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Women Poets and Anonymity in the Romantic Era

Paula R. Feldman

I

Picture, if you will, the woman poet of the romantic era, toiling away in obscurity, fearful of putting her name before the public—of being seen and recognized as a writer, publishing book after book anonymously or under the veil of "by a lady," or using some other subterfuge to keep her true identity secret. This woman poet, this familiar portrait, is a fiction—as much a myth, it seems, as the notion of poetry coming as spontaneously and "as naturally as the Leaves to a tree."[1]

The evidence shows, in fact, that during the period 1770–1835, women *rarely* published books of verse anonymously. With surprisingly few exceptions, women who published poetry books proudly placed their real names on the title page from the very outset of their careers. Such was the case with Lucy Aikin, Mathilda Betham, Felicia Hemans, Mary Howitt, Mary Leadbeater, Mary Russell Mitford, Hannah More, Amelia Opie, Sydney Owenson, Mary Robinson, Anna Seward, Charlotte Smith, Agnes Strickland, Ann Yearsley, and many others. When a woman did bring out a book of poetry anonymously, it was often her first book, and her name appeared quickly on the title pages of subsequent editions and later volumes. This first book was a trial balloon, so to speak, a testing of the waters. Rose Lawrence's *The Last Autumn at a Favourite Residence: With Other Poems* (1828) is illustrative. When the book's second edition came out the following year, she acknowledged her authorship on the title page.

Sometimes aristocratic, wealthy, or particularly well-connected women poets did not print their names on the title page or anywhere else in their books. They often privately printed small editions to be distributed primarily to family and friends. Gentry were loath to have their names associated with commercial publication for fear of diminishing their social status by appearing to be "in trade." Even though the title page of such works might not identify the poet, the book was hardly anonymous to its recipients or to other contemporaries. Mary Tighe's *Psyche; or, the*

Legend of Love is a perfect example of this phenomenon. The first edition, published in 1805, numbered only fifty copies. Tighe's name is *printed* nowhere in the book; but she signed the copy now in the British Library, just as she must have identified herself to the other forty-nine recipients of her work with a signature, an accompanying note, letter, personal inscription or more intimate, in-person presentation. *Psyche* was typical in that its second edition, the first commercial printing, which in this case was posthumous, bore the poet's name.[2] Other well-to-do poets, such as Susanna Blamire, Carolina, Baroness Nairne, and Catherine Maria Fanshawe, circulated their works privately in manuscript during their lifetimes but kept them unpublished. After their deaths, their poetry appeared in published volumes bearing their names.[3]

Laboring-class women poets, on the other hand, used their real names from the beginning as a way to help insure the sale of their verse. In fact, women of this class, or the editors of their poetry, often added identifying information. Thus, we find listed on title pages "Ann Yearsley, a Milkwoman of Bristol," "Janet Little, the Scotch Milkmaid," and "Christian Milne, Wife of a Journeyman Ship-carpenter, in Footdee, Aberdeen," as well as "Ann Candler, a Suffolk Cottager." Candler's book, *Poetical Attempts* (1803), also includes a section entitled "A Short Narrative of her Life." Volumes such as these were often, in part, charitable solicitations, and identifying the poet put a concrete face on abstract human need.[4] Other laboring-class poets, such as Elizabeth Hands and Isabel Pagan, rejected this model and simply listed their names without elaboration. I am unaware of any instance of a laboring-class woman poet whose name did not appear on the title page of her book.

In fact, the identity of very few romantic-era women authors of poetry volumes remains unknown today. Of the more than two thousand volumes of published poetry listed by J. R. de J. Jackson in his splendid *Romantic Poetry by Women: A Bibliography*,[5] relatively few are authored by poets who remain unidentified: only five appear under the heading "Anonymous," only sixty-one appear under the heading "A Lady," and only twenty-three are listed as "By a Young Lady."[6] Almost all other volumes have had their authorship attributed. Even taking into consideration the odd volume signed "A Young Female of this City," "A Woman of Fashion," "Mrs. B," and the like, the identity of the authors of fewer than five percent of Jackson's volumes are today unknown.[7]

Even in the case of a book such as *Corinth, and Other Poems* (1821), whose author is now unidentified but may have been a Miss Earle, we cannot be sure that the work was genuinely anonymous when first brought out. A curious contemporary could have asked Viscountess Anson, to whom the volume is dedicated with permission, to identify the author. If Viscountess Anson had been unwilling to reveal the truth or

had been unavailable for some reason, any of the subscribers, including Joanna Baillie, could have supplied the poet's name, for they were unlikely to have subscribed to a volume whose author was unknown to them. Because time has disconnected us from the human context of unattributed volumes, authorial identifications have been lost that were clear or easily discoverable at the time of publication. Their authorship was often known to the poet's contemporaries, if not through social or familial contact, then through clues left in dedications, advertisements, and subscribers lists. Some coy poets left transparent hints. For example, Lady Catherine Rebecca Manners published *Review of Poetry, Ancient and Modern. A Poem* in 1799 and signed it "Lady Mxxxxxx." How many "Lady M's" with a poetic bent and seven letters in her last name could there have been in 1799?[8]

Anonymity, then, when practiced by women of the romantic era, was often either a temporary state or a transparent pose. Hannah More was outraged when, shortly after the publication of the supposedly anonymous *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1808), the *Christian Observer* published what More considered an unflattering critique, which she took personally. More protested to the editor, "The critic well knew the writer was a woman. . . . He knew I wrote it."[9] Lady Caroline Lamb's roman à clef, *Glenarvon* (1816), containing caricatures of Lord Byron and his associates, may have been published without her name, but the Comtesse de Bogne recounts that she saw Lamb at a ball "hanging lovingly on her husband's arm and distributing the key to her characters with great liberality" (*SNL* 57).

Some pseudonyms were intended to be transparent. After Mary Shelley was found to be the author of *Frankenstein* (1818), was anyone seriously in doubt about the author of other novels signed "By the Author of Frankenstein"?[10] The title page to *Original Poems for Infant Minds* (1804) said the book was penned "By Several Young Persons." Even though thirty more British editions followed with this signature within the next three decades, Jane Taylor and her sister Ann were made famous by the volume and by succeeding volumes signed "By the Authors of Original Poems." The identity of the "Authoress of The Observant Pedestrian," who published *Blossoms of Fancy. Original Poems, and Pieces in Blank Verse* (1811) may be unknown today, but her contemporaries may not have been similarly unenlightened.

Furthermore, gender may not have been as much of an issue in anonymity as is sometimes supposed. Male poets seem to have used the subterfuge of anonymity and pseudonymity nearly as much as their female counterparts. Think of Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809) and *Lara* (1814), Samuel Rogers's *Jacqueline* (1814) and the first part of *Italy* (1822), George Crabbe's *The Candidate* (1780), William

Blake's *Poetical Sketches* (1783) published as "by W. B.," and Thomas Moore's *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Little* (1801), among others. Courtney, surveying all of the books in the British Museum catalogue, found that books signed "By a Gentleman" numbered close to two hundred, and theological books "By a Layman" numbered five hundred and twenty-two, almost as many as the more than eight hundred books found to have been signed "By a Lady" (*SNL* 15–17).[11]

II

How is it that the myth of the anonymous female poet arose?

Erroneous generalizations may have been the result of scholars' failing to distinguish between the usual practices of periodical print culture and book publication within the specialized poetry market. In newspapers and periodicals of the romantic era, it was customary for reviews and other contributions, including poetry, to appear anonymously or pseudonymously. Both male and female contributors followed this practice. When William Wordsworth, at age seventeen, published his first poem, "On Seeing Miss Helen Maria Williams Weep at a Tale of Distress," in the *European Magazine* for 1787, he used the pseudonym "Axiologus." As recent scholars have rediscovered the work of women poets, it has often been reported that the first publication of a given poem appeared in a periodical and that the poet did not use her real name. Mary Robinson, for example, used the pseudonyms Laura, Laura Maria, Julia, Perdita, Tabitha Bramble, Anne Frances Randall, Oberon, and Horace Juvenal. Those unfamiliar with the context might easily assume that Robinson was reticent to use her name or, because of her gender, was prevented from doing so. But, in fact, Robinson used a nom de plume principally when she published in *The Morning Post* and *The Oracle.* Twelve of the fourteen poetry books she published during her lifetime bore her name, and those which did not had special reasons for being anonymous. Similarly, Felicia Hemans often used the initials "F. H." when she published in the *Monthly Magazine* and in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* but seventeen of her twenty separate book titles bear her real name, including her first three volumes.

Moreover, the differences in the attitudes authors had about publishing novels, and those they had about publishing poetry, during the romantic era have not been sufficiently appreciated. Thus, scholars have generalized from novels to poetry, forgetting that poetry had much higher literary status than novels at this period and that, as a result, an author might be more given to claim a book of poetry than a novel.[12] Amelia Opie is one example of a writer who acknowledged every one of

her books of poetry, seven in all, but published several novels anonymously, both at the beginning and at the end of her career.[13] Mrs. E.-G. Bayfield, who may have been the former Laura Cooper, published *Fugitive Poems* in 1805 under her own name. Still, nine novels dating from 1803 to 1814 have been attributed to her, all anonymous. Walter Scott, too, applied a double standard. Shortly after *Waverley* came out, Scott told John Morritt, "I shall not own Waverley . . . In truth I am not sure it would be considerd quite decorous for me as a Clerk of Session to write novels[.] Judges being monks clerks are a sort of lay-brethren from whom some solemnity of walk & conduct may be expected."[14] He had no such scruples about his earlier books of poetry, which had all been published under his own name. Poetry was a legitimate and highly respected literary form, while the novel, a more recent genre, was not. Seamus Cooney argues that by keeping *Waverley* anonymous, Scott protected his poetic reputation while, at the same time, creating speculation and a controversy that called attention to the novel and increased its sales.[15] Although the authorship of the novel was debated, the well-known critic Francis Jeffrey guessed the truth almost immediately. As the present essay is undertaken to show, in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was not all that easy to remain anonymous. But anonymity seems to have been far more widely practiced among novelists than among poets. Edward Jacobs concludes that in the late eighteenth century, "the overwhelming stock-in-trade of circulating-library publishers was fiction by anonymous authors."[16]

Current perspectives have also been skewed, because stories about anonymous authorship are the ones that get repeated; the exception has been mistaken for the rule. Furthermore, thanks in part to the rising prestige of the novel, Victorian practices have sometimes wrongly been ascribed to romantic-era writers. So, for example, because the stories of novelists such as Mary Anne Evans ("George Eliot") and Charlotte Brontë ("Currer Bell") are such familiar ones, commentators have assumed that women poets of the romantic era must have been under similar pressure to disguise their identities. This does not appear to have been the case. To my knowledge, no woman poet of the romantic era published books under a male pseudonym. Moreover, some women poets found that the absence of a real name was a liability. For example, once Felicia Hemans became famous, imitators capitalized on her popularity. She complained to William Blackwood, who had published volumes of her poetry under her own name but who was also publisher of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* a periodical in which Hemans's contributions are signed "F. H.": "Some One, for whose perpetrations I am not at all desirous to be answerable, has adopted the signature of F. H., and I am rather perplexed as to the best means of proving my own

Identity.—Even if I lay aside the use of the initials altogether, I fear I should not quite free myself from the imputations of Mr. F. H's poetry, which really is 'so middling, bad were better.'"[17] Hemans began signing her name in full, even in periodicals.

Another factor contributing to the myth of female anonymity is that scholars have found it difficult to acknowledge that the mid- to late-twentieth-century obscurity of some of the major women poets of the romantic era has been due not to silencing in their own time but largely to their erasure by literary historians, critics, and anthologists from the early part of the twentieth century. Such scholars have erroneously clung to the belief that romantic-era women poets must have been silenced in their own time rather than in ours and that anonymity must have been part of that process. But, in fact, the exclusion of women's voices from the ever-changing canon of romantic-era literature says more, in many ways, about the twentieth century than about the nineteenth. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the writing of women poets such as Felicia Hemans survived through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The change in literary taste brought about by World War I and by the onset of modernist aesthetic values made any romantic-era sensibility seem naïve, melodramatic, and embarrassingly sentimental. Hemans's poetry became as passé as that of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Some decades later, when the literary world began to rediscover the poets of the romantic era, the male writers seemed to be the only candidates for recanonization; the women authors of the period and their rich artistic legacy were ignored. By the 1960s, five male poets constituted the romantic-era canon. The women of that period were so effectively "not there," except as sisters, friends, wives, and mothers, that they were even excluded from consideration as "minor" writers. But the combined influence of the increasing numbers of women in academic life, the evolving interest in gender studies, deconstruction, New Historicism, the politics of canon formation, the writings of activist scholars, and the popularity of various feminisms, all conspired to foreground the women poets once again.[18] Still, for much of the last century, descriptions in novels of shy female authors have been privileged, along with portrayals by conservatives, who show contempt for blue-stockings and other intellectual and creative women. Rather than forming an idea of the woman poet from the character and content of her own literary productions, as well as from contemporary book reviews, memoirs, letters, account books, and diaries, or from bibliographies such as Jackson's, literary historians have tended to believe other, less reliable, portrayals, some dating much later than the period in question and no longer particularly relevant. Folklore has been passed from one credulous source to another, reinforcing inaccurate assumptions, even among feminist com-

mentators. Virginia Woolf, for example, famously contemplating the case of Shakespeare's hypothetical sister, writes, "[U]ndoubtedly, I thought, looking at the shelf where there are no plays by women, her work would have gone unsigned. That refuge she would have sought certainly. It was the relic of the sense of chastity that dictated anonymity to women even so late in the nineteenth century. . . . Thus they did homage to the convention . . . that publicity in women is detestable. Anonymity runs in their blood. The desire to be veiled still possesses them."[19]

III

Some romantic-era women poets were truly reticent about publishing their verse. For example, at the age of fifteen, Joanna Baillie published anonymously *Poems; Wherein it is Attempted to Describe Certain Views of Nature and of Rustic Manners* (1790). Eight years later, when she brought out the first volume of *A Series of Plays* (1798), she concealed her authorship for a full two years, until the third edition of 1800, which bore her name on the title page. Once she acknowledged herself as a poet and playwright, however, for the next half century, and until the end of her life, she signed her name to all of her books. But Baillie is something of an exception. The rule seems to be that where poetry *books* were concerned, once a woman decided to allow her work to be published, she almost always agreed to allow her name to be affixed to the volume. Consider the case of Lady Anne Lindsay, author of "Auld Robin Gray," the most popular ballad of the English romantic period. This work was known principally through oral transmission. It was sung throughout Scotland, where Lindsay composed it in 1772. Later, strolling players carried it into England. It was translated into French, sung by a beautiful lunatic in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Maria; or the Wrongs of Woman* (1798), and by a milkmaid in Susanna Blamire's "Stoklewath" (c. 1773). Several people claimed authorship, including a clergyman. Antiquarians debated whether "Auld Robin Gray" was an ancient ballad or of modern origin. Although they advertised the sizable reward of twenty guineas to anyone who could prove its origin, Lady Anne remained silent. Not until half a century after its composition did its author confess the truth to anyone outside her family circle. In the *Pirate* (1821), Walter Scott compares the situation of his character Minna to that of Jennie Gray, "the village heroine in Lady Anne Lindsay's beautiful ballad."[20] He then quotes four lines as his chapter motto from an unpublished sequel to the ballad, composed by Lady Anne at her mother's request many years after the original. Curious to know how he could have learned lines she

never so much as wrote in manuscript and how he could attribute them to her, Lady Anne wrote to Scott. Thus began a lively correspondence between the two, resulting in the publication in 1825 of *Auld Robin Gray; A Ballad.* Boldly on the title page was Lady Anne's name.[21]

Other than social class considerations, as in the cases of Mary Tighe and Lady Anne Lindsay, or the jitters of new authorship, as in the case of Joanna Baillie, what else caused the women poets who *did* publish anonymously or pseudonymously to make that choice?

1. *Controversial or satirical subject matter.* Elizabeth Cobbold had published two books of poetry under her own name. However, when she brought out her burlesque, *The Mince Pye; an Heroic Epistle: Humbly Addressed to the Sovereign Dainty of a British Feast* (1800), ridiculing *The Sovereign* by Charles Small Pybus and poet laureate J. H. Pye, she signed it "Carolina Petty Pasty." Mary Robinson's *Modern Manners, a Poem* (1793) appeared under the name "Horace Juvenal," a pseudonym which signals the satirical nature of the work. She had signed five books of poetry with her real name before this one came out. *A New Canto* (1819), a poem in *ottava rima* ridiculing Byron's poetry along with high society, was also published anonymously.[22] But poems containing controversial subject matter were not always anonymous. Anna Letitia Barbauld's *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven,* judged treasonous by some, bore the poet's name. Her niece, Lucy Aikin, proudly acknowledged *Epistles on Women, Exemplifying their Character and Condition in Various Ages and Nations* (1810), a work containing what some would have seen as heretical feminist rereadings of history.

2. *Audience.* Just as novels had a different status from books of poetry, which affected an author's willingness to reveal her identity, so there was a strong distinction made between the status of poetry volumes intended for adults and those intended for children. The literary career of Catherine Ann Dorset, sister of Charlotte Smith, illustrates how this distinction operated. In 1807, Dorset published a witty poetic sequel to William Roscoe's *The Butterfly's Ball and the Grasshopper's Feast* (1806) entitled *The Peacock 'At Home'.* She signed it "By a Lady." This comic narrative poem for children gently satirizes the social foibles of both the aristocracy and the upper middle class as it teaches children about birds.[23] Dorset's poem captured the popular imagination and sold tens of thousands of copies. By 1812, there had been twenty-six editions, all still signed "By a Lady." Dorset published another children's poem, *The Lion's Masquerade. A Sequel to the Peacock at Home* (1807), which she also signed "By a Lady." But in 1809, when John Murray published *The Peacock 'At Home;' and Other Poems,* which consists mostly of poetry for adults, the title page identifies the poet as "Mrs. Dorset."[24]

3. *A publishing ploy.* Letitia Elizabeth Landon brought out her first

book of poetry, *The Fate of Adelaide* (1821), under her own name. It was only after she gained some celebrity as "L. E. L." with the readers of the *Literary Gazette* that she began to sign her books using the initials her periodical readers would recognize. All of her future books were signed this way, even after the identity of L. E. L. had become an open secret. L. E. L. became her name in the same way that "Marilyn Monroe" became the name of Norma Jean Baker or "John Wayne" became the name of Marion Michael Morrison. Mary Robinson had published two earlier books under her real name, but became known to periodical readers for her poetic correspondence with Robert Merry, the Della Cruscan. When she published the volume entitled *Ainsi va le monde, a Poem* (1790), her reply to Merry's "Laurel of Liberty," she used the sobriquet readers would recognize from the periodical literature: "Laura Maria." Similarly, Felicia Hemans published her first three books under her own name. But John Murray complained that he had lost money on *The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy* (1816), prompting Hemans to suggest that for the next one, *Modern Greece* (1817), "Perhaps it would be more advantageous that it should not be known to proceed from a female pen, but this point I leave entirely to your decision."[25] Murray published the book without her name. Sales barely improved. The poet's gender, it seems, was a minor factor compared with the subject matter, which had been exploited by so many previous authors that it no longer had much sales value. This episode demonstrates, too, that marketing strategies that worked successfully for publishers with novels did not necessarily work well in the poetry market.

4. *Collaborative authorship.* Many poetry collections were edited anonymously, and frequently much, or all, of the content was left unattributed; part of the reason for this phenomenon is that often the editors wrote a substantial portion of the volume—a fact disguised by leaving signatures off individual contributions. But in practicing anonymity, anthologies seemed to follow the example of periodicals more than that of poetry books. Literary annuals, with a particularly astute eye to sales, first followed and then altered this practice. The editor and contents of the *Keepsake* for 1828, for example, were entirely anonymous. However, once readers demanded to know the identity of authors contributing to this popular volume, in the following year the *Keepsake* complied, acknowledging pieces by Walter Scott, William Wordsworth, Mary Shelley, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, L. E. L., and Thomas Moore, among others.

The evidence clearly shows, then, that, unlike her novelist counterparts, and with few exceptions, once a woman poet of the romantic era made the decision to bring out a volume of poetry, the chances were high that she would proudly claim it as her own and, indeed, would trumpet her name on the title page. This view of the woman poet

challenges the stereotypical one, which was propounded even by some women poets themselves, of the shrinking violet, writing and publishing in humble obscurity. In 1837, L. E. L. may have declared in "The Unknown Grave," "While lingers in the heart one line, / The nameless poet hath a shrine," but she, like almost all of her contemporary sister poets, had no intention of remaining nameless herself.

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NOTES

1 Letter of 27 February 1818 to John Taylor, reprinted in *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), vol. 1, pp. 38–39.
2 Even before this, however, Tighe and her poem had earned celebrity. The *British Critic* (38 [1811], 631–32) remarked in a review of the first commercial printing, "The elegant poem of Psyche was so long circulated in one or two private editions, that to descant upon it as a new performance would be to repeat only what the majority of our readers already know; and to accumulate superfluous praise, where abundance has already been bestowed."
3 See *British Women Poets of the Romantic Era: An Anthology,* ed. Paula R. Feldman (Baltimore, 1997) for more on these poets and many of the others mentioned in this essay.
4 Charlotte Smith, born into social prominence but impoverished by a spendthrift husband, was desperate for the money the subscription publication of her *Elegiac Sonnets* might bring. Her title page signature was more descriptive than many. As Stuart Curran aptly observes, the "full title testifies alike to her sorrows and her irreducible self-esteem: *Elegiac Sonnets, and Other Essays by Charlotte Smith of Bignor Park, in Sussex.* Smith would not hide her name behind a cloak of anonymity, nor would she deny herself the estate where she grew up and where her children remained under her brother's protection, so far distant from the actual prison to which marriage had reduced her" *(The Poems of Charlotte Smith,* ed. Stuart Curran [New York, 1993], p. xxii).
5 *Romantic Poetry by Women: A Bibliography, 1770–1835* (Oxford, 1993). Many of my observations in the present essay would not have been possible without Jackson's valuable scholarship.
6 Some books assumed to have been written by women were authored by men. "A Beautiful Young Lady" was the pseudonym of Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, and *The Whole Duty of Woman* (1753), published "by a Lady," was penned by William Kenrick.
7 Jackson's bibliography includes books written by American authors as well as anthologies of poetry, so the number of unattributed single-author volumes penned by British women is actually quite low.
8 *Poems* (1773) by Anna Letitia Aikin, later Barbauld, might at first appear to be anonymous, but the author signed the dedication page.
9 Quoted in William Prideaux Courtney, *Secrets of our National Literature: Chapters in the History of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Writings of our Countrymen* (Detroit, 1976), p. 48; hereafter cited in text as *SNL*.
10 Reviews of Mary Shelley's later novels often cite her by name.
11 A serious comparative study of anonymous authorship by female and by male poets would be useful to determine the extent to which the gender differences, which critics have assumed, actually existed.
12 Jane Austen's famous defense of the novel in *Northanger Abbey* documents this issue of status.

13 Amelia Opie's first novel, *The Dangers of Coquetry*, came out anonymously in 1790. She also published several fictional works anonymously at the end of her career: *The Only Child* (1821), *Much to Blame* (1824), and possibly *Self-Delusion or Adelaide D'Hauteroche* (1823). *Madeline* (1822), an epistolary love story, was published under her own name.

14 Letter of 28 July 1814 reprinted in *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson (London, 1932–37), vol. 3, p. 479.

15 Seamus Cooney, "Scott's Anonymity—Its Motives and Consequences," *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 10 (1973), 207–19 (esp. 209).

16 Jacobs considers representative the holdings of the circulating library operated by Samuel Clay in Warwick in the early 1770s. Eighty-six percent of its titles were novels, and fifty-two percent were anonymous. See Edward Jacobs, "Anonymous Signatures: Circulating Libraries, Conventionality, and the Production of Gothic Romances," *ELH*, 62 (1995), 607, 609.

17 Undated letter in the Blackwood Archive, National Library of Scotland, shelfmark MS 4027, ff. 172–76; reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

18 For a more in-depth discussion of this subject within the context of the changing canon, see the introduction to *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices*, ed. Paula R. Feldman and Theresa M. Kelley (Hanover, N.H., 1995), pp. 2–7.

19 *A Room of One's Own* (1928), reprinted by Penguin Books, 1973, pp. 51–52.

20 Walter Scott, *The Pirate,* ed. Mark Weinstein and Alison Lumsden, vol. 12 of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverly Novels (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 245.

21 *Auld Robin Gray; A Ballad by the Right Honourable Lady Anne Barnard, Born Lady Anne Lindsay of Balcarras*, ed. Walter Scott (Edinburgh, 1825).

22 Although J. R. de J. Jackson, Duncan Wu, and others have listed the author as Lady Caroline Lamb, the attribution remains speculative. No conclusive evidence linking Lamb with this work has turned up to date, and, in many ways, it is uncharacteristic of the works in her known corpus.

23 The *British Critic* (30 [1807], 554–56) believed *The Peacock 'At Home'* superior to Roscoe's poem, admired its knowledge of natural history as well as its "playful wit conducted by genius, judgment, and taste," and maintained, "for neat and natural humour, just appropriation of character and action to the birds introduced, variety of plan, and felicity of execution, [it] cannot well be surpassed." The *Monthly Review* (954 [1807], 446–47) said that it had been "deservedly applauded" not only for its ability to educate its young audience but for its amusing critique of human behavior.

24 The case of Jane Taylor, author of "The Star," known popularly as "Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star," and other poems for children, is similar. The only book of poetry that bore Taylor's name in her lifetime was *Essays in Rhyme on Morals and Manners* (1816), her sole volume of poetry intended for adults. However, this was also the only poetry volume she did not write collaboratively, a fact which may also have influenced her decision.

25 Letter dated 26 February 1817, John Murray Archives, quoted in Paula R. Feldman, "The Poet and the Profits: Felicia Hemans and the Literary Marketplace," *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 46 (1997), 148–76. The first edition, probably a very small printing, of Hemans's *The Restoration*, published by Pearson and Ebers, was acknowledged only as "By a Lady," but when Murray reprinted it for the second edition, he used the poet's real name.