oppression, but a specific rejection of Judaism. Montgomery's sympathy towards persecution of the Jews is radically undermined with the final stanza of the poem however, where Montgomery writes:

By whom shall Jacob yet arise?

-Even by the power that wakes the dead:

He , whom your fathers did despise,

He , who for you on Calvary bled,

On Zion shall his ensign spread—

Captives ! by all the world enslaved,

Know your Redeemer , and be saved!

Montgomery's solution to the Jewish plight, rather than any actionable push for greater liberty for the Jewish people, is instead a call for Christian conversion. Still, as a committed Christian (see Chapter 2 for more details on Montgomery's Christian beliefs), Montgomery likely believes that this call for conversion is an act of philanthropy. This call for conversion does raise questions about the intended audience of the poem however, as it is highly unlikely that any Jews under the Ottoman regime in Israel would ever see the poem. There is little doubt that

Montgomery would have been aware of this – and so while the poem is addressed to Jews, the intended audience is far more likely to be the actual majority-Christian general British readership.

The question of intended audience is somewhat clearer in the explanatory notes. For example, his statement 'In no part of the world are the Jews more degraded and oppressed than in Jerusalem' is clearly not addressed to Jews. The actual philanthropic intent of this piece then, is not conversion of Jews to Christianity, but education on the subject of Jewish persecution for the Christian readership. A reoccurring theme with Montgomery's literary philanthropic efforts is that he appears to be ahead of common sentiment in identifying marginalised communities. British support for Jews in the middle east was minimal until the 1840 Damascus Affair and the involvement of Moses Montefiore.[166] As is common with Montgomery's other pursuits of literary philanthropy, it is not clear how any education this poem could impart might actually help solve the problem of Jewish persecution outside of a slight raising of awareness.

Reception of the Collections

Before concluding this chapter on Networked Philanthropy, it is worth considering how the two collections were received.

The *Monthly Review* reviewed Baillies *Collection*, in a largely positive light, and is worth considering in some detail. The review begins with an acknowledgement of the philanthropic status of the collection, and how 'the benevolent feelings which gave birth to this publication, might justly intitle it to an indulgent criticism', confirming that the philanthropic purpose of the collection is a core part of its audience reception.[167] The review, however, immediately affirms that the quality of the collection makes criticism dampened by philanthropic sentiment unnecessary: 'It stands not however, in need of any indulgence, since the larger part of the poetry which composes it belongs to too high an order to fear anim-

[166] Abigail Green, 'The Damascus Affair', in *Moses Montefiore: Jewish Liberator, Imperial Hero (*Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp.137-57.
[167] Monthly Review, p.410

adversion.'[168] If the review is correct then, Baillie succeeded in her goal of largely securing quality. The review does clarify that 'here and there, in common with all collections, it is sprinkled with a few productions which should not have migrated from the peaceful obscurity of the writing desk'; but rather than simply leaving this as a criticism, it turns the occasional weakness of some of its contents into a strength; 'on the other hand, they serve to throw the pieces of more distinguished merit into bolder relief'.[169] What these poor pieces are is not mentioned at this point, but the review does list some of the distinguished ones, specifically drawing attention to 'those of Miss Baillie, Mrs. Barbauld, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Sotheby, and others'.[170] It is worth noting that at this point of the review; none of the poems have been named; merely eminent authors, suggesting that prior authorial reputation was one of the main metrics by which worth of the verse was decided. Following this list, seven poets and their poems were specifically mentioned; Charles Johnston, William Sotheby, Thomas Campbell, Leticia Barbauld, Joanna Baillie, Henry Gally Knight, and Robert Southey. The first six of these are celebratory; Campbell, Sotheby, Barbauld, and Baillie being highlighted as known and talented writers, and their submissions being of usual quality. Johnston's mention dealt primarily with his recent death, referring to his contributions as 'these beautiful flowerets [that] will long bloom around his grave.'[171] One of his sonnet contributions – 'I've seen my way before its noon decline', is included in full within the review.[172]

Sotheby is given a quite substantial description, with Campbell, Barbauld, Baillie and Gally Knight given a very brief introduction, followed by a fully quoted example of their contributions. The reference to Baille draws attention to her few of her works are in the collection – 'Miss Baillie's own contributions to this collection are not very abundant: but she has supplied several, and on very different subjects'.[173] After opening with lavish praise to for *A Collection*, praising and quoting specific entries, and then summarising an appreciation of the collection as a whole ('It does honour to our living writers, and proves that taste and good sense have not yet taken leave of our poetry'), the review ends on a quiet sudden tonal shift; 'We must, however, acknowledge that we do not, especially in this place, relish Mr. Southey's Nursery-Verses on the Fall of Lodore, and wonder what they have been inserted.' No justification for this criticism is given.[174]The Casket reviews:

The Casket was reviewed by the *Literary Gazette*, and opens almost with a rejection of reviewing it; 'Instead of analysing the contents of the *Casket*, which we have but just opened, we cannot do better than choose a few specimens; endeavouring, like a fair lady at some favourite *fete* to use our best taste in the selection'. The review then quotes ten poems, two by Edward Fitzgerald, one by T. Marshall, one by E. Lytton Bulwer, one by Felicia Hemans, one by Praed, three by

[168] IBID
[169] IBID
[170] IBID
[171] IBID, p.411-412
[172] IBID p.411
[173] IBID, p.414
[174] IBID, p.417

Campbell, and one by Letitia Elizabeth Landon.[175] The final commentary of the review is worth including in full:

> We do not conceive the volume before us at all amenable to criticism; it is an appeal to our kindliest and best feelings. Of all changes, that from affluence to dependence is one which, while it most imperatively calls for assistance, yet makes that very assistance a task of the utmost delicacy. The plan of the editor, Mrs. Blencowe, to whom the public are indebted for projecting this cento of contributions from the gifted writers of the day, is excellent; and we think no small credit is due to the active kindness which has thus followed up its first impulse of benevolence. We therefore most strongly recommend the *Casket* to our readers as not less deserving of favour for its intention – the relief of misfortune – than for the many beautiful specimens of poetry it contains'. [176]

This description of *The Casket* is most useful for two key reasons: firstly, it specifically addresses the idea that a project of literary philanthropy should be handled less critically than a standard literary work, but that the works contained within are still of merit. This review, though specifically about *The Casket,* continues to reaffirm Baillie's anxieties that a work of literary philanthropy should still be presented as possessing literary worth; even if the requirement for that worth is less than in other writings. Secondly, the use of 'utmost delicacy' reaffirms a key purpose of literary philanthropy; it allows the raising of funds without resorting to the perceived impropriety of begging, that is, the gain of economic capital without societal embarrassment expending one's social capital.

The *Christian Remembrancer* also reviewed *The Casket*. It affirmed that 'Benevolence originated it – and in the cause of benevolence we supplicate attention to it', and noted that 'Mr. Blencowe is the editor of *The Casket,* and the party whom our bards have thus conspired to bless and honour, is deserving of all commiseration and kindly charities'.[177] Presumably the mention of Mr Blencowe is in error; as there is no evidence to attach him as an additional editorial presence to the work, instead this does further suggest that the work was done by Penelope Blencowe. The reference to 'the party whom our bards have thus conspired to bless' is curious, as it suggests that perhaps the reviewers were aware of the recipient of the work; if so, their identity has been kept deliberately anonymous, presumably not to undermine their social reputation.[178]

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[175] *The Literary Gazette; and Journal of Belles, Letters, Arts, Science, &c for the Year 1829* (London: James Moyes, 1829) https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015033904825?urlappend=%3Bseq=7%3Bownerid=13510798883761836-11 [12/2/2026] pp.385-386

[176] IBID, p.386

[177] *The Christian Remembrancer 1829-10 Vol 11 Iss 10,*(London: F.C & J. Rivington, 1829) https://archive.org/details/sim_christian-remembrancer-a-quarterly-review_1829-10_11_10/page/608/mode/2up [12/2/2026] p.609

[178] IBID p,610

Conclusions to Chapter 1

As both collections' primary intentions were to raise money for specific individuals, and these collections attracted a large number of subscribers, it could simply be concluded that both *A Collection* and *The Casket* were successful in their philanthropic intent. Of the forms of philanthropy considered in this thesis, the case studies of this chapter had the simplest goals and are the simplest to measure in terms of success. While the immediate result of the accruement of substantial economic capital is easily surmised from the extensive subscription lists and reduced publication costs, there are complications in further conclusions of success. Whilst Bourdieu's theory in *The Forms of Capital* provides a useful set of terms for consideration, it has not provided any appropriate means of measuring social or cultural capital, or a means of measuring the efficiency of conversion from one form to another. As such, it cannot be ascertained how much, if any, social capital was 'spent' in the creation and sale of these collections. It might be argued that a large quantity of social capital was spent, as whilst Baillie is still a known figure in modern scholarship, her reputation (an aspect of social capital) sharply declined in the 20th century and required reclamation. This explanation, however, is highly unlikely, and it is more likely that her reputation declined because works such as the *Plays on the Passions*, upon which her reputation was largely built, declined in popularity alongside Romantic period drama more generally. The lack of any significant critical attention to *A Collection* suggests that the collection had near negligible effect on Baillie's social capital. As the collection undoubtably benefitted her friend financially and appears to have had no impact on Baillie herself, the collection may be considered an effective leveraging of social capital, and a successful example of literary philanthropy.

Blencowe remains entirely unknown, and so the extent of her influence both before and following *The Casket* can only be speculated upon. While there are reviews which celebrate *The Casket,* it is difficult to know how this might have affected Blencowe's personal reputation. Most likely, it made little impact on Blencowe's social standing, and the only noticeable impact of the collection was the substantial economic output of the 1525 guineas subscriptions it raised, minus expenses.

Whilst economic capital is a measurable output of these collections, a further complication in what might have been a simple assertation of success is that there is no record of how the beneficiaries fared following these collections; if they successfully maintained their quality of life because of the sudden injection of economic capital, then we could confirm the endeavour as successful in long term aim. As profit can only be estimated, and the expense and debt of the beneficiaries remains unknown, it can only be stated as likely that both volume's goal of supporting individuals in need was met.

Outside of ideas of success, other important findings might be drawn from these case studies on networked literary philanthropy. Both collections had a wide range of support from many differing sources. Analysis of the political opinions of the M.P.s present on the subscription lists demonstrates how the collections are not tied to any particular political affiliation, containing both Tories and Whigs of vastly different political beliefs. The data on subscriber locations provided in the collections demonstrates support across the country, with an unsurprising concentration in London, and, in the case of Baillie, extensive Scottish support in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Whilst this is reflective of Baillie and her circle, the lack of Scottish connections within *The Casket* demonstrates how networked literary philanthropy is

not a largely Scottish phenomenon, but that local and cultural identities potentially played a significant part in what social networks could be marshalled in support of literary philanthropic endeavours

The number of authors across the two collections is remarkable, as is their variety. That the opening works of the collections were written by writers with vastly contrasting reputations - the best-selling Sir Walter Scott (*A Collection*), and the almost entirely unknown Elijah Barwell Impey (*The Casket*) - demonstrates how irrelevant the authors' own reputations (both social and cultural capital) was for the end product of the collections – despite the very careful billing of Walter Scott's contribution. This is likely because being able to state that eminent poets are present in the collection was most important during the gathering of subscribers, not the production of the final product.

The difference in writers continues throughout the collections, with William Wordsworth and Henry Gally Knight being particularly interesting comparisons. They are two writers who contributed to both collections, and presented as equals despite vastly different literary reputations. The popularity of Gally Knight's submission to *A Collection* – one of the only specific mentions of any of the contributions by Baillie in her letters, suggests that of the works it was amateur poet Gally Knight who met with greater audience interest. It would appear that the form of the work, in placing the contents at the end of the book, in combination with the philanthropic purpose and album-like submission of 'spare' work did help to create an authorial equal footing, and so prevent the uncooperative competition that Baillie feared.

The poetic contents of both *A Collection* and *The Casket* are notable for their lack of unifying theme or form. While the question of 'quality' is inevitably impossible

to pin down, that works as varied as Southey's 'The Cataract of Lodore' (written for his children) and Montgomery's 'The Tombs of the Fathers' are both considered appropriate demonstrates how there is no specific intended audience, but rather a hope of general appeal and a sense of there being something for anyone in the pages of each volume. While this general appeal of the collections would likely be known after subscriptions had been gathered, and so be unable to effect whether someone might subscribe, it would help ease the anxiety that Baillie felt about the subscribers being happy with the result.

There are some interesting poems that appear to invoke calls to action in both collections: James Montgomery's suggestion of helping the Jews, and Sheridan's call for aiding the Greeks. Curiously both are against the Ottoman empire. While Britain had been at war with the Ottoman regime between 1807 and 1809, this was one of the Napoleonic wars and was primarily about reducing French power in the region. By the time of these collections of poetry, the 1820 General Maritime Treaty had been signed, and the British government saw the Ottoman Empire as a stabilising force against Russia and France, safeguarding trade from the British East India Company. The poems of these collections then, do not reflect the official, governmental attitudes of the British State, but are rather suggestive of a humanistic and liberal British general society – or at least, one opposed to perceived Ottoman oppression. The political themes of these works are not particularly radical, with political action being largely absent from both collections. This unsurprising for a collection aiming to garner widespread support, without sustained commitment.

The origin of the works also appears to have been deemed irrelevant as to their choice for inclusion – some works were written specifically for *A Collection*, others written years beforehand. *The Casket* takes this further than *A Collection* and

includes a number from people who were deceased at time of publication. It is reasonable to conclude then that networked literary philanthropy primarily involves the collection of material, and the provenance, style, theme, and quality of submission is afterthought. Networked literary philanthropy, at least as demonstrated by both of these case studies, is not a particularly curated endeavour. Baillie's protestations to Herschel about the importance of quality work, before publishing poems she had criticised anyway, is perhaps suggestive of her changing her mind about the importance of quality – or demonstrates the imperative of including enough poems to justify the guinea price of the collection. There is no evidence that Baillie or Blencowe undertook any substantial editing of any of the texts; their role primarily appears to have been in the gathering of material and compilation into the single manuscript.

In summary, these case studies establish the success of literary philanthropy in achieving its financial aims, regardless of subjective notions of literary quality, at least in the short term. The long-term success of the collections as attempts to lift their beneficiaries out of poverty is probable, but difficult to ascertain. The collections illustrate how extensive networks could be harnessed to procure literature, translating directly into material capital. While conventional fundraising of directly asking for monetary donations without recompense might achieve a similar financial effect, the collections serve as a nuanced alternative, preserving the editors' dignity and softening the social impact of requesting capital. In essence, these collections act as a dignified replacement for traditional methods of soliciting financial support, replacing the embarrassment of begging or taking alms.

Chapter 2: The Political Philanthropy of Montgomery and Heyrick

Introduction

Chapter 2 focuses on literary philanthropy dedicated towards political causes, here termed political literary philanthropy. While the Chapter 1 focused on the collections of poetry edited by Joanna Baillie and Penelope Blencowe to raise money for specific individuals, this chapter moves from the intention to raise money for individuals, to raising awareness for key demographics, with the intention of aiding the vulnerable and ill-treated in society. The collections considered in this chapter are James Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album* (1824), and Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts's *The Humming Bird or, Morsels of Information, on the Subject of Slavery: with various Miscellaneous Articles* (1824-5).[1]

Philanthropy of this nature has been termed 'associated philanthropy' by Cunningham and Innes, and generally 'consisted of organised charitable bodies dependent on subscriptions' which were 'distinctly public bodies prepared to lobby for amendments to the law.'[2] While Montgomery and Heyrick were active in these public bodies, this chapter looks at the works they produced either on behalf of, or as a forerunner to, the societies themselves. To differentiate the act of editing literary texts from the general running of these charitable bodies, the term political literary philanthropy will be employed, rather than 'associated philanthropy'. This is not to say that the texts discussed in this chapter are not examples of associated

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[1] James Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album* (London: Longman, 1824); Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts, *The Humming Bird; Or Morsels of Information, on the Subject of Slavery: With Various Miscellaneous Articles* (Leicester: A. Cockshaw, 1825).

[2] Hugh Cunningham, 'Introduction', ed. Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p.6.

philanthropy, but that political literary philanthropy is the literary and textual aspect of the field of associated philanthropy.

The *Chimney Sweeper's Friend*, edited by Montgomery, is dedicated to raising awareness of the plight of child chimney-sweeps and in doing so gain popular support for legislative attempts to abolish child participation in the profession. Heyrick and Watts's *The Humming Bird* is dedicated to raising awareness of the continued horrors of slavery, and to encourage popular support for its full abolition.

There are several reasons for the choice of these two collections as case studies for this chapter. *The Humming Bird* is an early example of what can be termed the second wave of abolitionist texts. The first wave of abolitionism had led to the trading of slaves being made illegal in 1807, but not the state of slavery itself. The latter was the focus of the second wave. *The Humming Bird* was published shortly before the establishment of the influential women's anti-slavery networks. It is therefore a pioneering work that I will argue acted as a call of arms for the later women's societies, in which Heyrick, and to a lesser extent, Watts, were actively involved. *The Humming Bird* and its connection to women's societies demonstrates how Romantic women writers actively engaged in political, philosophical, moral, and religious public debates. Furthermore, the work was compiled, edited and (at least partially) written by Heyrick and Watts in a manner that makes identification of individual voices almost impossible; this was a work of collaboration written in monthly issues compiled into a single anthology. My discussion therefore aims to contribute to modern scholarly debates on the myth of individual genius.[3]

[3] Duncan Wu, *30 Great Myths about the Romantics* (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp.40-5.

My exploration of Heyrick and Watts's *Humming Bird* as a text also helps interrogate the claim that 'women's involvement was almost always through religious organisations, and that it was consistent with a traditional view of charity', a stance that Heyrick appears to complicate by being so personally active, outside of religious organisations.[4] Finally, *The Humming Bird*, following from Heyrick's earlier success, mixes poetry, narrative, and essays in a way that allows consideration of each how each literary form can operate together to promote a philanthropic end.

I have chosen to focus on Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* for a number of reasons. The first is that it is written in support of a different social campaign – that against child sweeps and child labour. Consideration of literary philanthropy across multiple social campaigns allows for a broader understanding of the concept of philanthropic literature and helps to demonstrate that the abolition of slavery was not the only socially reformative cause that political literary philanthropy was present within. The editorial role of Montgomery also makes the selection of this collection useful for consideration, as he was a renowned and celebrated philanthropist and radical in his own lifetime, who has subsequently been largely critically neglected.

Both Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* and Heyrick's *Humming Bird* are also very much a product of their regions, and the regional identities of their audience and reach are key to understanding their purpose and effect, despite how the desired end result of these philanthropic campaigns are intended to be of national importance in terms of child labour reform and the sugar boycott, and global in the sense of the abolition of slavery. Both texts are useful for considering English

[4] Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes, *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690's to 1850* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p.11.

Romanticism as encompassing more than merely London and the Lake District. (analogus to Peter Jones's work on Birmingham and the West Midlands, and John Mee and Jennifer Wilkes's work on the transpennine enlightenment of Manchester and Newcastle).[5] The Leicester nonconformist community is a crucial context for the *Humming Bird*, and the industrialisation of Sheffield is equally significant for a more acute localised awareness of chimney sweepers' plights. This continues the arguments of Chapter 1, and anticipates the arguments of Chapter 3, that both Romanticism and literary philanthropy were of local, national, and global interest and importance.

The philanthropy discussed in my Chapter 1 was personal in the connection between its editors, Baillie and Blencowe, and the beneficiaries of their philanthropic efforts. In contrast, the philanthropic efforts of Montgomery and Heyrick explored in this chapter attempt to influence popular perceptions of, and legislation aimed at, disadvantaged social groups. By not having a direct personal connection (such as being compiled specifically to aid a friend in financial distress) these collections do not have as easily identifiable reasons behind their conception. While we might consider these publications as associated philanthropy, this label inadequately addresses the contributions that Montgomery, Heyrick, and Watts made as individuals, minimising their roles as authors and editors. Consequently, more detailed consideration of their backgrounds, and likely influences is required. As such, this chapter will contain a substantial biographical consideration of Montgomery and Heyrick, their political, religious, and literary influences, and how

[5] Peter M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1769-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); J. Mee, and J. Wilkes, 'Transpennine Enlightenment: The Literary and Philosophical Societies and Knowledge Networks in the North, 1781-1830', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38:4 (2015), 599–612. https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12350

these might have led to the creation of the collections considered in this chapter, and to their political literary philanthropy. Once the motivation, circumstance, and abilities of the editors to create the collections discussed in this chapter has been established, I will then analyse the texts themselves.

Before beginning the biographical consideration of the case studies, it is worth briefly returning to the definitions of capital provided by Bourdieu and their relation to this chapter. In marked contrast to Chapter 1, economic capital is largely absent from consideration in both case studies, and in political literary philanthropy more generally. The primary goal of political literary philanthropy is to increase the embodied cultural capital of the marginalised (such as the status of the slave, or child labourer), by creating objectified cultural capital (*The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* and *The Humming Bird*) that might accrue social capital (readers, spurred into supporting the legal changes required.) The mechanisms of this will be considered throughout this chapter.

The Authors

James Montgomery (1771-1854) is now remembered as a radical Scottish-born social campaigner, poet, hymn writer and newspaper editor.[6] Following his early years in the Moravian communities at Irvine, Ulster, and Leeds, and brief periods in Wath and London, Montgomery spent the remainder of his life based in Sheffield, where he became well known primarily as the editor of the *Iris*, which he co-founded with Benjamin Naylor after Joseph Gales, the editor of its predecessor periodical, the *Sheffield Register*, fled the country.[7]

[6] G. Tolley, 'Montgomery, James', *ODNB*.
[7] While the paper is often referred to as the *Sheffield Iris*, the newspaper was not exclusively read by locals of Sheffield, as might be supposed. Holland and Everett's biography makes numerous references to wider readership, particularly in Scotland, although reference is also made as to how

Elizabeth Heyrick, neé Coltman (1769-1831) is known as an abolitionist and philanthropist.[8] She was born in Leicester and spent most of her life there, except between 1790-97, when she lived in various English and Irish barracks with her husband. Much like Montgomery in Sheffield, Heyrick was well known in Leicester, as she canvased extensively in 1824 and made a name for herself in local religious circles.[9]

Susanna Watts (1768-1842) is even less remembered than Heyrick and Montgomery and is chiefly known as a 'writer and translator' of works such as *Original Poems, and Translations, Particularly Ambra, From Lorenco de'Medici*.[10] She taught French and Italian and supported herself and her mother through a mixture of teaching and translation work. She received £20 from the Royal Literary Fund in 1807 after 'a relative of her friend Elizabeth Heyrick' secured it for her.[11] Heyrick will be considered as the chief writer of *The Humming Bird*, as much of her life can be seen as directly relevant to the interests and skills required for the political literary philanthropy of this chapter. While minimal information on Watts is available, her background primarily of translation work, and lack of writings on the subject of slavery or abolitionism make it unlikely that she contributed to *The Humming Bird* to the same degree as Heyrick. It must be noted however, that the consistent anonymity of *The Humming Bird,* and the shortage of information available on Watts,

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attempts to encourage readership beyond were mostly unsuccessful. This was not unusual; many papers attempted to establish extra-regional followings; though only Cambridge's *Intelligencer* appears to be overly successful in this effort. See M. J. Murphy, 'Newspapers and Opinion in Cambridge, 1780-1850', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 6 (1975), 35-55, p.41

[8] Isobel Grundy, Heyrick [Nee Coltman], Elizabeth, *ODNB*.

[9] Canvassing was a crucial part of the abolitionist movement, and is described as 'a uniquely female method of distributing abstention and antislavery tracts', Julie Holcomb, *Moral Commerce: Quakers and the Transatlantic Boycott of the Slave Labor Economy* (Iythica, New York: Cornell University Press, 2016), p.92.Whether or not the *Humming Bird* was disseminated in this manner is unclear.

[10] 'Watts, Susanna', *ODNB*; Susanna Watts, *Original poems and translations: particularly Ambra from Lorenzo de' Medici* (London: Nichols and Son, 1802).

[11] 'Watts, Susanna', *ODNB*.

makes it impossible to confirm the precise contributions each woman made to the volume.

Religious influences

James Montgomery's religious influences begin with his parents. Montgomery was born to John Montgomery (1734-1791) and his wife Mary (1742-1790), née Blackley, in Irvine, Ayrshire, where John Montgomery was a Moravian Preacher.[12] James Montgomery supposedly remarked how he had 'very nearly been an Irishman'.[13] His father joined the Brethren community of Gracehill, Ulster before being appointed to the 'pastoral charge of a small congregation of the United Brethren at Irvine' around the time of James's birth.

Montgomery's parents returned to Gracehill in 1775 shortly after the birth of their younger son Robert. In 1777 James Montgomery was sent to the Moravian Settlement at Fulneck, Leeds.[14] In 1783 his parents left Gracehill to undertake missionary work in Barbados, leaving James and his two brothers in the care of the Fulneck Moravian community.[15] Montgomery remained here until 1787, when it was decided that he was unsuited to becoming a teacher. He was placed in an apprenticeship at a bakery in Mirfield, a small town twelve miles away that also had an established Moravian community, known as Wellhouse. Holland and Everett state that 'this arrangement, so unpromising in itself, and so important in its issue, removed James Montgomery at once and for ever from those studies and objects of the Christian ministry.'[16] While this might be taken to suggest that religion was

[12] Tolley, *Montgomery, James*, *ODNB*.
[13] John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery, Including Selections from his Correspondence, Remains in Prose and Verse, and conversations on various subjects.,* Vol.1 (London: Longman, 1854), p.7.
[14] IBID, p.25.
[15] IBID
[16] *Poems of James Montgomery*, ed. Robert Aris Willmott (London: Routledge, 1860) p.xviii.

henceforth of little impact upon Montgomery, this would be highly inaccurate, as religious subjects remained central to his literary pursuits, both religious poetry and the writing of hymns. More accurate is that the events of 1787 marked the end of any specific control by religious figures or imposed doctrine.

Montgomery's strict religious upbringing in the Moravian community stayed with him, and though he had left the community he never outwardly rejected the faith (at least, as far as is documented) and he never officially joined another church. That is not to say that Montgomery did not join religious communities. When he began his employment under Joseph Gales at the *Sheffield Register*, he joined Gales and his family at the Unitarian Chapel, but his attendance was 'by no means so constant at this time as it had been at Fulneck'.[17] A reduction in church attendance does not necessarily suggest that Montgomery's religious convictions had diminished; though it does suggest that his religious views were now fully his own, and he relied less on organised church influence.[18]

Montgomery clearly valued the Moravians even after leaving them and was eventually readmitted into the Moravian fellowship on 6 December 1814 – though he never fully returned to the Moravian community. Moravian, Unitarian and Quaker belief appear to have been the most formative religious influences in Montgomery's life, and his later readmission to the Moravian faith suggests that he never radically altered his religious beliefs, and that the ideas of his religious upbringing were maintained, even if the Moravian lifestyle was not. Interest in the Moravian Church

[17] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, p.135.
[18] Montgomery did become close with members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) during his second imprisonment, though he did not convert.

also featured in his work, most prominently in his *Greenland*, a five-canto poem describing Moravian missionary work and the settling of Greenland.[19]

Elizabeth Heyrick's religious influences also began with her parents, although sources are conflicting as to what their influence might have been. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* states that her father, John Coltman, and her mother, Elizabeth Cartwright, were both Methodists, and that 'John Wesley visited their house', although whether this was during the years in which either Heyrick or her parents were present is unclear.[20] Julie L. Holcome, however, states that 'Elizabeth's family belonged to the Presbyterian (later Unitarian) Great Meeting in East Bond Street, the centre of Leicester's Protestant dissenting community.'[21] Regardless, Heyrick was considered as 'singular in her childhood', and an account of her giving money intended for gingerbread to beggars suggests an early philanthropic conscience.[22] Whether her early philanthropic inclination stemmed directly from her nonconformist upbringing or not is unclear, but a strict nonconformist religious upbringing undoubtedly influenced her strongly.

When Heyrick's husband died in 1797 she returned to her family, and after 'the first years of her widowhood… she went with her mother to hear a discourse by Joseph Nicholson, a celebrated Quaker Preacher.'[23] Shortly after, she began to attend Quaker meetings and wear their dress. The ODNB states that upon joining the Society of Friends, combined with being 'detached from her family and with no

[19] James Montgomery, *Greenland and Other Poems* (London: Longman, 1819).
[20] Isobel Grundy, 'Heyrick [née Coltman], Elizabeth', *ODNB*.
[21] Holcomb, *Moral Commerce,*p.92.
[22] Catherine Hutton, 'A Sketch of a Family of Originals', *Ainsworth's Magazine London*, 5 (Jan 1844), 56-64, p.61. This source, used by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, never refers to Elizabeth as Elizabeth Heyrick – instead stating that she married a 'John Shirley', so this may be apocryphal.
[23] IBID, p.63.

child', she 'stepped boldly forward the champion of black men and tortured beasts'.[24] While Heyrick's conversion to the Society of Friends appears to have spurred her philanthropic efforts, it is important to stress that these appear to have been made entirely of her own accord, and not merely under the instruction of her new Quaker community, as her efforts and personal involvement went beyond what her faith would encourage.

Both Montgomery and Heyrick were nonconformists, although their nonconformity was drastically different due to their respective doctrines. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, were established in the late 1640s during the English Civil War and originally centred around Swarthmore, Lancashire. They embodied an inherently English protestant tradition described as initially 'charismatic in expression and apocalyptic in theology', though after a controversial procession in Bristol in 1656 the Quakers began a 'metamorphosis from early enthusiasm to later soberness'.[25] Quakerism at the turn of the nineteenth century was very different to the Quakerism of the mid-seventeenth century. The movement had become a 'highly organised sect, visibly and practically distinct from mainstream society.'[26] Two aspects of early nineteenth century Quaker doctrine century are of particular relevance for Heyrick's literary philanthropy; the entrenchment of 'anti-slavery activism as a central component of Quaker identity and witness' and 'Pacifism', both of which are key causes championed by her writing.[27]

[24] IBID
[25] Robynne Rogers Healey, 'History of Quaker Faith and Practice: 1650–1808' in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) p.16; Rosemary Moore, *The Light of Their Consciences: The Early Quakers, in Britain, 1646-1666* (Pennsylvania University Park: Penn State University Press, 2000), p.46.
[26] Healey, p.29.
[27] IBID

The Moravian Church, or United Brethren, is a relatively understudied Christian denomination. Montgomery's first biographers, his friends John Holland and James Everett, included a history of the church within their biography. According to Holland and Everett, the Moravian Church is descended from a pre-reformation Czech community following the Slavonian branch of the of the Greek Orthodox tradition, that, on being persecuted by the Catholic inquisition, fled to Germany and made their way to Britain, founding communities in the north of England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.[28] Both churches have a history of persecution and radical dissent, although it is worth noting that the Moravian Church was tolerated by the Anglican church, and Moravian communities were encouraged to attend Anglican services to help foster good relations.[29] While both Quakers and Moravians were proselytising, the Moravian Church was more content to adhere to the political status quo, and less inclined to political agitation than the Society of Friends. Non-conformist religious belief (particularly in protestant traditions and their emphasis on the primacy of the text) is a natural fit for political literary philanthropy, as they existed in resistance to state-sanctioned norms.

It is also important to note that both Heyrick and Montgomery might be seen to have rebelled against their early religious upbringing, or certainly to have challenged it. Montgomery's running away and rejection of the isolation of the Moravian community, and insistence on being an active part of society rather than a quasi-monk, was directly linked to his poetic aspirations. His rejection of Mirfield and the Moravian Church was followed – save for a brief period in Wath – by his attempt at a London literary career. Similarly, Heyrick's conversion to the Society of Friends

[28] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, pp.15-20.
[29] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, pp.18-19

coincided with her sudden and prolific literary activity.[30] In both cases, a rejection of the lifestyle of their religious upbringing directly affected their literary output. Although these collections were written almost thirty years after their religious rebellions, the sudden changes brought by their religious shifts appear permanent, and so not a temporary result of a recent and particularly zealous conversion. Montgomery and Heyrick's rejection of both the societal and personal status quo suggests a willingness to pursue change, and a rejection of easy settling, both vital qualities for the pursuit of political literary philanthropy.

Political influences

Spending much of his youth in a relatively isolated community, there is little doubt that Montgomery would have been politically naïve when he first left the Moravians, and that he had little or no political understanding or experience that was not directly connected to his religious upbringing.[31] Even a religious influence toward political knowledge would have been minimal, as the Moravians were not politically radical or concerned with civil disobedience (unlike the Society of Friends or the Methodists) and so Montgomery's politics were unlikely to be directly influenced towards radicalism in his childhood, save for the general tendency towards tolerance preached by the Moravian Church.

[30] It often stated that Quaker doctrine rejected literature 'on account of the fictitious nature of their contents' (Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism, taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles and Civil Economy, and Character, of the Society of Friends* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807); however as Isabella Cosgrave notes, 'The worry concerning truthfulness was about the potential for these 'pernicious books' to give false teaching incompatible with Quaker interpretations of Holy Scripture, rather than the nature of fiction as a medium in itself.' p.20. Heyrick, writing mostly political essays and poetry; avoids the general societal objections to novels, as well as potential conflict with Quaker theology. Even when there might be a distinct issue with theological breach; it is also worth noting the general Quaker rejection of strict dogma.

[31] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, pp.1-20

Heyrick's upbringing is far more politically charged. Brought up in a nonconformist household in the centre of Leicester, her father was undoubtedly a notable political influence on Heyrick. He was 'a radical political reformer, and a supporter of the campaign to end the Slave Trade'.[32] The poet Anna Laetitia Barbauld, also an abolitionist, was part of 'Heyrick's circle of family and friends.'[33] Of key importance to both *Immediate, not gradual abolition* (a key text of Heyrick's discussed in further detail later in this chapter) and *The Humming Bird* is the likelihood that her family partook in the first sugar boycott, which was 'nearly unanimous in rejecting the use of sugar and rum' within Leicester.[34] Heyrick's championing of slavery abolition is certainly unsurprising considering her upbringing and the circle she moved in. While it was not her only cause – she also championed the poor, animal rights and prison conditions – her most concentrated and successful efforts were in abolitionism.

Montgomery's first foray into political matters appears to coincide with his joining Joseph Gales at the *Sheffield Register*, a highly radical newspaper (a radicalism that Montgomery's succeeding *Iris* would later tone down). Montgomery recorded that he arrived in Sheffield 'with all the enthusiasm of youth – for I had not then arrived at what are called years of discretion – I entered into the feelings of those who avowed themselves the friends of freedom, justice and humanity.'[35] Gales is remarked as being particularly exemplary: '[the] generous, upright, and disinterested ... noble-minded proprietor of the 'Sheffield Register".[36] However uncertain Montgomery's own personal radicalism might have been, there is no doubt

[32] Holcomb, *Moral Commerce*, p.92.
[33] IBID
[34] IBID
[35] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, *Vol.1*, p.142.
[36] IBID

about Gales's. The latter published works by William Godwin, Joseph Priestley, and Thomas Paine, and fled the country in 1794 because of his radical publishing, aided by Montgomery.[37] If Montgomery initially was politically naïve, his close relationship with Gales quickly thrust Montgomery into what the state viewed as dangerously radical circles.

Montgomery's role as a newspaper editor would already have cast suspicion upon him as 'by 1799, despite the Newspaper stamp duties Parliament still considered every printer as the 'raw material of a traitor''. It is also worth considering the events that most directly led to his being considered a political radical: those that led to his imprisonment.[38] Montgomery was imprisoned twice for actions relating to radical politics; the first in January 1795 for the publishing of 'seditious material' celebrating the fall of the Bastille and the second in 1796 for reporting on the use of militia in an uprising in Sheffield that caused the loss of civilian life.[39] While his biographers unsurprisingly underplayed Montgomery's criminal convictions, there is the argument that he was unaware of how seditious the material he was presented with might have been, and that Montgomery's printing of the material was intended as a philanthropic act. Holland and Everett certainly leaned into this interpretation, as Montgomery is quoted as referring to a 'poor-looking elderly man', for whom he printed 'six times twenty for copies of this size… for eighteen pence, which would barely be the expense of the paper and working off', in order that the man 'might make a few pence in his strange way.'[40]

[37] IBID, pp.199-200.
[38] Murphy, Newspapers and Opinion in Cambridge , p.41
[39] G. Tolley, 'James Montgomery', *ODNB*.
[40] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs* Vol.1, pp.190-1

Whether Montgomery was genuinely unaware of the potentially seditious material or not is difficult to ascertain, although his defence to the constable upon being charged with the printing of seditious libel suggests a knowledge of what he was doing and an acute awareness of the material:

> This song cannot be a libel on the present war, because it was published, to my knowledge, long before hostilities between England and France began in 1793; having been composed for an anniversary celebration of the destruction of the Bastille, and referring solely to the invasion of France by the Austrian and Prussian armies under the Duke of Brunswick in July, 1792.[41]

Regardless of whether Montgomery was aware of the potentially troubling nature of the material (both for his own safety, and the anti-Jacobin interests of the British government), that he discusses it as an intended charitable act links radical politics and his philanthropic endeavours together, intentionally or not. Montgomery's radicalism and philanthropy appear to merge in a form of patriotism, a term still predominately radical in the 1790s, but starting to be reconstrued into pro-government nationalist connotations.[42] Montgomery's patriotism, a firm and stubborn insistence on pushing for reform based on moral principles, underpins his philanthropic efforts, and is a crucial motivating factor in his political literary philanthropy.

This connection between philanthropy and the more radical form of patriotism is best expressed in a letter sent by Montgomery to Joseph Aston in 1794:

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[41] IBID, p.193.

[42] For the transition of patriotism from a radical anti-government to a nationalistic pro-government term, see Hugh Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism 1750-1914', *History Workshop Journal,* 12 (1981) 8-33. It is fair to assume that Montgomery's use of patriotism is radical, or at least most certainly directly aware of its radical connotations, as his friend, former employer and editorial predecessor Joseph Gales edited the radical newspaper *The Patriot.*

> It is true an old musty proverb says, 'Charity begins at home;' but if charity be always confined to home, it is no longer charity but avarice, selfishness, injustice. Patriotism, in the same manner, when shackled by prejudice, and chained like a wild beast within the cage of a province or a nation, is a mean, a despicable, a foolish bugbear, which sets folks of different countries together by the ears. No man ceases to be a patriot when he becomes a philanthropist; the characters are not incompatible; so far from it, in my opinion they are *inseparable* when strictly understood and *justly* practised…[43]

What Montgomery means by 'home' is somewhat unclear; it could refer to personal relationships or the wider community of Sheffield, where he lived, or both. Regardless, Montgomery connects ideas of philanthropy to an international patriotism – something of a paradox, but here seeming to mean a sincere attempt to personally use the resources and powers that might be attained by one nation to aid people in another with different circumstances. This would explain much of Montgomery's wider concerns, including his interest in the Jews in Baillie's *Collection* (see Chapter 1), and his abolitionist works on the West Indies.[44] Montgomery's work on behalf of chimney-sweeps then, is perhaps what he considers his 'Charity' begun' at home'.

One thing must be noted about both Heyrick and Montgomery's politics: however 'Radical' they might be, their (at least, publicly published) political beliefs advocate only reform from within the bounds of the British law; there is not even a

[43] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs Vol.1*, pp.169-170.
[44] James Montgomery 'The West Indies', *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, ed. Robert Bowyer (London: Bowyer, 1809), pp. 14-46.

slight hint of a desire for revolution or other violent radicalism. Montgomery, in particular, consistently claims he has no wish to work against 'the British constitution'. While this was a common phrase for political radicals, and somewhat devoid of legitimate meaning (considering that Britain had no established written constitution), Montgomery appears to be genuine in expressing a desire to not fundamentally upset the political status quo.

While the lack of dangerous radicalism is unsurprising in publicly published works, as anything too radical would be dangerous to print, there is no evidence of private revolutionary conduct or ideals. The arguments that both Heyrick and Montgomery make do not question the legitimacy of the British government (despite their insistence upon the necessity of reform), and so while in many ways radical, the reform posited by both is not what might have been referred to as Jacobin, or any other form of treasonous radicalism, despite the 'conservative tendency to define any dissent as dangerous', except if used in particularly bad faith.[45]

Heyrick's avoidance of violent radicalism, while no doubt partially influenced by her religious beliefs and doctrinal rejection of violence, may also stem from a practical understanding of how any perceived threat to the state would likely have only harmed the cause. The success of the eighteenth-century sugar boycott in the cause of the abolition of the slave trade would have furnished Heyrick with an understanding of effective political reform coming from economic pressures, rather than threats of revolution.[46]

[45] M. Rapport, 'Jacobinism from outside', *The Oxford Handbook of the French Revolution,* ed. D. Andress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015)pp.503-520
[46] Julie Holcomb, *Moral Commerce: Quakers and the Transatlantic Boycott of the Slave Labor Economy (*Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016), p.36

Literary influences

Holland and Everett's account of Montgomery's early life refers to his first encounters with literature. This includes texts such as: *The Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, The Grave, Prince Arthur* and numerous others.[47] Montgomery noted that Robert Blair's blank verse poem *The Grave* (1743) made 'a powerful impression on my mind: I said to myself, 'if ever I become a poet, I will write something like this.' I afterwards resolved, oddly enough, that when I became a man, I would write a round poem: this notion was perpetually in my head an idea of round being my idea of perfection.'[48] Richard Blackmore's epic *Prince Arthur* (1695) was also explicitly stated as exciting poetic interest in Montgomery, due to the 'rumbling majesty in the lines, which completely captivated my mind, and confirmed the resolution produced by Blair'.[49]

Montgomery's six months stay in London in 1791, during which he attempted to get both his prose and poetry published, demonstrate his naïve and antiquated understanding of the metropolitan literary market, likely an effect of his relatively isolated, provincial education in the Moravian Church. While in London, Montgomery lodged with James Harrison, a book seller and writer of short stories as well as the editor of the influential *The Novelist's Magazine*, 'a sort of proto-Harvard Classics – a bookshelf of "respectable" English and continental fiction'.[50] Although Harrison 'encouraged him to cultivate his talents, but declined to print what had been sent to him', Harrison's aid and influence were noteworthy enough for William West to recall

[47] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which is to Come* (1678); Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York* (1719); Robert Blair, *The Grave: A Poem* (1764); Richard Blackmore, *Prince Arthur: An Heroick Poem in Ten Books* (1695).
[48] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs Vol.1,* p.36
[49] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs Vol.1,* p.37.
[50] James Harrison, 'The Novelist's Magazine, and the Early Canonizing of the English Novel', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 33 (1993), 629-43.

in his *Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller* that 'the celebrated James Montgomery, of Sheffield, was indebted to Mr. Harrison, as a cause of ushering his early poetical talent into notice.'[51] This supposed debt is made little of within Montgomery's biography however, and may be more an invention of West's than a legitimate influence upon Montgomery.

Harrison urged Montgomery to attempt to write in prose, and so Montgomery wrote *Simple Sammy; or, the Lilliputian Quixote.*, which he offered to the publisher John Marshall, who rejected it stating that 'You can write better than this; you are more fit to write for *men* than for *children*.'[52] This led Montgomery to write 'a novel, in imitation of the style of Fielding', which he gave to William Lane of the Minerva Press.[53] Lane declined to publish the work as '"You swear so shockingly, that I dare not publish the work as it is"', an accusation that shocked Montgomery and demonstrates his unawareness of the contemporary literary market, as he believed that swearing in prose works was standard practice.[54] What Lane and Montgomery meant by swearing is unclear, although regardless of whether it means the modern understanding of taboo language or the use of contemporarily blasphemous phrasing, Montgomery's lack of contemporary literary exposure is highlighted, and suggests that upon leaving Moravian schooling Montgomery had done little to expand his understanding of prose and literature more generally. A final rejection

[51] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, p.102; William West, *Fifty Years' Recollections of an Old Bookseller: Consisting of Anecdotes, Characteristic Sketches, and Original Traits and Eccentricities, of Authors, Artists, Actors, Books, Booksellers and of the Periodical Press for the Last Half Century, with Appropriate Selections* (London: West, 1837), p.78.
[52] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p.110. Presumably the childish nature of the work was an intentional decision on the part of Montgomery to write for children, as at this time Marshall was one of the most preeminent publishers of children's literature in London.
[53] IBID, p.113.
[54] IBID

from an unnamed publisher, coupled with an unspecified 'casual misunderstanding with Harrison' led Montgomery to travel back to Yorkshire in March 1791.[55]

Holland and Everett's account of Montgomery's final London rejection is worth considering:

> The cautious bibliopolist read the title, counted first the pages, then the lines in each, and after a brief calculation, turned to the author, who was not a little surprised at this mode of estimating the merit of a work of imagination – by pinching it between the thumb and fingers! – very civilly placed the copy in his hand, saying, 'Sir, your manuscript is too small – it won't do for me; take it to -, he publishes these kind of things.'[56]

While this account is not written by Montgomery himself, the description must have been based on Montgomery's own retelling of the event, likely years after it took place, as no record of this interaction would have existed otherwise. The anonymity of the bookseller suggests that the description is to be considered criticism, not just of the bookseller himself but also of the literary market of London as a whole, a concern that it is not content or concepts of literary worth that determine the merit of publication, but size and marketability. Clearly, for Montgomery and his biographers, physical measurement is of no concern for a 'work of the imagination', and commercial success was not a key consideration for Montgomery's literary career (or at least, it is presented as not being).[57] This rejection of commercialisation has serious implications for Montgomery's efforts in literary philanthropy. An insistence on the cultural importance of literature, and the genuine power of cultural capital

[55] IBID, p.115.
[56]IBID, p.114
[57] IBID

beyond merely a means of attaining economic gain, demonstrates an alignment with the values one might expect from literary philanthropy. Montgomery's unwillingness to partake in the potential economic leverage of cultural capital, does, however, demonstrate a potential weakness in any attempts at philanthropy. Montgomery's literary idealism may direct him towards the idea of using poetry as a solution to social ills, but without an understanding how to leverage cultural capital for economic change, it is likely to be ineffective.

Literary influences on Heyrick are harder to trace. There are numerous literary allusions and quotations made in *The Humming Bird* that highlight that Watts, Heyrick or both must have read these texts and thought them appropriate for use within their cause. Perhaps foremost of these is the poetry of William Cowper, referenced on numerous occasions within the *Humming Bird.* As 'the most quoted poet within British and American abolitionist discourse', this is not surprising. [58] Cowper (1731-1800) was a noted poet, abolitionist, and hymn writer, much like Montgomery, though belonging to an earlier generation. Cowper's poetry, both abolitionist and markedly Christian, would almost certainly have appealed to Heyrick and Watts as a model for their own verse, and it is likely that they saw themselves as continuing in Cowper's tradition.[59] While Cowper was neither Quaker nor Moravian, he was later in life a firm evangelical, and this almost certainly was directly relevant to his opposition to slavery. A final point of note is that much of Cowper's abolitionist work draws particular attention to the products of slavery, implying their rejection would cause a collapse of the slave trade: 'I pity them greatly, but I must be mum,/

[58] Katherine Turner, 'Cowper, Slave Narratives, and the Antebellum American Reading Public' (Cowper and Newton Museum) https://cowperandnewtonmuseum.org.uk/j6-article-turner/ [29/10/2019].
[59] John D. Baird, 'Cowper, William', *ODNB*.

For how could we do without sugar and rum?' a line of argument that the *Humming Bird* also uses.[60] This argument was crucial for the effectiveness of the *Humming Bird*, as it encouraged the social capital accrued by the supporters of the cause to be collection to be converted into a boycott that actively harmed the economic capital justifying slavery.

Previous works

The Humming Bird and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* are not the first works of Heyrick or Montgomery. Both had published extensively by the mid-1820s, and, as I aim to show below, their works were well known. Montgomery's work, published under his own name, was widely read since the success of *The Wanderer of Switzerland* (1806). In contrast, Heyrick's work was published anonymously. Both *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* therefore build on the arguments, success and reputations of previous works of their authors.

Heyrick's joining of the Society of Friends shortly after the death of her husband in 1798 coincided with a period of great literary productivity, as she 'anonymously author[ed] more than twenty radical and reformist pamphlets that "oppos[ed] war, animal cruelty, poor prison conditions, corporal and capital punishment, low wages and oppression of the poor."[61] Her social activism was clearly not confided solely to abolitionism, but extended to a range of social issues; particularly cruelty, violence and economic hardship. Her general reformist attitude was clearly a vital aspect for her forays in political literary philanthropy, and while *The Humming Bird* was her largest textual foray into philanthropy, it is important to

[60] William Cowper, 'Pity the poor Africans', *Poems of William Cowper* (New York: Charles Wells, 1835), p.366.
[61] Holcomb, *Moral Commerce*, p.92; Isobel Grundy, 'Heyrick, Elizabeth (1769-1831),' *ODNB*.

recognise her general reformist principles and avoid reference to her as merely an 'abolitionist'.

Heyrick's key publication prior to her work on the *Humming Bird* is her political pamphlet, *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian slavery* (1824).[62] This was hugely influential and sold hundreds of thousands of copies in Britain and the United States. It is often regarded as the first work to argue for the immediate abolition of slavery, against the gradualist attitudes of the leading abolitionists of the 1790s, such as William Wilberforce.[63] Heyrick dismisses the prevailing attitudes of the abolitionist cause, rejecting compromise as a moral possibility, and arguing that the delay of abolition is merely the perpetration of slavery. Much of the sentiment and argument present in *Immediate* is continued in the *Humming Bird*. As Carol Lasser argues, Heyrick 'formulated an immediatism that went beyond the conversion of the heart to demand that feelings be put into the service of practical market manipulation.'[64] The 'conversion of the heart' relates to how *Immediate* mostly rejects legal arguments, instead favouring a religious and moral argument against slavery. Most crucial, however, is that *Immediate* demonstrates that Heyrick was aware of how ineffectual, and unnecessary, abolitionist appeals to parliament were: 'We petition Parliament, year after year, for gradual emancipation: - to what purpose? … Why petition Parliament at all, to that for us, which, were they ever so well disposed, we can do more speedily and more effectually ourselves?'[65] Heyrick's answer was to convert

[62] Elizabeth Heyrick, *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian slavery* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1824).
[63] Victoria DeHart, *Elizabeth Heyrick, Mother of Immediatism* https://womensprinthistoryproject.com/blog/post/27.
[64] Carol Lasser, 'Immediatism, Dissent, and Gender', in *Women, Dissent and Anti-Slavery in Britain and America, 1790-1865,* ed. Elizabeth J. Clapp and Julie Roy Jeffrey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.111-131; p.112.
[65] Heyrick, *Immediate, not gradual abolition*, p.12.

morality-based abolitionist sentiment into economic leverage against slave-derived products, a sentiment continued in *The Humming Bird*. Using the language of *The Forms of Capital*, this could be described as a complex weaving of social and cultural capital in the form of popular moral sentiment leveraged to undermine slave-sourced embodiments of economic capital. In contrast to Montgomery's instance on cultural primacy to effect change, Heyrick's literary career demonstrates an acute awareness of how to convert capital effectively to reach specific goals.

Montgomery also began his successful literary career anonymously, and one of the first works he published was *Prison Amusements* (1797)*,* written during his incarceration. This was a collection of poems about his captivity.[66] He published this under the pseudonym Paul Positive, which he also used to sign his 'Enthusiast' columns in the *Iris*. The poems, though jovial and light-hearted are permeated with the deep despair that Montgomery felt at being falsely imprisoned for a second time. Throughout much of his life, Montgomery references a deep melancholy. Yet although the injustice he experienced personally and disillusionment with the British legal system and supposed British freedoms appear to have affected him heavily, they were channelled into a kind of despairing hope in these poems. While not philanthropic or socially reformative like Heyrick's early work, *Prison Amusements* demonstrates Montgomery's belief that poetry had the potential to effect change, even if here the change was for himself: 'the writer amused his imagination with attiring his sorrows in verse, that, under the romantic appearance of fiction, he might sometimes forget that his misfortunes were real'.[67] Many of the poems acted as

[66] James Montgomery, *Prison Amusements, and other Trifles, principally written during nine Month's Confinement in the Castle of York. By Paul Positive* (London: Johnson, 1797).
[67] James Montgomery, 'Extract from the Original Preface', *The Poetical Works of James Montgomery* vol.1 (London: Longman, 1836), p.330.

reminders of hope and perseverance, such as ‘Verses to a Robin Red-Breast’ – particularly the following stanza:

> Soon shall Spring in smiles and blushes
>
> Steal upon the blooming year;
>
> Then, amid the enamour’d bushes,
>
> Thy sweet song shall warble clear;
>
> Then shall I too, join’d with thee
>
> Swell the Hymn of Liberty.[68]

Montgomery used poetry to focus on the joys he could find; such as a robin that visited his cell. His desire for liberty here - a constant theme of this work – is at its most literal here.

While *Prison Amusements* was relatively successful, *The Wanderer of Switzerland* (1806) was Montgomery’s first major success and was published under his own name. It was generally favourably reviewed, with the significant exception of Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*.[69] A later edition, published in 1811, was reviewed by Robert Southey, who had taken exception to Jeffrey’s review, referring to it in both his own article and in a letter to John Murray as a primary reason for refusing to work for the *Edinburgh*:

> When application was made to me some years ago to bear a part in the Edinburgh Review, I refused upon the ground, among other, of the cruel

[68] IBID, p.332.
[69] *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal*, Vol. 9 Iss. 18 (Jan 1807). (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co. Edinburgh, 1807) https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015074715973&seq=7 [27/2/2026] pp.347-353

> manner of criticism which Jeffrey had adopted, & the case ~~x~~ which I specified as peculiarly cruel & unjust was Montgomery's. I am very glad of this opportunity of doing justice to ~~one man~~ <one> whom I consider as undoubtedly a man of genius.[70]

The Wanderer created Montgomery's literary reputation and allowed him to be considered a poet as well as a newspaper editor. It also revealed Montgomery's political ideals, as it focuses on the French invasion of Switzerland in 1798. Any suggestion of an approval of the progress of the French Revolution is lacking, as the poem is unequivocally damning of the dissolution of the Old Swiss Confederacy and the formation of the Helvetic Republic, as the poem's summary of Part II records:

> After supper, the Wanderer, at the desire of his host, relates the sorrows and sufferings of his Country during the Invasion and Conquest of it by the French, in connection with his own story.

Despite condemnation of the French empire, however, the poem is not a complete rejection of radicalism, as, by choosing Switzerland as the subject by which to criticise the French Empire, radical political leanings remain possible. The invasion of Switzerland, itself a form of Republic, and the call to 'Find their Switzerland again…. I feel my Country still, LIBERTY! where'er thou art', allows for the praise of a liberal democracy and simultaneous condemnation of an Imperial tyranny.[71] By condemning France, Montgomery presents plausible deniability that he is agitating for what might have been considered dangerous reform, while his praise of

[70] Sam Ward, 'Montgomery, Southey and "The World before the flood"', *The Wordsworth Circle,* 42 (2011), 85-9; Letter from Robert Southey to John Murray, 12 August 1810, in *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey, Part 4,* ed. Ian Packer and Lynda Pratt (2013) https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1800.html#8

[71] James Montgomery, 'The Wanderer of Switzerland', *The Poetical Works of James Montgomery,* vol 1, p.154.

Switzerland allows him to maintain an advocation of the liberal and democratic ideals that Britain was failing to live up to.

Montgomery's condemnation of France is unlikely to be purely to distract from his radical leanings, as by this point the French revolution had failed to realise the hopes of philosophical radicals, having already passed through 'the terror' and forgone liberty in favour of Napoleon's imperialism. A similar, and more overt example of this would be Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'France: An Ode' (1798), in which a belief that 'France [shall] compel the nations to be free' is immediately rejected by the narrator, who cries 'Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!/ I hear thy voice, thy loud lament,/ From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—'.[72] The belief that revolutionary France is an agent of liberty is rejected because of the French invasion of Switzerland, which is portrayed both in *The Wanderer* and 'France' as a place of liberty. Neither make the claim for Britain, and so therefore allow the rejection of France to act as a somewhat covert and tolerated instance of radicalism.

Another poem that is important for the consideration of both *The Humming Bird* and *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* is Montgomery's *The West Indies* (1809). This poem, also one of the few contemporary works of poetry reviewed by Southey, is predominately about slavery and the West Indies, and is determinedly abolitionist. It was published in an abolitionist collection entitled *Poems on the abolition of the slave-trade, written by James Montgomery, James Grahame and E. Benger'.*[73] This poem was commissioned by Robert Bowyer in 1807 as a celebration of the abolition

[72] 'France: An Ode', *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: The Major Works*, ed. H. J. Jackson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.91.
[73] *Poems on the abolition of the slave-trade, written by James Montgomery, James Grahame and E. Benger*, ed. R. Bowyer (London: Bowyer, 1809).

of the slave trade. For Montgomery to be approached for a collection celebrating the success of abolitionism, he must have already been known as an abolitionist – though whether he was approached due to Bowyer's personal knowledge of Montgomery, Montgomery's poetic works, the *Sheffield Iris*, or a combination of these factors, is unclear.

To summarise. In their previous works Montgomery and Heyrick were both unafraid to champion the downtrodden and ill-treated. As noted in a brief biography of Montgomery, but equally true of Heyrick: 'The cause supported by Montgomery was always that of political independence, humanity, and freedom.'[74] However, despite their 'radicalism', the works of both Montgomery and Heyrick are not revolutionary. Heyrick's campaign wishes to further the work done by previous abolitionists. Although she shows a lack of confidence in direct political campaigning (or, perhaps, an acute awareness of the hostility towards women campaigning directly, which would likely have undermined her efforts), she demonstrates a willingness to work within the structures of society by harnessing the economic power of a boycott. Montgomery's early dedication to truth and personal liberty (seen in the independence of his reporting in the *Iris*), although clamped down on by a fearful and reactionary government, never openly called for disestablishment of any British institutions, merely for their reform. Both Heyrick and Montgomery appear to have great respect for the possibility of reform that the British parliamentary system enabled – and while both authors point out corruption and atrocities and are certainly quite radical in the extent of the change they advocate, their reformist attitudes are at no point revolutionary.

[74] *The Poems of James Montgomery, Esq. With a Memoir* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt & Son, 1846).

Context for Political Philanthropy

The slave trade was nothing new to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries; slavery (from which what is recognised as the slave trade evolved) has been present within human society since before the Ancient Greeks.[75] Prior to the discovery of the new world, whether someone could be a slave was decided primarily on religious lines; Christians and Muslims rarely enslaved those of their own faith. This 'meant that, on the structural level, each group had to turn outwards for fresh slave stock', making non-monotheistic central Africa the most logical choice for Western Europeans to source slaves from, being both non-Christian and with lower risk of being enslaved in turn.[76] Over time (and, no doubt, as many slaves were born into or converted to Christianity), this consideration of religion became instead a consideration of race.

Religion is also a key consideration in work done by Seymour Drescher, who (building on work by Keith Bradley in relation to Roman slavery) argued that the state of slavery was legitimised by a reliance on the metaphor, in both Christian and Muslim theology, that individuals are all slaves of god.[77] Conceptions of slavery and religion such as this established religion as a key factor in the establishment of the transatlantic slave trade, and a key factor in its abolition.

Following the discovery of the new world, slavery quickly spread, fuelled by new world plantations that required substantial workforce. These workforces were

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[75] Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge, *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume 1, The Ancient Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) pp.1-3.
[76] Jeff Fynn-Paul, 'The Greater Mediterranean Slave Trade', in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*
Volume 2 AD 500-AD 1420, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.27-52.
[77] Seymour Drescher, *A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery,* p.8; Keith Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

drawn from indigenous inhabitants, European colonists, transported criminals, and transported chattel slaves. It was quickly found that chattel slavery was the most efficient method. There were insufficient European convicts or colonists to meet demand, and while early American colonialism attempted to follow the model of native slavery employed in the Canary Islands, indigenous populations faced a 'sharp demographic decline… in the face of disease, war, and the social disruption that accompanied the conquest', making chattel slavery the most seemingly viable source of free labour.[78] In this, the British colonies followed the example of the Dutch Caribbean and Portuguese Brazil, whose 'supply of African labourers seemed inexhaustible' in comparison to the limited number of British convicts available.[79]

Although the merchant and naval commander John Hawkins led three slave voyages in 1562, 1564, and 1567, British slavery began in earnest in 1640, whereupon Britain dominated the trade until its abolition in 1807.[80] Britain itself had a complicated relationship with slavery, as 'In contrast to other major European monarchies, the British crown never developed an imperial slave code.'[81] Similarly, slavery was never officially made illegal in Britain itself, instead simply supposed so – with legal cases ruling both in favour and against slave holding in Britain. In 1677 *Butts vs. Penny* ruled that non-Christians were essentially not human, and therefore could be considered as property, whereas the 1772 Somerset Case, though not officially forbidding slavery, was misunderstood (and is still often reported) as slaves being liberated upon landing in Britain, a misunderstanding perpetrated by Cowper's

[78] William D. Phillips, 'Slavery in the Atlantic Islands and the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic World', in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery: Volume 3*, *AD 1420-1804*, ed. David Eltis, and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.325-49.
[79] 'Britain and the Slave Trade', *The National Archives*, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf [12/1/2018].
[80] Basil Morgan, 'Hawkins, Sir John (1532-1595)', *ODNB*.
[81] Drescher, *A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery,* p.76.

poetry – influential on both Montgomery and Heyrick: ‘Slaves cannot breathe in England/If their lungs receive our air, that moment they are free/They touch our country, and their shackles fall’.[82] Misunderstandings aside, the establishment of a belief in national freedom, the idea that Britain was ‘free soil’ with ‘free air’ and those who stood on it were free, was crucial for later abolitionist arguments, and became legally convincing.

The notion of Britain as ‘free soil’ is of key importance to both *The Humming Bird* and *Chimney-Sweeper’s Friend*, with Heyrick arguing that ‘free soil’ is a religious argument, and that thus there is a religious abolitionist precedent (which should take priority over legal precedent), and Montgomery arguing about that British citizens cannot claim to be a free nation while child chimney-sweeps are sold into the profession by their parents.[83] The notion of Britain’s ‘free soil’ also ties into the radical patriotism that surrounded Montgomery. Cunningham discusses how a traditional protestant belief that ‘the English were an elect Nation, that ‘God is English’ is connected to radical circles.[84] While directly tied to a protestant radicalism that Heyrick’s Methodist and later Quaker circles would have been familiar with, there was also ’a powerful secular version of it, wherein in modern times England was seen to be the birthplace of liberty.’[85] Both Montgomery and Heyrick appear to be aware of this narrative, but Heyrick thought it was hypocritical unless liberty was

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[82] Miranda Kauffman, 'English Common Law, Slavery and', *Encyclopaedia of Blacks in European History and Culture*, ed. Eric Martone (Westport: Greenwood, 2008), Vol. I, pp.200-3; ‘Slave or Free?’ *Black Presence*, The National Archives, https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/slave_free.htm [29/10/2019]; Patricia Hagley Minter, ‘The State of Slavery: Somerset, The Slave, Grace, and the Rise of Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery Constitutionalism in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World’, *Slavery & Abolition* 36 (2015), 603–17, p.603; Cowper, *The Task*, p.42.
[83] ‘Illegality of the Slave Trade’, *The Humming Bird*, p.11; John Holland, ‘An appeal to the fairer sex’, *The Chimney-Sweeper’s Friend,* p.*278.*
[84] Hugh Cunningham, ‘The Language of Patriotism 1750-1914’, *History Workshop Journal*, 12 (1981), 8-33.
[85] Cunningham, *The Language of Patriotism*, p.10.

implemented across the British Empire's colonies, just as Montgomery wished it to be applied to child labour.

One of the first major objectors to the British slave trade was the enlightenment philosopher John Locke. In his *Two Treatises of Government,* he wrote 'Slavery is so vile and a miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation; that it is hardly to be conceived than an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it.'[86] Locke was by no means alone in his disgust at the slave trade. F. K. Prochaska notes that 'approximately 160 religious, moral, educational and philanthropic associations were founded in England between 1700 and 1830.'[87] Of more direct relevance to Heyrick and *The Humming Bird*, 'About 130 of these [associations] were established in the years 1780-1830.'[88] Heyrick's abolitionism builds off the popular campaign of the 1790s, championed in parliament by William Wilberforce, and supported by writers such as Hannah More and Olaudah Equiano.[89]

After the failure of eleven abolitionist bills in fifteen years, the parliamentary abolitionists changed tack and proposed the *Foreign Slave Trade Abolition Bill* in 1806, which prevented British slavers from importing slaves into the territories of foreign powers.[90] This success paved the way for the full abolition of the slave trade, ending the legal purchase of slaves in Africa, transportation of these slaves across the Atlantic and their eventual sale in British colonies. This was a significant success,

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[86] John Locke, 'The First Treatise of Government', *Two Treatises of* Government, ed. Thomas I. Cook (New York: Hafner Press, 1947), p.7.
[87] F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[88]IBID
[89] S. J. Skedd, 'More, Hannah', *ODNB*; James Walvin, 'Equiano, Olaudah [Gustavus Vassa]', *ODNB.*
[90] *Parliament abolishes the slave trade*: https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/slavetrade/overview/parliament-abolishes-the-slave-trade/

one that Montgomery's *The West Indies* was commissioned to celebrate. Slavery itself was, however, still legal after 1807.

Abolitionists and pro-slavery advocates continued to argue their cases in the following years, with little change until 1816, when a slave rebellion in the British colony of Barbados was sparked by rumours that "Mr Wilberforce' had freed the slaves'.[91] A second revolt, in Demerara in 1823, led to slave crackdowns and a resurgence of interest in the views advanced by Bryan Edwards, a West Indian planter and member of parliament.[92] Edwards wrote the influential *Historical Survey of the French Society of St. Domingo*, which argued that abolitionist societies were responsible for the slave rebellions.[93] For the pro-slavery cartel, 'missionaries were closely associated with abolitionists', and this suspicion led to the arrest of John Smith, a missionary in Demerara who was accused of slave incitement.[94] The death of Smith in prison prompted a rekindling and rallying of the abolitionist movement, which directly fed into Heyrick's *Immediate Abolition* and created the conditions of outrage that the *Humming Bird* sought to harness.

The chimney-sweep abolitionist cause is far less documented than the slave trade, but Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweep's Friend* was not the first work to demand the end of child sweeps. The most famous examples of these now, Blake's two 'Chimney-Sweeper' poems, one from *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and another from

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[91] Holcomb, *Moral Commerce*, p.94.
[92] R. G. Thorne, 'Edwards, Bryan (1743-1800), of The Polygon, Southampton', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/edwards-bryan-1743-1800 (London: Boydel and Brewer, 1986).
[93] Bryan Edwards, *An historical survey of the French colony in the island of St. Domingo: comprehending a short account of its ancient government, political state, population, productions, and exports; a narrative of the calamities which have desolated the country ever since the year 1789 and a detail of the military transactions of the British army in that island to the end of 1794* (London: J. Stockdale, 1797).
[94] Holcomb, *Moral Commerce*, p.95.

Songs of Experience (1794), were almost entirely unknown at the time, but demonstrate that the subject, and disgust at the practice, was not merely confined to Montgomery and the other members of the society for the abolition of child sweeps. For example, Jonas Hanway's *A Sentimental History of Chimney-sweepers* (1785) aimed at 'Shewing the Necessity of Putting Them Under Regulations to Prevent the Grossest Inhumanity.'[95]

The cause also had a parliamentary history, as Bryan Edwards, Secretary to the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa (1796-1800), expressed an interest in chimney-sweeps, though in relation to his arguments against slave trade abolition: in a parliamentary address to Wilberforce in 1797 he stated that 'charity should begin at home and the 'blacks' of the metropolis, the chimney sweeps, were in need of public attention.[96] Montgomery's early rejection of the concept of charity beginning at home and his own abolitionist views make it unlikely that he would view Edwards as any form of ally. Despite this, both Montgomery and Edwards make the connection with chimney-sweeps as a form of domestic abuse or home-slavery that needs abolishing.

While the cause of chimney-sweeps was not as widespread as that of slave trade abolition, these examples do show that there had been a history, albeit unsuccessful, of campaigning that Montgomery's *Collection* was following.

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[95] Jonas Hanway, *A Sentimental History of Chimney-sweepers, in London & Westminster: Shewing the Necessity of Putting Them Under Regulations to Prevent the Grossest Inhumanity to the Climbing Boys : with a Letter to a London Clergyman, on Sunday Schools Calculated for the Preservation of the Children of the Poor* (London: Dodley and Sewell, 1785).
[96] Thorne, 'Edwards, Bryan', https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/edwards-bryan-1743-1800

Form of the collections

The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album

Before undertaking an analysis of the contents of *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, a wider consideration of the collections' form, content and varied authorship is required. This wider consideration of the collection will help ground the finer analysis of the contents of the collections within the context of the work as a whole. It will also allow analysis of how the form of the collections is suggestive of how they were created, edited, and intended to be consumed,and therefore how they work as objects of literary political philanthropy. Considering the varied authorship of the collections helps to demonstrate the wide appeal of the politically philanthropic causes the collections represent, and a sense of what the editors knew of the causes they were representing.

Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album,* consists of two parts: 'the first comprising miscellaneous tracts and documents (principally republications)', which make up a total of sixteen letters, reports and speeches.[97] This is helpfully told to the reader in the preface to the collection, and ensures that the reader is aware of the form that the first section of the collection will take. The intention of this first section is to present 'the uncoloured and unexaggerated realities of the case in the various forms of argument, authentic narrative, and parliamentary evidence.'[98] All the relevant information one might need both to be convinced of the importance and merit of the case against sweeps, and to convince others, is provided in this first section. The stress placed upon this section being 'principally republications' demonstrates that the argument against sweeping is

[97] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.viii.
[98] IBID

established, at least, according to Montgomery. This is not to say that the cause of child sweeping is yet popular or known, merely that the cause of sweep-abolition has a body of argument and evidence ready. The issue is a lack of capital to enforce the reform.

This raises questions as to the purpose of the first part of the volume. There is the very real possibility that in compiling his volume Montgomery was simply following the instruction of Samuel Roberts. Roberts, a silverware manufacturer and writer on social issues, was a close friend of James Montgomery, and was one of the founders of the association for the abolition of chimney-sweeps.[99] Montgomery had already been involved with Roberts's efforts in a similar endeavour, a poem published in 1813 (and printed by Montgomery) entitled *Tales of the Poor, or, Infant Suffering*.[100] While a possibility, it is unclear if Roberts's had any input into the design of the collection.

The purpose, whether that was decided by Montgomery or Roberts, was perhaps to ensure that a collection of republications arguing for sweep-abolition might reach new audiences, that the combination of these arguments would win new allies for the cause, or perhaps that a collection of them might serve a practical purpose for those already persuaded, such as ease of reference or dissemination. Whatever the original intention, the *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* was used by those already persuaded. For example, the Tottenham Ladies Association reprinted parts of the *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album*.[101]

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[99] C. A. Creffield, 'Roberts, Samuel', *ODNB*.
[100] Samuel Roberts, *Tales of the Poor, or, Infant Suffering* (Sheffield: Montgomery, 1813).
[101] Niels Van Manen, "The Climbing Boy Campaigns in Britain, C1770-1840: Cultures of Reform, Languages of Health and Experiences of Childhood" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2010); *Society for Superseding the Necessity of Climbing Boys, by Encouraging a New Method of Sweeping Chimneys and for Improving the Condition of Children and Others, Employed by Chimney-Sweepers* [11th Annual Report] (London, 1826), p.38.

The volume's second section is entitled 'The Climbing-Boy's Album' and (with two brief exceptions,) 'consists of pieces in prose and verse, written specifically for this occasion, in compliance with the suggestion of the friend already mentioned'', the aforementioned Samuel Roberts.[102] The wording here makes it difficult to credit the idea behind the form to either Roberts or Montgomery. 'Compliance' suggests that Montgomery specifically followed what he was instructed to do by Roberts, though 'suggested' gives Montgomery greater agency than that. It is likely that Roberts had the initial idea, which Montgomery then executed with minimal further involvement from Roberts, as there is no further evidence of his involvement.

There are twenty-two submissions, two of which - the opening and closing - were written by Montgomery. The 'two brief exceptions' are Ingram Cobbin's *Philanthropy,* of which an extract is included, and William Blake's 'The Chimney-Sweeper'(Songs of Innocence).[103] The attempted insistence upon largely original material does raise the question of what would be considered 'effective' in this situation, and what impact Montgomery intended the collection to have. There are a number of reasons why original material may have been insisted upon.

If the primary purpose of Montgomery's album was to convince people to support the abolition of child-sweeping and that the effectiveness of the collection would be measured in terms of the number of those convinced, then his attempted insistence upon original poetry and not original arguments or essays, suggests that Montgomery believed republishing existing arguments and public debates could be effective, but that in order to have real impact on their audiences(or perhaps merely

[102] IBID
[103] Ingram Cobbin, *Philanthropy, A Poem: with Miscellaneous Pieces* (London: James Black and Son, 1817); William Blake, 'The Chimney Sweeper', *Songs of Innocence* (London: Blake, 1789). This is the first known publication of Blake within a wider collection of works.

sufficient incentive for purchase) literary works needed to be new. This could be taken to suggest that Mongomery believed original poetry, new to the reader, is the most effective way that poetry might convince people to support his campaigning efforts. If so, persuasion towards the literary political philanthropic cause would be relying upon the emotional experience of encountering a work of poetry for the first time; not upon the rereading of already familiar poetry. While rereading established and known works might have been more popular and entertaining, for political literary philanthropy, entertainment is secondary to political persuasion.

It might not, however, have been that poetic originality was key to persuading people to support the cause, but rather that it was key persuading them to buy the collection in the first place. In this instance, original poetry would serve as a means of drawing in potential recruits, using the cultural capital attributed to poetry as a desirable product, as a means of then exposing people to the arguments raised in the first section of the collection. The two-part structure of Montgomery's collection places a decreased emphasis on the philanthropic potential of the poetry (particularly in comparison to the collections of Baillie and Blencowe, in Chapter 1) as poetry serves as an accompaniment to prose arguments for the cause. Although the poetry of the collection is positioned after the prose, and Montgomery is hesitant to discuss 'the merits of any of the original articles now submitted to the public', the very inclusion of a dedicated poetry section suggests a belief that literature has the power to facilitate social reform, either by encouraging engagement with more formal argument or through an emotional reaction to the poetry itself.[104]

[104] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.4.

The Humming Bird

Heyrick and Watts's *The Humming Bird; or, Morsels of Information on the Subject of Slavery: with various Miscellaneous Articles* was published in 1825 by Albert Cockshaw in Leicester as a collected edition of *The Humming Bird*'s monthly issues, with a new preface and list of contents.[105] The compilation contains twelve issues of *The Humming Bird*, originally issued between December 1824 and November 1825, with a total of 125 entries across the collection. Each issue contains its title page, and the first page following the preface, described as '*No.I.'* makes it clear that the first issue of the *Humming Bird* was in December 1824. It is less clear if the November 1825 issue was the last issue. Each title page, as well as containing the issue number, also contains 'Vol. I'. This suggests that there were perhaps ambitions to produce multiple twelvemonth compilations of *The Humming Bird*; though there is no evidence of any further volumes or issues being produced. The likelihood of this being the only collected edition is increased by a description in the Preface which states that 'increasing infirmities have so far enfeebled the hand of one who took an active part in the work, as to render its future regular appearance doubtful.'[106] It would seem likely that the absence of further issues was due to this ill health, rather than any perceived failure of the piece. This is supported by the marked lack of any final editorial note; the last issue ends with a discussion of Catholic ceremonies and ends without any suggestion of it being the final issue,

[105] Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts, *The Humming Bird, or, Morsels of information, on the subject of Slavery (*Leicester: A. Cockshaw, 1825). All page numbers come from this edition. Albert Cockshaw was a printer who founded the *Leicestershire Mercury* in 1836. He is described as a radical staunch nonconformist who 'advocated suffrage reform and the abolition of slavery'. Much like Montgomery, he was charged for libel in 1835. (British Newspaper Archive https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/leicestershire-mercury, 2014). He published at least some of Heyrick's other work, such as 'Appeal to the Hearts and Consciences of British Women' in 1828, although he did not print *Immediate not Gradual Abolition.*

[106] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, p.iii.

While Montgomery's name is displayed on the front page of *The Climbing-Boy's Album*, *The Humming Bird* was anonymously edited by Elizabeth Heyrick and Susanna Watts, with their names never mentioned in any of the issues.[107] This anonymity is not much of a surprise, as anonymity – already common in the period – was particularly common for writings by women and political works.[108] Heyrick's other work had also been published anonymously. Anonymity also serves a purpose, as a deliberate joint and indiscernible anonymity rejects the notions of 'Romantic Individuality' or 'Solitary Genius', instead demonstrating the *Humming Bird* as an inherently collaborative piece, with no discernible single voice. The lack of a single editorial identity furthers the idea of the sisterhood of the abolitionists and embodies the consistent arguments for a united community of abstention and abolition.

There are however numerous individual entries within some of the issues signed by an 'E. H.', which is likely to have been Heyrick.[109] Of any piece solely written by Watts, there is no evidence. The first piece of the first issue is an address from 'The Editors to the Reader', where they refer to themselves as 'Truth, Common Sense, Philanthropy', and each of these as metaphorical sisters.[110] Though the editors portray themselves as a triumvirate, there is almost no evidence that there is actually a third editor for the collection. This has been taken on by some critics to suggest the involvement of Mary Ann Coltman; as in a brief comment within a discussion of Watts by the Orlando Project, which refers to these metaphorical editors, and how they 'may reflect the involvement of the sisters Elizabeth Heyrick

[107] Rebecca Shuttleworth, 'Elizabeth Heyrick', *Women's Writing in the Midlands, 1750-1850* (PHD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2014) https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/english/research/womens-writing-in-the-midlands-1750-1850/elizabeth-heyrick [1/10/2018].
[108] Gillian Paku, 'Anonymity in the Eighteenth Century', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.37.
[109] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird,* pp.206-7, 248, 249-50.
[110] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird,* p.8.

and Mary Ann Coltman'; Felicity James and Rebecca Shuttleworth also reference Mary Ann Coltman in their work on Susanna Watts and Heyrick, but no substantive evidence is provided for her actual involvement.[111] Heyrick, as we know, was most certainly involved, but there are no other references to Coltman, and my discussion will assume that there are only two editors, and the tripartite structure is merely an extended metaphor. It is noteworthy however that Heyrick and Watts did not disguise their gender and actively portray themselves throughout as feminine. The deliberate assumption of a female persona – though anonymous - might serve as something of a rallying cry (a recurring purpose of the *Humming Bird*, that will be explored throughout this chapter) to women reading the collection, proving that they too could help the abolitionist cause and engage in political argument, an area of public discourse usually prohibited for women.

A further contrast between *The Humming Bird*, and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* is the adherence to a single subject. While *The Chimney-Sweeper's* friend is entirely dedicated to chimney-sweeps, *The Humming Bird* is more varied. Though the *Humming Bird* is primarily concerned with slavery, and arguments for the abolition of slave owning, there are a significant number of entries that are entirely unconnected to the topic. The first of these is an account of the Monastery of St. Bernard, approximately halfway through the first issue of the *Humming Bird*. This may be taken as Heyrick and Watts agreeing with Joanna Baillie's criticism of James Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* (a topic that will be discussed at length

[111] Susan Brown, Patricia Clements and Isobel Grundy, 'Susanna Watts', *Orlando: Women's Writing in the British Isles from the Beginnings to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), https://orlando.cambridge.org/profiles/wattsu [4/2/2019]; Felicity James and Rebecca Shuttleworth, 'Susanna Watts and Elizabeth Heyrick: Collaborative Campaigning in the Midlands, 1820-34' in *Women's Literary Networks and Romanticism: "A Tribe of Authoresses"*, ed. Andrew O. Winckles and Angela Rehbein (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), p.48

later), that singular focus on an unpleasant topic is likely to overwhelm and therefore be ultimately less effective.[112] If so, to avert this possibility, they chose to insert less melancholy material within each issue as a form of emotional protection for their readers.

Montgomery summarised the contents of *The Climbing-Boy's Album* as comprising letters, reports and speeches coupled with poems and prose: *The Humming Bird* is more complex. The entries within each issue take many forms; including essays, poems, historical accounts, travel writing, letters and raw data. Some of the prose accounts are presented as a simple series of events, absent of any creative elements or speculation, and presumably intended to be taken simply as fact, whereas others appear to be more dramatic works of fiction. Within these forms, there are many themes covered and while the focus is predominantly slavery, there is great variation within that topic, including religious arguments, accounts of cruelty, economic arguments and observations, and historical precedents.

The variety of arguments in the *Humming Bird* reflects the breadth of the abolitionist movement, both by demonstrating the large number of people involved, and the variety of different beliefs within the movement. *The Humming Bird*, as a cultural object, projects an air of substantial social capital, that, whether accurate or exaggerated, adds a weight to its efforts of persuasion.

Prefaces

The prefaces of both works highlight their purpose and intention. They justify the existence of the collections and frame the rest of the work within their goals of political literary philanthropy. The *Humming Bird* has two introductory prefaces. The

[112] Slagle, *Literary Activism*, p.59.

first is a preface to the whole collection, written after the original twelve-month run, and the second is a series of introductory essays within the first issue.[113]

Montgomery opens his preface by describing how he was not the 'projector' of the project, that he was asked to edit this album, and that he 'had no heart to refuse'.[114] This opening appears somewhat hesitant, apologetic and perhaps even pessimistic regarding any potential success that the collection might have. It is even more strongly conveyed in the following sentence:

> There was, indeed, little prospect of securing the co-operation of such powerful auxiliaries as he was commissioned to solicit; nor, if he had obtained it, of much further effect being produced by their appearance in the field, than to attract more prompt and particular attention to the plain matters of fact, wherein consists the strength of the case.[115]

Montgomery's tone of pre-determined failure also suggests that the failure of *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* doesn't matter in the long term, as 'in a righteous cause, every miscarriage of persevering philanthropy is a step towards final and inevitable success.'[116] While previous repeated failure of the abolition of child sweeps was certainly the primary focus of this statement, it is probable that Montgomery, when considering 'inevitable success', had the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the perseverance of Wilberforce's repeated parliamentary bills, in mind. Finally, we learn that Montgomery considers the writers he attempted to marshal as 'powerful auxiliaries'. While highlighting how he failed to attract the writes he had desired is

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[113] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, pp.iii-v; IBID, pp.1-8.
[114] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend,* p.5. The projector was Samuel Roberts, a friend of Montgomery's, who appears to have recruited to the cause of aiding sweeps by a Quaker woman named 'Fairbank' in 1806. Samuel Roberts, *Autobiography and Silent Remains* (London, 1849), p.54; George L. Phillips, 'Quakers and Chimney-Sweeps', *Quaker History,* 52 (1963), 27-32.
[115] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend,* p.5.
[116] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.vi.

potentially insulting to the writers Montgomery actually gained submissions from, this clearly shows that he deliberately asked well known and established authors; whether this was because he wished to use their fame as an advertising and a selling point, or whether he simply believed that their writing would be of such quality as to be the most effective, is impossible to say. The use of 'auxiliary', however, does yet remind us that, even an entry from the most famous of writers would have still served alongside the body of essays that constituted the first part of the collection.

Montgomery's tone of failure is in strong contrast to the tone of the *Humming Bird*, which opens with an expression of gratitude: 'We cannot permit the *Humming Bird* to take wing and wander beyond the rather narrow circle which it has hitherto been confined, without expressing our gratitude to those friends who have listen to its unpretending song with indulgent attention'.[117] Perhaps the most striking tonal difference is in the style of the prose. Montgomery's preface begins detached, apologetic and in the third person. Watts and Heyrick open in the first person – announcing themselves as thankful with the metaphor of their work taking flight.

The *Humming Bird*'s opening is also telling, as it describes an awareness of their previous audience as a 'rather narrow circle to which it has hitherto been confined.'[118] This portrays *The Humming Bird*'s monthly issues as having a very small but engaged readership, that this edited and twelve-month compilation is intended to expand beyond. The use of 'wander', while possibly the continuation of the metaphor of an actual hummingbird, could also suggest that the wider audience this edition may reach is intended to be less engaged, compared to their responsive

[117] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, p.ix.
[118] IBID

early audience. This would make sense, as a reader of this collected *Humming Bird* cannot write in to the editors with a contribution for the next month's edition, as the previous readers would have been able to.

Unlike Blencowe's *Casket* and Baillie's *Collection*, these collections are not intended to raise funds. While there is no mention of profit in Heyrick and Watts' *Humming Bird* at all, in Montgomery's *Climbing-Boy's Album*, a brief paragraph on profit is described at the end of the preface:

> Should the sale of the present work produce more than the cost of publication, the surplus will be added to the small fund of the *Society*, in this town, *for bettering the condition of Climbing Boys*.[119]

This ending of the preface does not explicitly state that the collection was not intended to raise funds, although the tone of the paragraph, almost as a postscript or afterthought, with the inherent doubt of the phrase 'should the sale' suggests that profit was at best a secondary consideration. Instead, social change was the desired end effect of both collections, although not direct change. Both *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* and *The Humming Bird* were not intended to end sweeping or slavery themselves, but rather to influence and marshal allies for the causes they represented – in Montgomery's case, to try and raise more popular support for parliamentary appeal by 'press[ing] it upon the understandings and consciences of their countrymen' and in Heyrick and Watts' to allow each to perform 'a very solemn duty to do what we can; and he cannot be free from guilt who neglects to inform himself on the subject, that he may be prepared to press the argument on all proper

[119] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend,* p.xii.

occasions.'[120] Neither collection sought to gather legal power, and they did not seek to accrue economic capital.

Although the attainment of economic capital was not a goal of *The Humming Bird*, that is not to say it is irrelevant, even if not mentioned within the prefaces. It is worth remembering that the abolitionist cause, particularly that of the women's societies with which Heyrick was so involved, wished to implement a sugar boycott. So, rather than gain economic capital of their own, the collection sought to undermine the economic capital of their opposition, thereby draining the support of the pro-slavery lobby.

Contributors

Much more information is available on the contributors to Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* than on those to the *Humming Bird*. All the contributions to the former are either initialled or fully named. As Montgomery discusses how 'the rest of the miscellanies under this head have been furnished by friends of the editor resident in this neighbourhood', it is fair to assume that those who are included, but otherwise unknown within modern scholarship, are the locals known to Montgomery.[121] However, we are also told who Montgomery wanted to have write for the collection – a fascinating addition, as we learn not only that Montgomery (or perhaps Samuel Roberts, initiator of the collection) considered them suitable for the collection, but that each of these authors refused – or rather, refused to send original work. Montgomery does not name all twenty authors that he supposedly wrote to, instead naming only those 'distinguished characters declared themselves as friendly to the emancipation of the poor Climbing-Boys as their correspondent himself could

[120] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.vi; Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird,* p.iv.
[121] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend,* p.viii.

be'.[122] These names were Sir Walter Scott, Joanna Baillie, William Wordsworth, Samuel Rogers, Thomas Moore, William Smythe, John Wilson, Rev. George Croly and Charles Lamb.[123] The reaction to Montgomery's request will be considered in detail later in this chapter.

While many of the works in the *Humming Bird* are entirely anonymous, there are still a few that are named, such as George Herbert, Gustavus Vasa, Anna Letitia Barbauld, Rev. John Marriot, James Montgomery, and James Grahame. While all *The Climbing-Boy*'s submissions are at least initialled, if not fully named, the *Humming Bird* has greater variety in forms of anonymity. The most complex form of anonymity is found in the contributors that are metaphorically coded, such as ΛΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ or Humanitas. This goes beyond what might be considered a simple pseudonym (of which there are examples, such as Timothy Touchstone) because the names they have chosen represent values and follow the example of the editors claims to be sisterly personifications of Truth, Common Sense and Philanthropy. In choosing this form of anonymity and mimicking the editors of the *Humming Bird,* the contributors are positioning themselves as fellow activists. If the *Humming Bird* did wish to serve as a call to arms for abolitionist activists, this identification demonstrates some success.

It is also important to note that some of the writers included within *The Humming Bird* were dead by the time that it was written: for example, George Herbert died in 1633, almost two centuries earlier. This recalls some of the difficult

[122] Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.ix.
[123] This makes *The Climbing-Boy's Album* the second philanthropic work within this thesis that Scott turned down. Interestingly, Scott's financial issues had yet to occur, and while we might still believe that the outrage Scott demonstrated at the unknown gentleman requesting a submission for *The Casket* would make his rejection unsurprising, it does reinforce the significance of his agreement to contribute toward Baillie's *Collection* in Chapter 1.

questions regarding literary philanthropy and intention raised in Chapter 1 when the works of deceased writers were included. The case is, however, somewhat clearer in the case of the works included in the *Humming Bird*. While it is true that the writers, being dead, could not have consented to their inclusion within the collections, the topic of their writing – slavery – was clearly of the same political literary philanthropic intent as the *Humming Bird*. While the context in which they are presented, the potential audience, and the framing of their works, are all altered by their inclusion in this collection, they remain abolitionist in sentiment, even if they have been recruited (sometimes posthumously) to a later abolitionist cause than the one they originally wrote on.

The Humming Bird: Issue 1 and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*

The first issue of the *Humming Bird*, published in December 1824, contains 11 separately titled articles.[124] The first of these is the editors' address to the reader, which is written in a highly dramatic and metaphorical style, in stark contrast to the collections by Baillie, Blencowe and Montgomery.[125] This introductory preface justifies the existence of the publication, and the editor's (albeit metaphorical) qualifications for creating *The Humming Bird*. That metaphorical qualifications, such as the claim that 'Our Eldest Sister is actually in possession of the very *spear* by a touch of which Seraph Ithuriel discovered Satan when he lay in Paradise at the ear of Eve, in the shape of a toad' are used, rather than a reference to Heyrick's highly successful previous abolitionist work, makes for not only a more interesting read

[124] IBID, pp.3-34.
[125] IBID, pp.3-8.

(and thus encourages further reading) but is so obviously false as to suggest that one requires no qualifications to write on abolition, merely to be a 'true Christian'.[126]

The 'gifts' that the three sisters possess, being metaphorical, are clearly symbolically charged. The spear of Seraph Ithuriel, by being the tool that 'discovered Satan' symbolically, argues towards a key purpose of *The Humming Bird* – displaying the evils of slavery and exposing its proponents as satanic figures.

The second sister carries '*the clue of Ariadne*', the ball of thread that Theseus used to escape from the Cretan labyrinth. The symbolic interpretation of this is helpfully provided for us: 'she never loses herself.'[127] While this might literally be interpreted in terms of location and space, *The Humming Bird*, as an abolitionist work, is more concerned with the metaphorical meaning of 'to lose one's way', as in the biblical verse 'the man that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead.'[128] If the first sister is able to find and reveal evil, then the second metaphorical sister will ensure that they continue to do so.

The third, and youngest, sister 'has in her keeping the very same piece of tapestry which, by the magic art of the Fairy Pari Banou, was bestowed on Prince Houssain.'[129] This appears to be a reference to one of the tales from *One Thousand and One Nights.* If Leigh Hunt's claim that 'it is difficult to say that a French hand has not interfered with [the original stories]' is accurate, then it is probable that Heyrick is using an early French edition of the Arabian Nights, or an English translation of the French translation, possibly the one by Antoine Galland written in 12 volumes and

[126] IBID, p.3.
[127] IBID. p.4.
[128] *King James Bible*, Proverbs 21:16.
[129] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, p.4.

published between 1704-17.[130] Regardless of origin, the *Humming Bird* uses the flying carpet metaphor to set up the third sister as not only a traveller, but 'a universal guide to all ranks'.[131] The 'universal' role of *The Humming Bird*'s third metaphorical sister addresses the idea of audience; not only is the work planning on discussing a variety of locations ('America… the continent of Africa and the islands in the West-Indies'), but it is aimed at all potential readers, those who dwell 'on the mud floor of the cottage' or 'even the velvet steps of the throne.'[132] *The Humming Bird*'s unerring uncovering of the evils of slavery are to be unveiled to all who might read it.

A further point of interest is the origins of the three artefacts. The first is clearly biblical, and most likely taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*.[133] The spear is angelic, Christian, and a weapon against evil. The second is taken from classical Greek myth, and because it belongs to the well- known hero Theseus carries symbolism of history and heroism. The third, taken from a popular and much-translated Arabian literary work, adds an additional strand of literary tradition, giving as near to a universality as might be attained from just three objects from literary sources.

The *Humming Bird*'s editors choose to be identified as three metaphorical sisters with supernatural artefacts, and therefore power and ability perform social change. In contrast, Montgomery chooses to adopt the language and guise of probable failure and humiliation to paint himself almost as a martyr for the just cause of chimney-sweep abolition:

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[130] *Leigh Hunt's London Journal Volumes 1-2* (London: C. Knight, 1834), p.233; Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuit, contes arabes traduits en François (*Paris: la Veuve Claude Barbin, 1704).
[131] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird,* p.4.
[132] IBID
[133] John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London: Parker, 1667), Book IV, ll.810-14.

> though the editor may be arraigned for bad taste, he will not regret not any humiliation of himself,— having sought neither honour nor employment in this enterprise,— should he be even the unfortunate instrument of awakening sympathy and calling forth on behalf of "a poor and conflicted people" the talents of that "*fierce democratie*" of genuine British writers…[134]

That Montgomery discusses potential humiliation because of the failure of his collection demonstrates not only an awareness of the unlikelihood of success, but also an acceptance of his role as a failure that might 'awaken sympathy'. The martyr-like language goes further, as he abandons free will and agency, instead becoming an 'unfortunate instrument' on behalf of chimney-sweeps. It is unclear however, whose instrument Montgomery is – presumably either God, who is unmentioned, the cause of child labour reform personified, or perhaps the 'genuine British writers' he references. If the latter, that would cast this not as a genuine Christian martyrdom, but rather a literary co-option of the concept, where great writers become enactors of social change in a manner comparable to God. As Montgomery was deeply religious, and profoundly appreciative of literature, both are viable readings.

The prefaces to these collections both appear to follow directly from the spirit of their respective campaigns' previous efforts. The previous success of the abolition of the slave trade (if not slavery itself) has empowered and rallied Heyrick and Watts, but Montgomery, following from previous failures and no significant advances in the cause of chimney-sweeps, can but hope to fail with good enough intentions to serve as a rallying cry for later writers.

[134] James Montgomery, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.x.

Slavery: Importance and Illegality

The Humming Bird's two prefaces are immediately followed by a two-page essay on the 'Importance of the Subject of Slavery' which exists as further justification for the existence of *The Humming Bird*. This is the first direct addressal of the issue of slavery, and why it is the evil that Heyrick and Watts have chosen to fight.[135] The essay opens with a direct comparison with the beneficiaries of 'the present Colonial System' and Africa.[136] No specific nations are named in the opening passage; perhaps to avoid potentially dangerous condemnation of Britain, or to stress the scale of the problem of slavery. Both are likely, with the latter stressed by the second sentence: 'It [the slave trade] involves nothing less than the well-being, public and private, temporal and spiritual, of one quarter of the Globe'. The comparisons between Africa and the colonial powers are diametrically opposed: 'Those nations are risen to the summit of civilization – Africa is sunk in barbarism'; '*they* are "clothed in purple and fine linen, and fare sumptuously every day;" – Africa "lies at their gates full of sores'.[137] The quoted passages are references to the biblical story of Lazarus, with Africa described as Lazarus, a beggar taken to heaven and the colonial nations as the rich man who went to hell. The implication of this is that the colonial nations are damned unless they amend their ways. Philanthropy then, is presented as religious self-interest; safeguarding of one's own soul.

The second paragraph of the essay introduces characters; 'the Patriot', 'the Philanthropist', and 'the Christian'.[138] The Patriot is explicitly British, and as befitting the radical sense of patriotism discussed earlier in this chapter, 'sees his beloved

[135] Heyrick and Watts *The Humming Bird*, pp.8-10.
[136] *Humming Bird*, p.8.
[137] *Humming Bird*, pp.8-9.
[138] *Humming Bird*, p.9.

Britain calling herself the friend of all mankind… and trembles for her sincerity.' This is the first specific condemnation of Britain and appears to invoke the common concept of 'free soil' and the hypocrisy of this from a slave trading state. The Philanthropist 'beholds a scene of wretchedness, in which pain, suffering, privation, despair, mingle all their horrors'. This observation of suffering is the Philanthropist's only action, a curious rejection of the power of philanthropy, and appears to suggest that a philanthropist is just someone possessing empathy, not someone undertaking actions to help others. Action is reserved for the Christian, who 'remembers, with philanthropic gratitude, that his Redeemer died "for the sins of the whole world" - and that he has commanded his faithful disciples to "Go and preach the Gospel to every creature." He dares not to disobey'.[139] The Christian is presented as an improvement upon the Patriot and Philanthropist; he observes both the hypocrisy of the state and suffering of the enslaved. The call to preach is connected to the idea of abolitionism; because only someone free can worship God. Again, the failure to promote abolitionist sentiment is something to fear: political literary philanthropy is undertaken as a self-interested defence against damnation.

Following *The Humming Bird's* justifications, it presents its first direct argument against slavery in the form of a ten-page essay on the 'Illegality of the Slave Trade'.[140] This argument is unsurprisingly highly Christian in nature, and whilst the title invokes legal language, the content is more focused on theology, and the idea that all law is derived from religion. Immediately, this collection is presented as evangelical, arguing in favour of religion with an absoluteness that is to be expected from Heyrick, author of *Immediate, not Gradual Abolition*, but is surprising when

[139] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, p.9.
[140] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird*, pp.10-20.

contrasted with Montgomery's more pleading and self-defeated *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album.*[141] The heavy use of religious argument does however match the nature of the anti-slavery societies across the country at this time.[142] No author is listed in these articles, making it likely the work of the editors. Considering Heyrick's success with *Immediate*, it is likely she is the author, though this remains speculation.

The Society and the King

The second letter in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend,* and the first item listed on the contents page, is 'Copy of a Letter from The Right Hon. Viscount Sidmouth to Mr. Tooke.'[143] This letter, from Henry Addington to William Tooke, secretary and treasurer to the London Society for Superseding the Employment of Climbing Boys, focuses on how Sidmouth submitted a request to George IV to become a patron to the Society, and that 'his Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of and sanction the use of his name'.[144] Royal patronage, however involved, immediately adds a substantial amount of both social and cultural prestige to a project, at least, amongst royalists.

The second entry to *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* is a poem that follows on from the King's endorsement, entitled 'to the King'.[145] The poem is distanced from the other poems in the collection by not being included within 'The Climbing-Boy's

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[141] Heyrick, *Immediate, Not Gradual Abolition, Or, An Inquiry Into the Shortest, Safest, and Most Effective Means of Getting Rid of West Indian Slavery* (London, 1824)
[142] Many of the anti-slavery campaigns were specifically religious in justification, led by Quakers (see Holcombe, *Moral Commerce,* pp.4-5), Methodists following John Wesley's example (see Henry. R Rack, 'Wesley [Westley] John', *ODNB*) or evangelical Anglicans such as Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and William Wilberforce.
[143] Lord Sidmouth, 'Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Viscount Sidmouth to Mr. Tooke' in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, ed. James Montgomery, p.1.
[144] IBID
[145] M.R, 'To The King', *The Chimney Sweeper's Friend*, p.2.

Album' section. The separation of this poem from the others is likely so that it might be positioned next to the proof of the King's patronage, and to highlight the difference in theme. The importance of thematic consistency, over consistency of artistic form, suggests that Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* can only be effective when poetry on the subject of Chimney-Sweeping is separated into its own 'Climbing-Boy's Album' section.

This poem is an exploration of God's power in its first six stanzas, followed by a celebration of the King's power (stemming from God's) in the final two stanzas. Chimney-sweeps are only mentioned in the final stanza of the poem, fashioning the poem into an exercise of flattery rather than an advocation of social reform. No doubt this flattery is politically motivated, similar to Kerri Andrews's account of the interactions of Hannah More and Samuel Johnson: 'He [Johnson] is a potential 'market' for her [More], and successful flattery will 'buy' her patronage in the form of protection'.[146] Flattery was an expectation of praise toward the King in return for his patronage of the Society's cause. The political flattery of the poem, though perhaps necessary for the King's patronage to be used, does endanger the collection's honesty, and creates the risk of falling into the trap of public distrust of poetry that Baillie warned of, no doubt further reason for the separation of this poem from the others of the collection.

The final stanza of the poem highlights the abject pathos of the sweeps and seems to flatter the King as a near omnipotent saviour:

From *thee*, the friendless and the weak

[146] Kerri Andrews, *Ann Yearsley and Hannah More, Patronage and Poetry* (London: Routledge, 2015) p.12.

With feeble cry protection seek;

Now let the voice of mercy speak

For infants in despair;

Oh! stretch thy mighty arm to save,

From bonds, and death *the only slave*

That breathes Old England's Air.[147]

Invocation of the 'mighty arm' of the king, while flattering of his power and describing him in language more reminiscent of classical deities than a constitutional monarch, might serve as a disguised criticism: that he has the power to do more, and has not. Patronage alone is insufficient, and action must be taken. The repetition of notions of powerlessness and pitifulness in the sweeps, as in 'despair', 'feeble' and 'friendless', though of heightened emotion and melodrama, is powerfully justified by the final line of the poem and the stress upon '*the only slave*'. If the line is taken as accurate, then the dramatic pitifulness and the melodrama is justified, as the sweeps are the final remnant of slavery remaining in 'Old England'. The poem, while perhaps first seeming an empty piece of flattery, can be read as a demand to exercise political power for the freedom of the less fortunate. Even a poem in celebration of the society's patron, is a call for the mobilisation of those already sympathetic to their philanthropic cause. Such a reading is not unimaginable, when Montgomery has already worked with disguised criticism before in works such as his *Wanderer* (where the suppression of democracy and national sovereignty are critiqued).

[147] M.R, 'To the King', p.6.

Travel writing, republications, and a return to abolitionism

Following the first essays on slavery, the *Humming Bird* suddenly changes tone, with an extract from 'Rev. D. Wilson's Letters', about the Monastery of St. Bernard, giving an account of the monastery's famous dogs and how the monks were spared by Napoleon during his conquests.[148] This is the first article within the *Humming Bird* that does not pertain to either the collection or slavery, as well as being the first entry by someone other than the editors. It is a light-hearted account, and while tonally jarring, clearly sets precedent for some of the travel writings contained within later issues. Unlike Montgomery's poem to the king, it is hard to conceive of any means by which this poem might have covert political meaning.

On page 23, following the account of the Monastery of St. Bernard, the *Humming Bird* returns to discussing slavery, with a poem about the taking of slaves from before the passing of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.[149] While this does focus on the trading of slaves, which was already illegal, it also continues the argument that slavery is intrinsically immoral. The poem was written by 'Grahame', almost certainly James Grahame (1765-1811), author of *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade* alongside Elizabeth Benger and James Montgomery.[150] This is followed and complemented by the first-person account of 'Gustavus Vasa', whose real name was Olaudah Equiano, and his transportation from modern day Nigeria to the West Indies. The piece, though entitled 'Narrative of Sufferings in a Slave Ship, Previously to the Abolition', is an edited and condensed extract from his autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), a

[148] Rev. D. Wilson, 'Account of the Monastery of St. Bernard', in *The Humming Bird*, ed. Heyrick and Watts, pp.20-3.
[149] IBID, pp.23-5.
[150] Robert Bower, James Montgomery, James Grahame and Elizabeth Benger, *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: T. Bentley, 1809).

work considered influential in the passing of the Slave Trade Act of 1807.[151] The editing of the material is quite extensive; with the same account appearing in the *Humming Bird* between page 25 and 28, but taking material from page 32 to 57 of *The Interesting Narrative.* [152] Presumably this editing was undertaken to reduce the size of the work, and save on space and print costs.

The works discussing slavery before the abolition of the trading of slaves continue to inform on the severity and general wrongness of slavery, while providing an important reminder, that there has been some success in the anti-slavery campaign, and that there might be again. Altering the title to 'prior to the abolition' does not serve merely as a celebratory reminder; it also invites comparison to the following entry: 'Present Sufferings of the Slaves in the Smuggling Vessels'. Not only is the title directly comparative, but the text itself references the previous article:

> This fearful picture of the smuggling of the Africans, since the abolition, shows that the sufferings of the slaves during their passage, are even worse than those depicted in the simple narrative of Gustavus Vasa. Thus the European nations lavish and throw away, not only the liberties, but the lives of the Africans.[153]

The account is shocking – and while it does make a point of initially implicating the French as the key perpetrators of this smuggling, the blame is quickly expanded to 'the European nations'.[154] The piece consists primarily of an account of the horrors of a particular voyage:

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[151] *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano: Or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, 9th edition (London, 1794).
[152] Heyrick, *The Humming Bird*, pp.25-28; *Equiano, The Interesting Narrative*, pp.32-57.
[153] Watts and Heyrick, *The Humming Bird,* p.30.
[154] IBID

> But it became necessary to abandon this expedient, salutary as it was, because many of those Negroes, affected with nostalgia (that is a passionate desire to revisit their native land,) threw themselves into the sea, locked in each other's arms.[155]

The conclusion of the piece takes the narrative as a case study for slave smuggling, introducing statistics on the quantity of slaves that are smuggled: 'They import *annually* 80,000 of this devoted race', '*one-third* of these, viz. 26,666 die in the passage', 'no less than 53,332 souls – are *lost*, thrown away'.[156] The initial description of the voyage is fairly neutral in tone: 'it became necessary to abandon this expedient' being relatively matter of fact in presentation.[157] The presentation of the statistics, however, is highly charged, with a significant amount of italicisation and employment of simile: 'thrown overboard like blind puppies and kittens'.[158] The implications of this narrative are clear; while the slave trade act was a success, and should rightly be celebrated, the cause must continue because until total abolition is reached, smugglers will continue to perpetrate the horrors that have been made illegal, in even worse conditions.

On the Employment of Climbing Boys

The first essay of *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* is comparable to the essays of *The Humming Bird*'s first issue. 'On the Employment of Climbing Boys', argues for the cause of the abolition of chimney-sweeping and was written by 'S.R'

[155] Watts and Heyrick 'Present Sufferings of the Slaves in the Smuggling Vessels', translated from the French, *Bibliotheque Optlialmoloiqur, ou Recueil d'Observations sur les Maladies des Yeux, par Mnns Guillie, Directeur General et Medicin en Chef de l'Institution Royale des Jeunca Aveugles de Paris, &c Avec des Noles par M. M. Dupuytreu, Pariset, &c.* in *The Humming Bird,* p.29.
[156] Heyrick and Watts, *The Humming Bird,* p.30.
[157] IBID, p.28.
[158] IBID, p.30.

(most likely Samuel Roberts).[159] This argument invokes patriotism and praise while simultaneously damning the country for allowing the continuation of chimney-sweeps. While it is at times sensationalist, it also makes appeal to logical and reason.

The beginning of the essay is powerfully juxtaposed, initially damning England: 'That Englishman who is not at this time … astonished… must be either very weak or very dull;' before almost immediately invoking an idyllic Britain, stating 'Never was there a nation so blessed as Great Britain, never was Great Britain so prosperous as at this moment'.[160] The switch from England to Britain goes uncommented; this is likely an example of 'English' and 'British' being used as synonyms.

The essay opens with a heavy and unnamed concern, before shifting quite suddenly to a theme of patriotism, an invocation of national pride and an empowerment of the reader as a citizen of the greatest country in the world. It then expands into specifics: 'Liberality of sentiment, Christian Charity and brotherly kindness have made, and are making, great and rapid strides among all classes of her people'.[161] The notions of Britain's 'free soil', and traditional identification as an elect nation, a reoccurring presence in political literary philanthropy, are again present.

The notion of 'Christian Charity' highlights how crucial Christianity was in the notion of virtue, with the word 'Charity' being inseparable from its religious backgrounds, and no doubt tied to the notion of philanthropy and an awareness of

[159] S.R, 'On the Employment of Climbing Boys', *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, p.8.
[160] IBID, p.8.
[161] IBID

the essay's own participation in the act. The essay sets up philanthropic acts as both patriotic and pious, as both Christian and British, and therefore 'good'. The essay is claiming a general increase in the 'liberality of sentiment', an increase perhaps evidenced by the rise of the works such as *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* itself.

The essay also answers the question of why Montgomery and the Society believed *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* to be of use, stating that 'thousands of abler pens than the ones here' have written for 'the cause of the long cruelly oppressed African Race' until 'their rights are acknowledged and their wrongs are redressed.'[162] The society views sweeps to be the sole remaining peoples requiring emancipation stating: 'Here then is room – here then is a call for tongues and pens, though feeble and hitherto unnoticed'.[163] The reference to 'feeble' and 'unnoticed' calls for social reform echoes the pessimism of Montgomery and differs dramatically from the powerful and enthusiastic encouragement of Heyrick and Watts. This essay, when combined with the pessimism of Montgomery's preface, suggests that the collection's primary goal is not to directly encourage the act of reform, but instead to act as a call for others to further the cause, likely a recognition that without further capital behind the cause, any further attempts at legal reform would be similarly ignored. Again, as is consistent within the collection, there is only a call for writing and persuasion – any more calculated use of capital (such as instigating a boycott to pressure the trade) is unstated, if even conceived of. Montgomery may well have decided that the most effective means of furthering the cause would be through first gathering greater social pressure before pushing reform, a contrast to Heyrick's

[162] IBID, p.11.
[163] IBID

attempt to encourage a sugar boycott to reduce the financial incentive for slavery while simultaneously gaining social capital for parliamentary pressure.

While both *The Humming Bird* and *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* intent was to gather support for their political causes, they differ quite substantially. Heyrick and Watts's call to arms argues that everyone can be an activist for their cause, and so aims to create activists (and therefore social capital) while working to simultaneously undermine the economic capital of the counter-movement, whereas Montgomery's argues that they need the best activists - the abolitionists - and wishes to engage their support.

'Instances of Oppression and Cruelty'

Much like the use of statistics in *The Humming Bird*, *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* also includes evidence to support its argument. 'Instances of Oppression and Cruelty' documents twenty-six instances of 'cruelty and oppression collected from former publications'.[164] The cases are of varied outcome and are usually a few paragraphs of description. One of the smaller cases, Case IV, is worth viewing in full to gain an understanding of the content:

> A boy named Sharpless, in the employ of Mrs. Whitfield, Little Shire Lane, Temple Bar, fell from the upper part of a chimney in July, or August, 1804, in Devereux Court. The chimney-pot falling, or upper part of the chimney giving well, occasioned this accident. The boy had several bones fractured, and being carried to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, died there in a short time.[165]

[164] Montgomery, 'Instances of Oppression and Cruelty', *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, pp. 25-48
[165]IBID, p.28.

This evidence adds substantial weight to the campaign, and is the first proof of the horrors of sweeping within the collection.[166] The evidence was 'collected from former publications, to the time (1817) when the Act for the Suppression of Climbing Boys was proposed'.[167] That the evidence has been used before and passed through the House of Commons acts as proof of worth through previous success in argument – this evidence has been found convincing before and will perhaps be again. That the evidence was found convincing in the House of Commons also adds a substantial amount of social and cultural capital to the argument, granting it some of the weight of the seat of power, even if it was defeated.

The issue's end: Poetry

The final section of the first issue of *The Humming Bird* is entitled 'Poetry', and contains an extract from Johnson's *Rasselas*, followed by a poem entitled 'What is poetry?'.[168] That both Heyrick and Montgomery both create a separate section for poetry in their collections, located at the end, after all the arguments, evidence and justifications in support of the causes they are advocating for suggests a belief by both that poetry belongs in a separate, though connected, sphere to political argument. Perhaps both Heyrick and Montgomery believed that poetry could only be an effective tool for the cause when the readers had first been acquainted with the facts and arguments in favour of the cause. However, it is worth noting that the first issue of the *Humming Bird* is the only one to partition poetry into a separate section, and that poetry in its later issues is interspersed amongst the essays.

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[166] IBID, p.25.
[167] IBID
[168] Samuel Johnson, *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (London, R and J Dodsley, 1759); 'What is Poetry?', *The Humming Bird* ed. Heyrick and Watts, pp.31-34.

It is impossible to ascertain why the interspersing of poetry began after the first issue. It could have been a rethinking of the purpose or effect of poetry, a belief that poetry is better in and amongst essays and prose. The idea perhaps being that a shift in form would more effectively allow for the continued pursuit of anti-slavery persuasion without the fatigue that reading logical argument after argument (or poem after poem) might bring. The form suggests the argument that perhaps a flow of emotional and logical argument might be more persuasive than a block of either. However, it may have been a more practical editorial decision based on a lack of original material for Heyrick to print; and thus, the little poetry that was available might better be deployed within the body of the work to make its small quantity less apparent. Establishment of a concerted 'poetry' section would be of little worth if there was not enough material to populate it.

Much like the inclusion of the piece on the Monastery of St. Bernard, the poem included within the first issue is not about slavery, but instead describes the '*essence*, wrought with care/ from all the tribe of mental Pow'rs' that constitutes poetry.[169] The poem does make specific reference to William Cowper, and while it focuses on his 'honest SENSE', 'FEELING', 'CHRISTIAN LOVE' and other qualities, that Cowper was well known as an abolitionist who wrote 'The Negro's Complaint' is unlikely to be a coincidence, even if his abolitionist views are not directly referenced within the work.[170] The poem makes little reference to poetry itself, instead rather focusing on how Poetry is an aspect of God, and concluding that 'GOD IS LOVE'.[171]

[169] IBID, p.33.
[170] IBID, p.31; 'The Negro's Complaint', *Poems by William Cowper* (London: J. Johnson, 1788), p.365
[171] 'What is poetry', *The Humming Bird*, p,34.

The first issue is fairly indicative of the *Humming Bird* as a whole – a focus on slavery split across travel accounts, essays and poetry with the occasional non-slavery entry as well. The final notice of the first issue describes how *The Humming Bird* is against cruelty of all kinds, and would also welcome submissions relating to animal rights, a topic that Heyrick had also previously championed.[172] This is a theme that is never returned to in the publication – suggesting either a lack of interest in this strand of philanthropy or a later decision to commit more fully to the topic of slavery. David Perkins states that 'The many humanitarian movements of the eighteenth century mobilized generally similar supporters, arguments, and tactics. Whoever was for rescuing slaves, prisoners, foundlings, and other human victims was likely to feel a kindred impulse with respect to animals', suggesting that it is unlikely the Humming Bird's audience was against furthering animal rights, but rather directly focused on solving the specific issue of slavery first.[173]

The Humming Bird and its community

A crucial difference between Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* and *The Humming Bird* is that the monthly nature of the *Humming Bird* gives it the possibility to change over time; to pick up admirers and new submissions, to develop ideas mentioned previously or to abandon certain strands of argument. The possibility of picking up new regular submissions from individuals who were not originally part of the project is particularly useful, as it demonstrates how the periodical's call to arms has certainly been successful, at least on a localised level.

[172] Isobel Grundy, 'Heyrick, Elizabeth (1769-1831)' *ODNB*.
[173] David Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.3-4.

It can be assumed that the first issue of *The Humming Bird* was entirely created or sourced by Heyrick and Watts; while others may have had input, theirs is the overriding editorial authority of the first issue, with later issues including pieces submitted from their readers. While they would obviously still have editorial control as to whether and where to include these pieces, there is nevertheless substantial difference in contributions being suggested and submitted rather than directly sourced by the editors.

Most later submissions to the *Humming Bird* are anonymous, so it is unclear how many contributors might be reoccurring – or indeed how pieces were contributed to *The Humming Bird.* Many contributors follow the editors' example of taking on a synonym of virtue for name. Examples include Old Honesty, Common Sense and Humanitas. 'Old Honesty' refers to himself as a 'well-beloved cousin', and so while it might be tempting to guess at his identity as a familial relation of Heyrick and Watts, his assumption of a name of a personified virtue makes it far more likely that he considers himself as a 'cousin' in his similar championing of the abolitionist cause. These abolitionists, in their selected names, choose to represent unified virtue through the medium of family; when considered against Heyrick's earlier essays with the engraving of a slave stating, 'I am a man, your brother', the message is clear: abolitionism is accepting a common humanity of goodness, modelled on a universal Christianity.

The most frequent pseudonymous contributor to the *Humming Bird* is ΛΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, whose contributions (in both prose and verse) include:

A Christmas Offering to Truth, Common-Sense and Philanthropy

Locke Vindicated, As A FRIEND TO FREEDOM ADDRESSED TO COMMON-SENSE.

Remarks on the Declaration of some of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica

For the Hummingbird

To the Editors of the Humming Bird

Dialogue Between Luther and Verger

Negro Emancipation

Remarks on the Asylum for the Reception of Female Prisoners *For the Humming Bird*[174]

ΛΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ appears to move away from references to the editors by their assumed names, and instead more direct reference either to their role as editors or to the *Humming Bird* itself. This appears to align more broadly with the *Humming Bird* - as following the first issue there is only one instance of the editors referring to themselves by the titles they used in their introductory essay, as later they refer to themselves instead as the editors.

While initially the focus would appear to be more upon their self-characterisation as the personification of virtues, this gradually becomes more of a family identity, as expressed by ΛΕΣΜΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ in his final submission: 'My worthy Cousins are, doubtless, aware that the whole family of the "Abolitionists," and themselves among the number'.[175] Ascribing a family identity to abolitionists is appropriate, considering the consistent strand of religious thought throughout the

[174] IBID, pp.62-6, 96-8, 176-9, 208-11, 251, 251-6, 297-300, 347-9.
[175] IBID, p.346.

Humming Bird, that describe their unified duty to oppose slavery due to their identities as British and Christian:

> It being thus proved to be the duty, the imperious, absolute duty of every one, who calls himself *a man and a Briton*, to oppose the Slave Trade, it becomes a most important consideration that we set about this duty in our highest character, viz. that of CHRISTIANS; — that we take heed to our own feelings, lest we *do right* in a *wrong* spirit.[176]

The duty of a Christian to ensure the abolition of slavery is a consistent theme of the collection, with the notion that all are equal under God reoccurring regularly. The familial connection is occasionally applied to the slaves themselves, such as in the use of 'A man and a brother', and is similar to Heyrick's 'I am a man, brother' slogan from the title page of the British editions of *Immediate not Gradual Abolition* (itself a reframing of the 'Am I not a Man and a Brother?' slogan found on Josiah Wedgwood's plaques from the 1780s).[177] A familial connection is also frequently deliberately absent, replaced with entries to the collection that argue as to the supposedly inherent differences between different ethnicities, as in 'Remarks on the decent of the Africans from Ham' or 'Comparative Strength of Europeans and Savages', suggesting that the enslaved were considered family when it aided the argument, and othered when that instead assisted arguments of abolition. That these arguments could well be taken as contrary to one another appears of little concern to their inclusion.[178] Regardless, the notion of a united family struggling against the self-

[176] IBID, p.17.
[177] Heyrick, *Immediate not Graduate Abolition,* p.1; 'Am I Not a Man and a Brother', *Royal Collection Trust,* https://www.rct.uk/collection/45792/am-i-notnbspa-man-andnbspa-brother [25/2/2025].
[178] IBID, pp.49-57; IBID, p.113.

interest of slavers is consistent throughout the *Humming Bird*, even if the question as to whether slaves are part of that family or not shifts.

Criticism and Montgomery's Doubt: the ineffectiveness of Poetry

The *Humming Bird*'s united front is markedly absent in Montgomery's *Album*. Not only is Montgomery publicly hesitant to take on the role of editor of the collection, but more crucially the preface references how some of those that had been written to for aid not only refused to send a poem, but also considered the collection to be a mistake.

Two key figures are the two allies turned critics, Joanna Baillie and Walter Scott, both figures that appear recurringly in this thesis's exploration of literary philanthropy. Joanna Baillie considered the topic of child chimney-sweeps 'too grim and too important for a simple poem', disagreeing with Montgomery as to the suitability of poetry as a means of inciting social change.[179] Baillie argues that prose is more appropriate for discussion of social ills, writing that 'poetry, even from your pen or that of any of our most distinguished Poets, would not be as useful to them as a plain statement of their miserable lot in prose'.[180] This doubt as to the power of the collection - and of poetry more generally - seems to mirror the doubts of Montgomery himself. However, Baillie suggests that it is not the fault of poetry, or the poets, but rather a suspicion amongst public readership of the form, that 'there is a jealousy in peoples minds regarding every thing that is told them in verse'.[181] This idea of a poetic 'suspicion' may well have led to the defeatist attitude of Montgomery, and similar doubts and concerns might have caused the abandonment of *The Humming*

[179] Slagle, *Literary Activism*, p.59.
[180] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs,* vol 4. pp.60-61.
[181] Slagle, *Literary Activism*, p.59.

Bird's dedicated poetry sections. Baillie's attitude here appears to be at odds with her own literary convictions; that literature itself can lead to moral improvement (see Chapter 1). Perhaps Baillie changed her mind over the years, or perhaps Baillie believed that, while the consumption of literature may well grow moral character, it is ill suited for recruitment to political causes.

Baillie was also contacted by Walter Scott about Montgomery's request for poetry, claiming that 'the committee [for the London Society for Superseding the Employment of Climbing Boys] seem more anxious for poetry than for common sense.'[182] Judith Bailey Slagle argues that Scott's claim he 'was never any good at writing occasional verses' is ironic because of his submission of 'Mac Duff's Cross' for Baillie's *Collection*, concluding that 'it probably was Montgomery's topic that he found too critical for poetry, as did Baillie', rather than a true dismissal of his own skills.[183] As noted in Chapter 1, 'Mac Duff's Cross' may well have been contributed as a recognition of Baillie's reputation as a dramatist, though in light of his uncertainty of the suitability of poetry in this letter about Montgomery to Baillie, instead it could be argued that he extended his belief of the unsuitability of poetry toward all philanthropic ends. Scott's outrage at the petitioner on the behalf of Blencowe may not not merely have been the lack of 'equality in it', but rather a burgeoning belief that poetry as a medium is not, or perhaps should not be, philanthropic.

Baillie's doubtful response to Montgomery's collection, and to the power of poetry to deal with serious social ills, appears dissonant with George Crabbe's contribution to her own collection. Crabbe had met Baillie, and as he contributed

[182] J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. IV (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1837), p.336.
[183] IBID, p.61.

work towards her *Collection* it would be surprising if Baillie did not have decent familiarity with Crabbe's work beyond that of merely the piece contributed toward her collection. Baillie must have had an awareness of the 'psychological realism' of his characters and for the accuracy and vividness of his descriptions' and so comments that poetry is not a suitable medium for the portrayal of the horrors of chimney-sweeps must either be also an accusation levied at the majority of Crabbe's work, or an excuse to not contribute.[184] While admittedly, Crabbe's contribution of 'Hope and Memory' toward Baillie's collection is not suited, his other work most certainly would be, particularly poems such as 'Peter Grimes' from *The Borough*, whose portrayal of a 'savage master' who lead to the death of multiple apprentices is not only a very similar fit in theme, but a perfect example of the realist tone that would best suit the serious social campaign of abolishing sweeps.[185] Considering Crabbe's success, and his familiarity with Baillie, it seems odd that Baillie is dismissive of the capability of poetry to adopt a tone suitable for the collection. It is also unlikely that this was merely an excuse for not contributing, as her conversation with Walter Scott, who was also in agreement, suggests a genuine belief in her comments to Montgomery.

Conclusions to Chapter 2

The two case studies developed in this chapter have aimed to chart the practice of political literary philanthropy. The success of political literary philanthropy is hard to quantify. I will now explore whether or not either collection had any impact upon the causes they sought to promote. This is perhaps easiest in the case of Montgomery's *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*. There is no directly observable impact following the publication of *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*. The Society remained

[184] Thomas C. Faulkner, 'Crabbe, George', *ODNB*.
[185] George Crabbe, 'Peter Grimes', *The Borough* (London: J. Hatchard, 1810), pp.283-99.

active, and Samuel Roberts (the originator of Montgomery's volume) republished his and Montgomery's earlier collaboration *Tales of the Poor* on behalf of the society in 1829.[186] Though, again, there is no record of this having made an impact on the cause. The fact another effort at publication was taken suggests that there was at least still some belief that the enterprise might be successful, but whether this is due to any previous success or instead a belief that circumstances had sufficiently changed to start again is difficult to ascertain.

Legislatively things did start to change. There was a significant advancement in 1834, when the Chimney-Sweepers Act reformed much of the process. Masters were forbidden from taking on boys younger than 14 and female chimney-sweeping was prohibited entirely.[187] The lower age limit was extended to 21 in 1840, though this was widely ignored.[188] Controls were further increased in 1864, authorising the fining and imprisonment of masters who ignored the rules.[189] Finally, in 1875 the practise of sending boys up chimneys was entirely prohibited, in favour of machine cleaning, the solution proposed in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*.[190] This final Act was successful, proposing both an alternative, and requiring all sweepers to be licensed, making enforcement of this law substantially more viable.[191]

This final success, over fifty years later, does not appear to have been even slightly connected to the *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*. Montgomery's collection does not appear to have had any popular or legal impact on the cause. The collection was

[186] Samuel Roberts, *Tales of the Poor* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1829).
[187] Niels Van Manen, "The Climbing Boy Campaigns in Britain, C1770-1840: Cultures of Reform, Languages of Health and Experiences of Childhood" (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York, 2010), p.42.
[188] IBID
[189] IBID
[190] IBID, p.42.
[191] IBID

occasionally mentioned by societies, such as the Tottenham Ladies' Association, but these audiences again appeared to be those already in support of the legislative reform. Montgomery's defeatist tone appears accurate, though may have been somewhat self-fulfilling. Montgomery appears to have been right only in that the cause would eventually pass, and that his society's efforts, though unsuccessful, were justified. In any regard of success then, the *Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* and *Climbing-Boy's Album* must be considered a failure in the immediate sense, perhaps proving Baillie's argument about the unsuitability of poetry. Long term, it is possible to consider the collection as success, as the campaign did eventually succeed, and later societies were aware of the collection. However, without any direct evidence that the later, successful movements, were inspired by Montgomery's own attempt, any consideration of success can only be as a minimal ancillary to the later movements.

The abolitionist cause was far more successful. Noted abolitionist William Wilberforce had described women who met, published and went 'house to house stirring up petitions' as engaging in activities 'unsuited to the female character as delineated in Scripture'.[192] Yet following the publication of *The Humming Bird*, many women's societies were established across the United Kingdom, chief among them The Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves.[193] The Birmingham Society served as the centralised body in a network of philanthropic societies, where each secondary society was modelled after, and supported by, the founding

[192] Wilberforce to T. Babington, 31st January t 1826, cited in Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce*, 5 vols (London: John Murray, 1838), V, pp.264-5
[193] Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780*-1870 (London: Routledge, 1992), p.45.
IBID, 'Appendix: Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations', p.207.

Birmingham society.[194] Heyrick was the treasurer of the initial Birmingham Society, as well as the founder of the Leicester branch of the ladies' abolitionist movement.[195]

These female societies, dedicated to Heyrick's ideal of immediate abolition, were extremely successful in encouraging either the absolute boycott of sugar or the shift to east Indian sugar, and manipulation of the free market away from slave-produced goods.[196] With tumbling profits, support for slavery collapsed, and in 1833 total abolition was passed. While Heyrick's part of the successful campaign for abolition is substantial, *The Humming Bird* itself does not appear to have had much direct impact, with this instead having come from the women's societies and ensuring sugar boycott. The question is therefore whether *The Humming Bird* was significant in the establishment of these societies. This is difficult to establish. The *Humming Bird* clearly had a readership, lasting twelve issues and ending only because of Heyrick's poor health. Even if the magazine did not substantially successfully recruit or convince others to the abolitionist cause, it kept those already convinced involved and active, and helped ensure that abolitionist sentiment remained high. It would likely be a mistake to suggest that *The Humming Bird* was instrumental to the eventual prohibition of slavery, but it was one of many tools used by the abolitionists in their intelligent and passionate campaign.

The lesson to be drawn from Montgomery's failure and Heywood's at least partial success is that literary philanthropy can be a powerful tool in encouraging and

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[194] IBID, p.46.
[195] Seunfunmi Tinubu, 'Elizabeth Heyrick and The Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves'; *Gender and Legal History in Birmingham and the West Midlands* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2018) https://blog.bham.ac.uk/legalherstory/2018/03/15/elizabeth-heyrick-and-the-birmingham-ladies-society-for-the-relief-of-negro-slaves/#:~:text=Independent%20Women%27s%20Groups%20were%20formed,on%20the%20topic%20of%20abolition. [27/02/2024].
[196] Midgley, *Women Against Slavery,* p.70.

maintaining political pressure. However, they also show that it is a mistake to use it as the only one, or to overly trust in the power of literature to convince people to a particular social cause.

These collections demonstrate that political literary philanthropy as a form makes extensive use of reprinted material, extracts, and translations as well as original work. The insistence on new works pushed by Baillie within networked literary philanthropy does not appear as important in the case of political literary philanthropy. The primacy of the political cause, at least in the two case studies examined here, appears to override the need for originality; or at least, the perceived need of this by the editors.

Both case studies within this chapter have an unusually high amount of what might be called classical patriotism, which is inherently tied to the religious non-conformist aspects of the collections, particularly so within *The Humming Bird*. The political stances adopted here cannot be separated from the context of nonconformist beliefs and networks. This is unsurprising, as it is likely that people who held majority religious opinion are going to be inherently less interested in substantial societal change that may upset the status quo, either because they directly benefit from the current situation or are not exposed to the possibility of alternative thought that is inherently provided by religious nonconformists.

Both collections include poetry, though to notably different effect. The most comparable use appears in *The Humming Bird*'s separate poetry section from the first issue, and the dedication to the King in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*. Both pieces differ markedly in tone from the rest of their respective collections and only lightly engage with the primary themes. For Montgomery, this thematic divergence

justifies excluding the poem dedicated to the King from the main poetry section, whereas for Heyrick, it explains its placement outside the core text. This contrast reveals a fundamental difference in how each author views poetry's role in supporting social argument. Political literary philanthropy, can, then, deploy poetry in varied and flexible ways.

Heyrick's inclusion of poetry unrelated to slavery extends to other forms of text as well, such as the account of the monastery of St. Bernard. Given that Heyrick's efforts proved more successful than Montgomery's, it is possible that strategically incorporating unrelated content helps sustain reader engagement and mitigates burnout. However, drawing firm conclusions would require examining a broader range of political literary philanthropic texts.

Montgomery and Heyrick's works in this chapter both deal with a less personal and larger scale philanthropy than that found in Chapter 1, helping to establish literary philanthropy as phenomenon covering a diverse set of circumstances and causes. Both case studies in this chapter also demonstrate the substantial networks and culture of regions in England that are often ignored in study of the Romantic Period. While Peter Jones's work on highlighting the significance of Birmingham during the industrial enlightenment ties in well with Heyrick's establishment of the Birmingham Ladies' society, it cannot be ignored that it was Heyrick's presence within Leicester and its substantial non-conformist community that spurred her involvement with the wider national movement headquartered in Birmingham. Montgomery's presence in Sheffield, and upbringing in the Moravian settlement of Fulneck outside Leeds, were also key to philanthropic projects. While his collection may not have been successful, the identity of Sheffield as a rapidly industrialising city with substantial radical and non-conformist populations was still

crucial. What has been termed the Transpennine Enlightenment could well be expanded to consider developments of the East Midlands and Yorkshire.

In my next chapter I will discuss a third kind of philanthropy – posthumous philanthropy. I will explore how this works when one writer edits another dead writer's works in order to save them for posterity and to raise funds for their bereaved family.

Chapter 3: Posthumous Philanthropy and *The Remains of Henry Kirke White*

Introduction

Literary philanthropy is a concept that can encompass any literature that has a specific philanthropic intent. Chapter 1 focused on philanthropy that raised money for specific individuals largely through utilisation of the editors' literary circle, calling in favours to provide material for an edited collection. The philanthropy was that of the contributors providing the materials in their various guises, be that contribution of spare work, the writing of new work, or in some cases, the provision of works from the deceased. In addition, the editors of *A Collection* and *The Casket* used their time and influence to gather materials, process them, and find an audience for them, to raise funds.

In contrast, this chapter aims to enrich my discussion of literary philanthropy by exploring a subset that I describe as 'posthumous literary philanthropy'. This involves the philanthropic editing of a recently deceased poet's works for a philanthropic end. Posthumous literary philanthropy is philanthropic in that any profit from the literary productions is sent to the family of the deceased poet and does not go to the editor of the collection. The editor therefore in effect works for free, both donating their time and staking their own reputation without the possibility of economic payment. Again, to compare to the networked philanthropy of Chapter 1, this is the aggregation of economic capital through staking social and capital, although this time the social capital staked is much more that of personal literary reputation, rather than the use of social networks. This is not to say that social networks did not play a significant part in the case study of this chapter, merely a noticeably lesser one.

There are two further ways in which posthumous literary philanthropy might be considered philanthropic, although compared to the raising of economic capital for the bereaved, both are harder to quantify, determine with certainty as philanthropic intent, or define as successful.

The first of these secondary forms of philanthropy is the idea that by undertaking a posthumous literary philanthropic project and editing the works of a poet who was relatively unknown and, being deceased, unable to further their own work, the philanthropic editor is presenting the public with cultural products that would likely otherwise have been lost and unpublished. The editing of this work means that posthumous literary philanthropy can be considered an act of reclamation or preservation of objects of cultural value, akin to the philanthropic establishment of a museum, gallery, or public monument.

The second and final form of philanthropy might be found in the editor using the work or life of the edited poet to highlight an injustice and raise awareness of it. Southey's critique of contemporary review culture falls into this category, as this chapter aims to show. This form of philanthropic intent more closely resembles the advocacy of social causes found in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Posthumous literary philanthropy then, shares many similar purposes and forms to the types of philanthropy found in chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis. It also complicates them.

I have chosen Robert Southey's editing of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* as the case study for this chapter. *The Remains* was first published in 1807 and was the most successful and involved of several posthumous literary philanthropy

projects that Southey undertook (as will be discussed later).[1] I have chosen to focus on *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* because it was 'in an extraordinary degree successful', selling many copies over eleven official editions and so is a major example of this form of philanthropy working.[2] This success also meant that the *Remains* became a model for future, similar projects. In a letter to Elizabeth Brown in 1810, Southey noted that Paul Moon James's planned edition of the late William Roberts, a 'youth of the most promising genius', would 'In its form, arrangement & embellishments … resemble Henry Kirke Whites Remains'.[3] The project was also successful enough for numerous others to edit volumes of Kirke White's work, some of which will be covered later in this chapter. While those volumes cannot be considered philanthropic, neither rescuing the reputation of Kirke White, nor raising funds for his family, that there was appetite for these volumes further demonstrates the success of the *Remains*.

The death of the author is a crucial and defining aspect of posthumous literary philanthropy. If Henry Kirke White had still been alive, Southey's actions would likely have been classified as patronage. Indeed, they might never have been undertaken at all. As I argued in the introduction, the concept of patronage overlaps with notions of philanthropy, and it could be argued that patronage of literature is itself is a form of literary philanthropy; though if so, it must necessarily be a different form of philanthropy. The death of Kirke White prevents the growth (in terms of both quality and quantity) of Kirke White's work and prevents any refinement or improvement to it

[1] Henry Kirke White, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White, of Nottingham, Late of St. John's College, Cambridge; With an Account of his Life,* Vol. 1, ed. Robert Southey (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; J. Dighton, T. Barret, and J. Nicholson, 1807).
[2] Robert Southey to Nicholas Lightfoot, 5th February 1810, *Collected Letters*, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1741.html [04/05/2020].
[3] Robert Southey and Edith Southey to Elizabeth Browne, 12th September 1810, *Collected Letters*, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1805.html [04/5/2020]

by the author, and as such cannot be considered patronage in any usual sense. Kirke White as either a person, or a writer, cannot benefit from Southey's posthumous editing. However, his reputation, and his family however, can.

As I have aimed to argue throughout this thesis, philanthropy is never entirely selfless and is usually a means of converting one form of capital to another, typically that of a benefactor's wealth (economic) into social goodwill (social), or vice versa. The case studies within this thesis have usually either focused on philanthropy as a form of maintaining status quo, and preserving a socioeconomic status (as in Chapter 1, with Baillie's efforts to save a friend from poverty), or a more religious self-interest in philanthropy, perhaps most seen with Heyrick's *The Humming Bird*, and the belief that abolitionism is a moral act that will be rewarded in Heaven. In posthumous literary philanthropy, however, the conversion can be viewed culturally, as a conversion of promising literary works (here Kirke White's writings) into reputation, legacy, and wealth. The philanthropic aspect of this process, that which allows Southey to be considered a philanthropist, is the freely given work this conversion required of him, and the use of his own reputation to help the writings of a dead author achieve success. Southey's reputation might well be considered a catalyst, or something akin to a guarantee of worth: a necessary component for the success of Kirke White, which can be used to create interest in the work, without being exhausted as a resource. That is not to say that Southey's reputation was uncontroversial. In 1807 his reputation for 'free and fearless thinking in religious matters' and for writing deliberately subversive works, such as the 'democratic epic' *Joan of Arc* (1796), lingered.[4] Southey's personal history of radicalism seems not to

[4] Geoffrey Carnall, 'Southey, Robert', *ODNB.*

have impacted negatively on Kirke White's reputation, as the success of the *Remains* and the lack of reference to the subject by critics or readers show.

The reputation and legacy created by the *Remains* is largely Kirke White's. It is his work, not Southey's editing of it, that is most visible to the reader. However, as Kirke White's work would almost certainly have been entirely forgotten were it not for Southey's intervention, it cannot be ignored that the *Remains of Henry Kirke White* is certainly at least partially Southey's work as well as Kirke White's, and that Kirke White's legacy is irrevocably bound to Southey's reputation. While Southey was certainly generous in taking on this work, he did benefit from binding the success of the *Remains* to his own reputation, and the popularity of the *Remains* may have assisted in the whitewashing of Southey's controversial past. Southey's exclamation that the *Remains* had been 'in an extraordinary degree successful', however, suggests a surprise at the extent of the success of the work, making it unlikely a gain in personal reputation was a major consideration of the project when he began it, merely a welcome side effect.[5]

The inevitable self-interest of philanthropy is not to say that Southey's philanthropy was fraudulent, or a purely pragmatic means of furthering his own interests. If anything, his willingness to stake his reputation and efforts on the work suggest an honest appreciation and belief that Kirke White's work was truly worth preserving and presenting to the public and could prove an opportunity to boost the reputation of both Kirke White and Southey while providing funds for the White family. It also led to a - likely unexpected – close friendship between Southey and the White family, especially John Neville White.

[5] Robert Southey to Nicholas Lightfoot, 5th February 1810, *Collected Letters*, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1741.html [04/05/2020].

Kirke White is also an interesting study because of how his reputation soared and yet, in the twentieth century, almost entirely disappeared, similar to other Romantic writers who were popular in the Romantic period and later forgotten such as James Montgomery, Thomas Campbell, and Samuel Rogers, writers Kirke White was often compiled with.[6] While scholars have not entirely ignored Kirke White, the quality of his work, though held up as genius by himself and portrayed as displaying early signs of potential genius by Southey, is often critically dismissed today. Indeed, it has been said that 'the standard of his poetry… veers between what can only be described as whinging self-pity and melodramatic delusions of greatness.'[7] This judgement is an unfair dismissal of Kirke White that ignores the purpose of Southey's editing. The *Remains* are a showcase of 'immature buds & blossoms', the 'green fruit' poetry of a poet who didn't live long enough to have the opportunity to become great – whether or not he would have done is impossible to accurately predict but will be discussed further in this chapter.[8] Since this thesis began, critical interest in Kirke White has expanded, most notably with Tim Fulford's first scholarly edition of *The Collected Poems of Henry Kirke White*, though the significance of the philanthropic context of Southey's editing remains fertile ground for exploration.[9]

Kirke White before Southey: birth, schooling and first publications

Henry Kirke White was born in 1785 in the centre of Nottingham, to John White (b.1750/1) and Mary White née Neville (b. 1755).[10] He was the second of six

[6] Charlotte May, 'An Edition of the Selected Letters of Samuel Rogers' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 2017); *The Poetical Works of Rogers, Campbell, J. Montgomery, Lamb & Kirke White* (Philadelphia: J Grigg, 1839).
[7] Clark Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature*: *The Making of a Romantic Disease* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006) p.128-9.
[8] Southey, 'Life of Henry Kirke White', *Remains*, p.57.
[9] Tim Fulford, *The Collected Poems of Henry Kirke White* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2024).
[10] Philip W. Martin, 'Henry Kirke White', *ODNB.*

children, two of whom – James and John Neville - developed friendships with Southey after Henry's death. Kirke White's father was a butcher, a trade that 'was an established one in his family, running back to the beginning of the century'.[11] His mother, Mary, was a teacher.[12]

According to the *Remains*, Henry was something of a child prodigy. He attended several schools, first Mrs Garrington's. She recognised his potential and nurtured his talents so that he might join Reverend Blanchard's school, 'reputedly the best in Nottingham'. In turn, Blanchard 'could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at the excellence' his pupil's poetry.[13] At the age of fifteen, Kirke White became the youngest ever member of the Nottingham Philosophical Society. He lectured to the society for two hours (although a letter from Henry to his brother Neville stated that the length was two hours and three quarters) on the 'notion of genius', in relation to Thomas Chatterton.[14] As I aim to show later in this chapter, Chatterton was a recurring influence both in Kirke White's own life, and in his reputation and treatment as an author after his death.

Kirke White's father originally intended him to take over the family business. However, it quickly became apparent that his skills were elsewhere, and he had no interest in butchery. He was then apprenticed into the hosiery trade - Henry's older brother John Neville was a hosiery merchant in London. Hosiery was found to be similarly ill suited for Kirke White, and, at the age of 14, he was articled as a clerk for a legal firm, Coldham and Enfield, based in central Nottingham. He remained with

[11] IBID
[12] IBID
[13] Southey, 'Life of Henry Kirke White', *Remains,* pp.2-3.
[14] *Remains*, p.12; Letter from Henry Kirke White [Nottingham], to his brother John Neville White; October 1799, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet at University of Nottingham*, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference KW C 60.

the firm until he left for Cambridge University in October 1805. He died in Cambridge on 19 October 1806.

Kirke White's poetic career began early. At the age of fifteen, he began writing entries for newspapers, particularly the *Monthly Receptor* and the *Monthly Mirror*. He won two prizes in the *Receptor*: the first for an original translation of Horace, and the second for an account of an imagined tour from London to Edinburgh. He became a regular correspondent to the *Mirror* and had several poems published there, both anonymously and under his own initials or name.[15] Through his writings for the *Mirror*, he developed connections with Capel Lofft and Thomas Hill.

Capel Lofft (1751-1824) was a lawyer, editor, and writer. He served as a magistrate in Suffolk, and acquired several reputations; 'a most Zealous Whig', 'a Dissenter so far removed from it as to be out of the Protection of the *Act of Toleration*', and 'something of a polymath, with a serious interest in English literature, history, classics, foreign languages, botany, and astronomy. He represented the best of the amateur tradition in learning, exemplified by the financially independent country gentleman.'[16] It is likely that all these aspects of Lofft were of interest to Kirke White, but his support of Kirke White's literary aspirations that were of greatest interest to the young poet. Thomas Hill (1760-1840) was also of key interest to Kirke White, as one of the proprietors of the *Monthly Review*, and a patron of Robert Bloomfield. A known patron and partial owner of a literary magazine was exactly the kind of figure that a young Kirke White, searching for both patronage and publication, would have particular interest in. Lofft and Hill encouraged Kirke White to publish a collection of his poems. This appeared as *Clifton Grove*, and was published by

[15] Martin, 'Henry Kirke White', *ODNB*; Chambers, *Cyclopaedia*, pp.87-88
[16] G. M. Ditchfield, 'Lofft, Capel', *ODNB.*

Vernor & Hood, at that time, the publishers of the *Mirror*.[17] Lofft and Hill's recommendations to Vernor & Hood would have been powerful assistance in getting Kirke White's first and only literary collection published..[18]

Clifton Grove: First mentions and the hunt for patronage

The publication of *Clifton Grove* in 1803 launched Kirke White's career and brought him to Southey's attention. The next section will explore the difficulties and stresses experienced by Kirke White both prior to and following the publication of *Clifton Grove*, particularly as the works within *Clifton Grove* constitute the majority of the poetry within Southey's *Remains*.

Kirke White's surviving letters say little about the writing of *Clifton Grove*. They do, however, document his struggle to seek patronage for his work, with many letters between Kirke White, his brother Neville, Capel Lofft, and Thomas Hill. One series of letters details Kirke White and Neville's attempts to seek patronage from Elizabeth Farren, Countess of Derby, and demonstrate the difficulties and stress that Kirke White experienced. These letters also demonstrate how significant an agent Neville was in his brother's success.

In a letter dated 10 February 1803, addressed to Lady Derby, and hand-delivered by Neville, Kirke White writes:

> I am at this period Madam only 17 years of age Unpatronized and of obscure connections I have perhaps under such circumstances little reason to expect any attention from the world. Willing however to avail myself of every adventitious aid which lies in my power I have looked around me in the

[17] Jerrold Walter, *Thomas Hood; his life and times* (New York: John Lane, 1909), p.4.
[18] Henry Kirke White, *Clifton Grove, a sketch in verse, with other poems* (London: Vernor and Hood, 1803).

> elevations of fortune and celebrity for a patron whose name would afford a sanction to my efforts[19]

Lady Derby declined Kirke White's request, stating that 'it has been an invariable rule with me, never to accept a Compliment of the kind, and were I [deletion] to depart from my established custom it might give offence to some of my most intimate friends'.[20] At the same time, Derby also encouraged Kirke White, complimenting his work and suggesting he might find a more prestigious patron: 'Let me also add to this, that I trust you will find a more powerful name to introduce your very extraordinary genius to the world.'[21] While the use of 'genius' makes it tempting to suggest further understanding of Kirke White as a poetic prodigy, it is more likely to be a general acknowledgement of his talents.[22]

Neville continued to support his brother's efforts. A letter dated 17 February 1803 from Neville to Henry states that following Lady Derby's rejection, 'your letter & Poems are now with her Grace of Devonshire who I hope will graciously be pleased to become your Patroness'.[23]

Despite the kind words from Lady Derby, Kirke White appears to have been struggling with the rejection he received from her. On 2 March, having not yet heard from the Duchess of Devonshire, he writes to Neville: 'as for begging patronage I am tir'd to the soul of it and shall give it up I will thank you then to send them to Mr Hill

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[19] Henry Kirke White to Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Derby, 10th February 1803, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet* at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference Kw C 281.
[20] Elizabeth Stanley, Countess of Derby, to Henry Kirke White 13th February 1803, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet* at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference Kw C 282.
[21] IBID
[22] Samuel Johnson, 'genius, n.s.', *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: 1755) [Accessed 2022/08/16] https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755/genius_ns
[23] Charles Vernon Fletcher, *"*The Poems and Letters of Henry Kirke White: A Modern edition*"* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1980), p.449.

with a note stating the result.[24] This sense of Kirke White as easily wounded, and as someone who takes rejection extremely personally, is only furthered by the later events surrounding *Clifton Grove*. It is worth noting however, that not only is his brother Neville delivering letters to both Lady Derby and the Duchess of Devonshire, but Kirke White also requests that Neville act as intermediary between himself and Thomas Hill. The significance of the role played by Neville will be returned to later in this chapter.

Kirke White's desire for patronage is not simply the desire to raise more funds from his poetic works, He recognised the value of a patron, as he expresses in the same letter:

> I should like to have a title at the head of my book now merely on account of the subscription – It will make it more respectable in Nottingham where I much fear ill natur'd ridicule and malicious sneers[25]

It is unclear if Kirke White had genuine cause to suspect 'malicious sneers' either in general or from particular individuals, or if his fear was a more general fear of embarrassment. His particular focus on Nottingham – as opposed to say, the literary or church circles that would be more relevant to future publications or his career prospects – suggest that Kirke White was either most worried about sneers from those he already knew personally, or how it would reflect upon his family. Either way, Kirke White's idea of patronage as not just a means of attaining wealth, but as a shield against mockery, reframes patronage as a means of legitimisation, one that must be considered when analysing the success of Southey's posthumous literary

[24] John Neville White to Henry Kirke White 17th February 1803, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet*, at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference Kw C 21.
[25] IBID

philanthropy, a concept this thesis has already argued was closely linked to patronage.

Publications and the first reviews

Kirke White's fear of 'malicious sneers' and hope that aristocratic patronage would shield him from the potential cruelty of entering the public sphere suggest that he was particularly sensitive to criticism. The most serious criticism he faced came not from locals in Nottingham, but the *Monthly Review*, which, in a review of *Clifton Grove*, published in February 1804, wrote:

> The circumstances under which this little volume is offered to the public must in some measure disarm criticism. We have been informed that Mr. White has scarcely attained his 18th year, has hitherto exerted himself in the pursuit of knowledge under the discouragements of penury and misfortune, and now hopes, by this early authorship, to obtain some assistance in the prosecution of his studies at Cambridge. He appears, indeed, to be one of those young men of talents and application who merit encouragement; and it would be gratifying to us to hear that this publication had obtained for him a respectable patron; for we fear that the mere profits arising from the sale cannot be, in any measure, adequate to his exigencies as a student at the University. A subscription, with a statement of the particulars of the author's case, might have been calculated to have answered his purpose: but, as a book which is to 'win its way' on the sole ground of its own merit, this poem cannot be contemplated with any sanguine expectation. The author is very anxious, however, that critics should find in it something to commend, and he shall not be disappointed; we commend his exertions and his laudable endeavours to

> excel; but we cannot compliment him with having already learned the difficult art of writing good poetry.[26]

The majority of the review discussed Kirke White's desire to attend Cambridge, and the reviewer's opinion that not publishing by subscription was a mistake. *Clifton Grove* itself is given minimal focus, only a very brief condemnation. Given Kirke White's sensitivity to rejection, this utter dismissal of his work undoubtedly hurt. Kirke White did not respond to the criticism well. He wrote to a friend, Ben Maddock:

> I am at present under afflictions and contentions of spirit, heavier than I have yet ever experienced. I think, at times, I am mad, and destitute of religion; my pride is not yet subdued: the unfavourable review (in the 'Monthly') of my unhappy work, has cut deeper than you could have thought; not in a literary point of view, but as it affects my respectability. It represents me actually as a beggar, going about gathering money to put myself at college, when my book is worthless; and this with every appearance of candour. They have been sadly misinformed respecting me: this review goes before me wherever I turn my steps; it haunts me incessantly, and I am persuaded it is an instrument in the hand of Satan to drive me to distraction. I must leave Nottingham. If the answer of the Elland Society be unfavourable, I purpose writing to the Marquis of Wellesley, to offer myself as a student at the academy he has instituted at Fort William, in Bengal, and at the proper age to take orders there. The missionaries at that place have done wonders already; and I should, I hope, be a valuable labourer in the vineyard. If the Marquis take no notice of my application, or do not accede to my proposal, I shall place myself in some

[26] *Monthly Review* Vol. 43 (February 1804), p.218.

> other way of making a meet preparation for the holy office, either in the Calvinistic Academy, or in one of the Scotch Universities, where I shall be able to live at scarcely any expense.[27]

While Kirke White's sense of humiliation is understandable, it is interesting that his response to the review was 'I must leave Nottingham'. This suggests a heightened fear of the 'malicious sneers' he had already expressed concern over, though there is no evidence as to whom these may have been from, if genuine. This letter demonstrates that Kirke White had clearly decided firmly on church at this point, though he seems to have been undecided on what that might look like. Fort William, established in 1800 by the Viceroy of India Richard Wellesley, was primarily founded to educate young officers of the British East India company for colonial governance; although the institute also served as a base for missionary work.[28] From Kirke White's reference to missionaries, it is presumably this aspect of the institution that appealed to him. That he prefers Calcutta to 'the Calvinistic Academy, or in one of the Scotch Universities' suggests that at the moment of writing this letter, Kirke White's priority is escaping the shame of his poetry, rather than a specific desire to work in British India.

Southey's intervention and writing of own review

The cruelty of the *Monthly* caught the attention of Southey. He was both angered by their dismissive and callous style of reviewing and impressed by the potential of the works in *Clifton Grove*. In response, Southey wrote a letter to Kirke White, in which he cites agreement from William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor

[27] Letter from Henry Kirke White to Ben Maddock, ed. Southey, *Remains*, 1st edition, p.99.
[28] Ai Kurahashi, 'Courses offered at Fort William College, Education for British Rule of India', *South Asian Studies*, 29 (2017), 124-43, p.124.

Coleridge, praising Kirke White's work and his potential as a poet. They encouraged him to continue developing his talents. Although this gesture did not lead to any significant correspondence, which surprised Southey, who remarks on not hearing from Kirke White, this initial act of kindness by Southey was remembered by Neville. As a result, after Kirke White had died, Neville sent his brother's works to Southey, initiating a connection between them.

Southey later summarised his contact with Kirke White in a letter to Richard Duppa dated the 23rd May 1807:

> You are mistaken about Henry White; the fact is briefly this. At the age of seventeen he published a little volume of poems of very great merit; & sent with them to the different Reviews, a letter stating that his hope was to raise money by them to pursue his studies & get to College. Hamilton, (then of the Critical), showed me this letter, – I asked him to let me ~~xxx~~ review the book – which he promised – but he sent me no books after the promise – which was lucky as when he failed he was in my debt. Well, the M Review noticed this little volume in the most cruel & insulting manner. I was provoked, & wrote to encourage the boy, – offering to aid him in a subscription for a costlier publication, – I spoke of him in London, & had assurances of assistance from Sotheby, &, by way of Wynn, from Ld Carysfort – his second letter to me, however, said he was going to Cambridge, under *Simeons* protection. I plainly saw the Evangelicals had caught him, & and as he did not want what little help I could have procured, & I had no leisure for new correspondences –

> ceased to write to him, but did him what good I could in the way of reviewing, & getting him friends at Cambridge. [29]

There are a few key points to be drawn from Southey's summary of this early interaction. Southey attempted to assist immediately, both by writing encouragement to ease Kirke White's feelings after the cruelty of the *Review*, and with an attempt to provide practical, material aid through his literary connections. Southey, in effect, attempted to immediately perform an act of philanthropy – one that was not the patronage Kirke White sought, nor the more direct involvement in Kirke White's poetry that Southey undertook after Kirke White's death, but nevertheless was a substantial indicator of Southey's genuine interest at this early point. This early interest was drawn from both a genuine interest in Kirke White's work, and outrage, and was not pursued because Southey was both too busy for 'new correspondences' and was unwilling to interfere after 'the Evangelicals had caught him'.

The *Monthly*'s review is primarily significant in that it is what drew Southey to write to Kirke White, however, the review also became a significant part both of the narrative of latter's life, and the narrative of Southey's intervention. Other, later collections of Kirke White's life discuss the review, Henry's response, and Southey's indignation at length. The anonymous author of *Remains of Henry Kirke White, late of St. John's College, Cambridge, with a memoir of the author*, refers to it 'a piece of silly heartless criticism', telling how 'poor White was stung almost to madness. But this wanton attack did not produce all the effects which its dull author seemed to wish, for its malignity and injustice were so apparent that they excited the notice of

[29] Robert Southey to Richard Duppa, 23 May 1807. *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey, Part Three*, Ed. Carol Bolton and Tim Fulford, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters

Southey.'[30] This account highlights the vulnerability of Kirke White, and the cruelty of the review. The use of 'silly' is curious, dismissing the *Monthly* in a manner almost reminiscent of its' own dismissal of Kirke White.

This is not the only work following Southey's *Remains* that draws attention to this episode. A similar focus can be seen in *The Poetical Works of Henry Kirke White, with a Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas* (1854). The latter's account of the events is slightly more critical of Kirke White, particularly of Kirke White's decision to write 'a letter deprecatory of the severity of criticism' to the *Monthly*, an action Nicolas described as 'as ill judged as it was useless'.[31] However, Nicolas also made clear that the *Monthly* reviewer's critique was both intemperate and evidence of his insensibility to 'the numerous beauties scattered through the various pieces' in Kirke White's volume.

The idea that the reviewer was just foolishly wrong is somewhat undermined by the next passage describing Southey's intervention:

> The criticism just adverted to was as unfeeling as unjust; and but for the generous conduct of a distinguished living poet, whose benevolence of heart is equal to his genius, it might have entirely crushed his hopes. Disgusted at the injustice of this criticism, Mr. Southey instantly wrote to White, expressing his opinion of the merits of his book, and giving him the encouragement and advice which none was ever more ready or more able to bestow. Thus, an act of cruel folly proved in its consequences the most beneficial of the Poet's life.

[30] Anon., *Remains of Henry Kirke White, late of St. John's College, Cambridge, with a memoir of the author* (Glasgow: Richard Griffin & Co, 1825), pp.21-22.
[31] *The Poetical Works of Henry Kirke White with a Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas* (Boston: Little Brown, 1854), p.xxvi.

> His spirits were invigorated by this considerate kindness, and his feelings were expressed in glowing terms.[32]

These two further editions of Kirke White demonstrate the somewhat contradictory attitude that is taken toward Kirke White's work: that anyone who says he has no talent is a fool, and that Southey alone was able to rescue Kirke White from the cruelty of the *Monthly's* review. The unspoken resolution of this contradiction appears to be that these additional editors can see the merit of Kirke White's work, but only because Southey defended Kirke White first in the *Review*, and then through the creation of the *Remains*. While these additional accounts do not use the term philanthropy, the praise of Southey here is ultimately a recognition of the literary philanthropic project that Southey undertook, first with a defence of Kirke White, and then with the creation of the *Remains.*

'To the Herb Rosemary' – the work that grabbed Southey's attention

The next section will explore Kirke White's 'To the Herb Rosemary'. As the poem that Southey specifically referenced as catching his attention, it is fair to say that this poem is then responsible for Southey's intervention, and Kirke White's posthumous success, and so it is worth considering both the poem and Southey's response to it. Two letters from January and February 1804 reveal Southey's interest in the poem and its author:

> …there is a boy of much promise at Nottingham by name White – who poor fellow publishes in hope of raising money to help him to Oxford for ordination! there is a little wild ode of his to the Rosemary which is really very affecting. I

[32] *Poetical Works*, p.xxvi.

> know nothing of him but from his book, for which I have done my best in the Annual.[33]
>
> A little volume of Poems by Henry Kirke White of Nottingham has excited some interest in me for the author, who is very young & has published them in the hope of obtaining help to pursue his studies, & graduate for orders. if you have interest enough with the Scotchmen <the Reviewer>, & if they have hearts enough to do any thing good – do recommend the book to their favourable [MS torn] there is a wild little poem there to a Rosemary-bush which affected me. the poor boy is sickly, & will I suppose die of consumption. I [MS torn] not, but it would gratify me if I could anyways directly or indirectly [MS torn] him. in the Annual I have been his friend.[34]

These letters are significant because they reveal Southey's early impressions of Kirke White – impressions that undoubtably influenced the account of the latter's life that Southey published in the *Remains* a few years later. Firstly, the letters demonstrate how Southey was impressed by 'a boy of much promise'. Both letters stress how Kirke White is 'poor', a 'boy', from Nottingham, and that his poetry is 'wild' and 'little'. His youth, poor health, and financial struggle to fund a university education already hint at the persona Southey will create in his telling of Kirke White's life. The repetition of 'Nottingham' is also curious, as it suggests that his location is of significance, although the reason for this is unclear, perhaps merely as one of the few details Southey knew with certainty at this early point, or it might be that Nottingham was provincial, and as a writer whose early life was spent in

[33] Robert Southey to Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, *Collected Letters*, 18 February 1804, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Three/HTML/letterEEd.26.898.html#back8
[34] Robert Southey to Henry Herbert Southey, 23rd January 1804, *Collected Letters,* https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Three/HTML/letterEEd.26.888.html

similarly provincial Bristol, he may have felt a connection through an understanding of the difficulty of provincial writing. Southey's reference to Kirke White dying of consumption may appear remarkably prescient, although considering the consumption epidemic during this period, particularly within Nottingham, it is likely no more than an educated guess at the fate of anyone who suffers from poor health.[35]

Southey's description of how he had 'done his best in the *Annual*', refers to Southey's review in the *Annual Review*, which stands in firm contrast to that in the *Monthly*. Southey's review in the *Annual* begins as a condemnation of the contemporary poetry scene: 'We sit down heartlessly and reluctantly to examine the new candidate for poetical fame… in the present age every pretender to poetry can versify well, and many a volume which now sinks quietly into oblivion, would have acquired no trifling celebrity in the days of Dryden and Pope'.[36] This condemnation quickly becomes praise: 'it is, therefore, with no common pleasure that we announce these extraordinary productions of early genius.'[37] It would certainly appear that Southey was not exaggerating when he said that 'in the Annual I have been his friend.' This condemnation of contemporary review culture was grounded in Southey's own experiences with reviewers; such as the infamous review of *Thalaba the Destroyer* in the *Edinburgh Review* which even the Francis Jeffrey, its' author, later admitted was disproportionately critical: 'I have in my time, said petulant and provoking things of Mr Southey'.[38] Southey's disgust of review culture, and praise of Kirke White anticipates much of his later editing of the *Remains*.

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[35] Clark Lawlor and Akihito Suzuki, 'The Disease of the Self: Representing Consumption, 1700-1830.' *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 74 (2000), 458-94, p.490.
[36] *Cuttings from the Annual Review, vols. I-VI., Containing the Contributions of Southey* (n.p: n.p, 1803), p.552.
[37] IBID
[38] Francis Jeffrey, 'Art VIII. *Thalaba the Destroyer: A Metrical Romance*', *The Edinburgh Review*, 1 (1802) 63-83; Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1846)

The poem that excited Southey's interest in Kirke White is included below:

'To the Herb Rosemary'

Sweet scented flower! who art wont to bloom

On January's front severe,

And o'er the wintry desert drear

To waft thy waste perfume!

Come, thou shalt form my nosegay now,

And I will bind thee round my brow;

And as I twine the mournful wreath,

I'll weave a melancholy song;

And sweet the strain shall be, and long,

The melody of death.

Come, funeral flower! who lovest to dwell

With the pale corpse in lonely tomb,

And throw across the desert gloom

A sweet decaying smell.

Come, press my lips, and lie with me

p.424; Further reviews of Southey's work can be found in S. Lionel Madden (ed.), *Robert Southey: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

Beneath the lowly alder tree,

And we will sleep a pleasant sleep,

And not a care shall dare intrude

To break the marble solitude,

So peaceful and so deep.

And hark! the wind god, as he flies,

Moans hollow in the forest trees,

And sailing on the gusty breeze,

Mysterious music dies.

Sweet flower! that requiem wild is mine,

It warns me to the lonely shrine,

The cold turf altar of the dead:

My grave shall be in yon lone spot,

Where as I lie, by all forgot,

A dying fragrance thou wilt o'er my ashes shed.[39]

Rosemary has traditionally been considered a flower of remembrance, being mentioned as such in *Hamlet* by Ophelia (‘There's rosemary, that's for

[39] Henry Kirke White, ‘To the Herb Rosemary’, *Remains Vol.1,* p.19.

remembrance; pray, love, remember'), who like Kirke White, was worried about death.[40] Rosemary as a flower of remembrance is also presented in an earlier poem discussing the symbolism of various flowers, 'A Nosegay Always Sweet' by William Hunnis.[41] Robert Herrick's seventeenth-century poem *The Rosemarie Branch* combines the remembrance of both Death and Marriage: 'Grow for two ends, it matters not at all,/ Be't for my Bridall, or my Buriall.'[42]

Southey's annotations to the version published in the *Remains* note that rosemary was often strewn over graves during this period.[43] Remembrance of love and death mean that flower contributes towards Kirke White's reoccurring poetic theme of death, and more pointedly, Kirke White's thanatophilia, an obsession with the joy of death most notable in his 'Thanatos'.[44] This reoccurring theme likely stems from his interest in the graveyard poets Edward Young and Thomas Gray, as well as his evangelical leanings and concern with his own sickliness.

Concerning the opening lines of the poem, 'On January's front severe, / And o'er the wintry desert drear / To waft thy waste perfume!', Southey notes that rosemary buds in January. Myth, moreover, states that rosemary blooms at midnight on Christmas Eve, and this may have been why Kirke White refers to it as 'waste perfume' in January. January is also typically the coldest month in terms of maximum temperature, and often the most fatal for those who are sickly.

The line 'to waft thy waste perfume' is polysemic, suggesting both that the perfume is for the dead, as 'waste', and that in being for the dead, the scent itself is

[40] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 4, Scene V, Line 199
[41] William Hunnis, 'A Nosegay Always Sweet', *English Literature: The Renaissance* ed. Robert George Whitney Bolwell (New York: C. Scribners, 1929), p.271.
[42] Robert Herrick, *The Hesperides & Noble Numbers*, ed. Alfred Pollard, Vol.2 (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1898), p.37.
[43] Southey, *Remains,* p.19.
[44] Henry Kirke White, 'Thanatos', *Remains Vol.1*, p.318.

wasted, as they cannot smell it. This contradiction is developed in the final lines of the poem, ‘My grave shall be in yon lone spot, / Where as I lie, by all forgot, / A dying fragrance thou wilt o’er my ashes shed’, where the flowers of remembrance are the only means for the narrator to be remembered, he having been forgotten by everyone else. The flowers, however, being buried with the corpse, are unable to perform their duty of symbolising remembrance, and so, as they decay, so too does the memory of the narrator.

As in many of Kirke White’s poems, death is presented as a ‘pleasant sleep’, ‘so peaceful and so deep’. The phrase ‘break the marble solitude’ invokes a marble tomb or casket that is seemingly at odds with the description of the burial ‘beneath the alder tree.’ A favourite haunt of Kirke White’s however, Wilford Churchyard, lies on the banks of the river Trent, then marshy and populated by many alder trees. It is likely that Kirke White both wrote this poem while there and about a specific spot within the graveyard, imagining a marble tombstone (rather than a tomb or sepulchre) under a tree either within the churchyard grounds or around its edge.

Rosemary is significant in one final measure, in that it is considered a herb that can ‘keep ghosts out’, and as such the presence of the herb in burial places might be a means of ensuring that the ‘peaceful sleep’ imagined by Kirke White continues undisturbed.[45]

While Southey does not comment on the specifics of what drew him to this poem in particular, the complexity of this poem, and the level of folk myth and tradition that has been woven into an imagining of death and burial in a specific site demonstrates Kirke White’s talent, and shows that Southey had recognised genuine

[45] Margaret Baker, *Discovering the Folklore of Plants,* 3rd edn (London: Shire Publications, 1996), pp.132-3.

potential, and did not merely sympathise with a youth whose early death and Christian piety, made him a sentimental figure. Southey's admiration of talent is somewhat obscured by Kirke White's obsession with writing about his upcoming death, as the melancholy of his work, coupled with the tragic circumstances of his actual death, appealed to sentimental readers, perhaps regardless of the quality of work that Southey saw.

Kirke White's Death and Southey's receipt of the Remains

Southey's involvement with Kirke White did not resume until Kirke White died in October 1806, marking all interactions that follow as specifically posthumous philanthropy. Southey's letter to Richard Duppa on the 23 May 1807, summarised what happened next:

> He died last fall; & I received a letter informing me of it. It gave me a sort of shock, because, in spite of his Evangelicism, I always expected great things – from the proof he had given of very superior powers, – &, in replying to this letter, I asked if there were any intention of publishing any thing which he might have left, & offered to give an opinion upon his papers – & and look them over. Down came a box-full, the sight of which literally made my heart ache, & my eyes overflow, for never did I behold such proofs of human industry. To make short, I took the matter up with interest, collected his letters, & have, at the expense of more time than such a poor fellow as myself can very <well> afford, done what his family are very grateful for, & what I think the world will thank me for too. Of course I have done it gratuitously. – His life will affect you, for he fairly died of intense application, Cambridge finished him, – when his nerves were ~~almost~~ <already> so over-strained that his nights were utter misery, they gave him medicines to enable <him> to hold out

> during examination for a prize! The horse won, – but he died after the race! – Among his letters there is a great deal of Methodism – if this procures for the book, as it very likely may, a sale among the righteous over-much, I shall rejoice for the sake of his family – for whom I am very much interested. I have, however, in justice to myself, stated, in the shortest & most decorous manner, that my own views of religion differ widely from his. Still, that I <should> become – & and that, too, voluntarily – an editor of methodistical and Calvinistic letters, is a thing which, when I think of it, excites the same sort of smile that the thoughts of my pension does, – & I wonder, like the sailor – what is to be done next.[46]

This letter provides Southey's perspective on the events that led to the creation of the *Remains*. It also flags up Southey's enduring disdain for the Evangelical influence over Kirke White, a continuous presence in his correspondence, and a topic that will be returned to in this chapter. Also of note is the comment of a 'box-full' of what was 'such proofs of human industry', suggesting that there may well have been more materials than what Southey included in the *Remains* – certainly letters, if not further works of prose and poetry. The recent work undertaken by Tim Fulford in editing *The Collected Poems of Henry Kirke White* contains over 50 additional poems and fragments. It is probable that many, if not the vast majority, of these were in the box Southey received.[47] The stress on why and how Southey got involved is also key: that he 'took the matter up with interest' suggests an initial curiosity, that lead to 'the expense of more time than such a poor fellow as myself can very <well> afford', as Southey felt an obligation to prepare the materials for publication, finding

[46] Robert Southey to Richard Duppa, 23 May 1807, *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey,* Part Three, Ed. Carol Bolton and Tim Fulford, 1325., https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters
[47] Fulford, *The Collected Poems of Henry Kirke White*, pp.x-xi

himself suddenly in a unique position to do so. This obligation to do 'what his family are very grateful for, & what I think the world will thank me for too' suggests a genuine sense that the world would benefit from Kirke White's work and from Southey's editing of it, not merely out of a sentimental appreciation of the genuine tragedy of Kirke White's life, but because of the remarkable promise demonstrated by the work. Much like Chatterton, again we find Southey editing the work of a writer of lost potential.

A major part of Southey's work on the *Remains* involved producing a 'Life' of Henry Kirke White. Writing biography was a potentially risky endeavour in the Romantic period, and while few biographies would achieve the notoriety of Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1798), there was nevertheless an agreement that 'biographers had a duty to be selective about what they revealed, a principle sometimes known as the "dignity of the biography"'.[48] Southey was acutely aware of the fine line a biography had to tread and 'was at the forefront of those who argued that it was a biographer's duty to avoid delving into the subject's private life, and overwhelming the reader with a mass of material from letters or diaries. Rather, the biographer should present a boldly drawn portrait and a readable narrative.'[49] This is useful to consider in relation to what the full box might have been, and why so much may not have been included – letters that added either nothing new or were against that which might be considered undignified.

[48] Anthony Harding, 'Romantic Forms: Biography and Autobiography' in *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide,* ed. Nicholas Roe *(*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p.450.
[49] IBID; For Southey's awareness of the role as the biographer as requiring a balancing act between providing his readers with new revelations about the recently dead and not causing offence or hurt to the living see Lynda Pratt, 'The Media of Friends or Foes? Unpublished Letters from Joseph Cottle to Robert Southey, 1834-1837', *Modern Language Review*, 98 (2003), 545-62; pp.560-1.

An idea of careful suppression was one that at least one of the readers of the *Remains* was concerned by. So much so, that he contacted Southey. As the latter recounts in a letter to Nicholas Lightfoot in 1810:

> The Remains of H K White which I published for ~~th~~ his family have been in an extraordinary degree succesful. It will amuse you to hear that this work procured me a letter from – Horse Campbell; – who is a Methodist of the first order, having been expelled the Diocese of Oxford for field preaching. He began by recalling himself to my recollection – as if any body could possibly have forgotten him! – told me he had skipt all the poems, having no taste for any poetry above the pitch of a Tabernacle Hymn, – & that the object of his writing was to learn whether I might not have suppress some papers as too pious, – which would have been in a high degree consolatory to such Xtians as himself, – if so he should he happy to subscribe to their publication. He then proceded to express the concern he was under for the state of my soul. & concluded by inviting me & all my family (if I had any) to Shrewsbury – where I suppose I was to put my soul under his care. – I would as willingly trust my body to him upon the strength of the anatomical knowledge which he picked up from Dr Pegge & his aide de camp Mr West.[50]

Campbell's reaction is clearly not a common response, otherwise Southey would not think to mention it specifically, but it is nevertheless proof that there were suspicions from some quarters that some of Kirke White's writings had been supressed. It is unclear whether Campbell (a university friend of both Southey and his correspondent Lightfoot) is suggesting that Southey supressed materials because he personally

[50] Robert Southey to Nicholas Lightfoot, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1741.html.

disagreed with them, or because they were unsuited for publication, but either way it suggests that there was a sense that Kirke White's more radical religious views were in some way being falsely mediated by Southey. *The Critical Review*, however, seemed satisfied with Southey's portrayal, stating that 'Mr. Southey appears to have discharged the office of biographer, with truth and impartiality.'[51] It is difficult to know how the contrasting views of Campbell and the *Review* on potential censorship by Southey was reflected in the actual wider readership of the *Remains*.

It is equally hard to know what changes Southey made to the materials that made it into the *Remains*. Some clues are provided by a surviving manuscript copy of the 10th *Melancholy Hours* essay. This shows the text before Southey edited it for publication for the *Remains*, making it a useful indication of what Southey's editing might have consisted of more generally. Mostly, there is substantial increase in punctuation, with 'Sir Philip Sidney with all his genius great it undoubtably was, could not impart grace to his Hexameters, or fluency to his Sapphies.' becoming 'Sir Philip Sidney, with all his genius, great it undoubtably was, could not impart grace to his hexameters, or fluency to his sapphics.'[52] This may well have not even been made by Southey's editing, but by someone at his publisher's (Longman). It can be noted, in passing, that the publisher is ostensibly acting less philanthropically here than the publishers of Chapter 1, who explicitly sold the collections at cost. No such arrangement is mentioned here, and so the *Remains* is first and foremost a commercial enterprise for Longman and the others, not a philanthropic one.

[51] *The Critical Review*, 13 (1802-3), p.320.
[52] Henry Kirke White, 'Melancholy Hours no 10'; in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet*, at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference Kw P 148.

The editions of the *Remains*

There are eleven editions of the *Remains of Henry Kirke White*, with varying degrees of changes by Southey over the years. I will first summarise the contents of the first edition, published in 1807, and then consider some of the more significant changes that were made in subsequent ones. Doing so will help highlight how extensive Southey's editorship of posthumous literary philanthropy was, and what level of editing he undertook, demonstrating how posthumous literary philanthropy is practised. This thesis will now consider the first, second, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh editions of the *Remains*. The third, fifth, and seventh editions contain particularly minor changes which can be more concisely covered by considering the differences between editions published further apart. The changes to the sixth and eighth are important to consider but are brief enough to analysed together.

First Edition (1807) Volume One

The first primary focus of the first edition of the *Remains of Henry Kirke White* is the 'Life', written by Southey. This substantial biography is 58 pages long in the first edition and serves as the basis of biographies on Kirke White going forward. The biography helps set the context for the *Remains*, providing crucial context for the letters Southey included, and building the case for why his poems should be read. Without the narratives of Kirke White's genius, struggles against poverty, personal piety and the tragic circumstances of his death, Southey's project of posthumous literary philanthropy could not be recognised as such.

As this biography has been referred to throughout this chapter, it does not require specific summary here, though it is worth noting that the contents page of the

first edition specifically draws attention to seven poems, which are included within Southey's biography. The poems are:

- On being confined to School one pleasant Morning in Spring; written at the Age of Thirteen
- Extract from an Address to Contemplation, written at Fourteen

- To the Rosemary
- To the Morning
- My own Character
- Ode on Disappointment
- Lines, written in Wilford Church-Yard, on recovery from Sickness.[53]

The inclusion of these poems within the 'Life' demonstrates that the primary identity of Kirke White that Southey wishes to portray is Kirke White as a poet, for whom a summary of his life requires the inclusion of poetry. As a biography accompanying a collection of poetry, the inclusion of poetry within the biography helps to quite literally connect the literary works with the life of the author. That poetry has been included within the 'Life' is crucial to the narrative of Kirke White that Southey is presenting; the Kirke White of the *Remains* was fundamentally a poet, even if Kirke White himself might not have considered himself as such by the time of his death.

Following Southey's 'Life', there are then almost two hundred pages dedicated to eighty letters, from page sixty-one to page two-hundred-and-fifty-five.[54] These letters are all from Kirke White – with no replies included – and span the period September 1799 to October 1806. These letters contain very sparse editorial

[53] Southey, *Remains*, 1st Edition, Vol 1, p.5. Note, despite the contents listing the poem as 'To the Rosemary', the poem is actually entitled 'To the Herb Rosemary'.
[54] IBID, pp.61-255.

commentary, with only the occasional addition to guide the reader such as 'this letter is not to be considered as a specimen of Henry's Latinity. It was written when he was only beginning those classical studies in which he afterwards made such progress.'[55] While it is probable these comments are added by Southey, they might also have been supplied by Neville, or the original recipient of the letter, although Southey is the far more likely option.

The first edition of the *Remains* contains letters to eighteen different correspondents. The most common recipient of the letters is his brother Neville, with twenty-seven addressed to him. This is to be expected, both because Henry Kirke White and his brother appear to have been particularly close, and because it is Neville who provided Southey with the manuscripts from which to create the *Remains*, making his letters the most readily accessible. There are also sixteen letters to 'Mr B. Maddock': Benjamin Maddock, a friend of Kirke White's from Nottingham who also moved in evangelical circles and was later Vicar of Tadcaster.[56] The only other recipient of more than five letters was Mary White, Kirke White's mother.

Some individuals who had important impacts on Kirke White's life are either absent or represented by a single letter. There are no letters to Southey, William Wilberforce, or Charles Simeon. Capel Lofft is present, but only with a single letter from September 1805, in which Kirke White states that he has 'totally laid aside the pen of inspiration', suggesting that Kirke White had no further interest in pursuing poetry. This abandonment of writing poetry is an interesting counter to the narrative

[55] IBID, p.129.
[56] Roger Beckwith, 'The Maddock Brothers of Nottingham', *Churchman*, 99 (1985), 336-46, p.342.

of Kirke White as an immature poet that died before achieving greatness that Southey had otherwise created throughout the *Remains*.[57]

Following the letters Southey includes ten examples of tributary verses directed to Kirke White. These augment the various aspects of the narrative that Southey creates of Kirke White in complex, and somewhat contradictory ways. A few key aspects of these works will be highlighted, demonstrating how Southey used wider materials to shape Kirke White's posthumous reputation.

The second tributary poem, by Arthur Owen, is entitled 'To Mr Henry Kirke White, on his Poems lately Published', and is dated September 1803.[58] This celebration of Kirke White as a 'gifted youth' is in response to his publication of *Clifton Grove*, not Kirke White's death. While this might be taken as an undermining of Southey's narrative that Kirke White was ignored, the unknown status of Arthur Owen is not enough to counteract the negative critical reception *Clifton Grove* received. The work very much strengthens Southey's argument regarding Kirke White's lost poetic potential however, as the final line – 'Each passing year add honours to thy name' — perfectly agrees with Southey's understanding.[59]

The third tributary verse, by H. Welker, is also crucial in demonstrating the immediate understanding of Kirke White's death, naming a series of poets and claiming that the same 'genius' of Kirke White 'taught Milton everlasting secrets'.[60] The poem also mentions Chatterton.[61] While primarily discussing Kirke White as a

[57] Southey, *Remains*, 1st Edition, Vol 1, p.173.
[58] IBID, p.266.
[59] IBID
[60] IBID, p.267.
[61] IBID, p.266

genius, this early comparison to Chatterton – before Southey had written the *Remains* – immediately connects Kirke White to a tradition of tragic young death.

The tenth poem, 'by a Lady', is entitled 'supposed to have been written at the Grave of H. K. White' and is noteworthy both for its title and its allusion to Kirke White's own work. It demonstrates the importance of the physical status of Kirke White as dead, alluding to Kirke White's 'To the Herb Rosemary' and lines such as 'fragrant Rosemary,/ Where he, in marble solitude,/So peaceful, and so deep doth *lie!*/ His harp prophetic, sung to thee'.[62] Kirke White's death obsessed poetry (which has largely not been present yet within the *Remains*) is made literal and becomes more symbolically potent because of its now literal status.

The final section of the first volume of the *Remains* is entitled 'Poems written before the publication of Clifton Grove' and contains sixteen poems.[63] The title of this section sets up the second volume of the *Remains* to open with the collection that Kirke White published within his own life. In so doing, *Clifton Grove* is portrayed as the primarily event in his life, a text which divides consideration of Kirke White's life into before, during, and after this text. While this is practical – as Kirke White's only published collection, it is a logical and helpful marker of his work that helps orient the *Remains* - a very potent way of again determining that Kirke White is considered primarily as a poet.

First Edition (1807) Volume Two:

The second volume of the first edition of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* is also important to consider, as it contains most of his more substantial poems,

[62] IBID, pp.276-7.
[63] IBID, pp.v-vi.

including those from *Clifton Grove*. Additional poems, unpublished by Kirke White, are also included.

The volume opens with a short note by Southey stating 'This, and the following *Poems*, are reprinted from the little volume which Henry published in 1803'.[64] It continues with the dedication to the Duchess of Devonshire, and the Preface to *Clifton Grove*.[65] The latter is described in the contents page as the 'Original Preface to Clifton Grove', by which it means the preface to the 1803 edition.[66]

This is followed by 'To my Lyre, an Ode', a nine-stanza poem written in quintets that only occupies a couple of pages.[67] The *Remains* then contains the actual poem 'Clifton Grove', a poem written in rhyming couplets that occupies 18 pages of the *Remains*.[68]

'Clifton Grove' is followed by a series of poems under the subheading 'Miscellaneous Poems.'[69] The first of these is 'Gondoline; a Ballad', written in thirteen pages of quatrains; the second 'Lines, Written on a Survey of the Heavens, in the Morning, before Day-break' is four pages of blank verse.[70] Then are three lines of another poem written in blank verse, 'Lines, supposed to be spoken by a lover, at the grave of his mistress. Occasioned by a situation in a Romance.', and a poem entitled 'My study, a Letter in Hudibrastic verse', which is primarily (although not consistently) in rhyming couplets.[71] The final poem in this 'Miscellaneous poems' section is 'To an

[64] Southey, *Remains*, 1st Edition, Vol 2, pp.2-7.
[65] IBID
[66] Kirke White, *Clifton* Grove, p.iii.
[67] Southey, *Remains*, 1st Edition, Vol 2, pp.9-10.
[68] IBID, pp.11-28.
[69] IBID, p.29.
[70] IBID, pp.30-43; IBID, pp.43-46.
[71] IBID, pp.46-48; IBID, pp.48-51.

Early Primrose', a poem comprising a single page with four stanzas and no rhyme, though consistently of two lines of ten syllables, followed by two lines of six syllables.[72] As befitting a 'miscellaneous poems' section, there is nothing to unite these poems thematically or formally.

The *Remains* then has a section entitled 'Sonnets', each numbered, likely primarily so that the untitled sonnets have a means of reference. Sonnet I is entitled 'To the River Trent. Written on Recovery from Sickness'. It is written in alternating rhyme, save for the final two lines of rhyming couplet.[73] Sonnet II is untitled, and is again written in alternating rhyme, save for the final two lines of rhyming couplet.[74] Sonnet III is untitled but has the subtitle 'Supposed to have been addressed by a Female Lunatic to a Lady'. The poem also has a footnote, stating 'this Quatorzain had its rise from an elegant Sonnet "occasioned by seeing a young Female Lunatic," written by Mrs Lofft, and published in the Monthly Mirror'.[75] Its form follows the rhyme scheme of the previous two sonnets.

Sonnet IV, again untitled, has the subtitle of 'Supposed to be written by the unhappy Poet Dermody, in a Storm, while on board a Ship in his Majesty's service.[76] The rhyme scheme is the same as the previous three. Sonnet V is entitled 'The Winter Traveller' and is written with three instances of envelope rhyme and a final rhyming couplet.[77] Sonnet VI differs substantially from all other works following the tributary verse, in that it is not written by Kirke White, but by Capel Lofft.[78] It is written in one quatrain of envelope rhyme, followed by alternating rhyme, a second quatrain,

[72] IBID, p.52.
[73] IBID, p.53.
[74] IBID, pp.53-4.
[75] IBID, p.54.
[76] IBID, p.55.
[77] IBID, p.56.
[78] IBID, p.57.

and a final rhyming couplet. The poem was part of the contents of Kirke White's original *Clifton Grove*, and was relevant because it is, according to both *Clifton Grove* and *The Remains*, addressed to Kirke White.[79] It is also an important inclusion in the collection because it is directly connected to the following Sonnet VII, which is 'Recantory, in reply to the foregoing elegant Admonition'.[80] Sonnet VII does not follow the formal pattern of Lofft's Sonnet VI, but rather that of Sonnet V with the three instances of envelope rhyme and a couplet.

The final two sonnets, Sonnet VIII, 'On hearing the Sounds of an AEolian Harp' and the untitled Sonnet IX have no connection to the previous works from, and addressing, Lofft. Sonnet VIII continues the form of using three quatrains of envelope rhyme and a rhyming couplet, while Sonnet IX uses two instances of envelope rhyme, followed by a quatrain of alternating rhyme and a rhyming couplet. The subsection of sonnets, other than their wider form of being sonnets, have little to connect them. There is substantial variation of form (though all are sonnets), and the themes are relatively varied, although images of wind, storms, music, the sea, and death reoccur. The importance of Lofft; both Capel and his wife Anne Emlyn, is highlighted here. While this is a preservation of the importance that Kirke White has placed upon the Lofft's, it is noteworthy that Southey has not done anything to undermine or replace this importance. Considering the reoccurring importance of Lofft, and how he seemed able to encourage Kirke White's literary career where Southey failed, it is curious that, in the non-Southey accounts of Kirke White's life, the significance Lofft's relationship with Kirke White is consistently downplayed, if it is mentioned at all.

[79];Kirke White, *Clifton Grove*, p.101; Southey, *Remains*, p.57.
[80] IBID, p.57.

Following these sonnets (though not given a new section title and so connected to the sonnets, as was the case in *Clifton Grove*), are two further poems; a twenty-four line 'Ballad', and then the sixteen line 'The Lullaby of a female convict to her child, the night previous to execution.[81] With this poem, the contents of *Clifton Grove* have been entirely included, and in the order in which they are present in the original 1803 work, excepting 'To the Morning' and 'To the Herb Rosemary' that had been removed, and instead included within the biography of Kirke White. From this point onwards, the *Remains* contains previously unpublished material. As until this point, Southey had been primarily reprinting – largely untouched – the original *Clifton Grove*, it is from this point that his editorial work becomes more substantial and involved.

The next section of the second volume of the first edition of the *Remains* is entitled; 'Poems, written during, or shortly after, the publication of *Clifton Grove*.'[82] The first of these is 'Ode, Addressed to H. Fuseli, Esq. R. A. On seeing Engravings from his Designs.'[83] The poem is 5 stanzas long, with each stanza of varying length, written primarily (though not entirely) in rhyming couplets. The poem, is largely a celebration of Fuseli, and the sublime, and how his paintings are the realisation of how the 'Sublime before his [the Poet] wandering eyes,/ Starts at the image his own mind conviev'd'.[84]

The next poem is 'Ode, Addressed to the Earl of Carlisle, K.G.'[85] This poem, written with an inconsistent rhyme scheme, has a strangely numbered stanza structure across its 6 stanzas. The first stanza is unlabelled, with the second labelled

[81] Kirke White, *Clifton* Grove, p.v; Southey, *Remains* , pp.60-62.
[82] IBID, p.63.
[83] IBID, p.64.
[84] IBID, p.68.
[85] IBID, p.69.

'II. 1.', and third labelled 'III. 1.' Then 'I. 2.', 'II. 2.' and 'III. 2.'[86] It is unclear what why this different numbering system was used, or what the distinction between the two parts is. The poem is noteworthy for its theme of celebrating patronage, and mourning its relative decline: 'Yet was the muse not always seen/ In poverty's dejected mien', 'Time was, when nobles thought their titles graced,/ By the sweet honours of poetic bays'.[87]

The following three poems, 'Description of a Summer's Eve', 'To Contemplation' and 'Ode to the Genius of Romance' are all written in rhyming couplets.[88] 'Summer's Eve' is largely unremarkable, and 'To Contemplation' is noteworthy primarily in that it another poem on the themes of music, the wind, and solitude. The 'Genius of Romance', while celebrating the medieval romance tradition generally, makes specific mention of the Robin Hood trope, connecting the romance tradition to geography of Kirke White's childhood.

There are nine more poems in this section of the *Remains*: 'The Savoyard's Return', 'Lines Written Impromptu, on reading the following passage', 'Written in the Prospect of Death', 'Pastoral Song', 'Ode to Midnight', 'Ode to thought; Written at Midnight', 'Genius, an Ode', 'Fragment of an Ode to the Moon', and 'Fragment'.[89] The most noteworthy of these for this thesis is 'Lines written Impromptu', or, to fully quote its preface:

> Written Impromtu, on reading the following passage in Mr. Capel Lofft's beautiful and interesting Preface to Nathaniel Bloomfield's Poems, just published:- " It has a mixture of the sportive, which deepens the impression of

[86] IBID, pp.69-71.
[87] IBID, pp.69-71.
[88] IBID, pp.71-80.
[89] IBID, pp.80-97.

> its melancholy close. I could have wished, as I have said in a short note, the conclusion had been otherwise. The sours of life less offend my taste than sweets delight it.[90]

This note suggests immediate inspiration, again from Capel Lofft, a recurringly important figure, but also mentions Nathaniel Bloomfield, brother of Robert Bloomfield.[91] Little bibliographical information is available on Nathaniel Bloomfield, but it is important to note that this is some of the only poetry that Kirke White has commentary on within the *Remains*, and was immediately inspired to respond to, even if that response may be in response to Lofft's commentary, rather than the poem itself. Still, it is a valuable demonstration of what Kirke White had been reading, and evidence that Kirke White was aware of Lofft's patronage of the Bloomfields. Southey's choice to include works referencing other poets helps build a sense of Kirke White's taste, and positions him in relation to other poets of the period.

The next section of the *Remains* is entitled 'Sonnets'.[92] This demonstrates an interesting editorial decision on Southey's part. This is not the first section of sonnets within the *Remains* and shows that Southey repeatedly chose to group the works using this form together. However, his decision to group poems of this form is not important enough to undermine the periodisation of Kirke White that Southey had created. These sonnets, presumable written 'during or shortly after *Clifton Grove*', are kept separate from the Sonnets that were contained within *Clifton Grove*, demonstrating a deliberate intention to both preserve *Clifton Grove*'s structure and to

[90] IBID, p.82.
[91] 'Nathaniel Bloomfield', *Romantic Circles*, https://romantic-circles.org/person/nathaniel-bloomfield
[92] Southey, *Remains,* p.99.

categorise Kirke White's work in terms of chronology centred on his most significant work, *Clifton Grove*. In this way, the narrative of the *Remains* as an encapsulation of Kirke White's life and works, with life and works being a unified concept, is strengthened.

The sonnets in this section are: 'To Capel Lofft, Esq', 'To the Moon, Written in November', 'Written at the grave of a friend', 'To Misfortune', 'To April', 'To a Taper', and 'To Consumption'.[93] The first of these, 'To Capel Lofft', is primarily of importance in that it again further demonstrates the significance of Lofft to Kirke White and his body of work. 'Written at the Grave of a Friend' is noteworthy in that, despite death and graves in particular being a recurring theme of Kirke White's work, this is the only time in his shorter work (discounting the haunting in *Clifton Grove*) that Kirke White writes about the death in the third person, and not his more common first person thanatophilia.

Following the second 'Sonnets' section, Southey added a 'Poems of a Later Date' section. This section is the final section of complete works by Kirke White, or at least, complete as determined by Southey, as they were not included in the 'Fragment' section that follows this one. While Southey is largely positioning Kirke White's works chronologically (at least, by section), because Kirke White's death is so central to his poetic identity, specifically drawing attention to Kirke White's later works with its own section heightens any reference to death or sickness. 'Of a later date' however, does this substantially less than a section entitled 'final works' or similar would have done. While Southey was still committed to his chronological

[93] IBID, pp.101-111.

ordering of Kirke White, his editorial naming of sections does not appear to heighten the significance of Kirke White's death in these poems deliberately.

The first three poems in this section are, 'To a Friend in Distress', 'Christmas Day, 1804', and 'Nelsoni Mors', each of which is briefly worth considering. 'To a Friend', was written, according to the subtitle, in response to 'a friend in distress who, when Henry reasoned with him calmly, asked, "if he did not feel for him".'[94] This question appears to have agitated Kirke White because 'the doubt is keen as steel'.[95] He proceeds to discuss precisely how he feels, and how much he suffers because 'thou did'st wrong me'.[96] This poem, while as performatively mournful as many of his works, is one of the only ones where Kirke White is actually interacting with another, and in so doing, appears to have taken great offence at his perceived lack of empathy. That the poem then discusses the pain of this, and entirely ignores the topic of the friend's distress, appears to unironically prove the friend's point. That the poem is unflattering of Kirke White, and makes him appear rather selfish in his sensitivity, makes it an interesting inclusion by Southey. The idea of Kirke White being easily hurt – a narrative strain of crucial importance to the discussion of the cruelty of the *Monthly Review* – appears to take precedence over hiding Kirke White's failure of empathy here.

'Christmas Day, 1804', is largely noteworthy in that it is the only poem with an attached date. The poem is one of the most explicitly Christian up to this point, featuring lines such as 'Lord of life,/ The Christ, the Comforter, thine advent now/

[94] IBID, p.115.
[95] IBID, p.115.
[96] IBID, p.116.

Fills my uprising soul', and shows Kirke White's move towards dedicating himself to a career in the church.

'Nelsoni Mors', a poem about the death of Admiral Horatio Nelson, is a strange addition to the collection, and this section in particular. While the discussion of the heroism of recent historical figure is a departure from the majority of Kirke White's works, it is also interesting how Southey has chosen to include it here, in the 'Poems of a Later Date' section, despite the fact that it appears to be incomplete, ending on ''Kerfchieft in mists, and tearful, when -'.[97] It is unclear why Southey didn't include this within the 'Fragments' section instead. Perhaps Southey considered it sufficiently complete to include within this section rather than the fragments, or that he had already created this section by the time he began to work on one specifically for fragments.

The next four inclusions in the *Remains* are all hymns and follow quite naturally from the explicitly Christian themes on 'Christmas Day, 1804'. These hymns, entitled 'Hymn', 'A Hymn, for Family Worship', 'The Star of Bethlehem', and 'A Hymn'.[98] Southey included an interesting note about the last stanza of the first hymn, stating that 'The last stanza of this hymn was added extemporaneously by Henry, one summer evening, when he was with a few friends on the Trent, and singing it, as he was used to do on such occasions'.[99] While this note has clearly not been written by Kirke White, it is unclear if it was added by Southey or someone else. It is unclear how Southey would have known this detail, but the note gives us a clear indication that Kirke White had a habit of singing – this heightens the

[97] IBID, p.120.
[98] IBID, pp.121-6.
[99] IBID, p.122.

significance of when Kirke White terms something a ‘Song’, as it suggest a high likelihood he sang these poems as a performance, rather than just speaking them..

Following the Hymns are two songs; ‘Melody’, and ‘Song – By Waller’.[100] ‘Melody’ contains the subtitle of ‘Inserted in a Collection of Songs selected and originally published, by the Rev, J. Plumptre, of Clare Hall, Cambridge.’[101] The publication in question was Plumptre’s *A Collection of Songs, Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing,* where the poem is directly attributed to Kirke White.[102] ‘Song.- By Waller’ contains the note ‘A lad of Cambridge lent Waller’s Poems to Henry, and when he returned them to her, she discovered an additional stanza written by him at the bottom of the song here copied’. This work is unusual in that it is an addition to an existing piece.[103]

The final four works of this section; ‘“I am pleas’d and yet I’m sad.”’, ‘Solitude’, ‘If far from me the Fates remove’, and ‘Fanny! Upon thy breast I may not Lie!’ are largely unnoteworthy, with the exception of how the last two are untitled, and are simply listed in the contents by their first line.

The next section of the *Remains* is entitled ‘Fragments’, and contains varied incomplete material. The section begins with a brief note from Southey:

> These fragments are Henry’s latest compositions; and were, for the most part, written upon the back of his mathematical papers, during the few moments of

[100] IBID, pp.127-9.
[101] IBID, p.127.
[102] Henry Kirke White, ‘Melody’ in *A Collection of Songs, Moral, Sentimental, Instructive, and Amusing. Selected and Revised by the Rev. James Plumptre, M.A. Fellow of Clare Hall* vol. 2 (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1806), p.328
[103] IBID, p.128.

the last year of his life, in which he suffered himself to follow the impulse of genius.'[104]

Southey's comments here are some of the only references we receive as to the material condition of the manuscripts that he had been given. That these works were on the back of mathematical papers suggests that someone, perhaps Southey, or perhaps Neville White before sending the papers on to Southey, was thorough in going through the papers that Kirke White had left behind when he died. These works are not the obvious and neat inclusions of previously published work such as *Clifton Grove*, but a substantially larger editorial job. While it is unsurprising that Southey did not include the mathematical papers, being unsuited for a literary work, it is nevertheless a deliberate sign that not all of what Kirke White wrote has been included; Southey is focusing on literary works – not just papers. While mathematical papers would have shed little light on Kirke White's wider life, it does raise the question as to what happened to the other essays and schoolwork that he had produced, particularly the prize-winning exams that Kirke White had undertaken at the University. These may well have not been oral exams, in which case no record may have existed, or they have simply been kept by the university and so did not make their way into Kirke White's collection of papers.

Southey's note also portrays a very particular reading of Kirke White's final year of life, his artistic expression was relatively suppressed and he only had a 'few moments' during which he 'suffered himself to follow the impulse of genius'. This appears to lean into the argument that Kirke White was avoiding poetry in his final year, and that in doing so he was denying himself. This denial of expression feeds

[104] IBID, p.136.

into both the narrative of overwork while at university, and Southey's dismay that 'the Evangelicals had caught him'.

The first fragments are just listed as Fragment I to Fragment XII, with no further titles. Being incomplete, and unlikely to ever be indented for publication by Kirke White, there is little of note in these fragments; thematically they cover much that he writes on in earlier works, largely the moon, lyres, nature, and supernatural creatures such as fairies. The repeated subject matter of his other completed works, and the fact they are unfinished makes their inclusion within the collection at all somewhat surprising. Their main purpose seems to be to reinforcing the narrative that Southey wished to promote; despite Kirke White not publishing following *Clifton Grove* and his university studies, he was still a poet. This is crucial to the sense of Kirke White's work being 'immature buds'. If Kirke White had fully stopped working on poetry, there would be no potential flowers (to continue Southey's metaphor) for Southey to mourn.

There are two substantially longer fragments, that Southey adds specific notes to. The first of these is 'Time. A Poem', which, according to Southey, was:

> begun either during the publication of Clifton Grove or shortly afterwards. Henry never laid aside the intention of completing it, and some of the detached parts were among his latest productions.[105]

It is unclear how Southey knew that Kirke White 'never laid aside the intention of completing' the poem. No reference to it appears in Kirke White's surviving letters. The poem itself, is one of the longest works in the *Remains*, despite being

[105] IBID, p.146.

incomplete, covering 22 pages.[106] The poem, written in blank verse, is set up as an epic, opening with a invocation of the muses: ‘attend my lowly benison!/ For now I strike to themes of import high/ The solitary lyre.[107] The poem largely consists of contrasting images of the passage of time against the immortal eternity of God.

The second of these long fragments, and the final example of White’s poetry in the *Remains* is ‘The Christiad, a Divine Poem’, and begins with the largest of Southey’s notes:

> This was the work which Henry had most at heart. His riper judgement would probably have perceived that the subject was ill chosen. What is said so well in the *Censura Literaria* of all scriptural subjects for narrative poetry, applies peculiarly to this. “Any thing taken from it leaves the story imperfect; any thing added to it disgusts, and almost shock us as impious. As Omar said of the Alexandrian Library, we may say of such writings, if they contain only what is in the scriptures they are superfluous ; if what is not in them they are false.” — It may be added, that the mixture of mythology makes truth itself appear fabulous.
>
> There is great power in the execution of this fragment. —In editing these remains, I have with that decorum which it is to be wished all editors would observe, abstained from informing the reader what he is to admire and what he is to not; but I cannot refrain from saying that the last two stanzas greatly affected me, when I discovered them written on the leaf of a different book,

[106] IBID, pp.147-169.
[107] IBID, p.147.

> and apparently long after the first canto; and greatly shall I be mistaken if they do not affect the reader also.[108]

There is a lot to unpack from this statement from Southey. First, he again is professing knowledge of Kirke White's thinking and intention. While it is understandable why Southey came to this conclusion, Kirke White's shift to evangelism would make his focus on a Christian epic a major concern, but Southey still determines this with a certainty that is not ascertainable from Kirke White's letters. Southey is either making the assumption, and dressing it as certainty, or has additional information that has not survived. Southey's own Christianity also enters this note with the final note of the first paragraph being that Kirke White's poem might make 'truth itself' appear fabulous. The assumption of this is that Southey, Kirke White, and the intended audience all agree in 'Christian truth of at least of some form..

What is perhaps more noteworthy is that Southey states that the 'subject was ill chosen', and defends Kirke White by stating that he would have realised this if he had lived longer. As Southey himself accurately points out, this is the only instance in which he has failed to abstain 'from informing the reader what he is to admire, and what he is to not'. While he does go on to inform the reader that the final two stanzas are to be admired, by stating that the subject was ill chosen, he is also informing the reader that the topic of the poem itself is not to be admired.

Another point is that Southey again describes the complexity of how the work he edited arrived, in that he discovered the final two stanzas 'written on the leaf of a different book'. It is unclear how Southey determined that they are the final two

[108] IBID, p.172.

stanzas; they are simply labelled ‘I’, and do not contain any section that makes them easily identifiable as to where in the narrative they might fit, as they only describe how Kirke White has ‘sung/ of godlike deeds’, and his hope that ‘this slight boon would consecrate to thee,/ Ere I with Death shake hands, and smile that I am free.’[109] It is unclear what about these stanzas in particular affected Southey, as they self-referentially refer to Kirke White singing with his lyre about the peace of death which is a consistently reoccurring motif in his work. There is little overly varied about them. That the stanzas were present on another leaf also suggests that Kirke White’s approach to writing was somewhat disorganised and that at times he wrote on whatever paper was at hand. If this lack of organisation was the norm, it would mean a not insubstantial amount of additional work for Southey as editor, increasing the amount of effort in this work of literary philanthropy, with little of this effort noticeable to an average reader.

Following the *Christiad*, there is a final section of Kirke White’s work - his prose. The first, third, fourth and fifth examples of these, ‘Remarks on the English Poets. Imitations’, ‘Remarks on the English Poets. Warton.’, and ’Cursory Remarks on Tragedy’ all take the form of an essay on literature.

‘Imitations’ begins with praise for a translation of the eighteenth Psalm, followed by an intense condemnation of a specific translation of it: ‘That wretched one of Thomas Sternhold, however (which, to the disgrace and manifest detriment of religious worship, is generously used)’.[110] Kirke White’s vicious commentary here is interesting, both because Southey chose to include it, despite it doing little to aid Kirke White’s reputation, and because of its contrast to the sensitive Kirke White

[109] IBID, p.191.
[110] IBID, p.195.

who was wounded by criticism himself. The essay continues by discussing variations of the psalm made by John Dryden, Alexander Pope, , , and Thomas Gray.[111] Kirke White's discussion of the variations of the same lines across this list of poets show that he is at least familiar with them. The work ends by stating that 'these imitations have not before, I believe, been noticed, they cannot fail to interest the lovers of polite letters; and they are such as to at least will amuse your readers in general.'[112] The reference to readers clearly demonstrates that Kirke White was writing with an audience in mind.

The work following this essay is a letter, titled by Southey as 'Sternhold and Hopkins', which opens stating 'In your Mirror for July, a Mr. William Toone has offered a few observations on a paper of mine… containing remarks on the versions and imitations of the 18th psalm', which contextualises the previous work as being a submission to the *Monthly Mirror*, something that Southey chose not to explain.[113] Kirke White's combative discourse is continued here: 'Mr William Toone has… not only put an erroneous construction on certain passages of that paper, but [is] otherwise open to material objection.'[114] Kirke White further continues; 'I shall therefore proceed to examine the objections of the "worthy clergyman of the church of England,", a comment laced with hostile sarcasm.[115] Further comments from Kirke White continue his aggressive criticism:

> 'Your correspondent has quoted some verses from Tate, in triumph, as comparatively excellent; but in my opinion, they are also instances of our

[111] IBID, pp.196-7.
[112] IBID, p.198.
[113] IBID, p.200.
[114] IBID, p.200.
[115] IBID, p.201.

general failure in sacred poetry: they abound in those *ambitious ornaments* which do well to please women and children, but which disgust men of taste.'

Kirke White's hostility here agrees with Southey's portrayal of how Kirke White struggled with criticism, but rather than this heightening the idea of a 'poor Kirke White', the inclusion of these rebuttals shows that Southey is resisting the urge to portray Kirke White as a more passive victim of review culture and the literary scene, highlighting that Kirke White also partook in the often aggressive review culture of the period.

The two essays that follow this response, 'Remarks on the English Poets. Warton.' and 'Cursory Remarks on Tragedy', are similar in their content, alternating between praise and condemnation, as are the twelve 'Melancholy Hours' which finish *The Remains*. In this prose, Kirke White writes with a certainty of what constitutes literary worth that contrasts heavily with what Southey had described as the role of a good editor in his note to the *Christiad*. The inclusion of these works, which make broad sweeping statements as to literary worth are interesting inclusions within the *Remains*. It is unclear what Southey hoped to achieve by including them; they had already been published in the *Mirror* and so cannot be considered as fresh material. It is perhaps, the very fact they had already been published that made Southey include them, lest he be accused of withholding materials; not that that would protect him from Campbell's accusation that Southey 'suppress some papers as too pious'.[116] The 'Melancholy Hours' are the final texts in the second volume of the *Remains*.

[116] Robert Southey to Nicholas Lightfoot, 5th February 1810, *Collected Letters*, https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1741.html

The production of the first edition of the *Remains* entailed the largest amount of work that Southey undertook for his literary philanthropic project. In addition, it is also demonstrative of his initial published vision for what the *Remains* might be, and as such, what posthumous literary philanthropy might be. It is important to stress that the first edition represents the first published vision, as it is likely Southey's scope and vision for the project changed during the editing process. We know Southey was surprised by the amount of material he received when Neville White sent Kirke White's work, as in his comment on the 'box-full' where he 'never did behold such proofs of human industry'. [117] Both his surprise and the quantity of material suggest that the scope of the project would alter throughout discovery.

Second Edition (1808)

If the first edition is indicative of Southey's first vision of what might be achieved with posthumous literary philanthropy, then the later editions are his refinement of it, and therefore also worth considering carefully. Each change demonstrates an attempt to improve the *Remains*, and therefore, an intentional effort to improve the philanthropic project.

The most apparent difference between the first edition of 1807 and the second edition of 1808 is the substantial increase to the tributary verses, with the following poems all added:

- Ode on the late Henry Kirke White, by Juvenis
- Verses occasioned by the death of Henry Kirke White, by Josh. Condor

[117] Robert Southey to Richard Duppa 23rd May 1807, *Collected Letters,* https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1741.html

- Sonnet, on seeing another, written to Henry Kirke White, in September, 1803, inserted in his “Remains” by Robert Southey, by Arthur Owen
- Sonnet, in Memory of H. K. White, by J. G.
- Reflections on reading the Life of the late Henry Kirke White, by Wm. Holloway
- Lines suggested on reading the Poem on Solitude, in the second vol. of H. K. White’s “Remains” by J. C.
- Lines on the Death of H. K. White, by T. Park[118]

These additions amount to nine pages and are placed directly after the tributary verses present in the first edition, making this change the simple addition of more material. Three of the added tributary poems specifically refer to the first edition of the *Remains*, meaning that the publication of the text has led to its own growth. These poems demonstrate an immediate favourable reaction to the publication of the *Remains*, one that Southey, as the editor, has chosen to include in this second edition. Demonstrating positive reception would likely help continue to drive positive reception further, furthering not just the reach of the *Remains* (and Kirke White’s reputation) but his chance that this additional reception would, in turn, be positive. The more positive the responses in the *Remains*, the greater the number of people that would have to be disagreed with to form an unfavourable opinion of Kirke White.

Of these added poems, Arthur Owen’s ‘Sonnet, on seeing another’ is particularly unusual. The title states that the poem was written in response to his own, earlier tributary poem that was published in the first edition of the *Remains*:

[118] Robert Southey, *The Remains of Henry Kirke White,* 2nd Edition (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1808), pp.288-97.

'Sonnet, to Mr. Henry Kirke White, on his Poems lately published'.[119] This extra layering means that the poem is not necessarily about Kirke White himself, or his work, but the *Remains* specifically. The poem refers to 'Poor Henry's budding beauties', reaffirming Southey's stance that the poems are beautiful, but more specifically 'budding', invoking the same imagery that Southey uses in his descriptions of Kirke White's life and work. The poem asks 'shall time/ Trample these orphan blossoms?', answering 'No ! they breathe/ Still lovelier charms – for Southey culls the wreath!'.[120] Southey here is presented as the preventer of decay, an enhancer to the work of Kirke White, responsible for Kirke White's 'budding' poetry becoming become 'still lovelier'. The poem highlights the cultural aspect of literary philanthropy, the sense that the poetry has been saved from being 'trample[d]', and that the preservation and display of this work is itself a worthy act, outside of any financial aspects of the project. The idea of the editor as one who 'culls' is also significant; presenting an awareness that Southey has not chosen to include the entire works of Kirke White, but rather those that would benefit the 'charms' of the *Remains*, removing works that would detract from the overall sense of Kirke White as a great writer.

The evolving set of tributary verses demonstrates not only that the remains were successful and positively received, but that Southey, as editor, desired for the work itself to demonstrate this fact. The tributary works celebrate Kirke White's life, work and posthumous reputation.

[119] Arthur Owen, in *Remains* ed. Robert Southey, 2nd edn, p.278.
[120] IBID, p.293.

One significant but easily overlooked change between the two editions is the addition of three paragraphs within Southey's 'Life'.[121] These paragraphs address the 'unfeeling and iniquitous criticism' of Clifton Grove. First, Southey quotes Kirke White, stating that 'The unfavourable review (in the "Monthly") of my unhappy work, has cut me deeper than you could have thought … It represents me actually as a *beggar …* it haunts me incessantly … I must leave Nottingham.'[122] This letter, though presented alone here, matches much of the discourse surrounding the stress that the efforts to, and effects of, *Clifton Grove*'s publication appear to have brought Kirke White, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Southey stresses the distress caused by public cruelty, again connecting Kirke White in many ways to the myth of Chatterton's despair following the revelation of the Rowley falsification, and to the later myth of John Keats having been killed by criticism, again reinforcing the sense that Kirke White is aligned to the emerging Romantic archetype of the tragically misunderstood genius.[123]

Southey follows the extract from Kirke White's letter with his own commentary on the criticism. He describes how the review was 'designed' to 'supress [Henry's] struggling genius'.[124] This is a stronger criticism of much of what Southey has stated so far about Kirke White having underappreciated potential as a poet, if he were given the opportunity to mature.. Southey goes further, however, stating that the cruelty of the review was 'the main occasion of bringing his Remains to light', and that 'had it not been for the indignation which I felt at perusing a criticism at once so cruel and so stupid, the little intercourse between Henry and my-self would not have

[121] Southey, *Remains*, 2nd edition, p.27.
[122] IBID
[123] Nick Groom, *'*Chatterton, Thomas', *ODNB*.
[124] Southey, *Remains*, 2nd edn, p.27.

taken place; his papers would probably have remained in oblivion, and his name, in a few years, forgotten.'[125] These paragraphs demonstrate how the *Remains* are not just Southey's attempt to rescue work from likely oblivion, but a rejection of contemporary review culture and a deliberate attack on the critical establishment. The actors involved in this battle for 'the fame which assuredly will be his position' are Southey and the *Monthly Review*. The work of Kirke White himself is almost irrelevant, as Southey acknowledges that he would not have intervened were it not for the attack. He does not state that the vitriol made him read the poems, and therefore discover Kirke White's worth, but rather that it was the cruelty of the vitriol that made Southey choose to champion Kirke White's cause. If we are to take Southey at his word, the *Remains* exist because of Kirke White's death, the hostile review culture of the Romantic period, and Southey's own distaste at this review culture. In this way, it is tempting to consider the *Remains* as closer to the reformist political literary philanthropy of Montgomery and Heyrick discussed in Chapter 2 than might at first have been supposed. These additions to the second edition suggest that Southey's goals are larger than just the cause of advancing and saving Kirke White's reputation, but involve the reformation of literary culture itself.

The second volume of the second edition is near identical to the first edition, save for the addition of three further prose reflections. The first of these is entitled 'On Prayer', with the second and third being marked as further continuations of this. This accounts for a total of twelve extra pages. The content itself is little different to Kirke White's other reflections.

[125] IBID

Fourth Edition (1810)

While only one poem, 'The Shipreck'd Solitary's Song', was added to the first volume of the fourth edition, Southey expanded the collection of Kirke White's letters within the *Remains*. Two of these in particular quite significantly change the portrayal of Kirke White that Southey had created in the *Remains* so far. The first of these letters is to Mr. M. Harris, dated 28 March 1802.[126] The letter references attached passages in Greek, which Southey has not included, instead adding a textual note stating that 'The few Greek words which followed were beautifully written.'[127] Southey's comments on Kirke White's Greek disagrees with the letter itself as Kirke White states his Greek is poor, and that 'I find it difficult enough.'[128] The inclusion of reference to Greek scholarly learning further reinforces the idea of Kirke White as a prodigy and skilled scholar, one who, here, is presented as humble, rather than the arrogant sense one gets from some of Kirke White's other correspondence.

The second letter added by the fourth edition is to Rev. John Dashwood, dated 26 October 1805.[129] This letter explicitly addresses some of Kirke White's health issues that had elsewhere been minimised, particularly in relation to his deafness: 'the peculiar advantages of University education will in a great measure be lost to me, since there is not one of the lecturers whom I am able to hear.'[130] While this is not commented on, it is confirmation that Kirke White was struggling not only with his health in terms of being weak and sickly but had a specific disability that would have prevented his pursuit of a career in the law. Southey does not make this

[126] Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White,* 4th edn (London: Vernor, Hood and Sharpe, 1810), pp.86-7.
[127] IBID, p.87.
[128] IBID
[129] IBID, pp.196-8.
[130] IBID, p.196-7.

connection, but it provides the *Remains* with the possibility of reading Kirke White's church career choice as being more practical than assumed, and not merely a decision based upon piety. A church career would still require both public speaking and dealing with a congregation however, making his deafness still a substantial barrier.

The letter also claims that 'My literary ambition is, I think, now fast subsiding, and a better emulation springing up in its room'.[131] While there is no way of knowing if Kirke White is telling the truth, the implication that he did not intend to pursue his literary career further has complex implications for the *Remains*. On the one hand, if Kirke White abandoned literary pursuits, his 'green buds' would never improve, and his work would never achieve the potential that the *Remains*, according to Southey, was intended to celebrate. However, the letter also demonstrates the power of the *Remains*, as by including this in the fourth edition after it had already been highly successful, Southey is demonstrating the power of his editing and the significance of Kirke White's death; had he not died tragically, he would not have been successful. It is likely that this reaffirms Southey's purpose of not just highlighting Kirke White, but also the failures of Romantic period review culture for almost driving a promising poet away, only to celebrate him because of the tragedy of his death.

The fourth edition also includes an additional seven tributary poems to Kirke White. Three of these are worth commenting on briefly. The first, 'Extract from a Poem Recently Published' is presented anonymously, and not given its title.[132] Considering how it is an extract from *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, by Lord Byron, this is unusual. The extract also has an explanatory footnote, that Southey

[131] IBID, p.197.
[132] IBID, p.308.

has maintained in its entirety. Byron's footnote states that Kirke White died 'in consequence of too much exertion in the pursuit of studies that would have matured a mind which disease and poverty could not impair'.[133] That Byron uses Kirke White's illness to demonstrate how overwork as an undergraduate was responsible for his death (while an obvious falsehood) is a fascinating rejection, or at least adaption, of the consumptive narrative, and again, appears to stress similarities to the later example of the myth of Keats being killed by criticism..[134] Byron also appears to have overestimated Kirke White's financial difficulties if he is suggesting that his 'poverty' was as equal a risk as the major health scares throughout Kirke White's life. This is likely responsible for some of the misunderstanding that Kirke White was simply of the working class.

The second and third poems worth addressing are 'On Visiting the Tomb of H. K. White' and 'Written on reading the Remains of Henry Kirke White', both by Mrs. M. H. Hay.[135] These poems again refer less to Kirke White's work than to the circumstance of his being dead, the necessity of his death, burial and publication of his poetic remains for an almost didactic spiritualism teaching 'the luxury of doing good'.[136]

Sixth and Eighth Editions (1813; 1819)

In the sixth edition, one further tributary verse was added; 'Lines, after reading Southey's Remains *of H. K. White*'.[137] The addition of only one more work, in comparison with the seven additional tributary verses that were added in the fourth

[133] IBID, p.308.
[134] Lord Byron, 'Don Juan, Canto XI', *Don Juan, Complete; English Bards and Scotch Reviewers; Hours of Idleness; The Waltz; and all the other minor poems* (London: J. F. Dove, 1827), p.299.
[135] Southey, *Remains,* 4th edn, pp.313-15.
[136] IBID
[137] Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White,* 6th edn (London: Longman, 1813), p.318.

edition suggests a slowing of interest in the death of Kirke White, or a fear that the tributary verses section was becoming too large to warrant any further significant expansion. If it was the size of the section that prevented Southey including any further examples of tributary verse, he could have removed some of the older verse, particularly from authors with multiple verses within, to accommodate new tributes, though it may have appeared improper to remove works previously included, and angered their authors. The question of why the expansion of tributary verse continued, but at a much-reduced rate, is complicated further by the eighth edition, which removed the tributary verses in their entirety. There are no other changes to the text, no additional materials to compensate for the material that has been lost. This major change suggests a growing unease that Southey, or perhaps the publishers, had around the tributary material; it had ceased to add value to the collection, and removal of all tributary material would likely seem less controversial than its replacement. This drastic change reduces the page count of the *Remains* by forty pages, from 376 pages in the sixth edition, to 336 in the eighth.[138]

Ninth Edition: the Third Volume (1821)

One of the largest changes to the *Remains* over its many editions exists in the decision to add a third volume after the publication of the ninth edition. While the first two volumes of the ninth edition published in 1821 were identical to the eighth edition, a third volume, listed as 'Vol. III' was published in 1822, despite the first two stating 'in two volumes'. This volume featured entirely new material, a new preface, fifteen new letters, eleven new 'early poems', twenty-seven new 'poems of a later date' and fifteen additional prose compositions.[139] In effect, this new volume includes

[138] IBID; Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White,* 8th edn (London: Longman, 1819).
[139] Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White*, 9th edn (London: Longman, 1821).

a larger addition to the *Remains* than those made by all previous editions of the *Remains* totalled (excepting the initial, first edition). The preface suggests that both the White family and the publishers of the *Remains* had requested an additional volume earlier: 'The wishes [of the White family], thus privately expressed, for a farther selection, were seconded by the publishers.'[140] Southey claims this was not done at first because 'so little had the intention been originally entertained, that the poems, and some prose compositions, which from time to time were recovered and thought worthy of preservation were inserted in the former volumes, as the opportunity of a new edition occurred.'[141] Considering the small number of changes to Kirke White's work highlighted in this section of the thesis, Southey's reasoning here does not seem quite true. Southey continues to state that 'When some letters of more than common interest were put into Mr. Neville White's possession, the property of bearing a future publication in mind was perceived; and from that time, such letters and compositions as were discovered were laid aside with this view.'[142] Perhaps the most unusual detail about this extensive third volume, added as an additional text to the ninth edition, is that it was not reprinted for the tenth edition of 1823.

Tenth Edition (1823)

The tenth edition undoes some of the changes made in the sixth and eighth editions, in that it reintroduces some tributary verses, but only two. The first of these is the return of the extract from *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, this time properly attributed to Lord Byron, and the second is a new addition for the *Remains*, 'Lines by Professor Smyth of Cambridge, on a Monument, Erected by an American

[140] Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White*, 9th edn, Vol. III (London: Longman, 1822), p.v.
[141] IBID
[142] IBID

Gentleman, in All Saints' Church, Cambridge.[143] This poem was not in any previous editions of the *Remains* and is noteworthy in that it is a transcription of a poem upon an actual monument dedicated to Kirke White. That the only tributary verse that remains are the lines by Byron and the lines by Smyth means that, in the tenth edition, only the verses that exist outside of the *Remains* already, are included. This seems almost an acknowledgment that the *Remains* are no longer the sole means by which Kirke White is remembered; the success of the *Remains* in popularising Kirke White has meant that the tributary verse dedicated to his underappreciated genius is now unnecessary. In effect, the drastic shift away from tributary material, including only that which exists elsewhere, demonstrates the success of the philanthropic goal of the *Remains*. Kirke White, now deservedly known and appreciated, and having sold successfully, is no longer in need of championing.

The third volume of the ninth edition, though not reproduced for the tenth edition, is not wasted, as its contents are distributed amongst the two volumes of the tenth edition, with the third volume's supplementary preface following the first volume's 'Life'.[144] The third volume's letters are placed within the tenth edition's first volume, the poems split between volume one and two depending on whether they were 'early poems' (now in volume 1) or 'Poems of a later date' (now in volume 2). The additional prose materials were all included in the second volume.

There is also a change to the tenth edition's 'Life' that Southey wrote to Neville White on the 11th of December 1821 about stating that:

> When the Life is reprinted, I can modify the passage which expresses an essential difference of opinion upon religious subjects with Henry. That

[143] Robert Southey, *Remains of Henry Kirke White*, 10th edn (London: Longman, 1823) p.267.
[144] IBID, pp.lxix-lxxiii.

> difference is certainly not now what it was then, but it is still a wide one; though, had Henry lived till this time, I believe there would scarcely have been a shade of difference between us. I am perfectly sure that, with a heart and intellect like his, he would have outgrown all tendency towards Calvinism, and have approached nearer in opinion to Jeremy Taylor than to the Synod of Dort.[145]

The passage in question reads:

> Of this fervent piety, his letters, his prayers, and his hymns, will afford ample and interesting proofs. I must be permitted to say, that my own views of the religion of Christ Jesus differ essentially from the system of belief which he had adopted; but, having said this, it is, indeed, my anxious wish to do full justice to piety so fervent. It was in him a living and quickening principle of goodness, which sanctified all his hopes, and all his affections; which made him keep watch over his own heart, and enabled him to correct the few symptoms, which it ever displayed, of human imperfection'.[146]

Southey did modify this passage for the tenth edition published in 1822, where it became:

> Of fervent piety, indeed his letters, his prayers, and his hymns, will afford ample and interesting proofs. It was in him a living and quickening principle of goodness…[147]

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[145] Robert Southey to John Neville White 11th December 1821, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. Charles Cuthbert Southey, 6 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1850), V, pp.103–105.
[146] Southey, *Remains,* 1st edn, p.57.
[147] Southey, *Remains*, 10th edn, p.lxvii.

The passage continues from this point as before. The ‘modification’ that Southey refers to in his letter to Neville is simple deletion; he removes any reference to his own religious beliefs. While the letter to Neville suggests that this is because Southey’s views had altered, and he believes that Henry’s would have done as well, the actual effect of this removal of publication makes no difference to the portrayal of Henry’s work, and in effect merely removes Southey further from the work, aligning with his more recent self-presentations. This shift from praise despite difference to praise alone actually weakens the compliment towards Kirke White, as it removes the potency of his ’goodness’ to overcome the barrier of theological disagreement. However, being the tenth edition, printed fifteen years after the original, it is unlikely that this minor change would have a serious effect on either Southey or Kirke White by this point.

Eleventh edition (1825)

The final edition of Southey’s *Remains*, published in 1825, is substantially different version to all previous editions. This eleventh edition is published in a single 493-page volume, containing material from the first, second and third volumes of previous editions. Because of the constraints of fitting the *Remains* into a single volume, spacing is far more compact in the eleventh edition. The preface, originally 58 pages, became 56 pages in the eleventh edition, including the four-page supplementary preface first included in the ninth edition’s third volume. While this isn’t a particularly large saving of space, that this more compact spacing is maintained throughout the volume makes a sizable difference to the total length required. The volume contains all the poems and prose texts that had previously required two full volumes. It is likely that this was done to reduce the cost of the volume and so reach new audiences.

One curious addition is the categorisation of the poems; in the two-volume structure there had been ‘poems written before the publication of *Clifton Grove*’, the contents of *Clifton Grove* as an untitled section, ‘Poems written during, or Shortly after the publication of Clifton Grove’ and finally, ‘Poems of a later date’. The eleventh edition simplifies the separation of poetry massively; ‘Poems written before the publication of *Clifton Grove*’ and ‘Poems of a later date’. ‘Clifton Grove’ itself is positioned within the first section, which, though true, as the poem was obviously written before it was published, does make the title of the section itself somewhat confusing, particularly how in all previous instances this had referred to the works prior to *Clifton Grove* that were not within that publication.

The eleventh edition is a successful culmination of all the work over the eighteen years since the *Remains* was first published, and as the last official edition produced by Southey, there is a certain finality to the completeness of the text, a final celebration of Kirke White. Absent of the tributary verse that expanded many of the earlier issues because, by this point, the *Remains* had been successful enough to stand on their own. Only the work of Kirke White and Southey is necessary for the text to feel complete. If the first edition is the first vision of what the *Remains* might be, then the eleventh edition serves as Southey’s final vision of the *Remains*: a work stripped of all ancillary materials and available in a single volume (relatively) accessible and suitable for any with an interest in poetry. The end result of the literary philanthropic project is the unnecessariness of highlighting positive responses to Kirke White’s work, as the posthumous philanthropic reclamation of Kirke White’s reputation for promising poetry was complete.

The Kirke White of the *Remains*: Myth-making

The evolving editions of the *Remains* create a very particular representation of Kirke White, one that promotes certain myths, discourages others, and carefully navigates the realities of Kirke White's life to present the most - if not flattering - then suitable depiction of Kirke White. I will now examine some of the most prominent myths of Kirke White, and how Southey, via his editing of the *Remains*, helped shape them.

First, to return to the significance of Kirke White's death; his death is not only required for the *Remains* to have been created on a practical level, but is inherently tied to the reception of the text and the reputation of Kirke White. Samantha Matthews's work on poetical remains demonstrates the complexity of remains both literal and literary. Writing on the work done by Andrew Bennett, she notes:

> Andrew Bennett, in *Romantic Poets and the Romantic Culture of Posterity* (1999), sees the poets themselves as collusive in this process: their 'perennial fascination with the immortality effect', the 'bookish' or 'textual afterlife', becomes 'figured as a determining force in cultural production'; the poet writes 'so that his identity, transformed and transliterated, disseminated in the endless act of reading, will survive'.[148]

While the creation of immortality described here is self-created, rather than the philanthropic act of Southey in the case of Kirke White, the argument holds that Southey's publishing of the *Remains* is very consciously an attempt to ensure that Kirke White is 'transformed, transliterated, disseminated in the endless act of

[148] Samantha Matthews, *Poetical remains: poets' graves, bodies, and books in the nineteenth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.2.

reading', and because of this, 'will survive'.[149] Unlike most works creating immortality however, the survival of Kirke White is an undeath, as the reputation that Southey immortalises is of Kirke White's tragic death, an eternal youth and possibility not unlike the 'unravished bride' of Keats's Grecian Urn.[150]

The eternally unrealised potential of Kirke White is perhaps the first myth of Southey's *Remains*. The possibility that Kirke White might not have continued his literary career is mostly absent; the consistent metaphor of 'green buds', of work yet to ripen, suggests an almost inevitable ripening that was by no means certain. There is the notable exception of the letter added to the fourth edition that describes his waning literary ambition, but Southey's 'Life' and the prominence of tributary verse in the early editions mean that the myth was aided far more than hindered by Southey's editing. Much of this demonstrates the bias of Southey's writing; he himself saw the potential of Kirke White in *Clifton Grove*, and though Kirke White's actions following this publication might not suggest the nurturing of talent that Southey had hoped, it is unsurprising that in creating a mythic immortal Kirke White, Southey downplays White's decreasing literary interest.

The Myth of Genius

One of the most prominent aspects of Kirke White that is highlighted, within the *Remains* and in most sources since, is his status as a genius and prodigy. Conceptions of Kirke White as a prodigy or genius tend to follow three related, and occasionally overlapping branches: Kirke White's complicated history of schooling, his rise through professions and his literary successes.

[149] IBID
[150] IBID

Henry attended several schools, first Mrs Garrington's, who, recognising his potential, nurtured his skill so that he might join Reverend Blanchard's school which was 'reputedly the best in Nottingham', where Blanchard 'could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at the excellence of Henry's [poetry]'.[151] This early success in schooling is stressed in the *Remains*, and forms a core part of the version of Kirke White that the *Remains* creates. The narrative of Kirke White's schooling is not simply praise, however: the *Remains* also stresses how some teachers thought Kirke White was 'incorrigible' and that 'it was impossible to make the lad do anything'.[152]

The *Remains* also stresses that Kirke White's later school masters were the subject of his 'pointed and severe' satires.[153] Southey states that Kirke White destroyed most of these, but one, 'On being confined to School one pleasant Morning in Spring', written when he was thirteen, was included in the *Remains*.[154] The poem attacks schooling and industry, instead favouring a life of appreciating Nottingham's rural landscape, though it makes no mention of any schoolmasters, which is likely the reason it still exists, as it could not be interpreted as a direct attack on any individual. Far from undermining suggestions of his genius, this strengthens the idea that he was a natural talent, that he was above mundane schooling and was drawn to nature. This builds the sense that not only was White a prodigy, but specifically one of a poetic temperament - a poetic prodigy.

Other narratives around his educational prowess include his teaching a family servant how to read in secret, an activity that was supposedly reprimanded upon

[151] Southey, 'Life of Henry Kirke White', *Remains*, 1st edn, pp.2, 3.
[152] Southey, *Remains*, 1st edn, p.3.
[153] IBID, p.4.
[154] Kirke White, 'On Being Confined to School one pleasant Morning in Spring: written at the age of thirteen', *Remains*, 1st edn, p.5.

discovery. This narrative in particular, presented within the *Remains*, appears to have struck a chord, and became the subject of an engraving present within *Buds of Genius, or Some account of the early lives of celebrated characters who were remarkable in their childhood.* [155] Southey's 'Life' is not the only suggestion of his being above schooling, and several poems within the *Remains* highlight Kirke White's ambition and belief that schooling was more of a hindrance than an advantage. 'Childhood, Part I', 'Childhood, Part II.', 'To a Friend, Written at a very early age' and 'Fragment' all stress the dislike of schooling as wasted time, an attitude that the *Remains* portrays generally less as a troublesome child, than a prodigy trapped by mediocrity. The notion of genius and prodigy is also common within the tributary verse: 'Hail! gifted youth', 'what genius fires thy soul?', 'Master so early of the various LYRE' to quote but a few examples.[156]

One of the more legitimate and external proofs of Kirke White's supposed prodigal state occurred when he was fifteen, when he became a member of the Nottingham Philosophical Society. Southey's 'Life' states that, not only was he their youngest ever member, but while still fifteen, Kirke White lectured to the society for two hours on the 'notion of genius', in relation to Thomas Chatterton.[157] A letter from Kirke White to Neville describes the event:

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[155] 'Henry Kirke White as a Boy' in *Buds of Genius, or Some account of the early lives of celebrated characters who were remarkable in their childhood* (London: Darton, Harvey, and Darton 1818), p.81. This text, a work of juvenile literature intended to serve as an introduction to biography places Kirke White among prestigious company: James Ferguson, Caroline Simmons, Sir Isaac Newton, Doctor Franklin, Alexander Pope, Doctor Johnson, Richard Cumberland, Lucy Hutchinson, William Cowper, Anthony Purver, Thomas Dermody, Martha Laurens Ramsey, Edward Gibbon, and Hester Chapone.
[156] Owen, 'Sonnet, to Mr. Henry Kirke White, on his Poems lately Published', *Remains*, 1st edn, p.266; Owen, 'To Mr. H. K. White', *Remains*, 1st edn, pp.266-7; C. L., 'Sonnet on Henry Kirke White'; *Remains*, 1st edn, p.268.
[157] Southey, *Remains*, 1st edn, p.12; Letter from Henry Kirke White [Nottingham], to his brother John Neville White, October 1799, KW C 60.

> I lately entered a Society – called the Scientific & was upon the first vacancy chosen (although the ~~young~~ youngest member) Professor of Literature to the Society – I have a lecture on Genius last week where the Society unanimously resolved "that the most sincere thanks be given to the [deleted] Professor for his most [instructive] & entertaining lecture delivered from that chair which he so much honoured." I was then elected one of the committee – we have every kind of philosophical apparatus – electrifying machines and acid pumps – globes – microscopes, telescopes camera obscura – astronomical tables – chemical apparatus – there are only six Professors – I delivered the lecture extempore having fully considered my subject before hand I spoke for 2 hours and ¾ ~~WORD~~ when first proposed I was near being black balled on account of my youth.[158]

Though the *Remains* does reference this event, Southey does not include this letter within any edition of the *Remains*, suggesting that while the *Remains* is interested in stressing Kirke White's genius, it wishes to avoid mentions of his success, perhaps to avoid a sense of Kirke White as prideful – which might undermine the sense of piety that the *Remains* creates, or because it is more interested in creating the sense that Kirke White's genius was underappreciated.

When Southey writes of Kirke White's time with Coldham and Enfield (the legal firm that Kirke White worked for as a teenager) he does not spend long on describing the work he undertook there, or his talent for it, but rather how this work made him 'almost estranged from his family', and how 'great things may be done in "those hours of leisure which even the busiest may create," and to his ardent mind

[158] IBID

no obstacles were too discouraging'.[159] The 'great things' Southey mentions are Kirke White undertaking studies in Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.[160] The *Remains* creates the sense that, while Kirke White was both advancing through more skilled professions and developing his intellectual skills, these each almost hindered the progress of one another, rather than symbiotically advanced together. The myth of Kirke White's genius that the *Remains* creates is less that he remarkably rose through different forms of schooling, and from a butcher's apprentice to articled to a law firm before attending university, but rather that he developed intellectually in spite of rapidly rising. Unusually in discussion of prodigies, Kirke White is presented as successful because of his interest in continued scholarly and literary improvement, rather than by measuring his actual early accomplishments.

The Myth of Class

Kirke White is often considered a working-class poet.[161] Southey's *Remains* does not as explicitly perpetuate this narrative as he does that of lost potential or genius, but the myth is certainly present.

While trappings within the 'myth of genius' suggests a great deal of social advancement for Kirke White, Kirke White's father's trade was relatively high status. He owned his shop, lifting him above the status of labourer that 'working class' might suggest. His mother ran a girls' school, and his family employed servants, such as the one Kirke White reportedly taught to read.[162] Although the mention of a servant

[159] Southey, *Remains*, 1st edn, p.10.
[160] IBID, p.11.
[161] 'LCPO 5 (S-Z)', *Database of British and Irish Labouring-Class Poets and Poetry, 1700-1900* ed. John Goodridge (Nottingham Trent University, https://lcpoets.wordpress.com/introtobibliography/, 2012) [6/3/2025] p.39.
[162] Southey, *Remains*, 1st edn, p.2.

evidences some relative wealth for the White family, the focus of this account in the 'Life' is very much that of Kirke White as a prodigy, demonstrating no consideration of the economic reading this enables.

Some of the misunderstandings about Kirke White's social status might be of his own doing, as he referred to himself as having experienced 'the sting of keen neglect, the rich man's scorn'.[163] This quotation is identified by Lawlor as being proof of him being 'Mindful of his lowly rank'.[164] Considering Kirke White's preoccupation with Chatterton, particularly in relation to the notion of Genius (the topic of his two hour lecture to the Nottingham Philosophical Society), it is more likely that, rather than attempting to highlight a 'working class' heritage, he is instead thinking of a lack of noble patronage as an indignity, as in the example of Horace Walpole's refusal to patronise Chatterton, an attitude similar to William Hazlit's later outcry that 'His [Walpole] conduct to men of genius was a piece of insolence which Posterity is bound to resent!'.[165]

Kirke White's desire for patronage, and the claim that he wrote and published *Clifton Grove* to fund a university education, a claim made by both the *Monthly Review* and Southey's 'Life', appears to have exaggerated notions of poverty. As discussed earlier, Kirke White had not intended to go to university until late on in the publication process – his primary focus had been literary renown, not financial gain. The letters between Henry and Neville White during this time demonstrate how Kirke White's entire preoccupation with patronage was for legitimisation of his work.. While this is still very much a class consideration, the misunderstanding of Kirke White's

[163] Henry Kirke White, 'Genius: An Ode', *Remains*, p.90.
[164] Lawlor, *Consumption*, p.129.
[165] IBID; Andrew Rudd, 'Knights Errant of the Distressed: Horace Walpole, Thomas Chatterton, and Eighteenth-Century Charitable Culture', *Eighteenth Century Life*, 44 (2020), 74-97; William Hazlitt, "On the Want of Money," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Ronald Blythe (London: Penguin, 1970), pp.455-6.

desire for social capital as a desire for economic capital reinforced the sense of Kirke White as financially desperate, and thus of a lower class than he was.

The *Remains* themselves also likely played a substantial part in the upwards mobility of the White family. The funds generated by and the reputation of the *Remains* were likely a major contributing factor to Henry's two brothers, John Neville and James, both attending Cambridge University and becoming clergymen. A network of patronage, marriage and inheritance eventually saw them entering the landed classes – a far cry from any reasonable interpretation of working class.

While it fair to say that Kirke White cannot be confidently considered a member of the middle classes, a label of working class that stems from the *Remains* and the misunderstanding of Kirke White's hopes of patronage is equally inaccurate. Kirke White fits the notion that the Romantic period literary scene is predominantly of the 'inconsistently educated middle-class' where exact definitions and attributions are frequently impossible.[166] Though of little focus for the *Remains* themselves, it is a misunderstanding that appears cemented in academic circles by his presence in the Labouring class poets database.[167]

The Myth of Piety

The accuracy of any portrayal of Kirke White's religious beliefs is difficult to analyse because it is unclear exactly what Kirke White, or indeed Southey as editor, believed. Southey certainly understood Kirke White's letters as 'methodistical and calvinistic' as he mentioned in his letter to Duppa, dated the 23rd May 1807.[168] He

[166] Annette Wheeler Cafarelli, 'The Common Reader: Social Class in Romantic Poetics', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 96 (1997), 222-46, p.223.
[167] John Goodridge, 'LCPO 5 (S-Z)', *Database of British and Irish Labouring-Class Poets and Poetry, 1700-1900*, https://lcpoets.wordpress.com/2013/02/18/database/, p.39
[168] Robert Southey to Richard Duppa, 23 May 1807, *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey,* Part Three, Ed. Carol Bolton and Tim Fulford, 1325., https://romantic-circles.org/editions/southey_letters.

also clearly believed that the 'Evangelicals had caught him' when referring to Kirke White's sponsorship into Cambridge.[169]

Kirke White, in two letters not included in the *Remains,* states that he was baptised as a dissenter, and that he is not a dissenter but often gets mistaken for one.[170] Regardless of how dissenting or evangelical Kirke White may have been, the narrative given by the *Remains* is that Kirke White went to Cambridge in order to gain a career in the church, having been influenced by evangelical figures such as Charles Simeon and William Wilberforce. This may, however, have been less of a religious calling, than a practical necessity. The *Remains* underplays how Kirke White appears to have enjoyed working for Coldham and Enfield, as in a letter to his brother Neville, dated 1 September 1799 he declared:

> I never yet found anything disagreeable, but, on the contrary, every thing I do seems a pleasure to me, and for a very obvious reason it is a business which I choose to do before all others.

and:

> I have two good tempered, easy masters, who will nevertheless see that their business is done in a neat and proper manner. The study of the law is well known to be a dry difficult task and requires a [?], good understanding; and I hope you will allow me (without charging me with egotism) to have a tolerable one; and I have, with perseverance, and a very large law library to refer to, I shall be able to accomplish the study of so much of the law of England, and

[169] Robert Southey to Richard Duppa, 23 May 1807.
[170] Charles Vernon Fletcher, *"*The Poems and Letters of Henry Kirke White: A Modern edition*"* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1980).

> our system of jurisprudence in [] five years as to enable me to be a country attorney…

The letter then describes how Kirke White might go on to become a barrister. This would suggest that he did not intend for a career in the church, and was instead considering a full career in law.[171] While it is entirely possible that Kirke White had a substantial change of heart, the *Remains* underplays this interest in law, and almost entirely ignores the serious possibility that he started training for a church career only because he was unable to pursue a career in law, as a letter to his mother on 9 June, 2018 (two years before he attended Cambridge) asks:

> Do you Think this German Quack of yours (for so I conclude him to be from his name) could [?] be of use for me. If so I should be comfortably happy for in the line I have [lately] marked and for my future professional exertions my deafness will be a more material injury to me: I now devote all my attention to law [?loadings] and as I find I am <u>chalked out</u> for this line of my profession if I could but get my deafness cured I have few doubts of my future eminence.[172]

While an awareness of potential unsuitability for the career he had in mind may well have caused a genuine shift in religious thought, as it would likely have encouraged Henry to read more theological texts, and so have created the situation for exposure to texts that changed his theological beliefs, it is telling that the *Remains* entirely underplays this development, preferring to downplay any legal interests, promoting

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[171] Letter from Henry Kirke White [Nottingham], to his brother John Neville White; 26 September 1799, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet*, at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference KW C 59.

[172] Letter from Henry Kirke White, Nottingham, to his mother, Mary White; 9 June 1804, in *Papers of Henry Kirke White (1785-1806), poet*, at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, Document Reference KW C 1

the idea that Kirke White was interested in the church purely because of his piety, not practical reasons of employment.

It is unclear if there was any merit to Horse Campbell's suggestion that Southey withheld any of Kirke White's religious writings. That Southey chose to include 'The Christiad', despite clearly disapproving of Kirke White's choice of religious subject matter, suggests that no relevant literary material was removed, though this cannot be ascertained. While many of the other narratives around Kirke White are misleading, it appears that the discussions of Kirke White's piety are largely accurate, though underplay his teenage legal interests.

The Myth of Death

An accurate understanding of Kirke White's death is difficult to ascertain. His death from consumption was most likely tuberculosis, but may have been any of the many other illnesses that lead to similar weight loss and general weakening. While Southey does not actively reject that Kirke White died from consumption, he does not push back against other, competing narratives of Kirke White's death. The notion that Kirke White's overworking, encouraged by the evangelicals, worsened his health, is of particular note. A major contributor to the myth of Kirke White's tragic end was Lord Byron, whose lines in *English Bards* (discussed above), were included in later editions of the *Remains.* These firmly state that Kirke White died primarily of over work:

> Henry Kirke White died at Cambridge in October, 1806, in consequence of too much exertion in the pursuit of studies that would have matured a mind which disease and poverty could not impair, and which death itself destroyed rather than subdued. His poems abound in such beauties as must impress the

> reader with the liveliest regret that so short a period was allotted to talents, which would have dignified even the sacred functions he was destined to assume.[173]

While these are Byron's words, Southey's decision to include this note in its entirety means that the *Remains* also promotes this interpretation of his death, even if it not particularly mentioned elsewhere within the *Remains*. Byron's lines tie Kirke White into a tradition of tragic young poets who died prematurely. The tragedy of his death is highlighted by invoking some of the other aspects of Kirke White's myth, his genius ('poems abound in such beauties'), his poverty ('a mind which disease and poverty could not impair'), and his piety ('the sacred functions he was destined to assume'.)

Of all the myths, framing of his early death is perhaps the most crucial for the legacy of Kirke White, as it was the invocation of this tragedy that captured the public interest, as is evident from the tributary works. It was also the one to which Kirke White himself most contributed; many of his works within the *Remains* discuss his death, even 'To the Herb Rosemary' that caught Southey's eye, consistently reminding readers of the tragedy of his death even with works written years before the event.

While Southey did little to discourage myths around Kirke White's death, choosing to include poetic tributes that contained inaccurate statements as to how he died, he did little to encourage them either, and *The Remains* instead appears to have been largely how the general public saw Kirke White; a tragic figure that caught their sensibilities. Southey, aware of this, largely let the remains and the tributary

[173] Southey, *Remains* 11th edn, p.185; Byron, *Don Juan Complete*, p.515.

work speak for themselves. An attempt to correct or undermine this myth may well have undermined the interest in the poetry, and so undermined the entire philanthropic project. Southey's understanding of the complexity of this is an understanding of how a large amount of his project of posthumous philanthropy rests on the exploitation of a public morbid fascination, rather than the talent that Southey had first admired. Posthumous literary philanthropy then, appears to rely on the exploitation of human morbidity, and cultural norms that prohibit the criticism of the dead more than the criticism of the living.

Conclusion to Chapter 3

As this chapter has aimed to show, Southey's editing of the *Remains* presented a curated version of Kirke White to the public. As an act of posthumous literary philanthropy, it was a means of rescuing both the poetic work and the memory of Kirke White. The success of this can at least partially be measured by print runs of the text. As Southey's *Remains* reached eleven editions, his assessment of the situation in 1810 that the *Remains* was 'in an extraordinary degree successful' is an accurate conclusion. Without Southey's intervention, Kirke White would almost certainly have been immediately and entirely forgotten by the British public. Success then, can be easily determined. More complex is what the effects of this success are. Southey, as the editor of these works, and author of the biography present within the *Remains,* is largely responsible for the narrative around Kirke White's life, death, and work that is presented to the public.

Southey writes of Kirke White's life in a way that prioritises the sense of White as a genius and prodigy, particularly within the field of poetry. His skill at study, and his interest in both legal work and a career in the church are largely presented as a driver of Kirke White's interest and skill in poetry, a skill that would have matured,

had Kirke White lived long enough. The narrative that Southey created, and that is then perpetrated by tributary verse and later editions of his work, downplays Kirke White's seemingly waning interest in literature. The Kirke White that Southey presented to the British public in the *Remains* is that of the 'immature buds & blossoms' of one who might have become a great poet.

The narrative that Southey creates of Kirke White is largely one of struggle; of Kirke White as a victim of a cruel review culture, who is then taken advantage of by a group of evangelicals who seek to groom him to join their ranks. The assistance that Kirke White is given by others in his life is largely underplayed; the consistent effort of his brother Neville to assist in Kirke White's efforts to publish, the importance of Capel Lofft's patronage and assistance, and even Southey's own interventions, are all largely sidelined in favour of presented Kirke White as a tragic genius struggling against circumstance of health, wealth, and culture.

Southey's role as editor of the *Remains of Henry Kirke White* involves minimal alteration to Kirke White's source material. He also largely restrains himself from commentary on the works, and his commentary on the 'Christiad' that 'In editing these remains, I have with that decorum which it is to be wished all editors would observe, abstained from informing the reader what he is to admire and what he is to not' is an accurate portrayal of how he has treated the *Remains*.[174] This is not to say that Southey did not put substantial effort into the *Remains*; the labour of organising and preparing the material for publication was large. Southey's effort is carefully and deliberately largely unnoticeable, despite his occasional commentary.

[174] Southey, *Remains*, 1st edn, p.172.

The narrative of the potential and genius of Kirke White that Southey creates is strengthened by his lack of commentary on the majority of Kirke White's work within the *Remains*. Had descriptions or analysis been present, it would likely have become clear quickly how much of Kirke White's work was repetitive, with consistent rewriting of lines about lyres, musings on death, and reflections of nighttime and loneliness. While his work seemed to evolve in becoming more explicitly Christian – as might be expected of someone training for a church career – there is little actual development in Kirke White's work, despite the amount of it. Whether this would have remained the case is impossible to ascertain, but if Kirke White's own discussions of his wanning interest in poetry are accurate, then it is unlikely that there is substantial truth in the narrative of lost potential that Southey has created.

The narrative of Kirke White's piety remains complex, and all parties that might discuss this – Southey, the White family, Kirke White himself, and evangelical members of the general public - have vested interest in how it is portrayed. Whatever the truth, Southey has taken care to portray Kirke White as deeply religious, but not at the expense of his identity as poet. Whether this is accurate, a flawed understanding from Southey, or a deliberate attempt to gain Kirke White popularity among Evangelicals is difficult to accurately separate. As this chapter has explored, all appear to be the case at points, and so it is most likely a complex combination of all three.

What is more certain is that the circumstances of Kirke White's death were tragic, and touched the sympathy of the British reading public, largely because of Southey's 'Life' at the start of *The Remains*. This sympathy affected how the public received his poetry, something Southey was certainly aware of and exploited. The awareness that White's poetry is taken more seriously largely because of his tragic

death clearly sat uneasily with Southey, as is demonstrated in some of the letters in which he discussed Kirke White. Despite this unease, Southey continued to work on the *Remains* for years – continuing to alter and adapt each edition. That he felt comfortable removing most of the tributary verse in later editions demonstrates a sense of Southey's own success in the endeavour; Kirke White had become known enough that tribute became superfluous, and unneeded. This success, combined with the substantial print run, and success of the White family, make it relatively easy to conclude that Southey's posthumous literary philanthropic project of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White* was successful.

Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to shed new light on Romantic period literary philanthropy, both in theory and in practice. It has discussed different examples of literary philanthropy and also accumulated significant evidence to demonstrate philanthropy's practical workings, providing detailed information about the contents and authors of a selection of philanthropic anthologies, as well as their subscribers (see Appendices).

The Introduction distinguished philanthropy from terms often used synonymously such as 'charity'. It also explained how this thesis would draw on Pierre Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* to argue for the existence of three different types of literary philanthropy in the Romantic period: networked literary philanthropy, political literary philanthropy, and posthumous literary philanthropy. Networked philanthropy focuses largely on the quantity of one's social capital, as embodied by social networks, to source and then sell literary products for the economic gain of a disadvantaged third party. In contrast, political literary philanthropy is defined by this thesis as literature written and edited with the intention of aiding the vulnerable and ill-treated in society. It does so by encouraging sympathetic members of the public to press for legal and social changes that directly address the circumstances causing the ill-treatment. Posthumous literary philanthropy involves the necessarily disinterested editing of a deceased writer's works to perpetuate (or even create) their reputation, to provide works of merit to the reading public, and to provide economic capital for the family of the deceased via profit from the text's sales. The three central chapters of this thesis illuminated these different types of literary philanthropy via a series of case studies.

Chapter 1 analysed Joanna Baillie's *A Collection* and Penelope Blencowe's *The Casket*, demonstrating how both editors' expansive social networks enabled the creation of these collections of poetry, which included a remarkable quantity of authors, and attracted a considerable number of subscribers, especially when considering that both collections cost a guinea. The philanthropic nature of these texts played a crucial role in persuading many contributors to participate. Chapter 1 considered the collections as specific forms of literary philanthropy which link networks of writers and readers to the success of the project. It is important to note however, that while this thesis argues for a new lens through which to view these works as literary philanthropy, both these collections specifically, and Baillie and Blencowe more generally, remain topics worthy of further study. In terms of success, it can be firmly concluded that both collections were economically successful in raising funds for their intended beneficiaries, but assessing the long-term impact on their editors' reputations is more complicated. Baillie's reputation declined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, suggesting that the social capital she had accrued in her life was not sufficient for her to remain known as culturally relevant. Whilst Baillie has attracted recent critical attention, Blencowe remains largely unknown; assessing the impact of *The Casket* on her reputation is difficult, when we have no prior understanding of her reputation to base it on, but it can be concluded that the collection did not promote her to fame. Increase of reputation was not explicitly a goal of these collections, and as it would appear that they did not noticeably impact their editors' reputations (with Baillie's decline matching that of many authors who fell out of favour with later nineteenth century readers, particularly women), this thesis concludes that the projects were ultimately and unproblematically successful in achieving their goals.

The collections' political themes, though infrequent, are also noteworthy. James Montgomery and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's calls for political action (such as aiding the Jews and supporting Greeks against the Ottoman Empire) reflect a burgeoning liberal and humanistic British society. These appeals were not dangerously radical and were deemed fit for a collection suited for polite society, although they clearly did not align with the British Government's official stance at the time. This suggests that both collections, while politically engaged, were designed to appeal to a broad audience without pushing for radical political change.

Another important finding of this thesis is the diversity of authors involved in both collections. The wide range of contributors, from the well-known Sir Walter Scott to the almost unknown Elijah Barwell Impey, suggests the possibility that authors' individual reputations were less important to the success of the collections than the collective effort of many individuals coming together for a common philanthropic cause. Alternatively, it may be the case that the success of the works was merely carried by the established names, and that the other entries are there to add to the word count and so justify the substantial subscription cost. Either way, this inclusion of both prominent and lesser-known writers highlights the egalitarian nature of these projects, whether that was deliberate or the product of the need for a large number of poems.

The lack of curation or editorial consideration is another significant aspect of these collections. Both Baillie and Blencowe acted more as compilers than editors, as no substantial editorial decisions appear to have been made regarding the ordering of the poems, grouping them by theme, form or any other method. The placing of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's Greek poems one after another appears to be more the result of them having come into Baillie's hands at once, rather than an

active editorial decision, though this is difficult to prove. The lack of an overarching theme in both collections suggests again that they were intended for broad appeal, with no specific audience in mind.

Chapter 2 explored the practice of political literary philanthropy, focusing on the two case studies of James Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend and Climbing-Boy's Album* and Elizabeth Heyrick's and Susanna Watts's *The Humming Bird*. The success of these works in promoting their respective causes is difficult to measure. Montgomery's *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend* does not appear to have had a noticeable impact on the chimney-sweepers' cause, despite later legislative advances like the Chimney-Sweepers Act of 1834, which eventually prohibited young children from chimney-sweeping. While the collection was mentioned by some campaign groups, such as the Tottenham Ladies' Association, it did not seem to galvanise any significant political or legal changes directly linked to its publication. Montgomery's expression of doubts about the success of the cause in *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend*, might have inadvertently contributed to its failure to incite immediate change. However, in the longer term, the eventual abolition of chimney-sweeping and later legislative reforms can be seen as a distant success for Montgomery's cause, even if his collection was only a minimal, ancillary influence.

In contrast, Heyrick's *The Humming Bird* had a more substantial impact. While *The Humming Bird* did not directly lead to the abolition of slavery, it played a significant role in maintaining abolitionist sentiment and involvement, particularly among women's societies like the Birmingham Ladies' Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves. These societies helped catalyse important changes, such as the boycott of slave-produced sugar, which in turn led to the eventual success of the abolition movement in 1833. Heyrick's work was part of a larger, organised effort, but its

specific contribution to this success is harder to isolate. Nonetheless, the collection was instrumental in sustaining engagement within the abolitionist community, providing a platform for continued activism. While the *Humming Bird* cannot be credited with the abolition of slavery, it is one of many tools that supported the cause.

The case studies of Chapter 2 demonstrate that that the literary contents of political literary philanthropy, while influential, cannot be relied upon as the sole means of achieving social change. The success of the *Humming Bird* came from not just advocating for change but from identifying and promoting a practical means of enacting the change advocated for, that is, the sugar boycott. In some ways, the political and literary contents of Chapter 2 are an inversion of the networked philanthropy of Chapter 1, as rather than focussing on original material and a variety of themes, political literary philanthropy instead made use of extensive reprinted material directly tied to the causes that each editor was advocating for. While non-abolitionist material was present within *The Humming Bird*, these entries were in the minority and were spread out sufficiently enough that they acted as a break from the consistent difficulty of a topic as harrowing as chattel slavery.

Chapter 3 of this thesis explored how Robert Southey shaped the legacy of Henry Kirke White through his editorial work. Southey's efforts have been identified as a form of what this thesis has termed posthumous literary philanthropy, aiming to preserve Kirke White's memory and poetry. His success is evident in the eleven editions of *The Remains of Henry Kirke White*, validating his early claim that the work was 'extraordinarily successful'. Without Southey, Kirke White likely would have been forgotten almost immediately by a wider British readership.

Southey portrayed Kirke White as a poetic prodigy and tragic genius, emphasizing his intellectual promise and downplaying signs that Kirke White was losing interest in literature. He constructed a narrative of Kirke White as a victim of harsh literary criticism and manipulation by evangelicals, largely ignoring the support Kirke White received from his brother Neville, patron Capel Lofft, and even Southey himself.

Although Southey made minimal changes to Kirke White's original material and avoided direct commentary, his subtle editorial presence helped sustain the illusion of Kirke White's untapped potential. By not analysing or critiquing Kirke White's often repetitive poetry (except in a small number of very particular cases, such as his note to the 'Christiad') Southey preserved a romanticised image of the poet as both pious and a genius. This portrayal of Kirke White's piety was carefully balanced to appeal to evangelicals while maintaining his poetic identity.

While Kirke White's tragic death greatly influenced the public's emotional reception of his work - something Southey both recognised and tactfully leveraged - Southey's ongoing editorial involvement suggests his deep investment in Kirke White's legacy. The eventual removal of tributary poems in later editions shows that Southey believed Kirke White had achieved lasting fame. Ultimately, Southey's portrayal of Kirke White was successful in shaping both public perception and literary remembrance, one of the key motivations behind his act of literary philanthropy. Another marker of success were the changes in their social positions experienced by Kirke White's family; both his brothers attended the University of Cambridge, and the family eventually became landed gentry, a remarkable rise of fortunes that would almost certainly have been impossible without Southey's project of posthumous philanthropy.

These case studies, saw hundreds of authors and poems marshalled into attempts to use poetry to perform good. While the power of their efforts has been described in this thesis using the terminology of Bourdieu's forms of capital, it is difficult to measure how successful they were in their varied aims. While the extent of their success is nebulous, all the efforts considered here were at least partially successful – with Montgomery's unfocused and pessimistic attempt at labour reform being the least effective. From these case studies, it is clear that literary philanthropy could be a potent force for enacting or preventing change and is demonstrable of the power that literature had during the Romantic Period.

Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* provides a foundational framework for analysing the philanthropic change engaged in the case studies examined in this thesis. As outlined in the introduction, many scholars have expanded and adapted his terminology over the years. While this thesis employs a historicist approach to literary philanthropy, future research grounded more firmly in sociological theory could build directly upon this work, deepening the analysis of Bourdieu's adaptations and refining the terminology used to describe the purpose and potential of literary philanthropy.

One particularly promising direction is the development of a framework to measure the efficiency of the transfer of capital from one form to another. While this thesis has laid the groundwork for demonstrating the existence of literary philanthropy, a means of measuring this efficiency of conversion would enable firmer conclusions of the effectiveness of individual cases of literary philanthropy. The terms employed by this thesis argue for the consideration of literature as a means of performing philanthropic acts, and how these acts can effect substantial change for individuals, specific demographics, and wider society.

Three types of literary philanthropy have been identified in this thesis. Further study of literary philanthropy would likely identity other forms and their effects. It is also probable that expanding the study of literary philanthropy with further case studies would enable the categories of literary philanthropy I have identified here to be broken down into subcategories. A focused study on political literary philanthropy for example, might find it productive to distinguish between child labour reforms and abolitionism, as well as any of the other many political causes championed in the Romantic period.

The Romantic period has been the focus of this thesis not only because it is the period that first conceived of literary philanthropy as a distinct concept, but also because its historical context makes it especially conducive to the emergence of literary philanthropic projects. This era, with its status as a time of industrialisation, the growth of a reading public, and of substantial social change, made it particularly well suited for the emergence of the intersection between literature and philanthropy. Like all periodisation of artistic movements, the term ‘Romantic’ is imprecise, and merely a generally helpful label. The period covered by this thesis is 1792 to 1833, not merely because of wider critical consideration of when is termed Romantic, but because these dates encompass the case studies of literary philanthropy present within this thesis – beginning with James Montgomery’s early literary activism and ending with the passing of the slavery abolition act.

The writings covered in my case studies are just some of the many texts from the Romantic period that might be considered as examples of literary philanthropy. Chronological parameters could be moved if other Romantic period texts were used: for example, a case study of Thomas Chatterton, who died in 1770 and was edited

by Southey and Cottle in 1803, or a discussion of the poetry of the Chartist movement such as 1838's 'On Joseph Reynor Stephens'.[1]

This thesis has argued that the unique circumstances of the Romantic period were particularly fertile ground for works of literature to perform philanthropic acts, However, literary philanthropy is not restricted to the Romantic period. Abolitionism, for example, was a significant cultural debate in Britain for many decades from at least the mid-eighteenth century, if not earlier, and a cause dedicated to the abolition of slavery still exists, as people continue to attempt to end the practice of what has come to be known as modern slavery. British abolitionists were also not the first to argue against slavery; earlier opponents included the Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566).[2] Many other instances of literary philanthropy exist, and could be productively studied, particularly when changing contexts are contrasted with the British Romantic period. As an example, one might argue that medieval 'Mirrors for Princes' literature, itself a genre that 'defied all attempts at definition', in attempting to educate rulers on the art of governing for the benefit of general society, is a form of literary philanthropy.[3] Comparing medieval education on good rulership to the moral arguments of Romantic period philanthropy might illuminate both topics.

There are many historical contexts that would alter the contexts of literary philanthropy, and whose alterations could be productively studied. Changes in legislation could also dramatically alter the landscape of literary philanthropy. While

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[1] Thomas Chatterton, *The Works of Thomas Chatterton,* ed. Robert Southey and Joseph Cottle (London: Longman and Rees, 1803). Mike Sanders, 'Introduction', in *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.1.

[2] See E. Andujar, "Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: Moral Theology versus Political Philosophy," in *Hispanic Philosophy in the Age of Discovery,* ed. K. White (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), pp.69-87 and G. Sanderlin, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Selection of His Writings* (New York: A. Knopf, 1971).

[3] Stéphane Péquignot and Noëlle-Laetitia Perret, 'Introduction', in *A Critical Companion to the 'Mirrors for Princes' Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2022) pp.1-17

this might be most obvious in political literary philanthropy, such as how the outlawing of the use of child chimney-sweeps made further works advocating for that cause superfluous, changes to welfare provision might help alleviate the urgency of the networked literary philanthropy present in Chapter 1 of this thesis. Modern contexts would create substantial changes; in an age of internet and social media, the networked philanthropy of Chapter 1 could be disseminated substantially further and faster, though might simultaneously face greater competition. The social and cultural capital involved in projects of literary philanthropy could be entirely ignored or favoured by modern search algorithms. The infinite varying contexts of history provide similarly infinite alterations to discussions of literary philanthropy.

The examples of this thesis all consider British literary philanthropy and are almost entirely focused on the British Isles – with an occasional consideration of international locations of particular interest to the British authors involved, such as Montgomery's consideration of the treatment of Jews under the Ottoman regime, or Sheridan's interest in the Greek independence movement. My case studies have, however, been drawn from regional areas across Britain. The contexts of Sheffield for Montgomery and Leicester for Heyrick in Chapter 2, as well as Nottingham for Kirke White in Chapter 3, suggest that more attention to artistic and cultural networks in such regions is a valuable addition to discussions of the Romantic period. Scotland is also considered in this thesis, with figures such as Baillie and Walter Scott, suggesting there is potential in further considering further local cultural, religious, and political considerations across Britain. It would be problematically Anglocentric to assume that Britain was the sole location of literary philanthropy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even within a context of the British empire, there were vast swathes of native English speakers in Canada, the

Caribbean, and Australasia. The context of colonialism, and the difference between literary philanthropic works written in and for the colonies, as opposed to mainland Britain would make for particularly productive study. The literary philanthropy of the Romantic period, even if considering only the English language, is still wider than that of the British empire; varied contexts for the study of literary philanthropy might include the extensive American literary market, and those with English as a second language across the globe. It is also worth considering how global such works of literary philanthropy were or could be, given their origins and relatively limited circulation.

Literary markets in non-English language locations would also undoubtably contain examples of literary philanthropy, and a focused comparison of similar contexts across linguistic differences would be highly productive: Belgium, as the second nation to industrialise, would make an excellent comparison to British literary philanthropy when considering the labour concerns raised by Montgomery. France, as a nation undergoing and recovering from revolution in this period, would have different concerns. A comparison of Walter Scott's *Field of Waterloo* with French counterparts, for example, would be enlightening. Consideration of firmly Catholic countries such as Spain, or referenced countries such as the largely Muslim Ottoman Empire, would compare against the varied sects of Protestantism covered in this thesis.. These are merely some of the many comparisons available.

British literary philanthropy is a subject of substantial potential for further consideration, across historical, linguistic, geographic, cultural and religious contexts. It need not even be confined solely to literature; one might consider the wider arts, such as music or painting, – all necessarily contain the similar, if not the same,

potential for philanthropy that might be analysed in a manner similar to this thesis's consideration of literature, as an abiding, if under-studied, area of critical attention.

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